

RECONCILIATION AND REPAIR

NOMOS

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# RECONCILIATION AND REPAIR

Edited by

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# 1

## RECONCILIATION AS NON-ALIENATION

### THE POLITICS OF BEING AT HOME IN THE WORLD

CATHERINE LU

How could you explain that four hundred years in a place didn't make it a home?

Saidiya Hartman, *Lose Your Mother*

We feel that one of the things taken from many Indigenous Peoples through colonization, perhaps even, I would argue, the most important thing was our ability to dream for ourselves.

Cindy Blackstock, quoted in *Reclaiming Power and Place*

[I]t is the colonized man who wants to move forward, and the colonizer who holds things back.

Aim  C saire, *Discourse on Colonialism*

The killing of George Floyd on May 25, 2020, sparked hundreds of protests in America, and across the world, against structural anti-Black racism and police violence.<sup>1</sup> Demands for justice for Floyd, as well as for hundreds of other victims of racist and state-sponsored violence, have come from human rights organizations such as Amnesty International,<sup>2</sup> as well as many other grassroots initiatives, from online petitions to street murals to mass protests.<sup>3</sup> In conjunction with demands for individual accountability of the police officers involved, there have been calls for police forces as

well as various levels of government in the United States to address systemic or structural racism.<sup>4</sup> Such demands for corrective interactional, institutional, and structural justice have been part of the Black Lives Matter Movement, now a global social force dedicated to countering state-sanctioned violence and anti-Black racism, in order to promote freedom and justice for Black people and, by extension, all people.<sup>5</sup>

A steady companion to such calls for justice are pleas for reconciliation.<sup>6</sup> Pope Francis implored the national reconciliation and peace for which we yearn.<sup>7</sup> Scholars and journalists have also advocated the creation of truth and reconciliation commissions.<sup>8</sup> The district attorneys of San Francisco, Philadelphia, and Boston announced in July 2020 the launch of Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation commissions to address structural racism and police brutality in the criminal justice system, although there have been no news reports of progress toward their establishment in the two years following the announcement.<sup>9</sup> While the US House Judiciary Committee held a historic vote on H.R. 40 in April 2021, approving a bill to create a commission to examine appropriate remedies

heightened vulnerability of Indigenous women and girls, as well as of 2SLGBTQQIA people,<sup>13</sup> to violence amounts to race-, identity-, and gender-based genocide. The report also called on police services to establish an independent, special investigation unit for the investigation of incidents of failures to investigate, police misconduct, and all forms of discriminatory practices and mistreatment of Indigenous peoples within their police service.<sup>14</sup>

In the summer of 2021, the unfinished work of the TRC became



*Reconciliation as Non-Alienation*



an organizing normative purpose and framework for these efforts. While its relationship with justice was contested, reconciliation took on the normative task of repairing damaged relationships in order to achieve a morally acceptable transition of power, despite not applying the standard mechanisms of justice for wrongdoing, such as criminal trials that yield punishment of wrongdoers. The ideal of political reconciliation thus signified moral ambition within political constraints.<sup>25</sup> The 1994 Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa became the model for reconciliation processes that aimed to respond to political injustices and wrongdoing as part of a political transition from a racially oppressive state and divided society to a democratic human rights respecting regime of multi-racial equality.<sup>26</sup>

From a historical perspective, one could understand the globalization of the political discourse of reconciliation and transitional justice—their embeddedness in the United Nations as well as their promotion by powerful states and global civil society organizations—as a completion of a centrist-liberal narrative arc of the history of the twentieth century. That narrative concentrates on World War II, the war against Nazi Germany, and the judgment at Nuremberg, as effecting the repudiation of White supremacy, right-wing nationalism, and authoritarian militarism, and their replacement by human rights respecting, liberal democratic nation-states with sovereign equality as the defining markers of the progressive endpoint of postwar reconciliation and transitional justice. In the postwar liberal international order, especially during the Cold War, the fact that defeating Nazi Germany required an alliance of capitalist (United States), communist (Soviet Union), and imperial (Great Britain) powers, none of which were stalwart promoters of racial equality, social justice, or disarmament, was relatively obscured. According to historian Nikolai Kaposov, the memory of the Holocaust was central to the reconstruction of Western Europe, and later, the European Union, as a unifying symbol of a shared history of moral transgression and repentance. Creating a common European memory centered on the memory of the Holocaust was a means of integrating Europe, combating racism, and averting national and ethnic conflicts.<sup>27</sup> In this historical narrative, the collapse of the Soviet empire in the 1990s, involving the fall of authoritarian communist regimes in eastern and central Europe, and the

end of apartheid in South Africa – the last remaining formal system of racial oppression at the international level – demonstrated the steady progress of a liberal international order and implied the inexorable global triumph of capitalist liberal democracy that could promise freedom and justice for all.

As Barry Buzan and George Lawson have noted, however, this progressive narrative obscured the racism, authoritarianism, and militarism that were integral to the development of Western-colonial international society.<sup>28</sup> Perhaps not surprisingly, then, the idea of reconciliation as a political project in transitional contexts of postconflict or regime change came to motivate activists seeking recognition, reparations, and structural transformation within contemporary Western and liberal democratic states. In the United States, the Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission (1999–2006), examining events that led to the death of five people during an anti-Ku Klux Klan protest in 1979, was the first application of the South African model to racial injustice in that country, designed to examine and learn from a divisive event in Greensboro's past in order to build the foundation for a more united future.<sup>29</sup> Ronald W. Walters compared the cases of the United States and South Africa in his book, *The Price of Racial Reconciliation*, arguing for the applicability of the framework of reconciliation for racial oppression, a political project that is imperative for the survival of the democratic idea in America.<sup>30</sup>

Initially, the rationale for embarking on reconciliation projects was to acknowledge historic

ing reproduction of oppressive and dominating prac/Spa93 condi-



scrutiny of the present ongoing reproduction of injustice, was a defect even in contexts of regime change such as post-apartheid South Africa. Indeed, protests against police brutality sparked by the killing of George Floyd extended to South Africa.<sup>31</sup> In settler colonial contexts, such reconciliation processes can distort or obscure contemporary social realities by historicizing injustices, and run into the danger of serving to maintain the status quo of neocolonial affirmation.<sup>32</sup> According to Rauna Kuokkanen, discussing the recent contemporary efforts of Nordic states to embark on reconciliation processes with the Sámi people, 'The process in the past 3 years leading toward establishing a truth and reconciliation commission shows no sign of a departure from the assimila-

strategies focus on a depoliticized, medicalized notion of individual psychological healing from traumatic experiences, or function to pressure the politically weak to accommodate evil and injustice in the name of national or civic unity, or focus too narrowly or superficially on repairing relations between victims and perpetrators, while leaving unexamined the structural sources of their alienating interactions.<sup>36</sup> Given these defects, reconciliation hardly seems to be a moral/political ideal.

If we take these challenges seriously, we may conclude that it would be better to forgo reconciliation as a necessary or constructive demand in moral and political life. The struggle against the pervasive injustices in our world would be more successful if reconciliation were no longer a part of the normative and political dis-

more advantages or privileges, and even to commit wrongdoing with impunity. Social structures, when unjust, define in morally objectionable ways the social positions, identities, agency, roles, aspirations, and potential and actual achievements of persons and groups. Structural injustices can inform laws, norms, and discourse; shape the design and purposes of institutions and social practices; and produce material effects. They enable, legitimize, normalize, and entrench conditions under which structural and interactional injustice may persist on a regular and predictable basis. Structural injustices may produce unintended, generalized, or impersonal harms or wrongs that result from social structural processes in which many may participate.<sup>38</sup>

For example, it would be difficult to account for persistently disparate outcomes with respect to health care, education, housing, income, and wealth, between Indigenous and non-Indigenous persons without reference to structural usurpation of Indigenous governance and dissociation from Indigenous interests, generated by policies of genocide and forcible incorporation of Indigenous peoples in settler colonial states, predicated on the ideologies of civilization and progress that posited a fundamental incompatibility between Indianness and modernity. Social hierarchies often based on race, class, and gender categories that transcend nationalist and statist divides expose large categories of persons or peoples to social positions of inferiority or structural indignity that heighten their historic and contemporary vulnerability to various forms of injustice, oppression, and domination.

Focusing on the structural continuities between contexts of historic colonialism and contemporary social structures at domestic, international, and transnational levels reveals that *debates about justice and reconciliation in response to colonial injustice need to move beyond a historic injustice framework*. Since structural injustices are contemporary, calls for reconciliation in contemporary politics are not about getting over the past, but about addressing the alienation of contemporary agents from contemporary social structures, including contemporary narrative structures about the past. Reconciliation, in this frame, is not only or mainly about closing the books on past injustice. It is not primarily about victims or survivors letting go of resentment about a past injustice. It is about how those whose social positions are produced by a structurally unjust order today



histories and continuities of human iniquity, has the potential to make radical demands on us all.

## I H

In politics, agents engage in the quest for reconciliation by struggling to create a mutually affirmable and affirmed social/political order, a regulative ideal that we can characterize as being at home in the world.<sup>40</sup> Understanding reconciliation in this way entails an examination of what images of home are available in the social and political schemas and imaginaries<sup>41</sup> that provide the ground or structure for developing and mediating agents' social identities, aspirations, and appropriative agency. Home is the denier of personal and collective identity, and fulfillment or self-realization. Just as the domestic familial home is conceived by its defenders as the only setting where intimacy can flourish, providing meaning, coherence, and stability in personal life,<sup>42</sup> the social/political home can be viewed as the setting that organizes meaning, coherence, and stability in individuals' social existence, and the basis from which they flourish or founder as social and political beings. We can understand contemporary struggles over public discourse, museum exhibits, monuments and statues, public space, and other social practices as windows into deeper contestations about the politics of being at home in the social world. Home is a social imaginary with which individual and group social identities are inextricably bound, and by which their social agency and activities are unavoidably mediated.

The politics of reconciliation is thus a politics of homemaking. But what does it mean to be at home in the world? Psychology studies have shown that among adults, and on the level of countries and ethnic groups, collective psychological ownership serves as a strong justification for territorial and nationalist sovereignty claims, and disputes about ownership of objects, cultural artifacts, and territories are frequent and tend to escalate to violent intergroup conflicts.<sup>43</sup> Reconciliation as the politics of homemaking thus involves interrogating the fusion of collective psychologies of ownership with ideas of home and belonging. This way of understanding the politics of reconciliation, as one based on competing

20 C

L

*Reconciliation as Non-*

Nichols has observed that the most important aspect of struggles of Indigenous peoples in contemporary politics—over development projects, pipelines, burial sites, or mountain ranges—is that they are *interpretive struggles*, challenging and unsettling the very terms of global political order.<sup>51</sup> Given the lack of fit between Indigenous governance and settler state structures, redressing the existential and structural alienation of Indigenous peoples from the contemporary international order entails revolutionary structural transformations of world order. Decolonizing the global home will thus require fundamental modifications of the constitutive political and territorial rights of states, and the coercive architecture of the modern sovereign states system that enforces such rights.<sup>52</sup>

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T P P D P

Nishnaabeg writer and educator Leanne Simpson has expressed her concerns about the progressive potential of the project of reconciliation in Canada through the use of a domestic analogy to describe the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples: It reminds me of an abusive relationship where one person is being abused physically, emotionally, spiritually and mentally. She wants out of the relationship, but instead of supporting her, we are all gathered around the abuser, because he wants to reconcile. But he doesn't want to take responsibility. He doesn't want to change. In fact, all through the process he continues to physically, emotionally, spiritually and mentally abuse his partner. He just wants to say sorry so he can feel less guilty about his behaviour. He just wants to adjust the ways he is abusing; he doesn't want to stop the abuse.<sup>59</sup>

Despite recognition by a majority of Canadians that much work remains to build a racially just society,<sup>60</sup> the image of Canada as an abusive and even genocidal home would be disorienting and unsettling for a population that considers the injustices of genocide, dispossession, and forcible incorporation to belong to a distant and remote past. With a vague and general understanding of the country's history, many Canadians continue to hold a positive self-image of the nation and its values of peace, freedom, democracy and human rights.<sup>61</sup> Such a positive self-image is difficult to reconcile with the image of Canada as an agent of past and ongoing Indigenous genocide, a controversy that has affected the Canadian Museum for Human Rights (CMHR) since its foundation. The museum's mission, until recently, included celebrating Canadians' commitment to human rights.<sup>62</sup> Established in 2014, the CMHR took five years to acknowledge that the Indian Residential Schools system amounted to a genocidal policy directed at Indigenous peoples in Canada, an admission prompted by the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWG).<sup>63</sup>

How can agents, whose social imaginaries and associated conceptions of the right and the good may be distorted by structural injustice, come to be motivated to pursue self- and political transformation? Frantz Fanon articulated this question as a challenge of

disalienation as a response to colonial domination and oppression: Before embarking on a positive voice, freedom needs to make an effort at disalienation.<sup>64</sup> According to Fanon, both the oppressed, as well as the oppressors, need to engage in processes of disalienation, for a new politics to be born. The project of reconciliation as non-alienation is intimately related to the disalienation of those who have developed their subjectivities (or sense of self and one's place in the world) in conditions of structural domination and oppression.

For those who are dominated, alienation makes it difficult to engage in struggles against injustice or domination. The alienated may suffer from lacking the requisite self-respect required to mount a radical critique, or the requisite bases of social respect to participate effectively in the space of public reason distorted by structural injustice. Nor may the public engagement of the alienated conform to the standards of sober social analysis.<sup>65</sup> Alienated agency may produce engagement with unjust structures that are limited by those structures. Disalienation is essential to meet the challenge of agents *becoming* free and equal authors of their social structures, which is not resolved by others, such as the state, conferring on them the status of persons or citizens. Glen Coulthard has thus argued that the politics of liberal multicultural recognition is not enough to redress the ongoing settler colonial domination and oppression of Indigenous peoples. Following Fanon, he argues that dominated agents need to struggle to create new decolonized terms of association that they can call their own, and not only seek equal justificatory status based on structures of colonial power, oth-

disalienation for the oppressed requires such acts of imaginative resistance to the dominant social identities and positions offered, the space for such imaginings may require state and international support for the revival of Indigenous languages, cultures, and governance, since their resurgence is a precondition for Indigenous and other subjugated peoples being able to engage in decolonized and non-alienated struggles to be at home in the modern world.

For others occupying dominant social positions, disalienation practices need to aim to provoke recognition of problematic identities, beliefs, and practices (or the occurrent experience of psycho-affective alienation), while also providing positive motivational resources for agents to do the hard work of self-rejection and transformation. The Canadian TRC, however, faced obstacles from government, churches, and other agencies or organizations to provide a full examination of the schools, including an accounting of the victims, whose unmarked graves are now being uncovered, as well as an accounting of the officials who were responsible for the assimilationist and eliminationist policies of successive Canadian governments over its 150-year history.<sup>70</sup>

Indeed, the pain that attends processes of disalienation has provoked reactionary politics that aim to re-entrench the terms of structural domination. In response to growing awareness of the Dutch nation's history of slavery and colonialism, for example, far-right nationalists have employed the language of self-hatred to resist collective engagement in painful reflections about Dutch national history. According to Thierry Baudet, leader of the far-right, White supremacist/nationalist Dutch Forum for Democracy Party (FvD), 'The West is suffering from an autoimmune disorder . . . Part of our organism – an important part: our immune system, that which should protect us – has turned against us. We're being weakened, undermined, surrendered in every respect. Malevolent, aggressive elements are being smuggled into our social body in unprecedented numbers, while true causes and consequences are kept hidden.'<sup>71</sup> Baudet employs the concept of *oikophobia*, or 'fear of the home', which, he argues, feminist, Black, postcolonial, and other social movements have engendered by challenging the golden narrative of Dutch national history and Western values more generally, producing a citizenry that is ashamed of and alienated from its national identity.

The concept of *oikophobia*

of inadequacy or shame, according to their own standards. It is the pain generated by the alienation or separation from a positive self-image, provoked by practices of disalienation, and the desire to avoid such pain, that motivates some to support the reactionary politics of the far right. My point is that the politics of *oikophobia* is not primarily about the existential alienation of dominant social groups to participate meaningfully in the social world, but about their attempt to dominate (or determine without reciprocation<sup>77</sup>) whose image of home will define and organize social and political life. By deflecting the painful and potentially transformative self-examination provoked by disalienation politics, conservative and far-right politics also close off possibilities for moving forward in struggles against structural domination and alienation.

R O -E  
P S -R

Lorraine Hansberry's play, *Les Blancs*, vividly and presciently portrays these challenges that attend the politics of reconciliation in a postcolonial world.<sup>78</sup> Set in a fictional African country on the verge of anticolonial insurrection, the action begins with Tshembe Matoseh, a young African man, returning home from a comfortable life in Europe for his father's funeral. The play makes trenchant critiques and poses difficult challenges about the ends and means of anticolonial struggle, challenges that apply to African Americans fighting for civil rights in America as well as to Africans fighting European colonial rule. Hansberry's play deftly and poignantly exposes the dilemmas encountered by racialized subjects attempting to fashion a home in a world built on racial oppression and domination. While Tshembe's brother Abioseh, a Roman Catholic about to enter the priesthood, takes an assimilationist route that threatens the anticolonial struggle, the most poignant character in the play is Tshembe's half-brother, Eric, an African European child of rape, who is eager to join the revolution, but becomes its casualty.

The colonial administration is represented by Major Rice, who is in charge of security in the shadow of an imminent insurrection. In explaining his attachment to the colonial project, Major Rice explains to the American journalist, Mr. Morris: This is my country,

you see. I came here when I was a boy. I worked hard. I married here. . . . This is our home, Mr. Morris. Men like myself had the ambition, the energy and the ability to come here and make this country into something . . . (He turns ever so slightly from time to time to catch Tshembe's expression.) They had it for centuries and did nothing with it. It isn't a question of empire, you see. It is our home . . . We wish the blacks no ill. But (Simply, matter-of-factly, a man confirmed) *it is our home*, Mr. Morris.<sup>79</sup> The thorough sense of entitlement to ownership expressed by Major Rice is buttressed by the play's revelation that he is also Eric's father, and the rapist of Tshembe's mother.

Hansberry's play shows vividly what is at stake in the struggle for home, even as she also sharply portrays the challenges confronting those who aim to forge a new politics of homemaking. One route she dismisses is the one taken by the American journalist, Charlie Morris, who views himself as far removed from the colonial projects of Europe and offers new terms of association on equal terms. Tshembe criticizes the ahistorical move toward a new beginning, saying, "For a handshake, a grin, a cigarette and half a glass of whiskey you want three hundred years to disappear and in five minutes! . . . In this light, for instance, I really cannot tell you from Major Rice!"<sup>80</sup>

Near the end of *Les Blancs*, Tshembe, lamenting his involvement in the anticolonial politics of his ancestral home, and its implications for the possibility of returning to his private, comfortable life with his European wife and child, exclaims: "I want to go -

non-alienation does not foreclose continued political struggle, and does not assume a homogenizing ideal or a conflict-transcendent form of social unity. For this reason, also, however, such a conceptualization of reconciliation cannot produce a substantive vision of what a reconciled social/political order should look like.

In *Les Blancs*, an ally of the anticolonial cause, Madame Neilsen, asks Tshembe if he hates Europeans. He replies, "I have seen your mountains. Europe—in spite of all her crimes—has been a great and glorious star in the night. Other stars shone before it—and will again with it. . . . The heavens, as you taught me, are broad and can afford a galaxy."<sup>82</sup> Although I have said that we cannot offer a substantive vision of what a reconciled world would look like, we could view Hansberry's vision of a galaxy of glorious stars as an apt abstract vision when imagining one kind of world we can hope for. It supports the view that a measure of conditions for non-alienated flourishing for Indigenous peoples in settler colonial states such as Canada, as well as in the wider world, is whether Indigenous peoples can effectively participate as equals in shaping their terms of association—without giving up who they are as indigenous peoples, and whether they are empowered to return Indigenous ways of knowing the world to their rightful place in the landscape of *human* ideas.<sup>83</sup>

At the same time, it should be acknowledged that conceptualizing reconciliation as a response to the history of human iniquity invites a tragic framing of non-alienation as addressing the challenges of making possibility out of dispossession,<sup>84</sup> slavery, genocide, and other socially produced atrocities. As Aimø Còsaire has argued, it is impossible to return to a galaxy populated by stars from a precolonial past.<sup>85</sup> Hartman has also reflected on the disappointment of being a Black person trying to return to a place that has not been touched by slavery. Her journey to Ghana to find home first reveals to her the difference between the Pan-Africanism of the continent and the Pan-Africanism of the diaspora.<sup>86</sup> Eventually, she identifies a connection through the stories of the stateless—those fugitives from slave raids who led their villages in search of free territory. Being at home in the world, according to the fugitive's dream, did not entail returning, owning, or belonging to a mythical homeland, but entailed that old identities sometimes had to be jettisoned in order to invent new ones. Your life might just

depend on this capacity for self-fashioning.



and collective action. Agents, individually or collectively, need not be autonomous in any ideal sense to do this, but the more effectively they are able to act from their social positions to dismantle structures of oppression and domination, and to dream new and less alienated ways of self-realization, the more structural freedom their agency will produce that will, in turn, enable them to develop more ideal non-dominated and non-alienated forms of subjectivity. As structures change, new norms and practices of politics will develop or become more visible, giving rise to new challenges that will engender further theoretical innovations about further structural changes. Different waves of feminism illustrate well how structural changes can produce new struggles for reconciliation when agents with new social identities interact in ways that precipitate new social conflicts. We can also evaluate the process of decolonization in this way, to help contextualize the normative significance of historical periods of decolonization, and also make sense of contemporary claims by Indigenous and other subjugated peoples that colonialism is not over.

But achieving reconciliation as non-alienation is not likely with agents as they are. In settler colonial contexts, the collective psychology of settler home ownership that entrenches anti-Indigenous institutions, norms, and practices will need to be relinquished for a new non-alienated politics to be born. In this sense, it is true that the regulative ideal of non-alienation may close off possibilities for some forms of interactional reconciliation; indeed, the ideal of non-alienation reveals just how irreconcilable things may be between contemporary agents, whose social positions and identities are firmly attached to settler colonial images of self and home. Whether it is at the ballot box, in party politics, state agencies, or social movements, in the school lunchroom, corporate boardroom, on the movie screen, in the realm of domestic labor, at the hockey rink or basketball court, in hospital wards, or the halls of academia, the struggles of agents to be at home in the world—and between and within agents over whose home it is, and what kind of home it is, including how much and what kinds of non-dominating and non-alienating spaces are available to different categories of persons and social groups in these worlds—constitute the political struggle for reconciliation. When that struggle is viewed as one that aims at

non-alienation, it can open space for alternative, transformed, and more emancipated dreams of reconciliation.

The stakes of the struggle are high. The problem of reconciliation is not only about how far such societies must go to repudiate their racist and genocidal past, but also, relatedly, what they (or we) must do to promote fundamental structural change, both domestically and globally, so that they/we can halt and prevent a racist and genocidal present and future. Reconciliation is a practical political necessity of all appropriative agents to claim the space they need to be able to live, indeed, to breathe. In this sense, the project of reconciliation is not one that can be voluntarily or easily given up by those who are oppressed and dominated in contemporary world politics. To give up on reconciliation, on the struggle to be at home in the world, would be to give up on life itself.<sup>91</sup>

## N

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1 Derek Chauvin was convicted in April 2021 of second-degree unintentional murder, third-degree murder, and manslaughter, and three other (former) police officers face charges. Police forces in the United States have killed approximately 1,100 people every year since 2013, according to the advocacy and research group, Mapping Police Violence. See Laurence Ralph, To Protect and to Serve: Global Lessons in Police Reform, *Foreign Affairs*, July 30, 2020. [www.foreignaffairs.com](http://www.foreignaffairs.com).

2 Take Action for Human Rights: Demand Justice for George Floyd, Amnesty International, [www.amnesty.org](http://www.amnesty.org).

3 It is estimated that 15–26 million people participated in protests in the weeks following Floyd’s killing. See Larry Buchanan, Quoc Trung Bui, and Jugal K. Patel, “Black Lives Matter May Be the Largest Movement in U.S. History,” *New York Times*, July 3, 2020. [www.nytimes.com](http://www.nytimes.com).

4 See, for example, the statement by UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Michelle Bachelet: “Madagascar/ Child Prostitution and Sex Tourism: For All to See,” in *Total Impunity*, Office of the High Commissioner, Human Rights, United Nations, July 26, 2013, [www.ohchr.org](http://www.ohchr.org).

5 Black Lives Matter is a grassroots decentralized global network that was founded in 2013 by Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors, and Opal Tometi, in response to the acquittal of George Zimmerman for the shooting death of Trayvon Martin in Sanford, Florida. See Herstory, Black Lives Matter, <https://blacklivesmatter.com>.

6 We have got to have reconciliation. This country has not reconciled its differences with us. We survived slavery but we didn’t reconcile.

original Healing Foundation. See The Indian Residential Schools Settlement Has Been Approved, Residential School Settlement, [www.residentialschoolsettlement.ca](http://www.residentialschoolsettlement.ca).

12 Calls to Action, Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2012, <https://ehprnh2mwo3.exactdn.com>.

13 2SLGBTQQIA in this context refers to Indigenous people who identify as Two-Spirit, transgender, lesbian, bisexual, queer, questioning, intersex, asexual, and/or gender diverse or non-binary. See Canada, *Reclaiming Power and Place: The Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls*, Vol. 1a (2019), 447.

14 On genocide, see *Reclaiming Power and Place*, Vol. 1a (2019), 50–54, and 355. On police reforms, see *Reclaiming Power and Place: The Final Report*, Vol. 1b (2019), 192. [www.mmiwg-ffada.ca](http://www.mmiwg-ffada.ca).

15 The Tk'emlps te Secw̓epemc First Nation, in British Columbia's Central Interior, announced in May 2021 that using ground-penetrating radar, it had uncovered 215 potential burial sites of children, located near the former Kamloops Indian Residential School. Weeks later, the Cowessess First Nation announced the discovery of 751 unmarked graves at a cemetery near the former Marieval Indian Residential School in Saskatchewan. Others have been located in Cranbrook, B.C. and Penelakut, B.C. On the work of Indigenous archaeologist Kisha Suprenant and her team, see CBC Radio, *The Current*, June 25, 2021. [www.cbc.ca](http://www.cbc.ca).

16 Murray Sinclair Calls for Inquiry into Residential School Burial Sites, More Support for Survivors, CBC Radio, *The Current*, June 2, 2021, [www.cbc.ca](http://www.cbc.ca).

17 Although there are continuing legal battles over the federal government's failure to provide equitable child and family services to Indigenous children, the Canadian government, the Assembly of First Nations, and the plaintiffs in two class action suits achieved a final settlement agreement in July 2022, the largest in Canadian history. It includes CAN \$20 billion for compensation, as well as CAN \$20 billion to reform the on-reserve child welfare system. <https://fncaringsociety.com>.

After a week-long penitential pilgrimage of reconciliation between the Catholic Church and Indigenous people in Canada in July 2022, Pope Francis concluded on his flight back to Rome that the residential school system and forced assimilation policies constituted genocide. See Ka nhehshí:io Deer, Pope Says Genocide Took Place at Canada's Residential Schools, CBC, July 30, 2022. [www.cbc.ca](http://www.cbc.ca). For an investigative report on the Catholic Church in Canada, see Tavia Grant and Tom Cardoso, The Catholic Church in Canada Is Worth Billions, a *Globe* Investigation Shows. Why Are Its Reparations for Residential Schools So Small? *The Globe and Mail*, August 7, 2021. [www.theglobeandmail.com](http://www.theglobeandmail.com).

18 Sheryl Lightfoot, Settler-State Apologies to Indigenous Peoples: A Normative Framework and Comparative Assessment, *Native American and Indigenous Studies* 2 (2015): 15–39 at 36.

19 Alberta RCMP Launch Reconciliation Strategy, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, June 19, 2020, [www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca](http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca).

20 Nicole Narea, Amid Calls for His Removal, Trump Says He'll Support the Transition to a New Administration, Vox, January 7, 2021, [www.vox.com](http://www.vox.com).

21 See Catherine Lu, *Justice and Reconciliation in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

22 Rahel Jaeggi,

the past. The achievement of reconciliation was associated with achieving national unity, the well-being of all citizens, and civic peace. See Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act 34 of 1995, Government of South Africa, [www.justice.gov.za](http://www.justice.gov.za).

27 Nikolay Kopolov, *Memory Laws, Memory Wars: The Politics of the Past in Europe and Russia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 10.

28 Barry Buzan and George Lawson, *The Global Transformation: History, Modernity and the Making of International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 124. See also Edward Keene, *Beyond the Anarchical Society: Grotius, Colonialism and Order in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

37 See Andrew Schaap, Reconciliation as Ideology and Politics, *Constellations* 15, 2 (2008): 249–264 at 249, for a similar Gramscian form of critique that does not view political ideas or concepts as intrinsically true or false, reactionary or radical, but as potentially emancipatory. See also Catherine Lu, Structural Injustice and Alienation: A Reply to My Critics, *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 23, 4 (2020): 441–452.

38 Lu, *Justice and Reconciliation*, 35, 118.

39 Lu, *Justice and Reconciliation*, 182–216.

40 See Michael O. Hardimon, The Project of Reconciliation: Hegel's Social Philosophy, *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 21, 2 (1992): 165–195.

41 According to Charles Taylor, a social imaginary entails the ways

47 Eric D. Weitz, From Vienna to the Paris System: International Politics and the Entangled Histories of Human Rights, Forced Deportations, and Civilizing Missions, *American Historical Review* 113, 5 (2008): 1313–1343 at 1328.

48 Adom Getachew, *Worldmaking after Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2019).

49 See Patrick Wolfe, Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native, *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, 4 (2006): 387–409.

50 In the United States, Congress in 1913 planned a monument to the departed race, to be built on Staten Island, New York. According to President William Howard Taft, the statue to commemorate the expected extinction of Indigenous people tells the story of the march of empire and the progress of Christian civilization to the uttermost limits. See Bruce Duthu, *American Indians and the Law* (New York: Penguin, 2008), xxiii.

51 Robert Nichols, Indigenous Peoples, Settler Colonialism, and Global Justice, in *Empire, Race and Global Justice* ed. Duncan Bell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 228–250 at 249.

52 See Catherine Lu, Decolonizing Borders, Self-Determination, and Global Justice, in *Empire, Race and Global Justice*, ed. Duncan Bell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 251–272 at 271.

53 Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (New York: Grove Press, 1952).

54 Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism* [1950] (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000), 42.

55 The final and worst psychological impact [of colonialism] has been the generation of a deep feeling of inferiority as well as the loss of a sense of human dignity among Africans. Both complexes were surely the outcome not only of the wholesale condemnation of everything African already referred to but, above all, of the practice of racial discrimination and the constant humiliation and oppression to which Africans were subjected throughout the colonial period. See A. Adu Boahen, *African Perspectives on Colonialism*



the place where we lived and we could not remember where we were from or who we were (p. 5).

59 Leanne Simpson, *Dancing on Our Turtle's Back: Stories of Nishnaabeg Re-Creation, Resurgence and a New Emergence* (Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring Publishing), 2011, 17.

60 Canadians are most likely to believe that Indigenous Peoples (77%), Black people (73%), and South Asians (75%) experience discrimination often or occasionally; by comparison, fewer although still a majority (54%) believe this is the case for Chinese people in Canada. Very few (5%) say that racialized Canadians never experience discrimination. Also, Majorities of Canadians who are Black (54%) or Indigenous (53%) have personally experienced discrimination due to race or ethnicity from time to time if not regularly. Such experience is also evident but less widely reported by those who are South Asian (38%), Chinese (36%), from other racialized groups (32%), or White (12%). Keith Neuman, Race Relations in Canada 2019 Survey, Environics Institute, December 10, 2019. The most significant change in the 2021 survey is an increased perception of racism against Chinese people (70%), likely prompted by reports of increased anti-Asian racism during the COVID-19 pandemic. [www.environicsinstitute.org](http://www.environicsinstitute.org).

61 Kathleen Harris, Canada Loses Its Bid for Seat on UN Security Council, CBC, June 17, 2020, [www.cbc.ca](http://www.cbc.ca).

62 Canadian Museum of Human Rights, Summary of the 2018-2019 to 2022-2023 Corporate Plan, <https://humanrights.ca>. Following a report that found pervasive and systemic racism in the operation of the museum itself, a change in leadership resulted in a changed mandate; see About, Canadian Museum of Human Rights, <https://humanrights.ca>.

63 For a brief history of the museum's changes on recognizing the Indian Residential School system as genocide, see David MacDonald, *The Sleeping Giant Awakens: Genocide, Indian Residential Schools, and the Challenge of Conciliation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019), 167-171.

64 Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, 206.

65 See my "The Right to Justification and the Good of Nonalienation," in *Justification and Emancipation*, 86.

66 Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*, 39.

67 See Simpson, *Dancing on Our Turtle's Back*, 17.

68 Audra Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014).

69 See Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*.

70 See Matt James, "The structural injustice turn, the historical injustice dilemma and assigning responsibility with the Canadian TRC Report," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 43 (2021): 374

71 Quoted in *The Nation*, January 2017. Sebastian Faber, 'Is Dutch Bad Boy Thierry Baudet the New Face of the European Alt-Right?', [www.thenation.com](http://www.thenation.com). According to Ben Margulies, the FvD unites the centre-right's favoured cultural identity and economic policies with far-right racism, authoritarianism and xenophobia in a single party. Margulies, 'Why Europe Should Worry about Thierry Baudet', *EUROPP—European Politics and Policy* / LSE Blog, April 24, 2019: <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk>.

72 Roger Scruton, 'Oikophobia', *Journal of Education* 175, 2 (1993): 93–98. It has also been instrumental in Scruton's endorsement of Brexit and criticisms of the European Union. See Roger Scruton, *England and the Need for Nations* (London: Civitas, Institute for the Study of Civil Society, 2006), 33–38.

73 Scruton, 'Oikophobia', 94.

74 Scruton, 'Oikophobia', 97.

75 Simon Keller, 'Patriotism as Bad Faith', *Ethics* 115 (2005): 563–592.

76 Scruton, 'Oikophobia', 96.

77 See Iris Marion Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 38.

78 Lorraine Hansberry was born in 1930, in Chicago, Illinois, and died of cancer in 1965. *Les Blancs* was incomplete before her death in 1965, and finalized posthumously. (n)10.16 (a.5) (r)t,(n)6 (a..1) (-)14.7 (e

89 See Wendell Nii Laryea Adjetey, *Cross-Border Cosmopolitans: The Making of a Pan-African North America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2023), chap. 2.

90 See Jennifer Einspahr, Structural Domination and Structural Freedom: A Feminist Perspective, *Feminist Review* 94, 1 (2010): 1–19.

91 For a poignant depiction of such a struggle for an Indigenous girl and her family, see Tracy Lindberg, *Birdie* (Toronto: Harper Collins, 2015).