

# INTERVENING IN AFRICA

## INTERROGATING INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS IN WEST AFRICA

An International Symposium and Workshop

March 30 & 31, 2007

J.W. Jones Room, Woodruff Library, Emory University

**I**nternational interventions in Africa's wars emphasize humanitarian objectives such as alleviating suffering, stopping violence, and promoting security, stability, and reconstruction. Yet these projects attract controversy concerning their motives, means, and actual results. Do humanitarian interventions reduce or ultimately exacerbate conflict? How should African cycles of violence be ameliorated and prevented? How can peace-keeping and state-building be more effective? What kinds of justice can be provided in post-conflict Africa?

This conference considers these questions for the highly volatile region of West Africa that includes Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea, and Ivory Coast. Our aim is to increase understanding of how interventions work and do not work, and how they may be improved.

### SCHEDULE

Friday, March 30

Welcome – 8:30am-9:00am

Panel I: Stopping the Violence – 9:00am-11:45am

Panel II: Rebuilding the State – 1:00pm-3:30pm

\*\*Roundtable: Siege of the City; Freetown and Monrovia – 4:00pm-6:00pm

Saturday, March 31

Panel III: Providing Justice – 9:00am-11:45am

\*\*Roundtable: Can we/should we improve intervention? – 1:00pm-3:00pm

Film Screening – "Liberia: Uncivil War" – 3:30pm-5:30pm

\*\*If you are interested in attending the Roundtable, please email [alinton@emory.edu](mailto:alinton@emory.edu)

#### VISITING SPEAKERS

**Ibrahim Abdullah**  
Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone

**Jeanette Carter**  
University of Liberia

**Karen Colvard**  
Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation

**Steven Del Rosso**  
Carnegie Corporation of New York

**Corinne Dufka**  
Human Rights Watch

**Lacey Gale**  
Tufts University

**Daniel J. Hoffman**  
University of Washington, Seattle

**Muctarr Jalloh**  
War Wounded Camp, Sierra Leone

**Timothy Kelsall**  
Newcastle University

**Vivek Maru**  
Human rights advocate

**Mike McGovern**  
Yale University

**Ambassador Joseph H. Melrose**  
Ursinus College

**William Reno**  
Northwestern University

**Denis Tull**  
German Institute for International Affairs and Security

**Fabrice Weissman**  
Médecins Sans Frontières Foundation

**Joe Wylie**  
Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy

**EMORY PARTICIPANTS**

**Abdullahi An-Na'im**  
School of Law

**Thomas Crick**  
The Carter Center

**INTRODUCTORY REMARKS**

**Bruce Knauff**  
ICIS & Anthropology

**Pamela Scully**  
Women's Studies & African Studies

**CONVENERS**

**Martha Carey**  
Institute of Liberal Arts

**Jean-Hervé Jezequel**  
History



An ICIS Conference



EMORY  
UNIVERSITY

SPONSORED BY: The Carnegie Corporation of New York as part of the ICIS "States at Risk" Program

CO-SPONSORED BY: The Lighttower Fund and The Institute of African Studies

• The symposium is free and open to the public •

## Intervening In Africa: Interrogating International Operations in West Africa March 30–31, 2007 J.W. Jones Room, Woodruff Library Emory University

Friday, March 30

**8:15am Breakfast**

**8:30am – 9:00am: Welcome and Opening Remarks**

**Bruce Knauff**, Executive Director, ICIS

**Pamela Scully**, Director, African Studies

**Jean-Hervé Jezequel**, African Studies & History

**Martha Carey**, Institute of the Liberal Arts

**9:00am – 11:45am**

**Panel I: Stopping the Violence**

Chair: Martha Carey

**Ibrahim Abdullah**, Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone:  
Agency + Structure = Violence: Provisional Notes on the  
Intervention Problematic in the Mano River Basin

**Corinne Dufka**, Human Rights Watch:  
Preventing New Atrocities Requires Ending the Cycle  
That Drives Regional Mercenaries

**Danny Hoffman**, University of Washington, Seattle:  
The Meaning of a Militia: Understanding the Civil  
Defense Forces of Sierra Leone

**Fabrice Weissman**, Médecins Sans Frontières  
Foundation: Humanitarian Action and Military  
Intervention: Temptations and Possibilities

Discussant:

**Ambassador Joseph H. Melrose**, United Nations and  
Ursinus College

**11:45am – 1:00pm Lunch Break**

**1:00pm – 3:30pm**

**Panel II: Rebuilding the State**

Chair: Bruce Knauft

**Lacey Gale**, Tufts University:

Negotiating "Home": Durable Solutions and Messy Realities for Sierra Leoneans in Guinea

**Jean-Hervé Jezequel**, Emory University:

The Fall of a 'Rogue State': Dominant narratives ... and their fragments

**William Reno**, Northwestern University:

Intervention as Accidental Revolution

**Denis Tull**, German Institute for International Affairs

and Security: State-Building and its Flawed

Assumptions: A Comparative Perspective

Discussant:

**Stephen del Rosso, Jr.**, Carnegie Corporation of New York

**3:30pm – 4:00pm Coffee Break**

**Saturday, March 31**

**8:45am Breakfast**

**9:00am – 11:45am**

**Panel III: Providing Justice**

Chair: Jean-Hervé Jezequel

**Tom Crick**, The Carter Center:

Justice in Rural Liberia: Finding the Right Message

**Tim Kelsall**, Newcastle University:

Culture Troubles: International Criminal Justice and the Special Court for Sierra Leone

**Vivek Maru**, Timap for Justice:

Timap [Stand up] With the Powerless: Reflections on an Experiment in Grassroots Justice Services

**Mike McGovern**, Yale University:

Proleptic Justice: The Threat of Investigation as a Deterrent to Human Rights Abuses in Côte d'Ivoire

Discussant:

**Abdullahi An-Na'im**, Emory University School of Law

**11:45am – 1:00pm Lunch Break**

**3:30pm – 5:30pm**

**Film Screening—“Liberia: Uncivil War”**

## **CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS**

### **Ibrahim Abdullah**

Ibrahim Abdullah studied African history at Ahmadu Bello University and Ibadan University in Nigeria; he later took a PhD in Social History at the University of Toronto, Canada. He has taught colonial/post colonial history at universities in Nigeria, Canada, the U.S., South Africa and Sierra Leone. His most recent publication is an edited volume, *Between Democracy and Terror: The Sierra Leone Civil War*. He is contributor and co-editor of a forthcoming volume: *Critical Reflections on State and Society in Post-Conflict Sierra Leone*, Uppsala University Press. He is Associate Professor of History and African studies, Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone.

### **Abdullahi An-Na'im**

Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im is Charles Howard Candler Professor of Law at Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia, USA. He holds an LLB (Honours) University of Khartoum, Sudan; 1970; LLB (Honours) and Diploma in Criminology, University of Cambridge, England, 1973; and PhD in Law, University of Edinburgh, Scotland, 1976.

Professor An-Na'im is the author of *African Constitutionalism and the Contingent Role of Islam* (2006); and *Toward an Islamic Reformation: Civil liberties, human rights and international law* (1990) (translated into Arabic, Indonesian, Russian and Farsi). His edited publications include *Human Rights under African Constitutions* (2003); *Islamic*

*Family Law in a Changing World: A Global Resource Book* (2002); *Cultural Transformation and Human Rights in Africa* (2002); *The Cultural Dimensions of Human Rights in the Arab World* (in Arabic, 1994); *Human Rights in Cross-Cultural Perspectives: Quest for consensus* (1992); *Human Rights in Africa: Cross-cultural perspectives*, with Francis M. Deng (1990). He has also published more than fifty articles and book chapters on human rights, constitutionalism, Islamic law and politics.

An-Na'im's current project, a book manuscript on the Future of Shari'a: Secularism from an Islamic Perspective, with translations in six languages of Islamic societies can be viewed at <http://www.law.emory.edu/fs/>. Previous projects, all funded by the Ford Foundation and implemented out of Emory Law School, include women's access to, and control over, land in seven African countries ([www.law.emory.edu/WAL](http://www.law.emory.edu/WAL)), a global study of the theory and practice of Islamic Family Law ([www.law.emory.edu/ifl](http://www.law.emory.edu/ifl)), and a fellowship program in Islam and Human Rights ([www.law.emory.edu/IHR](http://www.law.emory.edu/IHR)).

### **Martha Carey**

Martha Carey is currently pursuing a PhD in the Graduate Institute of the Liberal Arts, and a Masters at Rollins School of Public Health as a fellow with the Center for the Study of Health, Culture and Society at Emory University. Prior to entering graduate school, she worked for 10 years as an Emergency Coordinator with the humanitarian organization Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) and

served for three years as the Vice President on the M.S.F. Board of Directors in the United States.

Her research interests include violence, reconciliation, international interventions, and survival strategies in West Africa with a particular focus on Sierra Leone. Publications include, “Populations Affected by War in the Mano River Union: Issues of Protection” (2002), and more recently, “Survival is political: history, violence and the contemporary power struggle in Sierra Leone” in *States of violence: politics, youth and memory in contemporary Africa*.

### **Jeanette Carter**

Professor Jeanette Carter holds a PhD in anthropology from the University of Oregon. Her first involvement with Liberia was in the late 1960s when she did her dissertation research in Lofa County on changing household organization and the money economy. She has been involved with the University of Liberia since the early 1970s when she was a Fulbright Professor. She has participated in several research projects for USAID, including a baseline study of women’s roles and status and a study of management in the agricultural sector (with Professor Sawyer). During the years of conflict in Liberia, she worked in several capacities with international NGOs and the UN. She helped establish STAR Radio, an independent station, in 1997. She is now returning to the University of Liberia where she intends to conduct research on issues relevant to Liberian reconstruction and development.

### **Karen Colvard**

Karen Colvard is the Program Director of The Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation, a private foundation which funds scholarly research on violence and aggression. Her own special interests are in intergroup conflict, globalization, and feminist issues. In the past ten years, Ms. Colvard has also devoted special attention to attracting proposals from African social scientists to study problems of violence on that continent.

Educated at Bennington College, she was hired in 1978 as an assistant to the Research Directors of the Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation. She has worked for the foundation through several changes of administration as a Program Officer, Senior Program Officer, and now Program Director. In the meantime she returned to graduate school for an M.Phil. certificate in comparative literature from NYU.

In the course of her foundation work Ms. Colvard has contributed to books and journals on topics as disparate as family violence, terrorism, development and peacekeeping, and spanking. She co-edited (with Margaret C. Lee) a recent publication about the land crisis in Zimbabwe and the rest of southern Africa, *Unfinished Business* (Pretoria: Africa Institute of South Africa, 2003).

### **Thomas Crick**

Thomas Crick joined The Carter Center in 1994 following doctoral work at the London School of Economics and Emory University. He is currently

Senior Political Analyst and Assistant Director in the Conflict Resolution Program and directs the Center's activities in Liberia, including its current rural rule of law support project and election support and observation projects. Mr. Crick has contributed to numerous Carter Center conflict resolution and democratization projects including work in Ethiopia, the Great Lakes, Sudan, Uganda, Liberia, and Sierra Leone and in rural China. Mr. Crick holds a Bachelor's degree from Bristol University and a Master's degree from the Queen's University of Belfast. Mr. Crick lectures in political science and violence studies and is a licensed mediator.

#### **Steven J. Del Rosso, Jr.**

Stephen J. Del Rosso, Jr., Program Director, International Peace and Security, brings extensive policy, academic and philanthropic experience and understanding in international relations to Carnegie Corporation of New York as Director, International Peace and Security program.

Del Rosso previously served as director of programs for one of the country's largest and most active international affairs forums. He managed The Pew Charitable Trusts' "Global Security" grantmaking program for almost six years and coordinated the foundation's final efforts in Eastern and Central Europe. A former career diplomat, Del Rosso served nearly ten years in the Foreign Service with overseas assignments in Central America and the Caribbean during the height of U.S. engagement in the region in the mid-80's. In Washington, he served in the operations center and on the secretariat

staff of Secretary of State George P. Shultz, accompanying him on numerous overseas missions.

Del Rosso holds a Ph.D. in political science from the University of Pennsylvania, an M.A.L.D. from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, where he was an Earhart Fellow, a diploma in international studies from the Bologna Center of the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, and a B.A. in English from Tufts University.

He serves as chairman of the board of the Baltic-American Partnership Fund, an independent grantmaking foundation established by USAID and the Soros Foundation, and is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, International Institute for Strategic Studies, Human Rights Watch Europe and Central Asia Advisory Committee, and Foreign Policy Roundtable of the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs.

#### **Corinne Dufka**

Corinne Dufka is a senior researcher at Human Rights Watch and in charge of the organization's work on West Africa. From 1999 - 2004, she was based in Freetown, Sierra Leone, both as a researcher for Human Rights Watch and, in 2002 during a year's sabbatical, as a criminal investigator for the U.N.-backed Special Court for Sierra Leone. Prior to joining Human Rights Watch, Dufka worked as a photojournalist for the Reuters News Agency and from 1987 - 1999 covered conflicts in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Panama, Bosnia, Rwanda, Somalia, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Uganda and the Democratic Republic of Congo. Before

becoming a photojournalist, Dufka worked as a psychiatric social worker in San Francisco, Mexico and El Salvador. She received numerous awards for her work as a photojournalist including the *Robert Capa Gold Medal* from the Overseas Press Club and the *Courage in Journalism Award* from the International Women's Media Foundation. In 2004 she was named a MacArthur Fellow for her work documenting war crimes committed during Sierra Leone's brutal armed conflict.

### **Lacey Gale**

Lacey Andrews Gale is a researcher at the Feinstein International Center, Tufts University. Dr. Gale holds a Ph.D. from Brown University in Cultural Anthropology and Population Studies. She worked as a research consultant for the International Rescue Committee (IRC) while conducting ethnographic research in Guinea (2001, 2003) and directed "Returning Home, Sierra Leone," an IRC-funded photo-documentary on the process of camp closure in Guinea and the return to communities in Sierra Leone.

### **Daniel J. Hoffman**

Danny Hoffman is an Assistant Professor in the Anthropology Department at the University of Washington in Seattle. He received his PhD from Duke University in 2004. His research focuses on militia movements in Sierra Leone and Liberia, and he also has interest in visual anthropology and experimental ethnography. Danny has also worked as a photojournalist and is currently developing a project on representations of violence in Africa.

His publications include "Disagreement: Dissent Politics and the War in Sierra Leone," *Africa Today* (2006); "Violent Events as Narrative Blocs," *Anthropological Quarterly* (2005); and "The Civilian Target in Sierra Leone and Liberia: Political Power, Military Strategy, and Humanitarian Intervention," *African Affairs* (2003).

### **Muctarr Jalloh**

Muctarr Jalloh is the previous chairman of the War Wounded Camp located in Freetown, Sierra Leone. Home to some 378 people, Jalloh's responsibilities included working as a liaison between the camp residents, the local government, international representatives and non-governmental organizations. He has recently completed his BA in Sociology from Wagner College and is currently working at the Coney Island Hospital as a Case Worker in Behavioral Health.

### **Jean-Hervé Jezequel**

Jean Hervé Jezequel is currently Visiting Lecturer at Emory University. He defended his PhD in History at l'EHESS in Paris in 2002. He is a board member of *Politique africaine*, a French based journal of political science. He also collaborated with different NGOs in Liberia and Guinea including Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) and the International Crisis Group

His research interest includes humanitarian ideas and practices, violence, state formation, social history of colonial and postcolonial Africa with a specific focus on both French speaking Africa and

the Mano River Basin. He published several articles in *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines*, *Cahiers Afrique noire* and *Politique africaine* as well as different contributions in edited volumes in France and the United States.

### **Tim Kelsall**

Tim Kelsall was educated at Oxford and SOAS. He was Junior Lecturer in the History and Politics of Africa at Oxford between 1999 and 2000 before taking up a post at Newcastle University. His PhD (London 2000) was a study of governance and democracy in Tanzania, working from the village level upwards. Since then his research has broadened to a focus on cultures of accountability in Africa, from grassroots to international level. He has received grants from the British Academy and from the Arts and Humanities Research Council for a study of transitional justice in Sierra Leone, a project which has yielded articles in *Human Rights Quarterly*, the *Review of International Studies*, and the *Online Journal of Peace and Conflict Resolution*. He is joint editor of the influential scholarly journal, *African Affairs*, and the holder of visiting scholarships at the University of California Berkeley, and the East-West Center, Honolulu.

Kelsall's publications include "Truth, Lies, Ritual: Preliminary Reflections on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Sierra Leone." *Human Rights Quarterly* (2005); *Between a Rock and a Hard Place: African NGOs, Donors and the State*, (Co-edited) Carolina Academic Press (2005); and *Politics, Anti-Politics, International Justice: Notes on the Special Court for Sierra Leone* (2004).

### **Bruce M. Knauft**

Professor Knauft's research combines politico-economic and cultural analysis across different world areas. He is interested in issues of collective and individual subjectivity in relation to structures of social inequality and political domination or disempowerment, both historically and in the present. His current work includes consideration of comparative imperialism, neo-imperialism, and the contemporary cultural, political, and economic status of the U.S. vis-à-vis other nations and world areas. Dr. Knauft's publications have addressed issues of modernity and marginality, social and critical theory, politics and violence; and gender and sexuality.

Originally trained as an anthropologist of Melanesia (PhD U Michigan 1983), Dr. Knauft conducted two years of doctoral research among the Gebusi, a rainforest people of Papua New Guinea with whom he still maintains contact. His seven books include *The Gebusi: Lives Transformed in a Rainforest World* (McGraw-Hill, 2005); *Critically Modern: Alternatives, Alterities, Anthropologies* (Edited, Indiana University Press, 2002); *Exchanging the Past* (University of Chicago Press, 2002); and *Genealogies for the Present in Cultural Anthropology* (Routledge Press, 1996).

As Executive Director of ICIS, Dr. Knauft plans, administers, budgets, and orchestrates features of international and comparative study in Emory College, including the international seminar, fellowship, visiting scholar, and conference series; the College's world area studies programs; the

Emory College Language Center (ECLC); the Center for International Programs Abroad (CIPA); and international research and travel funding for faculty.

### **Vivek Maru**

Vivek Maru is co-founder and co-director of Timap for Justice, an experimental legal aid program in Sierra Leone. Timap has been recognized within and outside Sierra Leone for pioneering a creative, effective methodology for delivering justice services in the context of a failed state and a dualist legal system. He is also a co-supervisor of the Human Rights Clinic at Fourah Bay College, Freetown, and a fellow with the Open Society Justice Initiative. Maru previously worked at Human Rights Watch in the AIDS and Human Rights program. He clerked for Hon. Marsha Berzon on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit. He has also engaged in human rights and development work in India, Bangladesh, South Africa, and New Haven. His recent publications include *Between Law and Society: Paralegals and the Provision of Justice Services in Sierra Leone* in the Yale Journal of International Law, which describes the methodology of Timap for Justice. Maru graduated from Harvard College, *magna cum laude*, with an A.B. in Social Studies, and received his J.D. from Yale Law School.

### **Mike McGovern**

Mike McGovern (Ph.D., Emory 2004) is Assistant Professor of Anthropology at Yale University. He is a political anthropologist who works in West

Africa. He uses a variety of sources from kinship idioms to the aesthetics of state-sponsored folklore to try to understand postcolonial states within the arc of longer historical trajectories. He is completing a book on the dramaturgy, sociology, and political economy of the Ivorian civil war, entitled "Making War in Côte d'Ivoire." His PhD research focused on the Republic of Guinea, where his dissertation was an ethnography of Guinea's socialist and post-socialist states as they were experienced by a denigrated ethnic minority. After completing a B.A. at Columbia, M.St. at Oxford and Ph.D. at Emory, he worked from 2004-2006 as the West Africa Project Director of the International Crisis Group, a Brussels-based think tank that analyzes the causes of armed conflict. In that position he researched and wrote papers on the social reintegration of ex-combatant youths, post conflict reconstruction in Liberia and Sierra Leone, and American counterterrorism programs in the Sahel region.

### **Ambassador Joseph H. Melrose, Jr.**

Ambassador Joseph H. Melrose, Jr., retired from the U.S. Department of State, in 2002, after three decades in the Foreign Service, during which he worked in a variety of countries including Vietnam, Syria, Pakistan, Nigeria and Sierra Leone. After leaving Sierra Leone, where he had served as Ambassador from 1998-2001, he was Senior Consultant on Counterterrorism in the Office of the Secretary of State's Coordinator for Counterterrorism. In late 2006 he returned to the State Department to serve as a Senior Advisor to the

U.S. Delegation to the 61<sup>st</sup> United Nations General Assembly

### **William Reno**

Professor Reno is a specialist in African politics and the politics of “collapsing states.” His current work examines violent commercial organizations in Africa, the former Soviet Union, and the Balkans and their relationships to state power and global economic actors. Reno's research takes him to places such as Sierra Leone, Congo, and Central Asia where he talked to insurgents (including so-called “warlords”), government officials, and foreigners involved in these conflicts. His books include *Corruption and State Politics in Sierra Leone* (Cambridge, 1995) and *Warlord Politics and African States* (Lynne Rienner, 1998). He is completing the forthcoming volume, *The Evolution of Warfare in Independent Africa*.

### **Denis Tull**

Denis Tull received his PhD from the University of Hamburg. His dissertation, “The Reconfiguration of Political Order in Postcolonial Africa: A Case Study from North Kivu, DR Congo,” was published in 2005. He is currently a Researcher at the German Institute for International and Security in Affairs (Berlin), a non-partisan think tank sponsored by the German Federal Government. His areas of research include the politics of transformation in Africa, in particular in DR Congo, foreign interventions (state-building and peacekeeping) as well as Africa's international relations

### **Fabrice Weissman**

Fabrice Weissman is the Director of Research with the Médecins Sans Frontières Foundation in Paris, France. His work with MSF started in 1995 and has taken him to Liberia, Sierra Leone, South Sudan, Eastern Sudan, Kosovo, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Guinea-Conakry, and Darfur, where he was the Head of Mission from September of 2005 to June of 2006. He has published several articles and edited a volume of articles and essays entitled *In the Shadow of Just Wars*. Weissman holds a degree in International Studies from the Institute d'Etudes Politiques de Paris.