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Human Network in and around an Armed Group:

The Interwoven Thread of the Local, National, and Global Dimensions in the Kamajors of Sierra Leone

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Overview of the presentation

This presentation discusses <u>how human networks in and around an armed group are constructed</u> in the changing situations of the civil wars in Sierra Leone (1991-2002).

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Background:
Civil wars as Research Subjects

- Cultural/Social Anthropology engage in the studies of civil wars since the 1990s.
- On the other hand, the discipline for studying war are traditionally political science and international relations, because wars involve a state or international actors.
- Anthropologists engage in studies of war from the different perspective from them.

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Then, what is the role of anthropology

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Background:
Role of Anthropology in the Study of Civil Wars

Description (Ethnography of civil wars)

---Honwana 2005

Elucidating Socio/ Cultural Aspects of Civil Wars ---Ellis 1999, Richards 1996

Supplement and Enhance Macro Analysis by Micro perspective

---explanatory model by political science and international relations should be analyzed in micro-perspective.

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Role of Anthropology:
Supplement and Enhance Macro Analysis by Micro perspective

◆ Prominent scholars in civil wars and humanitarian emergencies are trained in anthropology.
       Ex.) David Keen (2008 [1994]), Alex de Waal (2005[1998])
    But, they do not call themselves anthropologists.
◆ This might be because their topic is in the realm of international relations and political science.
◆ However, their method are anthropological
      …..Field work, Pay attention to socio/ cultural aspect

→In this presentation, I try to reach deep understandings on the process of Sierra Leone War by developing theories of political science by micro-perspective-analysis.

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In this presentation, I present two explanatory theories by political scientists. Especially, on <u>human network</u>.
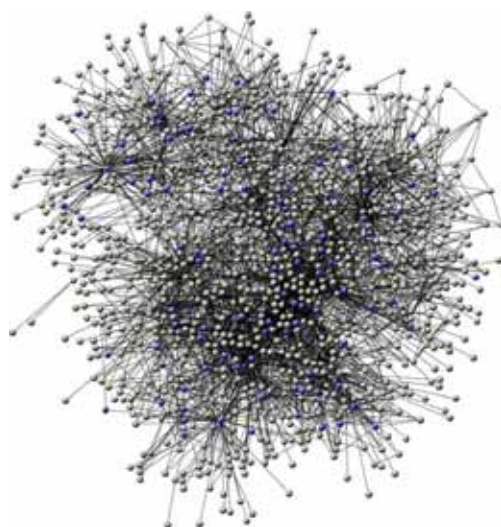
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Literature Review (1):
Rhizome Network by J-F Bayart(1993)

- According to Bayart, underground network of alliances and deals moulds the patterns of African politics and economies.
- In Africa, states are small. People easily can know each other. Not only elites but as well as ordinary people can establish human networks. In any chance, people connect each other…. kinship, school, office, bar friends …
- The web of human relations extends every direction. It might be vertical as well as horizontal. They extend beyond the constraint of institutions, organizations and classes. This network does not have either center or hierarchical nature.

According to Bayart, such web of human connection makes the state work. ==Rhizome Network

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Rhizome Network Image

http://viralcontagion.wordpress.com/2012/10/28/recent-talks-on-virality-part-one/

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Literature Review (2):
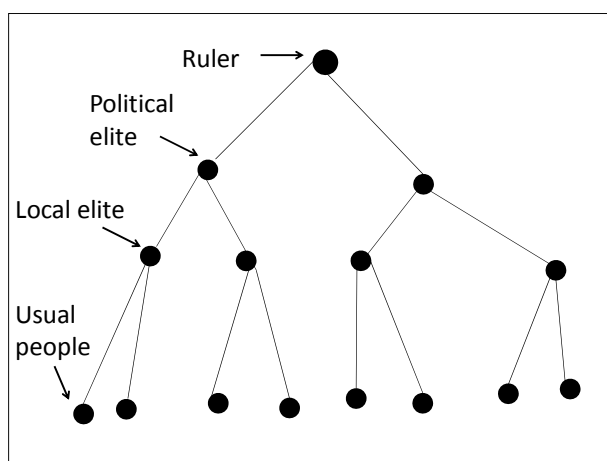## Patron-Client Network by Shin'ichi Takeuchi

- Discussion on rule of patronage are prevalent in studies of African politics.
    -----(Chabal and Daloz 1999; Lemarchand 1972 ; Medard 1982)
    S. Takeuchi (2007) explain civil wars by patronage politics.
- State ruler manage a state by distributing a reward to his followers (clients). He is the ultimate patron in the state.
- Patron-client relations are common as a social practice.
- Through the relation that someone's clients are someone's patron, network of patron-client relations pervade in the state. It include ordinary people. Rewards are distributed to clients to clients
- Through the reward distributing system, a state is ruled.

↓   ↓

Patron-client Network (PC Network)

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Image of Patron-client Network
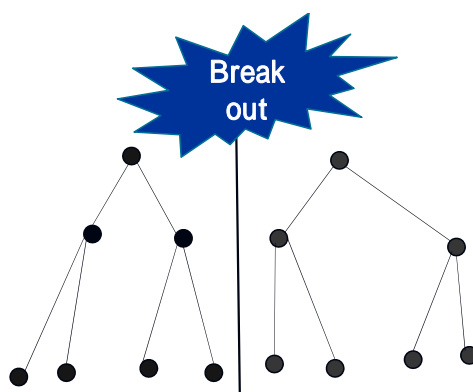

Ruler

Political elite

Local elite

Usual people

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Takeuchi's explanation on civil war: Split of PC Network

- According to Takeuchi, civil wars break outs because of split of the PC network.
- The resource competition among political elites escalate to armed violence if some events trigger.
- Mobilization of the following mass (or clients) by political elites develop to armed factions. ---when PC relations are constructed along with ethnic lines, the conflict would be 'ethnic' ones.

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Split of PC Network

Break out

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- Civil wars in Sierra Leone cannot explain by split of PC Network, because the rebel group, RUF (the Revolutionary United Front) originates from student radicals. They rebel from outside of the state PC network.
- However, in Sierra Leone, patron-client relation is social practice (Kandeh 1992; Ferme 2001; Murphy 2003; Peters 2004).

↓   ↓

- This presentation examine the pro-governmental militia, Kamajor/CDF.
- The local militia, Kamajors develop into pro-governmental militia, Civil Defense Force. In this process, national PC network penetrated the CDF is gradually constructed. This presentation argue how national level of patron-client network is constructed.

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What I emphasize are two points.

1. Specific persons are integrated to PC network from rhizome network.

2. PC network is fluid. Members are replaced, and forms of networks is keep changing. But, PC network itself keep exist.

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Sierra Leone

Source
http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-14094194
http://geography.howstuffworks.com/africa/geography-of-sierra-leone.htm

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Kamajor/CDF 1

- ◆ The civil war in Sierra Leone begins in 1991 with the incursion of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF). The war ends in 2002.

- ◆ Kamajor is local militia of Mende people for defending communities from the RUF. Kamajor are organized in each communities lead by local chiefs and elders.

- ◆ As they are originally community-defense militia, Kamajor had not have central commanding structure.
    - Some Kamajors are mobilized by the national army for counter-insurgency operation.
    - Some Kamajors are against national army for their harassment toward ordinary people.
    - Some Kamajors integrate themselves with neighboring chiefdoms for further strength.

    Community-based militias operate respectively.

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Kamajor/CDF 2

◆ The government of President Ahmad Tejan Kabba
(Thereafter 'Kabba regime') use Kamajor for pro-
governmental militia. The Kabba regime provide
military assistance to Kamajors.

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They gradually integrated into pro-governmental force
under the Kabba regime, Civil Defense Force(CDF). The
catalyst of integration is the coup in May 1997.

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The period of Analysis:
May1997 to March 1998

- In May 1997, a coup break out. Sierra Leone people call this coup "May 25". Army try to finish the civil war and try to get legitimacy by sharing power with RUF (the alliance is called 'Junta').

- But, war does not ends. Kamajors begin fight for reinstating the Kabba regime. International society support them. Especially, Nigerian force provide military assistance to Kamajor.
    - →It makes Kamajors pro-Kabba militia
- In this period, civil wars are Army/RUF alliance (Junta) versus Kamajor and Kabba regime.

                    ↓   ↓

How Kamajor are gradually integrated under the cause of reinstating the Kabba regime and recovering democracy?

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The period of Analysis:
May1997 to March 1998

- The coup cause alliance change.

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- Story begins from one of the Kamajor groups.

- Before the coup, this group operate counter-insurgency operation along with the national army in border area. After the coup, they gather in Sierra Leone-Liberia border town, Gendema. We call them 'Gendema Kamajor'

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Gendema   December 2010

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♦ **What Gendema Kamajor do are as follows.**

1. Acquire Mlitary Assistance from Nigerian army.
   Nigerian army bomb the Junta in Sierra Leone as well as stationing in Liberia for peace keepers.
2. Bring a symbolic leader of Kamajor, Chief Norman, to Liberia, for their legitimacy.
   Norman is one of cabinet members in Kabba regime as well as a leading figure of one of Kamajor groups. His assistance to other Kamajor groups as well as his status makes him symbolic leader of Kamajor.
3. Mobilizing Sierra Leonean in Liberia for their support.

4. Mobilizing Liberian combatants
   They are just disbanded after the first Liberian Civil War (1989-1996)

→In achieving these attainments, PC network is constructed up from rhizome network. This presentation follow the process. By describing the roles of key figures I show the construction of the PC Network.

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Figure 1. Eddie Massalley: Try to be Higher mid-level Patron

♦ A leader (patron) of Gendema Kamajor. He obtain more favorable status than other groups of Kamajors by gaining military assistance from Nigeria and setting Chief Norman, their leader.

♦ The pro-Kabba force are begun to be organized by setting Gendema Kamajor as main force.

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- After the coup, Eddie and his colleagues in Gendema Kamajor contact to Nigerian army in Liberia and gain the military assistance.
- They also request Nigeria to bring Chief Norman for legitimatizing their fight for reinstating the Kabba government.
- Gendema Kamajor become spearhead of fight against Junta. Gendema Kamajor absorb volunteers coming to Gendema and get bigger and bigger.
- In addition, Gendema Kamajor works for rear base of Kamajors. Various groups of Kamajor come to Gendema for receiving military assistance.
- Eddie become higher patron, by using Chief Norman's legitimacy and Nigerian assistance (Reward to distribute)

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Figure 2. Chief Norman (Samuel Hinga Norman) Embezzling Nigerian assistance from Eddie

Source http://www.worldpress.org/images/20070312-sierra-leone.jpg

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- He is the ultimate patron in the Kamajor/CDF.

- Once he lost the reward to distribute to his clients (Kamajors) because of the coup, but call from Eddie save his political life. He can distribute military assistance from Nigeria under his name.

- Once he and Eddie's relation go bad, he move inland and use Kamajors there as his followers.

- Nigerian army have no choice but follow him because of his influence to groups of Kmajoars scattered in Sierra Leone. Nigerian army began to tranport military assistance by helicopter from Liberian capital.

- Eddie and Gendema Kamajor lost their status of distibuter of resources and of Norman's direct followers.

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Figure 3. Mr. Mohamed.
Civilians who organize Sierra Leonean in Liberia. A Key person in Rhizome Network.

- Mr. Mohamed is car dealer in Liberia. He is strong supporter of the Kabba's party. Norman and he is old friends because both of them move to Liberia for avoiding oppression toward the party.

- He organize Sierra Leoneans in Libiera and establish supporting institution of Kamajor. They request Sierra Leone diasporas in US for fundraising and provide Kamajors what Negirian army does not provide. ---Car, Wakley takley

- Some of members (A NGO manager in Libiera and a staff of the car dealer) gain the favor of Norman. When Norman move to inland base, they are taken to the base (In inland, personnel who can manage administrative work is limited). Then, they take control of administrative sections of Kamajor/ CDF until disbanded. Through the rhizome network, they are subsumed into PC network of Kamajor/CDF.

→Mr. Mohamed is a key figure in the rhizome network who develop the PC network of the Kamajor/CDF/

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Figure 4. Sparo (Alias) (Mohamed's Sun) Extend the PC network to Liberians

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- Sparo join to Gendema Kamajor, after the underground operation of his father's institution.

- He lead around 100 Liberian combatants who are mobilized through his connection with Liberian armed faction. He was a combatant there in a limited time. Liberian soldiers are only answerable to him. They do not respect Chief Norman. Sparo's force is called 'special force' which is differently structured from ordinary Kamajors.

- On the other hand, he is from the family of chief. His linage is respected as Chiefs. Therefore, it is reasonable for him to be a higher rank of commander. (The position in commanding structure is based on social status rather than military roles)

- Because of well-skilled Liberian combatants, Kamajors are attracted. A lot of volunteers join to

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- Liberian combatants are well-skilled, compared with Kamajors. Most of Kamajors are just arrive from rural communities. They arm themselves with cutlasses and single-bullet guns for hunting. Liberian have vast experience of military operation.

- Liberian trains Kamajors on use of fire arms and guerilla tactics.

- 'Special forces' absorbs many Kamajors who want to join. Kamajors can change his patron (commander). Special Force's strength enhance the possibility of survive as well as better access to arms and foods.

- Sparo become higher and higher as mid-level patron.

- Sparo's experience tells two points;
  (1) Change in OC network.
  (2) Extension of PC network beyond a border

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Conclusion 1

- This paper discusses how human networks in and around Kamajor/CDF are constructed in the changing situations of the civil wars in Sierra Leone. The scene in which PC network emerges from rhizome network is observed.
- Political science draw an explanatory model. These model would be adequate if you look with bird's-eye. But, if you look at closely, various dimensions appear.
- This presentation demonstrates the multi-dimensionality of civil wars. It include the dimensions of local, international, national, transnational.

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Conclusion 2

- This presentation only briefly look at the network. If you look closely, other dimension also can be observed. Witchdoctors, politics in chiefdoms, and colonial inheritance in people's lives are also can be seen from Kamajor/CDF.

- I cannot tell these dimensions, because time is limited. I do not have time to explain the historical and ethnographical background of Mende people. I expect to have another opportunities to discuss these issues.

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