

Organizers





Partners



INSTITUT D'ÉTUDES AVANCÉES DE PARIS

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Extreme violence investigate, rescue, judge Syria | Rwanda | RDC

This conference has a dual purpose.

The first aim is to study the approaches and practices of social scientists, humanitarian practitioners, and defenders of human rights in time of war, genocide, and mass crimes. It is rare for these three categories of actors to join together in exploring the assumptions that govern their work. In certain situations, they may intervene simultaneously in pursuit of common objectives in a spirit of cooperation and collegiality, but they may also vigorously assert their own particular approaches. The conference aims to examine cases which highlight and build on this heterogeneity while at the same time emphasizing the value of cooperation. Based on their experiences in Syria, Rwanda, and the Democratic Republic of Congo, participants will address one or more of the following themes: local determinants of mass killings; relief methodologies and their impacts; the actions of United Nations' multilateral agencies and of international criminal justice and national judicial institutions; and the engagement of human rights organizations.

The second aim is carry out a collective reflection, in the form of a round table, on the growing challenge of judicialization (recourse to the courts) that creates constraints and dangers for everyone - researchers, humanitarian actors, and human rights defenders working on the problem of mass crimes. The conference takes up this question in a particular historical context. On the one hand, humanitarian researchers and practitioners are regularly invited into public debates concerning acts of violence that they have witnessed or investigated. On the other, they are frequently called or forced by the judicial apparatus to testify about what they know. The possibility that they might be obliged to provide access to sources, informants, and testimonies creates situations of legal conflict, testing the professional secrecy by which researchers and practicioners consider themselves to be bound, particularly when such access may endanger witnesses and humanitarian staff members.



Wednesday, March 20th 2019

PM 2:00 Opening

| Michel Wieviorka, Director of studies EHESS, Chairman of the Fondation Maison des sciences de l'homme (FMSH)

2:15 Introduction

| Jean-Hervé Bradol, physician, Director of studies at Crash, MSF

| Laëtitia Atlani-Duault, Research Professor at CEPED (IRD, INSERM, Paris V University) and Director of the Collège d'études mondiales, FMSH

Syria

Moderator: Fabrice Weissman, Director of studies at Crash, MSF

2:40 Investigating in War-Torn Syria

| Gilles Dorronsoro, Professor of Political Sciences at University Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne

Adam Baczko and Arthur Quesnay, post-doctoral fellows at University Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, ERC project "Social Dynamics of Civil Wars"

3:40 Humanitarian practices on the ground in the face of the Syrian conflict

| Hakim Khaldi, Researcher, MSF

4:10 Targeting health infrastructure in Syria: a military tactic or a collateral damage?

Abdulkarim Ekzayez, physician, Research fellow at Research for Health in Conflict (R4HC), King's College

4:40 Danger, advocacy and accuracy: witnessing by local medical humanitarian organisations in the Syrian conflict

Sophie Roborgh, Research fellow at Humanitarian and Conflict Response Institute, University of Manchester

5:10 Discussion

Thursday, March 21st, 2019

AM 9:00 **Rwanda**

Moderator: Nicolas Mariot, Research director at the CNRS

9:15 Day opening

| Claudine Vidal, Emeritus Research director at the CNRS, member of the scientific council of Crash, MSF

9:30 Experience as a witness who survived genocide and as a witness of witnesses since

| Pacifique Kabalisa, President of the Centre pour la prévention des crimes contre l'humanité (CPCH)

10:00 **Twenty years after** *Leave None to Tell the Story* **: what do we now know about the Rwandan genocide?**

| Timothy Longman, Professor of Political Sciences, Boston University

10:30 The limits of the Genocide Label

Scott Straus, Professor of Political Sciences, University of Wisconsin-Madison

11:00 Discussion

Break -

ΡM

1:30 Lee Ann Fujii's investigations in Rwanda

| Claudine Vidal, Emeritus Research director at the CNRS, member of the scientific council of Crash, MSF

2:00 Winning the battle of ideas: extremist vs moderates ideologies in Rwanda's Genocide

Omar McDoom, Assistant Professor at the London School of Economics and Political Sciences

PM 2:45 Inside Rwanda's Gacaca Courts. Seeking Justice after Genocide

| Bert Ingelaere, Assistant Professor at the University of Antwerp

3:15 Judicial proceedings brought by national courts outside Rwanda against Rwandan nationals

André Guichaoua, Professor of Sociology at University Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne

3:45 Synthesis

| Nicolas Mariot, Research director at the CNRS

4:15 Discussion

6:30 Cocktail

at Médecins Sans Frontières headquarters, 8 rue saint Sabin, Paris 11

Friday, March 22nd, 2019

AM 9:00 Democratic Republic of Congo

Moderator: Yann Mens, journalist, MSF board member

9:30 Investigating for the United Nations Security Council

| Emilie Serralta, Independent Consultant

10:00 The careers of Bosco Ntaganda, a man of war: from Rwanda to the International Criminal Court (1990-2018)

| Marc Le Pape, sociologist, CNRS, member of the scientific council of Crash, MSF

10:45 Understanding violence against civilians by armed actors in eastern DRC: types, modalities and logics

| Judith Verweijen, Lecturer, University of Sussex

AM 11:15 Negotiations for humanitarian access in North Kivu: everyday dilemmas, tensions and compromises in a context of cyclical violence

| Myfanwy James, PhD student, University of Oxford

11:45 **Producing a journalistic discourse on war: a Congolese experience**

| Justine Brabant, journalist and independent researcher

12:15 Discussion

— Break —

PM2:30Round table: investigate, rescue, judgeResearchers and humanitarian actors in context of genocide
and mass crime facing the growing challenge of judicialization

| Introduction: Laëtitia Atlani-Duault, Research Professor at CEPED (IRD, INSERM, Paris V University) and Director of the Collège d'études mondiales, FMSH

Moderators: Audrey Ceschia, Lancet Public Health *editor-in-chief*, *and Laëtitia Atlani-Duault*

| Bruno Cotte, Honorary President of the Criminal Division of the Cour de Cassation (French supreme court of appeal), former President of the Trial Chamber of the International Criminal Court

Catherine Marchi-Uhel, Head of UN International, Impartial and Independent Mechanism on international law violation in Syria

| Rony Brauman, physician, Director of studies at Crash, MSF

Rudi Coninx, Director of Humanitarian Policy & Guidance Unit, Emergency Operations Department, at World Health Organization

4:30 Conclusion of the Conference

| Jean-Pierre Dozon, Director of studies EHESS, FMSH vice-president



Laëtitia Atlani-Duault

Research Professor at CEPED, Director of the Collège d'études mondiales, FMSH and co-director of the FMSH Research department

Round table: investigate, rescue, judge

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Biography

Laëtitia Atlani-Duault is a French social anthropologist. She is a Research Professor at IRD - CEPED (Sorbonne Paris Cité University, Paris V René Descartes), and is the current Director of the Collège d'Études Mondiales at the Fondation Maison des sciences de l'homme (FMSH) in Paris, France.

She is a recipient of a prestigious award for excellence in research ('Médaille du CNRS') awarded by France's National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS) for her contribution to social anthropology. Herwork uses theories and methods from social anthropology to establish a critical analysis of the practice of humanitarian aid on both the local and international levels. She focuses particularly on the United Nations and its agencies in shaping humanitarian aid policies and practices. She also publishes on diverse subjects such as global health policy, the relationship between social scientists and the law, the spread of racist rumors on the Internet, and the history of French "humanitarian international state verticalism".

Adam Baczko

Post-doctoral fellow at University Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, ERC project "Social Dynamics of Civil Wars"

Investigating in War-Torn Syria



Summary

Based on several stays in Syria, this presentation reports on the research practices of Adam Baczko, Gilles Dorronsoro and Arthur Quesnay, in particular concerning civil and judicial institutions in territories outside the regime's control. It answers several questions: how is research conducted in a situation of armed conflict? How reliable is the data? How to protect respondents? What questions enable to account for social processes?

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- Adam Baczko, "Legal Rule and Tribal Politics: The US Army and the Taliban in Afghanistan (2001–13)", *Development and Change*, vol. 47, n°6, 2016, p. 1412-1433
- Adam Baczko, Gilles Dorronsoro & Arthur Quesnay, "Le capital social révolutionnaire. L'exemple de la Syrie entre 2011 et 2014", *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, n° 211, 2016, p. 24-35
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Biography

Adam Baczko is a post-doctoral research fellow in Political Science at Pantheon Sorbonne University. He has researched comparatively the exercise of justice by armed groups and its political implications, with a particular focus on Afghanistan. He carried out fieldwork in Afghanistan, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Iraq and Syria. Prior joining the ERC Social Dynamics of Civil Wars Program, he was a Trajectories of Change Fellow at the Zeit-Stifnung in Hamburg, a Junior Visiting Fellow at the IWM (Institute for Human Science, Vienna) and an Order, Conflict and Violence Fellow at Yale University.

Justine Brabant

Journalist and independent researcher

Producing a journalistic discourse on war: a Congolese experience



Summary

In times of war, journalism is at the crossroads of humanitarian, academic and judicial fields. This is both because journalists are imbued with the discourses and representations of conflict produced by humanitarian aid workers, researchers and lawyers, and - conversely - because the media's view of their work (real or supposed) influences the practices of these three categories of professionals in return. In the case of the DRC, due to logistical difficulties of access to North and South Kivu as well as the Congolese administrations' weakness in producing reliable knowledge (particularly in terms of mapping and demography), journalists' dependence on humanitarian aid workers is particularly pronounced. The idea that the Kivu wars would be a conflict "forgotten" by the media and diplomats, and the desire regularly expressed by medical and human rights NGOs to correct this supposed omission, also make the opposite true. This paper will aim, by examining in detail several situations of interaction between the author (as a journalist) and humanitarian workers in or regarding the Congolese territory, to draw some lessons regarding the conditions for "successful" cooperation.

Biography

Justine Brabant is a graduate of the Masters programme in African Studies from the University of Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne. She is a journalist and independent researcher. She regularly works on the subject of armed groups in eastern DRC.

- Justine Brabant, *"Qu'on nous laisse combattre et la guerre finira". Avec les combattants du Kivu*, Paris, La Découverte, 2016
- Justine Brabant, Leïla Minano, Anne-Laure Pineau, *Impunité zéro. Violences sexuelles en temps de guerre : l'enquête*, Paris, Autrement, 2017
- Justine Brabant, Lucha. *Chronique d'une révolution sans armes au Congo*, Saint Avertin, La boîte à bulles, 2018

Jean-Hervé Bradol

Director of studies at Crash, MSF

Introduction



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- Jean-Hervé Bradol & Marc Le Pape, *Génocide et crimes de masse.* L'expérience rwandaise de MSF 1982-1997, Paris, CNRS Edition, 2017

Biography

Jean-Hervé Bradol is a physician tropical medicine, specialized in emergency medicine, and epidemiology. In 1989 he went on his first mission with Médecins sans Frontières, and undertook long-term missions in Uganda, Somalia and Thailand. He returned to the Paris headquarters in 1994 as a program director. Between 1996 and 1998, he served as the director of communications, and later as director of operations. From May 2000 to June 2008 he was president of the French section of Médecins sans Frontières, as well as a member of the International Council of MSF and the Board of MSF USA.

Rony Brauman

Director of studies at Crash, MSF

Round table: investigate, rescue, judge

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- Rony Brauman, *Guerre humanitaires ? Mensonges et Intox*, Paris, Textuel, 2018

Biography

As a physician with degrees in tropical medicine and epidemiology, Ronv Brauman has been involved in humanitarian action since 1977. He has carried out numerous missions, mostly in the context of population displacements and armed conflicts. President of Médecins Sans Frontières from 1982 to 1994, he teaches at the Humanitarian and Conflict Response Institute (HCRI) at the University of Manchester, and is a columnist at Alternatives Economiques.

Audrey Ceschia

Editor-in-Chief of The Lancet Public Health

Round table: investigate, rescue, judge



Biography

Audrey Ceschia is the Editor-in-Chief of *The Lancet Public Health*. She joined *The Lancet* journals, as a Senior Editor in 2008. Audrey Ceschia has a broad interest in public health, health policy, and current affairs. She has worked on a wide variety of health topics, with a broad global health perspective.

Rudi Coninx

Head of the Humanitarian Policy & Guidance unit, Emergency Operations Department, WHO Health Emergencies Programme (WHE)

Round table: investigate, rescue, judge

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- Rudi Coninx, "The role of the World Health Organization (WHO) in protecting the medical mission", *Politorbis*, n°65, 1, 2018.
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Biography

Dr Rudi Coninx leads the unit that defines policy guidance and support for operations in disasters and emergencies, offers technical expertise and guidance, coordinates with interagency bodies such as the IASC (Inter-Agency Standing Committee) and translates policy into practice. He is in charge of the WHO initiative to stop Attacks on Health Care Workers.

Physician from Belgium, Dr Coninx graduated from the University of Leuven (Belgium) in 1982. He holds a Master's degree in Public Health from the Johns Hopkins School of Public Health in Baltimore and a Diploma in Tropical Medicine from the Institute of Tropical Medicine in Antwerp.

Dr Coninx has worked extensively in humanitarian emergencies since 1983, with MSF on missions in Afghanistan, Bangladesh and Thailand, with the United Nations Border Relief Operation (UNBRO) as health coordinator at the Thai-Cambodian border. with WHO in Pakistan and Afghanistan during Operation Salam, and with the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in the field as health coordinator in Sudan, Ethiopia, Mexico (Chiapas), Mozambigue, Sri Lanka and Myanmar, as well as with the ICRC in Geneva as technical advisor for public health programs, as H.E.L.P. course coordinator, as focal point for ICRC tuberculosis control programs in prisons and as health focal point for ICRC health programs in Africa.

He joined WHO in Geneva in 2008 and has been working in the department responsible for humanitarian emergencies since then.

Bruno Cotte

Honorary President of the Criminal Division of the Cour de Cassation

Round table: investigate, rescue, judge



Biography

Bruno Cotte is Honorary President of the Criminal Division of the Cour de Cassation (French supreme court of appeal) and member of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences. He was President of the Trial Chamber of the International Criminal Court. From 2008 to 2014, he was Presiding Judge in an ICC Trial Chamber hearing of the cases of two persons accused of war crimes and crimes against humanity in Ituri province in north-east Democratic Republic of Congo.

Gilles Dorronsoro

Professor of Political Sciences at University Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne Investigating in War-Torn Syria



Summary

Based on several stays in Syria, this presentation reports on the research practices of Adam Baczko, Gilles Dorronsoro and Arthur Quesnay, in particular concerning civil and judicial institutions in territories outside the regime's control. It answers several questions: how is research conducted in a situation of armed conflict? How reliable is the data? How to protect respondents? What questions enable to account for social processes?

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Biography

Gilles Dorronsoro is Professor of Political Science at Pantheon Sorbonne University and Senior fellow at the Institut Universitaire de France. Using a sociological approach, he has researched civil wars throughout his career, making significant contributions through his books on Afghanistan, Turkey and Syria and through the establishment of two journals, the South Asian Multidisciplinary Academic Journal and the European Journal of Turkish Studies. Previously, he coordinated a research program of twenty researchers to rethink the sectarian conflicts via the concept of identity capital (2006-2009) and also was a Resident Scholar at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (2009-2012).

Jean-Pierre Dozon

Director of studies EHESS, FMSH vice-president *Conclusion*



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Biography

Jean-Pierre Dozon, anthropologist, is Emeritus Director of Research at the Institut de Recherche pour le Développement (IRD) and Director of Studies at the EHESS. His books included La cause des prophètes. Politique et religion en Afrique contemporaine, Le Seuil, 1995, Frères et Sujets. La France et l'Afrique en perspective, Flammarion, 2003, L'Afrique à Dieu et à Diable. Ethnies, Etats et religions, Ellipses, 2008, Afrique en présences. Du monde atlantique à la globalisation néo-libérale, Editions de la MSH, 2015, La vérité est ailleurs. Complots et sorcellerie, Editions de la MSH, 2017. He is also Vice-President of the Fondation Maison des sciences de l'homme (FMSH).

Abdulkarim Ekzayez

Physician, Research fellow at Research for Health in Conflict(R4HC), King's College *Targeting health infrastructure in Syria: a military tactic or a collateral damage?*

Summary

The eight years of the continuous conflict in Syria has witnessed a lot of atrocities against civilians, some of which amount to war crimes. Most of the conflict parties have committed such atrocities but the Syrian regime and its allies remain on the top of the list of perpetrators.

According to the Syrian Centre for Policy Research, more than half million Syrians were killed as of February 2016 with more than 13 million displaced either inside the country, in neighbouring countries or elsewhere. Moreover, civilians' infrastructures, including health ones, have been severely affected resulting in interrupted services and more suffering. More than 550 attacks on health facilities have been committed and about 891 medical staff were killed as of December 2018 according to Physicians for Human Rights. Other civilians' infrastructure that were frequently attacked include bakeries, schools, water sources and fuel markets.

Looking at patterns of these atrocities, timing of occurrence, and its consequences could allow us to draw some conclusions about motivations behind it. Abdulkarim Ekzayez will argue, there were military and strategic motivations behind the attacks committed by the Syrian regime and its allies. Some of these motivations are related to military gains and imposing submission and surrender; whereas others are linked to long-term goals such as forced displacement and demographic engineering.

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- Abdulkarim Ekzayez & Rachel Thompson, "Assad Has Learned That Chemical Attacks Are a Tactic That Works", *Chatham House*, 13 April 2018



Biography

Dr Abdulkarim Ekzayez is a Syrian medical doctor and epidemiologist. He received his MD from Aleppo University and MSc from the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine (LSHTM). In 2013, Dr Ekzayez was training to be a neurosurgeon when his residency was interrupted by the Syrian war as he moved to field hospitals where he provided hundreds of surgeries. He joined Save the Children in North West Syria, leading the health response until 2017. In this period, he contributed to building the health system in opposition controlled areas and to specific responses such as the Polio outbreak response.

Currently, Dr Ekzayez is working as a Research Associate at the war studies department at King's College London where he is doing his PhD in health systems in conflict settings. He is also involved in research and projects at London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, Chatham House, American University of Beirut and other Academic and policy institutes. Also, he is an active contributor to several medical and civil society institutions in Syria, and is a board member of three NGOs; Shafak Syria, Eye to the Future, and Refugee Trauma Initiative.

André Guichaoua

Professor of Sociology at University Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne

Judicial proceedings brought by national courts outside Rwanda against Rwandan nationals

Summary

The aim is to establish an inventory of these legal proceedings which are hardly documented beyond a few exemplary trials. The aim is to better understand the criminal prosecution policies followed by the Rwandan and foreign prosecutors' offices and their evolution: continents/countries; staff concerned and profiles of targeted persons; judicial cooperation; number of cases arriving in court and percentage of dropouts; and, in the case of national trials, methods of conducting investigations, duration of proceedings, and sentences imposed.

This will make it possible to distinguish:

- trials organised following an inquest and leading to acquittals or convictions, including those followed by extradition;
- extradition procedures arising from judicial cooperation agreements signed with Rwanda (e.g. with Germany), decisions of national courts following requests from the Prosecutor General's Office of Rwanda or complaints lodged on behalf of victims;
- procedures for the refoulement, refusal or annulment of asylum claims by administrative tribunals.

Finally, on the basis of this overview and the speaker's experience, a comparative analysis of the conduct of judicial information by country and time will be discussed.

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- André Guichaoua, From War to Genocide. Criminal Politics in Rwanda, 1990–1994, Madison The University of Wisconsin Press, 2017



Biography

André Guichaoua is Professor of Sociology, University of Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, Institute for the Study of Economic and Social Development, expert witness before international and national criminal tribunals (Rwanda and African Great Lakes region).

Bert Ingelaere

Assistant Professor at the University of Antwerp Inside Rwanda's Gacaca Courts. Seeking Justice after Genocide



Summary

After the 1994 genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda, victims, perpetrators, and the country as a whole struggled to deal with the legacy of the mass violence. Neighbor had attacked neighbor, and once the killing was over, genocide survivors often lived near those who had murdered their family members or friends. Rwanda's government attempted to deal with this situation by creating a new version of a traditional grassroots justice system called gacaca. This presentation, based on Bert Ingelaere's book on the topic, examines what the gacaca courts set out to do, how they worked, what they achieved, what they did not achieve, and how they affected Rwandan society. Based on extensive ethnographic fieldwork in the Rwandan countryside, he relies on vivid firsthand recollections, interviews, and trial testimony from victims and perpetrators, witnesses and lay judges alike. The findings demonstrate how this grassroots process got rerouted under the weight of the Rwandan state and through the pragmatism of the Rwandan peasantry. By providing rich evidence from the Rwandan grassroots, the aim is to articulate how popular conceptions of what is true and just matter and how localized transitional justice processes change over time and vary in space. It also shows what - at the grassroots and beyond - is at stake for next generations and - also beyond Rwanda - what can make a difference when societies worldwide attempt to deal with the legacies of mass violence and human rights abuses.

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Biography

Bert Ingelaere is assistant professor (lecturer) at the Institute of Development Policy, University of Antwerp (UA). His research focuses on the legacy of mass violence, mobility and the process of knowledge construction. He has undertaken over 40 months of fieldwork in Africa's Great Lakes region.

He was advisor or expert for international NGOs, the Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The World Bank, the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) and a postdoctoral fellow at the Fund for Scientific Research - Flanders (FWO) and the Program on Order, Conflict and Violence (OCV), Yale University.

He has published numerous reports and articles for such publications as *African Affairs, Journal of Modern African Studies, Critique of Anthropology or The International Journal of Transitional Justice* and is the co-editor of *Genocide, Risk and Resilience* and author of *Inside Rwanda's Gacaca Courts.*

His work was awarded the United States African Studies Association Graduate Student Paper Prize and the Auschwitz Foundation Prize. His book *Inside Rwanda's Gacaca Courts* won the United States African Studies Association 2017 Bethwell A. Ogot Book Prize.

Myfanwy James

PhD student, University of Oxford Negotiations for humanitarian access in North Kivu: everyday dilemmas, tensions and compromises in a context of cyclical violence

Summary

This paper explores the everyday negotiations for humanitarian access between Médecins sans Frontières and armed groups operating in North Kivu, in eastern DRC. Drawing from archival research and ethnographic fieldwork, this paper explores how MSF has gained and maintained a network of contacts in armed groups in North Kivu – enabling the organisation to maintain its presence and manage the security of its employees in a zone characterised by cyclical violence. First, this presentation explores the everyday dilemmas in the field: in particular, how MSF translates and enacts its humanitarian principles in practice during interactions with armed interlocutors in North Kivu. It explores how MSF balances the simultaneous necessity for both operational proximity to, and distance from, the local political context and armed networks. While proximity is essential for gathering security information, maintaining a network of relevant contacts and gaining 'acceptance' locally, MSF must also retain distance from the local conflict dynamics in order to safeguard its image as neutral, impartial and independent. Second, this presentation focuses on the experience of Congolese MSF staff during these processes of negotiation - the tensions and contradictions that they must mediate as part of their role as brokers or 'fixers.' Finally, this paper explores how MSF manages the security of its Congolese employees and maintains the perception of their neutrality, especially given the sensitive nature of their personal identities in the zone.

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Biography

Myfanwy James is a PhD candidate at the Department of International Development, at the University of Oxford. Her research explores humanitarian action in zones of conflict, with a focus on the African Great Lakes Region. Currently, Myfanwy James is exploring the everyday negotiations for access between Médecins sans Frontières and armed groups in North Kivu, in the east of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Myfanwy James holds a degree in History from the University of Bristol, and a Masters in International Development from the London School of Economics.

Pacifique Kabalisa

President of the Centre pour la prévention des crimes contre l'humanité (CPCH)

Experience as a witness who survived genocide and as a witness of witnesses since 1994

Summary

While Pacifique Kabalisa was in hiding during the first few weeks of the genocide in Rwanda, he recorded his experiences in a notebook in the hope that he would be read if he did not survive. Later, on the run in Zaire, he noted the painful accounts of other witnesses. Back in Rwanda, he continued to work with survivors who wanted to tell their own story of the genocide so that it would not be forgotten, and to participate in the justice process. Over a period of ten years, Pacifique Kabalisa has collected more than three thousand testimonies.

Bibliography

• Rwanda: Death, Despair and Defiance, African Rights, London, 1995



Biography

President of the Centre for the Prevention of Crimes against Humanity (CPCH) founded in March 2009, Pacifique Kabalisa holds a European Master's Degree in International Humanitarian Action and a Bachelor's Degree in Economic and Social Policy: Development and Project Management, Catholic University of Louvain. As an investigator (late 1994 to September 1997) and research coordinator (January 2001 to March 2003) at the British human rights organization African Rights, he was involved in documenting many reports and communiqués.

Hakim Khaldi

Researcher, Médecins Sans Frontières

Humanitarian practices on the ground in the face of the Syrian conflict



Summary

Since 2011, the civil war in Syria has been marked by repression by the Syrian government, which has struck not only demonstrators but also the wounded and the medical personnel who have been helping them. The criminalization of aid and bombardments that spare neither health structures nor civilian populations have become part of daily life for millions of Syrians. This has led to the emergence of actors such as rebel groups in the northwest, the Kurdish PYD in the northeast and Islamic State. How did MSF intervene in this environment in order to carry out relief operations, despite the different political agendas of these actors? The choices were: interpret, adapt, and persist, or to give up. Through field visits, interviews with Syrian and international staff, and reviewing reports, we will show that it has been possible to work in these different areas, whether they are administered by a coalition of rebel groups, a Kurdish Marxist/Leninist party, or by groups of transnational jihadist. While MSF, based on its principle of neutrality, has been willing to intervene in government areas, the Syrian State has never allowed access. We will show that our operations can be described as a balancing act punctuated over time by episodes of adaptation to the difficulties encountered. Beyond the action of INGOs, we emphasize that most of the aid is endogenous, supported by external networks driven by the Syrian diaspora, which has seen a significant influx of doctors and surgeons fleeing repression.

Biography

Graduate of the Institut de Formation et d'Appui aux Initiatives de Développement (IFAID) in Bordeaux and Sciences Po Bordeaux, Hakim Khaldi holds a Master's international cooperation in and development. He started working with MSF in 2003 during the American invasion of Iraq. He was project coordinator and head of mission successively in Africa, the Caribbean, Asia and especially the Middle East until 2010. Since 2015, he has been working in the Operations Department in Paris on Syria, Iraq and Yemen, where he is a research fellow.

- Hakim Khaldi, "A Raqqa, plus encore qu'à Mossoul, les civils sont laissés pour compte", *Le Monde*, 1^{er} août 2017
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Marc Le Pape

Sociologist, member of the scientific council of Crash, MSF *The careers of Bosco Ntaganda, a man of war: From Rwanda to the International Criminal Court (1990-2018)*

Summary

Bosco Ntaganda is not an unknown person. Since 1990, he has been continuously involved as a soldier in many armed conflicts in the Great Lakes region, first in Rwanda from 1990 to 1994, then in eastern DRC where he was successively a member of several political-military groups and gradually held increasingly senior command positions. The ICC issued a first arrest warrant against him in 2006. He handed himself over to the ICC in 2013, and his trial was opened in 2015. Marc Le Pape has selected some moments from this journey for which there is several types of sources. His perspective is to explore a diversity of sources: in particular the annual reports of the United Nations Group of Expers on the DRC, Human Rights Watch investigations, and transcripts of the ICC trial. These documents will not be read as "repositories of the real past". Rather, in these sources, hewant to identify the range of identities attributed to Bosco Ntaganda by judicial actors, researchers-investigators, witnesses.

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- Jean-Hervé Bradol & Marc Le Pape, *Génocide et crimes de masse.* L'expérience rwandaise de MSF 1982-1997, Paris, CNRS Editions, 2017



Biography

Marc Le Pape is a researcher and sociologist at CNRS. He is currently a member of the scientific committee of CRASH,MSF. He has conducted research in Algeria, Ivory Coast and Central Africa. This research was carried out within the framework of the Centre for African Studies of the EHESS. His recent work focuses on humanitarian action and conflicts in the African Great Lakes region.

Timothy Longman

Professor of Political Sciences, Boston University

Twenty Years After Leave None to Tell the Story: What Do We Now Know About the Rwandan Genocide?

Summary

In 1999, Human Rights Watch (HRW) and the International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH) published an extensive account of the Rwandan genocide, Leave None to Tell the Story. Based on interviews and archival work conducted by a team of researchers and written primarily by Alison Des Forges, *Leave None to Tell the Story* was quickly recognized as the definitive account of the 1994 genocide. In the ensuing two decades, however, much additional research has added to our understanding of the 1994 violence. In this paper, Timothy Longman assesses Leave None to Tell the Story in light of the research conducted since its publication, focusing in particular on two major challenges to the analysis. First, micro-level research into the motivations of those who participated disputes the influence of ideology on the genocide. Second, research into the organization of the genocide disputes the degree to which it was planned in advance. Timothy Longman contends that despite these correctives, much of the analysis continues to hold up, such as the roll of national figures in promoting genocide at the local level, the impact of the dynamics of local power struggles on the violence, and the patterns of violence, including the effort after the initial massacres to implicate a wide portion of the population. Finally, as a member of the team he researched and helped write Leave None to Tell, Timothy Longman reflects on the value of this rare sort of research project that engages human rights organizations in an academic research project.



Biography

Timothy Longman is the Director of the Institute on Culture, Religion, and World Affairs (CURA) at the Pardee School of Global Studies at Boston University, where he is associate professor of political science and international relations. From 2009-2017, he served as Director of BU's African Studies Center. He ran the field office of FIDH and Human Rights Watch in Rwanda in 1995-1996 and was a researcher and contributing author for the book on the Rwandan genocide *Leave None to Tell the Story*, under the direction of the late Alison Des Forges.

- Timothy Longman, Phuong Pham, Harvey M. Weinstein, and Alice U. Karekezi, "Connecting Justice to Human Experience: Attitudes Toward Accountability and Reconciliation in Rwanda", in H. Weinstein & E. Stover (dir.), *My Neighbor, My Enemy: Justice and Social Reconstruction in Rwanda and the Former Yugoslavia*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006, p. 206-225
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- Timothy Longman, *Memory and Justice in Post-Genocide Rwanda*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2017

Catherine Marchi-Uhel

Head of UN International, Impartial and Independent Mechanism on international law violation in Syria

Round table: investigate, rescue, judge



Biography

Catherine Marchi-Uhel is the first Head of the Mechanism established by the General Assembly on 21 December 2016. She brings to the position more than 27 years of experience in the judiciary and in public service — including with the United Nations — in the fields of criminal law, transitional justice and human rights. Since 2015, she has been the Ombudsperson for the Security Council Committee pursuant to resolutions 1267 (1999), 1989 (2011) and 2253 (2015) concerning Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL/Da'esh), Al-Qaida and associated individuals, groups, undertakings and entities. Previously a judge in France, Catherine Marchi-Uhel served in the same capacity with the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo and the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia. She was Senior Legal Officer and Head of Chambers at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia and also held legal positions in France's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and with United Nations peacekeeping missions. Catherine Marchi-Uhel holds a Master's degree in law from the University of Caen.

Nicolas Mariot

Researcher at the CNRS, European Centre for Sociology and Political Science

Moderator



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- Nicolas Mariot, "Faut-il être motivé pour tuer ? Sur quelques explications aux violences de guerre", *Genèses*, n°53, 2003, p. 154-177
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- Nicolas Mariot, "Social Encounters in the French Trenches", *French Politics, Culture & Society*, vol. 36, n°2, 2018, p. 1-27

Biography

Nicolas Mariot is a specialist in historical sociology. He worked with Claire Zalc on the history of the Jewish community in Lens from the 1930s to the 1950s, tracing the journeys and choices of a group of 991 individuals and 350 families in the face of the persecution to which they were subjected. He is one of the coorganisers of the seminar "History and historiography of the Shoah" at EHESS. He has since become interested in social relations in the trenches of the First World War. Nicolas Mariot is currently working on a comparative study of mass violence in the 20th century.

Omar McDoom

Assistant Professor at the London School of Economics and Political Sciences

Winning the Battle of Ideas: Extremist vs Moderates Ideologies in Rwanda's Genocid

Summary

Ideology has experienced a revival in popularity in explanations of mass killings and genocides. Recent scholarship has pointed to the importance of extremist ideologies in motivating elite decisions favouring elimination over other options to deal with problematic groups; or else in providing justifications for violence ex post. Recognition of the power of ideational factors is welcome relief from the preponderance of rationalist, materialist, and institutionalist accounts of such violence. However, theorization of the role of ideology is wanting. Proponents of ideology-centric explanations presuppose there is a single, dominant ideology that pervades the public sphere. Some implicitly draw a straight line deterministically from these ideologies to the decisions leading to genocide. Omar McDoom questions these assumptions. Ideological singularity and ideological determinism are, he argues, empirically unrealistic. He proposes instead an approach that explicitly recognizes there are often multiple ideologies in circulation within the public sphere. Extremism is often one of many creeds competing for attention. Moreover, the victory of extremist ideas over more moderate beliefs is rarely assured. Its rise is, rather, uncertain and contingent. Omar McDoom examines the "battle of ideas" and the triumph of ethnic extremism in the context of the Rwandan genocide. He explains how and why extremism, a fringe ideology among numerous more moderate ideologies at the outset, ultimately prevailed in Rwanda. Contestation was central to this process. It was far from certain that extremists would win and that genocide would follow. This contestation and uncertainty continued even after the fateful plane crash widely-seen as the trigger for the violence.



Biography

Omar McDoom teaches political science at the London School of Economics. He specializes in the study of conflict and coexistence in ethnically and religious diverse societies. He has expertise on several aspects of Rwanda's genocide. In particular he has published on the determinants of individual participation in the violence, on the psychology of security threats and civilian radicalization, and on the drivers of mobilization locally.

- Omar S. Mcdoom, "Rwanda's Exit Pathway from Violence: A Strategic Assessment", *World Development Report 2011: Background Paper*, Washington DC, World Bank, 2011
- Omar S. Mcdoom, "The Psychology of Threat in Intergroup Conflict: Emotions, Rationality, and Opportunity in the Rwandan Genocide", *International Security*, vol. 37, n°2, 2012, p. 119-155
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- Omar S. Mcdoom, "Predicting Violence within Genocide: A Model of Elite Competition and Ethnic Segregation from Rwanda", *Political Geography*, vol. 42, 2014, p. 34-45

Yann Mens Board of directors, MSF

Moderator



Biography

International Editor-in-Chief of *Alternatives Economiques* magazine, after having been Editor-in-Chief of *Alternatives Internationales* and deputy chief of the international service at the daily newspaper *La Croix*. He is a member of the Board of Directors of MSF France since October 2014.

Arthur Quesnay

Post-doctoral fellow at University Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, ERC project "Social Dynamics of Civil Wars" *Investigating in War-Torn Syria*



Summary

Based on several stays in Syria, this presentation reports on the research practices of Adam Baczko, Gilles Dorronsoro and Arthur Quesnay, in particular concerning civil and judicial institutions in territories outside the regime's control. It answers several questions: how is research conducted in a situation of armed conflict? How reliable is the data? How to protect respondents? What questions enable to account for social processes?

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Biography

Arthur Quesnay is a post-doctoral research fellow in Political Science at Pantheon Sorbonne University. He has researched the political dynamics of sectarian conflicts in Iraq, conducting extensive fieldwork in Iraq since 2009, Libya (2011-2012) and Syria (2012-2016) with insurgent groups. Prior joining the ERC Social Dynamics of Civil Wars Program, he was a non-tenure track teaching faculty in International Relations at Paris-1 (2015-2017). Between 2012 and 2014, he was a Doctoral Fellow at the Institut français du Proche-Orient (IFPO) based in Iraq.

Sophie Roborgh

Research fellow at Humanitarian and Conflict Response Institute, University of Manchester

Danger, advocacy and accuracy: witnessing by local medical humanitarian organisations in the Syrian conflict

Summary

Discussion on Syria's conflict has been affected by the proliferation of disinformation, and a destructive relativism of 'truth'. With access to the conflict zone often blocked for international media organisations and monitors, local health organisations have become key information providers and brokers on a wide array of topics, ranging from developments in the health sector to the living circumstances of the embattled population and human rights abuses. Health workers have among others often engaged with international media, and provided testimony to the highest diplomatic circles, including the United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and the UN.

Based on in-depth interviews with representatives of local health organisations active in the NGCA, this paper analyzes the evolution of the local health workers' unique information position in the conflict. It first explores the general engagement of local health organisations in monitoring efforts in the health and humanitarian sector, and beyond. It then elaborates on the values and considerations at the basis of local health organisations' information provision function, and particularly the manner in which they navigate the question of ensuring accuracy, while keeping local staff on the ground safe as well. It finally looks at the brokering function health organisations started to occupy between the journalistic community and the local population, in particular in the case of besieged eastern Aleppo.

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Biography

Sophie Roborgh is a fellow in Medical Humanitarianism.

She focuses specifically on the creation of (grassroots) local emergency medical networks in times of conflict, politicisation of healthcare (including targeting of the health sector), and reconciliation of political ideology and humanitarian aspirations among local medical humanitarians. She will be presenting a draft paper here on her new research project 'What the Doctor Describes' on témoignage and witnessing practices by local medical humanitarians.

Emilie Serralta

Independent consultant

Investigating for the United Nations Security Council



Summary

The presenter will focus on the work of the Group of Experts on the DRC and its mandate. The primary role of the Group is to support the UN Security Council's Democratic Republic of Congo Sanctions Committee and to provide it with information that could be used to designate individuals and entities who may have engaged in sanctionable activities. In practice, this support involves the submission of public reports and confidential notes to the Committee, which are the result of lengthy field investigations. Because of its mandate, the Group has rare access to many sources of information. However, since such investigations may lead to sanctions, they entail many challenges, including those related to security.

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- Émilie Serralta, Burundi: 'Just tell me what to confess to': Torture by police and intelligence service since April 2015, Amnesty International, 2015

Biography

Emilie Serralta has been working on issues related to armed conflict and human rights since 2000. She has conducted investigations in the DRC for the United Nations Group of Experts on the DRC, the International Criminal Court (ICC), and Amnesty International. Emilie Serralta served on the Expert Group from 2012 to 2015 and was its coordinator in 2013-2014. To date, she has led fact-finding missions to Burkina Faso, Burundi, Ivory Coast, DRC, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Mali, Nigeria, Rwanda, South Sudan, Tanzania, and Uganda. In particular, she has published reports regarding armed groups, impunity, torture, and corporate responsibility for human rights violations. She holds a Master's degree in Development (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London) and a Master's degree in Literature (Montpellier III). She has lived in the United Kingdom, Nigeria, the DRC and Kenya

Scott Straus

Professor of Political Sciences, University of Wisconsin-Madison

The Limits of the Genocide Label



Summary

This paper explores how to characterize histories of violence. The genocide in Rwanda has become, after years of labor, documentation, testimony, and publication, a canonical case of mass violence in the 20th Century. Most scholars, policymakers, and citizens now refer to the period of violence and conflict in the 1990s as "the Rwandan genocide"; the state in Rwanda insists even, more stringently, that there was the "genocide of the Tutsi." However, while genocide against the resident Tutsi population indisputably took place in Rwanda in 1994, framing the 1990s period as "the Rwandan genocide" does not adequately describe the range of violence that occurred there and then. In the mid-1990s alone, in addition to warfare in Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo, one finds mass categorical violence against Rwandan Hutu populations in both of those countries. Seeing and narrating the region's history of violence primarily through the lens of genocide has come to occlude, or at least minimize, these other, critical experiences of violence. Such a framing has also come to associate certain categories of people with victim and perpetrator, to tee up a tendentious pursuit of justice, and to rationalize human rights abuse in the name of avenging or preventing future genocide. The genocide lens also typically creates misleading assumptions about the drivers of the violence, the patterns of violence, the remedies necessary to rebuild after the violence, the nature of responsibility for violence, and cut-and-dried analogies to Rwanda. This paper explores these issues, examines why the genocide lens is so powerful yet also limited, and evaluates some alternatives to the "Rwandan genocide" as the meta-frame to characterize the 1990s period in Rwanda. The paper argues that these issues are critical to consider on the 25th commemoration of the genocide.

Biography

Scott Straus is Vilas Distinguished Achievement Professor of Political Science and International Studies at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. Scott Strauss specializes in the study of genocide, political violence, human rights, and African politics. He has written or edited seven previous books, including three on Rwanda, and published articles in more than a dozen academic journals. In 2018, he was awarded the Grawemeyer prize for Ideas Improving World Order for his book Making and Unmaking Nations: War, Leadership, and War in Modern Africa. Prior to becoming an academic, he was a journalist based in Kenya and was nominated for a Pulitzer Prize for his reporting on the war in the Democratic Republic of Congo. He currently serves as co-editor of the journal Violence: an International journal, which is based at FMSH.

- Scott Straus, *The Order of Genocide. Race, Power and War in Rwanda,* Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2006
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Judith Verweijen

Lecturer, University of Sussex

Understanding violence against civilians by armed actors in eastern DRC: types, modalities and logics

Summary

In spite of over twenty years of ongoing warfare, there is a dearth of research on violence against civilians in eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo. There have been limited efforts to systematically study incidents of violence, including the identity, possible motives and modus operandi of the perpetrators. Surprisingly, in the light of the overwhelming media attention to and donor engagement with the issue, this observation also applies to sexual violence.

Based on one year of data collection in two territories of South Kivu province, Judith Verweijen contribution analyses incidents of violence, the conditions of their emergence, and the involved actors, targets and logics. The preliminary research findings show that overall, there is a weak direct relation between on the one hand, conflict dynamics and on the other hand, the frequency and targeting of acts of violence. Furthermore, much violence relates primarily to revenue generation.

To make sense of these findings, she presents a brief analysis of the involved armed groups; in particular their genesis, organization, modus operandi, sources of income and embedding in their civilian environment. This analysis provides an explanation for the different repertoires of violence adopted by different armed groups.



Biography

Dr. Judith Verweijen is a Lecturer in International Security at the University of Sussex. She is also Director of the Sussex Centre for Conflict and Security Research. In 2015 and 2016, she was Lead Researcher of the Usalama Project at the Rift Valley Institute (RVI), which focused on armed groups and governance in the eastern DR Congo.

Having earned her PhD in Conflict Studies at Utrecht University with a dissertation on the Congolese army, Judith specializes in the study of microlevel civilian-military interactions, processes of militarization, conflict dynamics, violence against civilians and the internal workings of state and nonstate armed forces. Her main focus is eastern DRC's Kivu provinces, where she has conducted extensive field research since 2010.

- Judith Verweijen, *Stable Instability: Political Settlements and Armed Groups in the Congo*, London, Rift Valley Institute, 2016
- Judith Verweijen & Justine Brabant, "Cows and guns. Cattle-related conflict and armed violence in South Kivu, DR Congo", *Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 55, n°1, 2017, p. 1–27
- Judith Verweijen, "Soldiers without an army? Patronage networks and cohesion in the armed forces of the DR Congo", *Armed Forces & Society*, vol. 44, n°4, 2018, p. 626–646
- Judith Verweijen, "Civilian resistance to the military in eastern DR Congo: A combined social navigation and structuration approach", *Qualitative Sociology*, vol. 41, n°2, 2018, p. 281–301
- Kasper Hoffmann & Judith Verweijen, "Rebel rule: A governmentality perspective". *African Affairs*, p. 1-23, 2018

Claudine Vidal

Emeritus Research director at the CNRS, member of the scientific council of Crash, MSF

Lee Ann Fujii's investigations in Rwanda



Summary

Lee Ann Fujii was invited to this conference, but tragically died on March 2, 2018 from the flu. Claudine Vidal and her had corresponded about her research in Rwanda and Bosnia for comparative purposes. She had been writing to Claudine Vidal about the book she was preparing, *Show Time: The Logic and Power of Violent Display*, in which she planned to study the meanings of public demonstrations of cruelty.

Her investigations in Rwanda in 2004 led to a penetrating micro-political study of genocidal violence: *Killing Neighbors. Webs of Violence in Rwanda*. Reinforcing her observation at the communal sector level, she established that the gangs of killers acting locally were structured by a hierarchy and an organization. It also showed how the relationships that existed before the genocide between people living in the area were crucial in recruitment and participation of "ordinary" people who did not lead or organize the massacres but whose actions were crucial to the perpetration of the genocide. Finally, she observed how the dynamics of violence produced in the group were reinforced from act to act, from looting to mass murder and collective cruelty.

Claudine Vidal aim is to present the investigative strategy implemented by Lee Ann Fujii and show its explanatory power.

Biography

Claudine Vidal is a sociologist who has carried out research mainly in Rwanda (from pre-colonial history to the genocide of Tutsi Rwandans in 1994) and in Ivory Coast (history and sociology of urbanization in Abidjan). This research was carried out within the aegis of the Centre for African Studies of the EHESS. She has collaborated with MSF members on various publications since 1995 and is associated with the work of the Centre de réflexion sur l'action et les savoirs humanitaires (Médecins Sans Frontières Foundation).

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Fabrice Weissman

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Moderator



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Note biographique

A graduate of the Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris, Fabrice Weissman joined MSF in 1995. He spent several years as logistician and head of missions in Sub-Saharian Africa (Sudan, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea, etc.), Kosovo, Sri Lanka, and more recently Syria

Michel Wiewiorka

Opening

Director of studies EHESS, Chairman of the Fondation Maison des sciences de l'homme (FMSH)

Biography

Michel Wieviorka is director of studies at EHESS and President of the Executive Board of the Foundation Maison des sciences de l'homme. He was president of the International Sociological Association (2006-2010), where he created the online encyclopedia Sociopedia. He is a member of the Scientific Council of the European Research Council. He directs the journal *Socio*, which he created in 2013, and is a member of several drafting committees of international journals. He wrote at Valérie Pécresse request, then Minister of Higher Education and research, a report entitled *La Diversité* (Robert Laffont, 2012) and at the request of Thierry Mandon, then State Secretary for Higher Education and research, a report entitled *Les sciences humaines et sociales françaises à l'échelle de l'Europe et du monde* (ed MSH., 2017).

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Practical information

International conference Extreme violence: investigate, rescue, judge 20, 21 & 22 March 2019

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