International Crisis Group
WORKING TO PREVENT CONFLICT WORLDWIDE

Mali: Security, Dialogue and Meaningful Reform

Africa Report N°201 | 11 April 2013
Translation from French

International Crisis Group
Headquarters
Avenue Louise 149
1050 Brussels, Belgium
Tel: +32 2 502 90 38
Fax: +32 2 502 50 38
brussels@crisisgroup.org

Table of Contents

Executive Summary i

Recommendations iii

I. Introduction 1

II. The Situation Before the French Military Intervention 2
- A. International Negotiations and Political Developments at the End of 2012 2
- B. The 9-10 January 2013 Demonstrations in Bamako 4

III. The French Operation Serval 6
- A. The Armed Groups' Offensive and Operation Serval 6
  - 1. The jihadi offensive and the French counter-offensive 6
  - 2. A sudden but well-prepared military intervention 7
- B. The Liberation of Northern Mali 8
  - 1. Gao and Timbuktu conquered 8
  - 2. Kidal "liberated" without Malian forces 10
  - 3. Views of the liberation in Bamako 13

IV. The Political State of Play and the Second Phase of the Transition 14
- A. The Internal Balance of Forces after the French Intervention 14
  - 1. The civilian authorities and the ex-junta in Kati 14
  - 2. The transitional authorities and the other political and social forces 17
- B. A Still Laborious Political Process 18

V. Expanding the National and International Roadmaps 22
- A. Identifying Threats to Security and the North's Real Problems 22
  - 1. Assessing security needs at the local level 22
  - 2. Understanding the trafficking and transnational crime 24
  - 3. Isolating transnational terrorism and long-term religious radicalisation 25
  - 4. Developing a fair and balanced view of the north's problems 27
- B. Promoting a Political Peace and Reconciliation Process 32
  - 1. Establishing a peaceful political arena before the elections 32
  - 2. Launching an inclusive inter-Malian dialogue 32
  - 3. Redeploying the state in the north and reviving the local economy 34
  - 4. Creating the conditions for credible elections 35
- C. Initiating a Meaningful Reform of the Defence and Security Forces 36
- D. For a UN Mandate Tailored to Mali's Needs 37
- E. Ensuring Effective International Coordination 41

VI. Conclusion 42

APPENDICES

A. Map of Mali 43

B. List of Acronyms 44

C. About the International Crisis Group 45

D. Crisis Group Reports and Briefings on Africa since 2010 46

E. Crisis Group Board of Trustees 48

Executive Summary

For the population of northern Mali, the feeling of being "liberated" by the French military intervention launched on 11 January 2013 is real. The sudden, but clearly well-prepared intervention, which received widespread support in Mali, West Africa and beyond, ended the offensive by jihadi groups that the Malian army had been unable to repel. France also took the opportunity to try and destroy al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) forces. Although Mali is in a better place than a few months back, sporadic fighting in the north continues and formidable threats to security, stability and the coexistence of the country's various communities remain. The authorities in Bamako, regional organisations and the UN, which is preparing to deploy a stabilisation mission, must quickly agree on a strategy for the resolution of the crisis that provides security, protects civilians, promotes an inclusive inter-Malian dialogue, reestablishes state authority in the north and sees peaceful, credible elections.

Mali descended into turmoil at the beginning of 2012 when the National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad (MNLA) chased the Malian army out of the north and demanded independence for this vast part of the country. With its roots in the Algerian civil war, AQIM has established itself in northern Mali over the last decade, building local alliances that allowed it to significantly weaken both the state and the MNLA and resulted in armed jihadi groups – Ansar Dine and the Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa (MUJAO) – taking control of the north in June 2012. This and the coup in Bamako on 21 March 2012 brought the country to its knees. A laboriously prepared Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) plan to deploy an African force was finally, though reluctantly, endorsed by UN Security Council Resolution 2085 on 20 December 2012.

The sudden jihadi offensive towards the centre of the country in January 2013 proved suicidal. The jihadi groups did not anticipate France's strong military response, following a request from interim President Dioncounda Traoré. The Malian army itself did nothing more than accompany the French forces that took the three most important towns in the north, Gao, Timbuktu and Kidal. French and Chadian troops entered the northernmost Kidal region without the Malians, less to reconquer it for the Malian state than to pursue AQIM combatants into their sanctuaries, destroy stocks of arms, ammunition, fuel and food supplies, and "finish the job" in the context of a declared war against terrorism. Whether or at what point it will be possible to declare the capacities of jihadi groups sufficiently reduced to avoid exposing the civilian population and the forces of the African-led International Support Mission to Mali (AFISMA) to terrorist reprisal attacks is unclear.

Now as much as before the French intervention, a solution to the crisis will only be sustainable if it combines political and military measures. The north remains very insecure and the state is absent from the Kidal region, where the MNLA claims control. Mali's army is fragmented and incapable of preventing its soldiers from committing atrocities against civilians, notably Tuaregs and Arabs who are indiscriminately accused of collusion with the enemy. The military action in the north has strengthened the president's authority, but the ex-junta retains influence and civilian political actors look incapable of mobilising citizens to take the country's destiny into their hands. The government has announced that presidential elections will be held in July, al-

though conditions – technical, political, security and psychological – for a genuine vote look unlikely to be met.

Even if French troops remain and AFISMA is rehatted as a UN stabilisation mission – which currently appear probable – the interim authorities, political actors and civil society face an immense political challenge. Political dialogue in Bamako, zero tolerance for atrocities by members of security forces, intercommunal dialogue and the redeployment of the state in the north are essential. Elections must be held soon, but not at any cost. The work of reconciliation should begin immediately. So too should the provision of basic social and economic services in the north, so as to facilitate the gradual return of thousands of internally displaced and refugees. The radicalisation of public opinion is a major risk, especially during the election campaign, and firm action by Malian leaders and institutions should aim to prevent people lumping together rebels, terrorists and drug traffickers with all Tuaregs and Arabs.

A focus on terrorism alone also risks distracting from the north's real problems. The roots of the crisis lie much more in corruption and bad governance than they do in the terrorist threat, the Tuareg issue or even the north-south divide. The international community must insist that Malian leaders assume responsibility for tackling these problems. The most reasonable and realistic way for the state to regain its presence across Mali and maintain lasting security is to find a compromise between the representatives of all communities, ensure even the most isolated populations feel included, and take into account the vulnerability of vast border areas to the flow of weapons and armed groups.

The most important and immediate challenge for regional organisations and the UN is to align their positions on the political process. First, they must convince the MNLA that its interests are best served by renouncing its armed struggle and discussing how its representatives and supporters can participate in a dialogue on the north's real problems. Secondly, they should persuade Bamako that it should not impose so many pre-conditions on talks – such as, for instance, requiring the MNLA to immediately disarm – that it closes the door to dialogue, or even discrete contacts, with MNLA representatives. ECOWAS, the African Union (AU), the UN Security Council, Mauritania, Algeria, Niger, Burkina Faso and France must all send the same message to the authorities in Bamako and the leaders of those armed groups in the north. Even this would not resolve everything, however. Without new regional security mechanisms involving all the countries of North and West Africa, any victory over terrorism, extremism and drug trafficking in Mali will only be temporary.

Recommendations

To launch a political process to promote reconciliation and peace

To the Government of Mali:

1. Give a firm and clear indication of its willingness to promote a policy of national reconciliation and peace and break with the political and administrative practices responsible for the current crisis by:
   a) promoting inclusive dialogue at the national, regional and local levels, without monopolising such initiatives;
   b) reestablishing state control of the north as soon as possible, prioritising public services and economic recovery in addition to reconstruction of the police forces and the gendarmerie;
   c) preparing a special emergency plan for the north, making an explicit break with the past, notably by guaranteeing transparency in the use of funds and by consulting the population, whose relationship with the state has changed after several months of the state's complete absence; and
   d) supporting the Dialogue and Reconciliation Commission (CDR) so that it can prepare as soon as possible a work plan aimed at promoting intercommunal reconciliation before the elections.
2. Indicate a willingness to include in the dialogue the representatives or supporters of any groups that commit to renounce their armed struggle, notably the MNLA, by remaining open to external facilitation and including the representatives of northern communities in any such process.
3. Ensure that the electoral process takes place in an atmosphere of trust and that it is completed, including legislative elections, by the end of 2013 and that all sectors of the Malian population can take part by:
   a) ensuring security so that all voters as well as internally displaced people and refugees can vote;
   b) seeking a political solution that will allow citizens in the Kidal region to participate;
   c) asking candidates in the presidential election to make a solemn promise to accept the results or to contest them exclusively through legal means, to conduct an electoral campaign compatible with the objective of national reconciliation, to introduce policies seeking reconciliation if they win and organise legislative elections as soon as possible and, in any event, before the end of 2013.

To Malian political forces and civil society organisations:

4. Play an active role in the intercommunal reconciliation and peace process by participating in the organisation of inclusive dialogue at the local, regional and national levels and combating feelings of mistrust and attempts to settle scores.
5. Seek full involvement in the electoral process so it at least offers the possibility of a genuine change in governance and, with this in mind, use the media to pub-

licise information about candidates, parties, programs and the origins of their financial resources.

6. Encourage the authorities to avoid adopting a uniquely security and repressive approach towards Malian citizens who, in 2012, joined certain armed Islamist groups; to understand the economic, social and cultural exclusion that led to Islamist radicalisation; and to initiate a public debate on the role of religion in society and the lessons that can be learned from the current crisis.

To the UN Security Council:

7. Provide the UN mission with a strong mandate to support the political process, in its dual dimensions of promoting dialogue and preparing elections, by:
   a) requesting the future special representative of the UN Secretary-General to Mali to use their good offices to facilitate dialogue between Malian political actors and the transitional authorities to contribute towards a peaceful electoral campaign;
   b) providing the mission with a precise mandate to support the electoral process by using UN assistance operations and deploying experts throughout the territory before the elections; and
   c) authorising the mission to be ready to provide technical support to the CDR.
8. Provide the mission with a large "civilian affairs" component able to assist the state in reestablishing administrative control in the north by paying special attention to the restoration of judicial institutions and the prison service and rapidly assessing the requirements for strengthening the capacities of the judicial apparatus.

To regional and international actors involved in Mali, especially the AU special envoy, the ECOWAS mediator and the authorities of Mauritania, Algeria, Niger and France:

9. Adopt a clear joint position to facilitate inclusion of the MNLA in the inter-Malian dialogue provided it renounces its armed struggle.

To ensure security across the territory and protect the population

To the Government of Mali and its defence and security forces:

10. Ensure the security of the civilian population, especially the communities that might be persecuted because of their alleged association with armed groups, by:
    a) giving a public and firm indication that the protection of all sectors of the Malian population is a central concern;
    b) strengthening the presence of the gendarmerie and police forces in the liberated territories;
    c) showing extreme firmness towards violent acts including those committed by the Malian armed forces.
11. Cooperate fully with the European Military Training Mission (EUTM Mali) and overhaul the security sector, including the police forces.

To the French authorities:

12. Maintain a rapid reaction capacity on Malian territory after the gradual withs UN stabilisation mission.
13. Support the Malian authorities and AFISMA to protect the civilian population until the deployment of the UN mission.

To the AFISMA, troop-contributing countries and donors who have pledged funding:

14. Provide, as quickly as possible, the AFISMA with the financial resources, logistics and intelligence support necessary to reach its target numbers and capacity, without waiting for the arrival of the UN mission, allow the deployment of all its components in accordance with the revised concept of operations devised jointly by the AFISMA and Malian forces.

To the UN Security Council:

15. Authorise a UN stabilisation mission to Mali with a mandate and format adapted to the country's specific conditions and avoid standard responses, by;
    a) maintaining a clear distinction between on the one hand the UN-mandated mission to stabilise the political and security situation, and on the other the "parallel force" responsible for offensive operations, and clarify the legal basis and geographical extent of the latter's mandate;
    b) equipping the mission with specific means to collect and analyse information and allowing it to benefit from assistance from third countries, notably France and the U.S.;
    c) including in the mission a strong civilian component dedicated to monitoring the human rights situation, especially the behaviour of Malian and foreign forces towards the population; and
    d) providing the mission with a mandate to help mobilise and coordinate resources allocated to reform the defence and security forces.

To the AU Commission, the states of the Sahel, West Africa and North Africa, the UN special envoy to the Sahel and the European Union (EU) special envoy to the Sahel:

16. Start a frank discussion on preserving regional security interests, by:
    a) formulating new regional security mechanisms based on control of the transnational flow of people, arms and illegal products; or restructure existing mechanisms; and
    b) seeking to boost the economy of the Sahel-Sahara region by implementing transnational development projects.

Dakar/Brussels, 11 April 2013

International Crisis Group
Africa Report N°201 **11 April 2013**

Mali: Security, Dialogue and Meaningful Reform

I. Introduction

Within a single year, events in Mali have put the country under the international spotlight and turned it into another battleground in the war against the groups that form part of the al-Qaeda terrorist network.[1] In January 2013, France, supported mainly by the Chadian army, finally intervened militarily against al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), a group responsible for many abductions and murders of Western citizens in Mali, Niger and Mauritania in recent years. However, the military operations that are continuing in the vast mountainous zone of north-east Mali, far from the country's urban centres, are just one dimension of the situation. The war against AQIM in the Ifoghas mountains, the French-Malian search operations in the regions of Gao and Timbuktu, the absence of the Malian army (until the beginning of April) from the Kidal region, the challenges of reconciliation and the preparation of elections throughout the country indicate the complexity of the situation following the international military intervention.

The result of many meetings in Bamako, New York, Paris and Addis Ababa between December 2012 and April 2013, this report covers developments in the last three months of 2012, the offensive by armed jihadi groups in early January and the subsequent French military intervention. It analyses the consequences of the liberation war in the north on the internal balance of political forces and discusses the main security and political challenges ahead. The report offers a comprehensive strategy for resolving the crisis, including a UN stabilisation mission, credible involvement of the Malian authorities and civil society in an inclusive dialogue and reconciliation process. It also calls for redeployment of the state's economic and social administration in the north and creation of the conditions for holding presidential and legislative elections that could go some way to promoting, in the medium term, a genuine change in governance.

[1] Mali has an area of 1,241,238 sq km, which is approximately equal to the combined area of Germany, France, the UK, Belgium and the Netherlands. The distance between the north and south is 1,600km. The country is divided into eight administrative regions: Timbuktu, Kidal, Gao (in the north), Mopti, Kayes, Koulikoro, Sikasso and Ségou, and the district of the capital, Bamako. One of the world's poorest countries, Mali is a landlocked state and 65 per cent of its territory is covered by desert. According to the most recent national census in 2009, the population was 14,517,176. Northern Mali covers 922,490 sq km, almost 75 per cent of the country, but comprises only about 10 per cent of the population. It has more than 5,000km of borders with Algeria, Mauritania, Niger and Burkina Faso. The people of the north comprise three nomadic communities: Tuaregs; Arabs, including the Maures and the Kounta, a sedentary community, the Songhay, who form the majority in the Timbuktu and Gao regions; and the Peuls, who are nomadic pastors. The Tuareg are mainly established in the Kidal region, but are also present in Ménaka and Bourem (Gao region) and the Timbuktu region. The Arabs are in the majority in the Timbuktu region, Bourem (Gao region) and Kidal, especially the Kounta in the Tilemsi valley between Gao and Kidal. Peul nomads are scattered across the three regions. Sources: Kalilou Sidibé, "Security Management in Northern Mali: Criminal Networks and Conflict Resolution Mechanisms", IDS Research Report 77, Institute of Development Studies, August 2012, and the following websites: www.tlfq.ulaval.ca/axl/afrique/mali.htm and www.statoids.com/uml.html.

II. The Situation Before the French Military Intervention

As diplomatic activity on the situation in Mali intensified during the last three months of 2012, with ECOWAS, the AU, UN and EU all involved, nothing changed on the ground in the north, which remained occupied by armed Islamist groups. In Bamako, the national unity government formed in August 2012 seemed incapable of proposing a political or military strategy to solve the crisis.

A. *International Negotiations and Political Developments at the End of 2012*

In its first report on the Mali crisis, Crisis Group described the security and political context of four major events that occurred between January and July 2012.[2] In September, a Crisis Group briefing drew the international community's attention to the fact that none of the three actors sharing power in Bamako, interim President Dioncounda Traoré, Prime Minister Cheick Modibo Diarra and the leader of the ex-junta, Captain Sanogo, enjoyed popular legitimacy. They have no vision to give a clear direction to the transition and formulate a precise and coherent demand for international assistance to regain control over the north, which represents more than two thirds of the country's territory.[3]

The team formed by these three actors, who all had different interests and views, including on the deployment of ECOWAS troops, did not remain united for long. Prime Minister Diarra, somewhat blinded by presidential ambitions that were not compatible with the leadership of the transition, was forced to resign on 10 December after being briefly arrested by soldiers sent by Captain Sanogo.[4]

Deployment of ECOWAS troops was a lengthy process because of the ex-junta's reluctance, ECOWAS's own doubts about its capacity to organise a military operation against heavily armed groups, a lack of funding and even deeper doubts among Security Council members, particularly the U.S., about the chances of a successful African intervention, which would first require a long period of training and equipping of Malian and ECOWAS forces. Moreover, a number of international actors, including the UN, believed that all parties should focus on the political process and give negotiations a chance. However, at a 4 November meeting in Bamako, ECOWAS, AU and Malian

[2] Crisis Group Africa Report N°189, *Mali: Avoiding Escalation*, 18 July 2012. In January, the MNLA launched attacks against Malian army positions in the north; between January and March, the armed jihadi groups Ansar Dine, led by the Tuareg Iyad Ag Ghali, and MUJAO appeared and gained ground; on 22 March, a mutiny became a coup that overthrew the government of President Amadou Toumani Touré (ATT); and at the end of June, Ansar Dine, the MUJAO and AQIM expelled independence-seeking Tuareg rebels of the MLNA. These groups occupied the three regions of northern Mali (Kidal, Timbuktu and Gao) unopposed between July 2012 and the start of the French Operation Serval on 11 January 2013. This report summarised the history of previous Tuareg rebellions and how they were resolved, outlined the emergence of the MNLA in 2011, partly as a result of the Libyan crisis, and described how AQIM established itself in northern Mali and how its relations with social, political and military actors in both the north and south involved in a range of criminal activities. It also explained how Mali's electoral democracy was tainted by the systematic improper use of state office and resources for personal enrichment, which, among other things, led to the decline of the army and created the conditions for the military coup led by Captain Amadou Haya Sanogo.

[3] Crisis Group Africa Briefing N°90, *Mali: the Need for Determined and Coordinated International Action*, 24 September 2012.

[4] "Mali: le Premier ministre Cheick Modibo Diarra démissionne après son arrestation", Agence France-Presse (AFP), 11 December 2012; "Démission du Premier ministre malien: l'ex-junte dément tout 'coup d'Etat'", AFP, 11 December 2012.

military experts, assisted by their Western partners, finally adopted a "joint strategic concept of operations" to deploy West African forces.[5] ECOWAS announced it would create a 3,300-strong force, which was, however, very insufficient for the task.[6]

During the last three months of 2012, discussions on military intervention overshadowed those on the political process, including the scope for negotiations between the Malian government and armed groups in the north. However, ECOWAS's mediation team, led by Burkina Faso's President Blaise Compaoré, continued to operate and entered into contact with the MNLA, which had little military ground in the north but was still politically vocal and receiving media coverage, and Ansar Dine, which shared control of the north with the terrorist groups AQIM and MUJAO, considered foreign to a large extent, from which it was felt Ansar Dine should be separated. On 2 November, Ansar Dine announced it would send a delegation to Algeria and another to Ouagadougou for talks. Algiers clearly sought to encourage Ansar Dine, with whose leader Iyad Ag Ghali it has ties,[7] to break with AQIM and join the negotiating table.[8]

The Burkina Faso mediator organised an initial meeting between an Ansar Dine delegation led by Alghabass Ag Intallah and an MNLA delegation led by Bilal Ag Chérif in Ouagadougou on 16 November with the aim of encouraging the two groups to formulate a joint platform of demands prior to discussions with Bamako. The mediators then for the first time succeeded in organising a tripartite meeting on 3 and 4 December, between the MNLA, Ansar Dine and an official Malian government delegation led by the foreign minister, Tiéman Coulibaly. The three delegations agreed to create "a framework for inter-Malian dialogue" based on national unity, territorial integrity, religious freedom and a rejection of extremism.[9] However, nobody really seemed to believe this could succeed. The MNLA said it was open to negotiations but maintained its demand for self-determination, which Bamako perceived as equivalent to its initial claim for independence. Tiéman Coulibaly said it was not time for negotiations but for preliminary dialogue between the parties.[10]

On 29 November, the UN Secretary-General expressed serious reservations about military intervention, suggesting that a poorly planned operation could undermine the political process.[11] He said that a military operation should only be used as the last resort and against "the most hard-line and criminal elements in the north". He also pointed out that several questions on funding, equipment and training the soon-to-be-created African force remained unanswered. After long negotiations, especially between France and the U.S., which expressed many reservations about the ECOWAS-AU plan, the Security Council adopted Resolution 2085 on 20 December, authorising the deployment of an African-led International Support Mission to Mali (AFISMA) for one year. No timetable was set for reconquering the north, which would only take

[5] ECOWAS heads of state adopted the strategic concept in Abuja on 11 November 2012, and the AU Peace and Security Council followed suit on 14 November.
[6] "Intervention internationale dans le nord du Mali: à quoi ressemblera la 'Micéma?'", Radio France internationale (RFI), 13 November 2012.
[7] See Crisis Group report, *Mali: Avoiding Escalation*, op. cit.
[8] Crisis Group interview, security expert, Bamako, 5 February and meeting of experts and diplomats, Addis Ababa, 17 January 2013.
[9] "Communiqué de presse du médiateur de la CEDEAO pour le Mali à l'occasion de la première rencontre entre le gouvernement de transition, le groupe ANSAR EDDINE et le MNLA", communications office, Burkina Faso presidency, Ouagadougou, 4 December 2012.
[10] "Mali: discussions directes entre Bamako, MNLA et Ansar Dine", RFI, 4 December 2012.
[11] Report of the UN Secretary-General on the situation in Mali, S/2012/894, 29 November 2012.

place after training of the Malian army and AFISMA forces and submission of a progress report to the Security Council. Coherent on paper, this plan was rapidly overtaken by events at the beginning of January.

B. *The 9-10 January 2013 Demonstrations in Bamako*

While a confrontation between the Malian army and jihadi forces seemed imminent, tensions peaked in Bamako on 9 January.[12] The night before, newly-formed political movements that supported the March 2012 coup announced the creation of a "coalition platform for immediate sovereign national dialogue and change in Mali".[13] They asked for "national sovereign consultations" to be held "without further delay" and "without pre-conditions from 10 to 15 January 2013". They also said they were "determined to oppose by all legal means any attempt to adopt legislation by the National Assembly, which no longer enjoyed the people's support". The coalition announced demonstrations and marches for 9 January.

This proved to be an eventful day in Bamako and also in Kati, the ex-junta's headquarters. Hundreds of people took over the capital's major roads, disrupting traffic on two of the city's three bridges and causing panic. Small groups attacked vehicles and petrol stations and shots were heard, turning what had been announced as a peaceful demonstration into a violent event. Students and secondary school pupils were involved in the demonstrations in Bamako and Kati, leading the government to temporarily close all educational institutions in the two cities. On 9 and 10 January, while the armed groups were putting the Malian army in an extremely difficult position around Konna, demonstrators called for a national dialogue but also for the departure of interim President Dioncounda Traoré and the liberation of northern regions occupied by the Islamists.

The demonstrations continued for several days, creating an insurgency environment in the capital, which, combined with the army's retreat from the centre of the country, could have prompted the military in Kati to interfere again in politics.[14] Although it is impossible to say that Captain Sanogo instigated this new coup initiative using civilian political movements to challenge the existing order, he must have been aware of it.[15] France's entry into the war on 11 January, at the request of the Malian president, definitively ended the military-civilian plan to challenge the transitional political arrangements, which a significant part of Malian political and civil society had never fully accepted.[16]

French press reports went much further in their interpretation of the demonstrations in Bamako and Kati, which took place as armed Islamist groups advanced southwards. According to this version of events, the military in Kati and fringe political activists

[12] Crisis Group interviews, diplomats, Malian political actors, Bamako, 5-10 February 2013.
[13] The platform includes groups such as the Coordination des organisations patriotiques pour le Mali (COPAM), Copam-Forces vives, Groupe de réflexion Joko Ni Maya, Mouvement populaire du 22 mars (MP22), Alliance des jeunes démocrates (AJD), Mouvement trop c'est trop, Alliance pour la démocratie et la République (ADR), Union pour la justice et la réconciliation (UJR), Front patriotique pour le Mali (FPM), Rassemblement pour le Mali (RPM), Mali IBK (Ibrahim Boubacar Keïta) 2012. See "Création d'une coalition pour exiger la tenue des concertations nationales", Xinhua, 8 January 2013; "Violentes manifestations à Bamako pour les concertations nationales", *Le Républicain*, 10 January 2013; "Manifestations disparates à Bamako", RFI, 9 January 2013.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Crisis Group interview, diplomat, Bamako, 7 February 2013.
[16] Crisis Group interviews, diplomats, Malian political actors, Bamako, 5-14 February 2013.

were in direct contact with the Islamists, notably Ansar Dine leader Iyad Ag Ghali, and had concocted a plan to take advantage of another Malian army debacle to depose the interim president in Bamako.[17] This Machiavellian hypothesis cannot be totally discarded, especially since the French press provided disturbing details and everything now seems possible in Mali. However, sources consulted by Crisis Group in Bamako have not corroborated these reports, although they did note that since the coup, tension has appeared to escalate simultaneously in the north and in the south.[18]

[17] See "Mali: histoire secrète d'une guerre surprise", *Le Nouvel Observateur*, 7 February 2013.
[18] Crisis Group interview, diplomats, Bamako, 7, 9 and 12 February 2013.

III. The French Operation Serval

At the beginning of January 2013, the jihadi offensive toward the centre of the country aroused fears that Mali would sink into further chaos. Faced with this imminent threat, the French army launched an operation to liberate the north on 11 January, quickly expelling the Islamist combatants from the main towns. But the security situation remains volatile.

A. *The Armed Groups' Offensive and Operation Serval*

1. The jihadi offensive and the French counter-offensive

The pace of events accelerated during the first days of the year. It is difficult to reconstruct precisely and with certainty the movements of armed Islamist groups and Malian forces in the buffer zone north of the town of Sévaré, where the government's army was stationed. Ansar Dine, MUJAO and AQIM mobilised several dozen armed pick-ups before advancing southwards and attacking the small town of Konna, 70km from Mopti, on 9 January.[19] Ansar Dine leader Iyad Ag Ghali and AQIM chiefs seem to have played a vital role.[20] Even though many, including French officials justifying military intervention, spoke of the imminent risk of a jihadi takeover of Bamako, it is much more likely that the offensive was aiming at the airport and military bases in Sévaré to prevent foreign forces from reinforcing the Malian army.[21]

The weakness of the Malian army – despite efforts to mobilise a few operational units by the senior officers that had escaped the March 2012 purge – and the prospect of an inevitable military intervention explain the decision taken by Islamist groups to build on their advantage before their opponents were ready to act. Iyad Ag Ghali's behaviour was nonetheless ambiguous, because in December he had sent Ansar Dine representatives to talks in Ouagadougou with the MNLA and a Malian government delegation and seems to have made promises to the Algerian authorities, who until then had taken a benevolent attitude towards him.[22]

Interim President Dioncounda Traoré contacted his Ivorian counterpart, Alassane Ouattara, ECOWAS chairman, who in turn alerted the French President François Hollande of the imminent rout of the Malian army by the jihadi offensive.[23] As protocols demands, the Malian president wrote to France requesting urgent military assistance within the legal framework of relations between two sovereign states. On the day after the jihadi coalition took Konna, France officially entered the war in Mali and within hours deployed fighter planes, helicopters and hundreds of soldiers from military bases in the region or directly from French territory.[24] Large transport aircraft bringing

[19] Crisis Group interviews, Western military source and African diplomat, Bamako, 7 and 9 February 2013. Also see "Mali: les islamistes sont entrés dans Konna", RFI, 10 January 2012.
[20] Crisis Group interviews, military source, Bamako, 7 February 2013. Also see "Mali: pourquoi les jihadistes ont-ils attaqué Konna", *Jeune Afrique*, 14 January 2013.
[21] Crisis Group interviews, diplomats and foreign officials, Bamako, 5, 7 and 8 February 2013.
[22] Another Ansar Dine delegation went to Algeria in December and Algerian diplomats pushed for a rapprochement between Ansar Dine and the MNLA with a view to opening negotiations with Bamako. Crisis Group interviews, senior Malian official, Bamako, 5 February 2013, and diplomat, Addis Ababa, 17 January 2013.
[23] Crisis Group interviews, African and Western diplomats, Bamako, 7, 8 and 9 February 2013.
[24] On 11 January, while addressing the diplomatic corps in Paris, President François Hollande indicated that France would respond favourably, along with its African partners, to the Malian authorities'

troops and materials, which landed at Sévaré's strategic airport, and the deployment of fighter planes allowed the French to destroy the enemy columns, retake Konna and then Diabaly, where jihadi forces had opened a second front.[25]

French official communications became inconsistent, giving the impression of a certain level of confusion about the nature, objectives and duration of the military intervention called Operation Serval. On 15 January, President Hollande explained that the objective was "to stop Islamist aggression", "secure Bamako" and "preserve the country's territorial integrity".[26] His prime minister, Jean-Marc Ayrault, added that the intervention also aimed "to prepare for the deployment of the African intervention force authorised by the UN Security Council on 20 December".[27] On 20 January, the defence minister, Jean-Yves Le Drian, announced a clearly more ambitious objective, "the complete recapture of Mali".[28] After ending the armed Islamist groups' offensive fairly easily, the French army did indeed go on to reconquer the northern towns, with the Malian army playing a secondary role.[29]

2. A sudden but well-prepared military intervention

Although Security Council Resolution 2085 was essential for authorising the deployment of an African force in Mali and for international support to help the Malian army regain control of the north, it did not provide a convincing legal basis for France's direct and offensive military intervention. It was the appeal for military assistance from Mali's government to an ally willing to respond that gave legality to Operation Serval.[30] ECOWAS's support and Resolution 2085 reinforced the political justification for another French military engagement in Africa, in the eyes of French and international public opinion. In fact, the AU, EU, U.S. and even China supported the intervention in Mali.[31]

The launch of military operations on 11 January was not planned several weeks before and responded to the need for urgent action to save Malian forces from another debacle and retain the strategic position of Sévaré.[32] However, the French army was clearly well prepared and ready for combat in Mali. Although there were many doubts and disagreements within French military and political circles after the election of President Hollande in May 2012, direct military intervention was never ruled out. It was even clearly defended by military and civilian officials at the defence min-

request "in the framework of United Nations Security Council resolutions", and declared himself "ready to help stop the terrorist offensive". A little later on the same day, the president announced that the French army and Malian forces had engaged the enemy and aimed to stop the advance of jihadi groups towards southern Mali and ensure the security of some 5,000 French citizens in the country. On the ground, French aircraft began a series of air strikes, rapidly followed by the deployment of hundreds of soldiers and supplies at Bamako and Sévaré airports. On 11 January, several French newspapers began a news stream to follow events in Mali, see for example, the website of *L'Express* (http://bit.ly/WMrcNk).

[25] "Mali: frappes françaises sur Diabali", *Le Point*, 15 January 2013.

[26] "Hollande: 'Que faire des terroristes au Mali ? Les détruire'", *Le Monde*, 15 January 2013.

[27] "Mali: Ayrault rappelle le triple objectif de l'intervention française", AFP, 15 January 2013.

[28] "Mali: 'L'objectif, c'est la reconquête totale' du pays, selon Le Drian", *L'Express*, 20 January 2013.

[29] Crisis Group interviews, Malian and Western military sources, Bamako, 7 and 8 February 2013.

[30] "Mali: histoire secrète d'une guerre surprise", op. cit., and Roland Marchal, "Military (Mis) adventures in Mali?", *African Affairs*, forthcoming.

[31] Crisis Group interviews, diplomats, New York, 28-29 January 2013.

[32] Crisis Group interviews, diplomats and military sources, Bamako, 7 and 9 February 2013, and Paris, January 2013.

istry.[33] France pushed for the internationalisation of the Malian conflict, put the matter on the Security Council's agenda and obtained, not without difficulty, the vote of Resolution 2085.[34] However, in parallel to this plan A, which was coherent but meant a military intervention might take place in September 2013, plan B for a robust intervention by the French army was being finalised.

ECOWAS countries, equally surprised by the jihadi offensive, tried to accelerate the deployment of AFISMA troops.[35] As from 11 January, there was an increasing number of announcements about the deployment "within a few days" of troops from West African countries (Niger, Nigeria, Togo, Benin, Senegal), while Chad, a Sahel country but not an ECOWAS member, made the greatest impression by announcing it would send 2,000 troops. Some Chadian soldiers were deployed quickly to Niger, from where they headed towards Gao.[36] Chad certainly requested ECOWAS approval, but the French authorities had courted the country for several months to participate in the intervention in Mali.[37] The Chadian army, which is of considerable size, is known to specialise in fighting in hostile desert terrain, unlike the armies of the coastal West African countries.[38]

B. *The Liberation of Northern Mali*

1. Gao and Timbuktu conquered

Things moved fast after French forces became involved. Air strikes systematically targeted the enemy's logistical bases and regrouping areas, with few direct clashes with Islamist combatants. French and Malian forces recaptured the towns of Gao and Timbuktu on 26 and 28 January 2013 respectively. French forces led all the decisive operations, integrating Malian soldiers into their ranks. Resistance was very weak in Gao and completely absent in Timbuktu, even though it had been an AQIM stronghold for several months. In Gao, Timbuktu and smaller towns, the Islamists opted for a strategic withdrawal.[39] The secrecy of French military operations has made

[33] Crisis Group interviews, diplomats and senior officials, Paris and New York, December 2012, January and February 2013, and "Mali: histoire secrète d'une guerre surprise", op. cit., and Marchal, op. cit.

[34] The U.S. ambassador at the UN, Susan Rice, was particularly doubtful about whether the AFISMA concept of operations supported by France was realistic. See "Rice: French plan for Mali intervention is 'crap'", Turtle Bay (turtlebay.foreignpolicy.com), 11 December 2012.

[35] Crisis Group interview, African diplomat, Bamako, 9 February 2013.

[36] "Le Tchad va envoyer 2 000 hommes au Mali", *Libération*, 16 January 2013; and "Niger: soldats tchadiens et nigériens en route vers la frontière malienne", AFP, 26 January 2013.

[37] Crisis Group interview, African diplomat, Bamako, 9 February 2013. For a description and an analysis of the French position on Mali and the decision to choose the military option, see Marchal, op. cit., and "Le Tchad, précieux allié de la France au Mali", *Le Figaro*, 3 March 2013.

[38] The Chadian army was even used as an example by General François Lecointre, commander of the European Training Mission for the Malian Army (EUTM Mali). During a presentation in Brussels on 5 March 2013, he described the Chadian army as "an international model" in terms of its "hardiness and adaptation to its environment" and that the objective was "to avoid building a Malian army on the basis of a Western or NATO model, extremely sophisticated but not adapted to its task". See "EUTM Mali: les premiers soldats maliens opérationnels en juillet", Défense globale, blog de *La Voix du Nord* (defense.blogs.lavoixdunord.fr). However, Chad's government is not a model of democratic values, good governance and respect for human rights.

[39] Crisis Group interviews, diplomats, military officers, elected representatives of northern regions and officials of humanitarian organisations with a presence in the north, Bamako, 5-14 February 2013.

it impossible to form a precise idea of the number of combatants killed and the number of those who simply vanished.[40]

After several days spent fearing collateral damage from air strikes and fighting, the vast majority of Gao and Timbuktu residents welcomed the arrival of French and Malian forces as a genuine liberation. As reported by dozens of journalists finally authorised to enter the areas, the residents of the north's two biggest towns were relieved to see the end of the armed Islamist occupation that had deprived them of most of their freedoms for nine months.[41] Before hurriedly leaving Timbuktu, the jihadi combatants destroyed more of the town's heritage. As the town was liberated, civilian residents also looted many shops owned by Arabs and Mauritanians.[42] The recapture of Timbuktu received exceptional international media coverage with a surprise visit by the French president, welcomed as a hero on 2 February.[43]

In Gao, the people liberated from the MUJAO occupation expressed relief and joy, but many shops were looted. Settling of scores began immediately. Even though most Tuareg and Arab residents had anticipated the physical risks they ran because of their perceived sympathies, proximity or collaboration with the Islamists and/or the MNLA rebels, and decided to flee, those who stayed were attacked in the first hours of the liberation. Malian soldiers arrested alleged Islamist combatants and several reports said prisoners were tortured before being transferred to the gendarmerie and, worse, civilians were summarily executed.[44] The town's youths protected other Arabs and Tuaregs threatened with lynching.[45]

The euphoria of the liberation of Gao was quickly moderated by the lightning war's effect on the movement of populations; the restricted access to basic goods and services supplied by humanitarian organisations, which had to suspend their activities for two or three weeks because the roads had become too dangerous;[46] and the fear of new attacks. Mali experienced its first suicide bomb attack on 8 February

[40] On several occasions, the French authorities talked of "hundreds" of deaths among the jihadi ranks without giving more exact details. Access to combat zones was strictly forbidden to journalists and humanitarian organisations during and just after the start of military operations. It was only at the end of March that the Malian military authorities announced the figure of 600 Islamist combatants killed. See "Mali: 63 soldats maliens et 600 islamistes tués depuis janvier", *L'Express* and AFP, 27 March 2012.

[41] "Mali: French-led soldiers 'in control of Gao'", BBC, 26 January 2013; "Mali crisis: 'Timbuktu joy after life of fear'", BBC, 16 January 2013; "French, Malians retake Timbuktu, rebels torch library", Reuters, 28 January 2013; "Malians celebrate, French-led forces clear Timbuktu", Reuters, 26 January 2013. "Reportage au sein de Tombouctou libérée", France Info, 28 January 2013; "Mali: reportage exclusif à Tombouctou, ville 'libre'", RFI, 29 January 2013.

[42] "Nuit tranquille à Tombouctou après une journée de pillages", AFP, 30 January 2013.

[43] "François Hollande, héros de Tombouctou 'libérée'", *Le Monde*, 2 February 2013.

[44] Crisis Group interviews, humanitarian organisation official, Bamako, 14 February 2013 and diplomat, Bamako, 5 April 2013. For an account of the human rights situation in Mali since January 2013, including the allegations of atrocities committed by Malian soldiers, see "Mali: Malian army, Islamist groups executed prisoners", Human Rights Watch, 1 February 2013; "Mali: prosecute soldiers for abuses", Human Rights Watch, 21 February 2013; "Mali: soldiers torture detainees in Léré", Human Rights Watch, 26 March 2013; "Abuses committed by Malian military: urgent need for an independent investigation commission", International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH), 23 January 2013; "Mali. First assessment of the human rights after three week conflict", Amnesty International, 1 February 2013.

[45] Crisis Group interview, humanitarian organisation official, Bamako, 5 February 2013.

[46] Crisis Group interviews, human rights expert and humanitarian organisation officials, Bamako, 4-14 February 2013.

when an individual on a motorbike blew himself up at a Malian army checkpoint, without any other casualties than himself.[47] The next day, two young men wearing explosives belts were arrested 20km north of Gao before another suicide attack took place at the northern entrance to the town in the night of 9 February.[48] On 10 February, a commando of combatants, presumed to belong to MUJAO, infiltrated the city centre, sowed panic and exchanged shots for a few hours with Malian soldiers, who received reinforcements in the form of French soldiers and armoured cars.[49]

The MUJAO claimed responsibility for these attacks, which pushed the Malian army, still supported by French forces, to significantly reinforce its positions and controls in and around Gao. The situation became calmer since mid-February but sporadic attacks by combatants trying to infiltrate the town continued to occur. The MUJAO recruited many youths from local communities in the Gao region, especially from villages that had been "converted" to radical Islamism long before this round of hostilities.[50] The villages and camps in the vast region stretching from Gao to Menaka and the border with Niger, and along the road leading to Bourem, were clearly not secure. Malian, French, Nigerien and Chadian soldiers had generally done nothing other than pass through these places.[51] In some places, local armed Islamists had fled and nobody had taken responsibility for local government.

2. Kidal "liberated" without Malian forces

Located 1,500km to the north east of Bamako, Kidal is the north's third biggest town and capital of the Kidal region, which covers a wide strip of desert and a range of mountains bordering southern Algeria. Though much more sparsely populated than Gao and Timbuktu, this region has been the epicentre of all Tuareg rebellions since Malian independence.[52] The most important military leaders of the Tuareg armed movements of the 1990s and of today's MNLA and Ansar Dine, notably Iyad Ag Ghali, the deceased Ibrahim Ag Bahanga and Hassan Ag Fagaga, are from this region and belong to the socially dominant Ifoghas tribe.[53] Tuareg traditional leaders (the

[47] "Mali: L'armée renforce la sécurité à Gao après un premier attentat suicide", AFP, 9 February 2013; "Mali: un commando islamiste attaque Gao après deux attentats-suicides", *Le Monde* with AFP, 10 February 2013.

[48] "Au Mali, deux personnes arrêtées avec une ceinture d'explosifs près de Gao", *La Croix* and AFP, 9 February 2013.

[49] "A Gao, l'armée malienne entre impuissance et bavures", *Libération*, 11 February 2013.

[50] "Les soldats français et maliens traquent le Mujao à Kadji, près de Gao", RFI, 1 March 2013; "Opération Serval: sécurisation de l'île de Kadji dans la zone de Gao", French defence ministry (defense.gouv.fr), 1 March 2013. To understand the origins of the diversification of the religion and the penetration of radical reformist currents in the Gao region, see R.W. Niezen, "The 'Community of Helpers of the Sunna': Islamic Reform among the Songhay of Gao (Mali)", *Journal of the International African Institute*, vol. 60, no. 3 (1990), pp. 399-424.

[51] Crisis Group interviews, humanitarian organisation officials, diplomats, military officers, Bamako, 5, 12, 14 February 2013.

[52] According to the general census conducted in 2009, the Sikasso region had 2,625,919 inhabitants (18.1 per cent of the population), followed by Koulikoro (16.7 per cent) and Ségou (16.1 per cent). The Kidal region had the smallest population (0.5 per cent) followed by Gao (3.7 per cent) and Timbuktu (4.7 per cent).

[53] Ibrahim Ag Bahanga and Hassan Ag Fagaga, who are related, are from Tin-Essako, a "circle" (administrative unit) in the Kidal region. Ag Bahanga was killed in a car accident on 26 August 2011, after having played an important role in the creation of the MNLA. The Ifoghas are the dominant tribe in the Kel Adagh federation of tribes and were formerly established in the Kidal region. They gave their name to the Ifoghas mountains.

Kel Adagh), led by the *amenokal* (traditional chief), currently Intallah Ag Attaher, are powerful in the Kidal region.[54] Alghabass Ag Intallah, son of ageing Intallah Ag Attaher, initially joined the MNLA, but then became Ansar Dine's second-in-command, before creating the Azawad Islamic Movement (Mouvement islamique de l'Azawad, MIA) in January.[55] The local press later reported that the MIA was about to merge with the MNLA.[56]

The only one of the three northern regions that has a Tuareg majority, Kidal is also a sphere of influence of neighbouring Algeria and comprises the Ifoghas mountains, an ideal refuge for armed movements and possibly where French hostages are detained. The region had all the ingredients for a different liberation scenario than that of Gao and Timbuktu. As elsewhere, the Islamist combatants, essentially from Ansar Dine and AQIM in this region, disappeared from the town before the French troops arrived and took control of Kidal airport on the night of 29-30 January.[57] Before their arrival, on 28 January, the mainly Tuareg MNLA and MIA again showed their flexibility by claiming control of the town of Kidal and communicating their acceptance of the French military presence, but not that of the Malian army.[58] Unlike in Gao and Timbuktu, the French took control of Kidal without support from Malian units.

The Chadian forces alone joined the French troops in the second and particularly dangerous phase of the war against AQIM and its allies in the Ifoghas mountains, to the north east of Kidal. Operation Panther, which was launched on 18 February around the small town of Tessalit (controlled by French forces since 8 February), aimed to "disrupt terrorist groups and dismantle the bases from which they had withdrawn".[59] In this mountain range, fighting claimed about 30 victims among Chadian and French troops by mid-March and could go on for a long time, given the area's topography and the formidable stocks of weapons, ammunition and food by jihadi combatants.[60]

The French unilateral way to recapture Kidal and the exclusion of the Malian army from operations in this region, at least until the beginning of April, raised the very sensitive issue of how to deal with the MNLA, which is not listed as terrorist by the UN Security Council or by the U.S., but is nevertheless an armed rebel movement.

[54] The Tuaregs are divided into various groups (known as confederations) on the basis of the territory they live in: the Kel Ahaggar, the Kel Ajjer, the Kel Aïr, the Kel Adrar or Ifora (Ifoghas), the Iullemeden, the Tenguérédiff. There is also a vertical social stratification that distinguishes between nobles, warriors, religious groups, slaves, blacksmiths, freed slaves. See "Security Management in Northern Mali", op. cit.

[55] See his explanations in "Interview with Alghabass Ag Intalla, head of the Islamic Movement of Azawad (MIA)", Andy Morgan (andymorganwrites.com), 31 January 2013.

[56] See "Le Mouvement islamique pour l'Azawad (MIA) prêt à s'unir au MNLA", maliactu.net, 14 March 2013. Since this announcement, uncertainty remains about relations between the two movements, both of which have a presence in Kidal. According to one of the region's elected representatives, MNLA members are often armed and carry the movement's flag while MIA members, mainly the Ifoghas, are less visible and unarmed. Crisis Group interview, Bamako, 2 April 2013.

[57] "Après la prise de Kidal, la France appelle le Mali à dialoguer", RFI, 30 January 2013; "Mali: la prise de Kidal ravive les tensions", *Le Figaro*, 30 January 2013; "Mali: la prise de Kidal pourrait ouvrir la voie à la négociation politique", AFP, 30 January 2013.

[58] "Mali: l'enjeu de Kidal", *Le Nouvel Observateur*, 30 January 2013; "Mali: micmac à Kidal entre le MIA et le MNLA", *Jeune Afrique*, 28 January 2013; "Mali: les difficultés du MNLA à sécuriser Kidal", RFI, 1 March 2013.

[59] "Opération Serval: point de situation du 21 February 2013", French defence ministry (defense.gouv.fr).

[60] "Mali: comment les Tchadiens se sont fait piéger", *Jeune Afrique*, 8 March 2013; "Images, Mali: découverte d'armes lourdes dans l'Adrar des Ifoghas", *Le Point*, 4 March 2013; "Mali: l'Adrar des Ifoghas, repaire idéal des djihadistes", *L'Express*, 4 March 2013.

For Bamako and Malians in both the south and north who have no affinity with the MNLA, there was no reason to exclude the Malian army from operations in Kidal if France's objective was to help Mali recover its territory.[61] However, Malian leaders also understood that the French intervention was as much about reducing the terrorist threat represented by AQIM and its local allies and liberating the seven French hostages held in northern Mali as it was about recovering the north.

The French authorities are nevertheless embarrassed by the specific nature of Kidal's recapture and by what are in fact old questions about the nature of their relations with the movement that claims to represent the Tuareg cause and went so far as to proclaim the independence of Azawad last year.[62] The MNLA has had plenty of opportunities to reiterate its offer to help France fight the terrorist groups in the Ifoghas mountains. On 5 February, representatives of the movement declared they would "cooperate 100 per cent" with French forces against the "terrorists", provoking a hesitant reaction from the French government.[63] The defence minister, Jean-Yves Le Drian, spoke of "operational relations" between the French army and the MNLA in Kidal.[64] On 21 February, when questioned about possible cooperation with the MNLA rebels, the spokesperson for the French army's general staff said it was "cooperating" effectively with "groups that have the same objectives", without specifying who these groups were.[65]

As in the Gao and Timbuktu regions, the security and humanitarian situation of the civilian population remains a concern in Kidal. The fear of airstrikes in the area around Kidal and Tessalit has pushed villagers and nomadic communities to move towards the Algerian border, which is officially closed. Although it is still possible to cross the border, controls have been strengthened and the cost has increased. This has also increased the price of imported foodstuffs, almost all of which comes from Algeria.[66] Many displaced families have gathered in the town of Tinzawatène, near the border, and live in difficult conditions.[67] Members of the MNLA and the MIA, who are mostly from this region, have tried to reassure the local population about their security.[68] However, on 21 February, Kidal also experienced its first suicide bomb attack, which was soon followed by other attacks.[69] The situation then stabilised and the MNLA attempted to consolidate its position.[70]

---

[61] Crisis Group interviews, political actors, leaders of civil society organisations, elected representatives, Kidal region, Bamako, 5, 8, 11 and 12 February 2013.
[62] See Crisis Group report, *Mali: Avoiding Escalation*, op. cit.
[63] "Mali: 'Kidal est sous contrôle' (Le Drian)", AFP, 5 February 2013.
[64] "Mali: l'armée française 'se coordonne' avec les rebelles touareg", AFP, *Le Point*, 21 February 2013.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Crisis Group interviews, humanitarian organisation officials and elected representative, Kidal region, Bamako, 6,12 and 14 February 2013.
[67] See "Nord Mali: Médecins du Monde ouvre un poste de santé à Tinzawatène auprès des populations déplacées de Kidal", press release, Doctors of the World, Belgium, 6 February 2013. In the press release, the program manager in Mali said: "In less than one week, the number of families has tripled from 400 to 1,200 families, that is 6,000 people, and the influx shows no sign of slowing down .... Families are mainly composed of women, children and old people. The journey from Kidal is two days by road and they are arriving very stressed out".
[68] Crisis Group interview, elected representative, Kidal region, Bamako, 6 February 2013.
[69] "Mali: guerre invisible dans Kidal, coupée du monde", *Le Monde*, 28 February 2013; and "Attentat-suicide à Kidal: 7 morts, 11 blessés", *Le Nouvel Observateur* with AFP, 26 February 2013.
[70] The MNLA has appointed police and gendarmerie officers and even a governor in Kidal. Crisis Group interview, elected representative, Kidal region, 2 April 2013; and "Mali: le MNLA appuie la nomination d'un nouveau gouverneur à Kidal", RFI, 27 March 2013. Head of protocol under the last

3. Views of the liberation in Bamako

The absence of the Malian army (and state) in Kidal received widespread attention from the local press and Malian political and social actors. People began to question the French intervention soon after Operation Serval started. In February, there was still no severe criticism of French actions in Kidal or their attitude toward the MNLA, but concerns had already replaced the celebration of the north's liberation.[71] However, nobody questioned the need for requesting French assistance and the tough response by Paris. There was widespread understanding that the jihadi offensive directly threatened Bamako and that the Malian army could do nothing about it.[72]

Malian political and military actors and African and Western diplomats based in Bamako all agree that the war is not over. France's announcement in February that withdrawal of its forces will start in March – it was later postponed to April[73] – and would be compensated by increasing the strength of AFISMA, followed by its transformation into a UN peacekeeping force, failed to defuse concerns. French soldiers and helicopters had been necessary to combat MUJAO attacks after the group's members infiltrated Gao. The French military presence is needed for a few more months not only for operations in the Ifoghas mountains but also to protect the populations of the Gao and Timbuktu regions from repeated terrorist attacks.

The African diplomatic community's unanimous approval of the French intervention was accompanied by frustration and even "shame"[74] at having to rely on their former colonial power to avoid a disaster for the second time in two years,[75] especially as ECOWAS took the lead in responding to the Mali crisis. In defence of ECOWAS, AFISMA would have been deployed earlier if Malian military and political authorities had not spent months dithering and creating new obstacles.[76] It is nevertheless true that the result was the same as in Côte d'Ivoire in April 2011: when rapid and decisive military action is required to respond to a crisis, the former colonial power does the job. There has, however, been some criticism of the perverse effect of Operation Serval: to a certain extent, France and its European and U.S. partners mobilised the logistical resources that AFISMA needed for a quick deployment of its troops.[77]

regional governor and normally appointed by the government, Mohamed Ali Ag Albassaty is not a declared member of the MNLA and calls himself a "regional coordinator" responsible for "helping the population, providing access to water, food and health".

[71] Crisis Group interviews, political, civil society, humanitarian, military actors and diplomats, Bamako, 4-14 February 2013. As a taxi driver in the capital said, people quickly put away the little French flags that they waved during François Hollande's visit to Timbuktu and Bamako, and started worrying about the price Mali would have to pay for its liberation by a foreign power. Crisis Group interview, taxi driver, Bamako, 7 February 2013.

[72] Crisis Group interviews, political, civil society, humanitarian, military actors and diplomats, Bamako, 4-14 February 2013.

[73] "Les troupes françaises commenceront à quitter le Mali dès mars", AFP, 5 February 2013; "Mali: retrait des troupes dès April", Europe1, 6 March 2013.

[74] Crisis Group interview, African diplomats, Bamako, 7, 9 and 13 February 2013.

[75] A reference to the intervention by the French force Licorne, which was decisive in ending the post-electoral conflict in Côte d'Ivoire and arresting former President Laurent Gbagbo in April 2011.

[76] Crisis Group interview, diplomat, Bamako, 9 February 2013.

[77] Ibid.

IV. The Political State of Play and the Second Phase of the Transition

The French intervention has not only had a military impact, but has also changed the internal balance of forces and opened a second phase in the transition that should end with the organisation of presidential and legislative elections. It is essential to begin the political process of rebuilding the state, both in the south and north, but not much progress has been made.

A. *The Internal Balance of Forces after the French Intervention*

1. The civilian authorities and the ex-junta in Kati

By the end of 2012, Captain Amadou Haya Sanogo was alternating between phases in which he affirmed his political influence and periods of self-effacement in which he left centre stage to the civilian transitional authorities.[78] Having understood that regional and international actors were never going to accept a fundamental questioning of the transitional arrangements, the ex-junta's leader adopted an attitude of calculated prudence. He has appeared to be reconciled with the president, who was manhandled in May 2012 with the complicity of soldiers and civilians close to the ex-junta.[79] Sanogo no longer questions the president's authority and even worked with him to dismiss the third strongman in the transition, Prime Minister Cheick Modibo Diarra. In the night of 10-11 December, Captain Sanogo sent his soldiers to arrest Modibo Diarra and force him to announce his resignation.[80] The captain then appeared on television to explain that this was not another coup and that he was only assisting President Traoré.[81]

Since the beginning of January, like so many others, Captain Sanogo and the hard core of the military around him at Kati were overtaken by events. Having dismissed ATT's generals, the ex-junta wanted to embody the Malian army's desire to erase memories of last year's humiliation and reconquer the north,[82] claiming that it only needed logistical support from foreign forces rather than combatants on the ground. However, it played no role in either the initial military response to the armed jihadi offensive or in Operation Serval.[83] Sanogo tried hard to stay in the media spotlight by visiting Sévaré and a Bamako hospital to comfort wounded soldiers.[84]

---

[78] See Crisis Group Report, *Mali: Avoiding Escalation*, op. cit., and Crisis Group Briefing, *Mali: the Need for Determined and Coordinated International Action*, op. cit.
[79] Ibid.
[80] "Mali: le Premier ministre Cheick Modibo Diarra démissionne après son arrestation", AFP, 11 December 2012; "Démission du Premier ministre malien: l'ex-junte dément tout 'coup d'Etat'", AFP, 11 December 2012.
[81] Modibo Diarra, who was chosen jointly by Sanogo's junta and ECOWAS mediators led by Burkina Faso, felt he was only subject to the authority of the interim president, especially as the 6 April framework agreement gave the prime minister "full powers" to lead the transition. See Crisis Group Report, *Mali: Avoiding Escalation*, op. cit., and Crisis Group Briefing, *Mali: the Need for Determined and Coordinated International Action*, op. cit.
[82] "Le capitaine Sanogo face à des troupes lundi: 'l'armée n'attendra pas septembre 2013 pour libérer le Nord'", *Les échos* (sur aBamako.com), 5 December 2012.
[83] Crisis Group interview, Western military source, Bamako, 7 February 2013.
[84] "Mali: 'La France a joué un rôle capital', soutient Sanogo", *Le Point* with AFP, 13 January 2013; and "Mali: Le capitaine Haya Sanogo rend une visite aux blessés de guerre de Bamako", video available on YouTube (http://bit.ly/ZxG0AV), 23 February 2013.

However, he attracted very little attention at a time when France was demonstrating its military power by installing a base at Bamako airport and preparing a column of armoured cars to go to the front lines.

The ex-junta had long expressed reservations about deploying West African forces in Mali, especially in the south, in order to retain a monopoly of the use of force against possible military opponents (for example the "red berets" associated with the ATT regime) and maintain constant psychological pressure on all civilian political actors.[85] By establishing its headquarters at the Kati garrison, the junta also retained control over army resources, including stocks of weapons and ammunition. Despite the clear desire of the French soldiers to maintain a discreet presence and remain almost invisible in the capital, they undoubtedly changed the political balance of forces, even though the French army is unlikely to ever open fire on Malian soldiers. Meanwhile, the ex-junta's involvement in the manoeuvre to destabilise the transitional institutions just before the start of Operation Serval exposed Sanogo as a permanent threat to the transition.

The head of the ex-junta has not been sidelined, as shown by the 13 February ceremony that officially inaugurated him as president of the military committee formed to monitor reform of the defence and security forces. Appointed by presidential decree six months earlier, on 8 August 2012, he took office with great formality in the presence of all senior Malian political and military figures, including the president. The creation of this committee was the result of a hasty compromise designed to find a role for leaders of the ex-junta.[86] The committee's mission is to help prepare a program to reform the defence and security forces in cooperation with the defence and internal security ministers and supervise the monitoring and evaluation of its implementation.[87]

Although the high-level inauguration of Sanogo should not be interpreted as an upturn in his fortunes or an indication of his resilience, neither would it be appropriate to conclude that the military intervention has ended the ex-junta's influence. The coup was the result of a profound, grave and deep-rooted crisis in the governance of the armed forces and was at least tolerated by many troops and non-commissioned officers. It was the deterioration in relations between the soldiers and the military hierarchy that allowed Sanogo to take centre stage, and easily sideline the generals and appoint new senior officers for the various army corps. The ex-junta appointed all the military ministers, who now hold sensitive posts in the government, and the senior officers in the defence, security and intelligence services, including the infamous state security service, the Direction Générale de la Sécurité d'Etat, which continues

[85] For more on the atrocities committed by the junta after the coup, in particular, the attacks on civilian politicians, see Crisis Group Report, *Mali: Avoiding Escalation*, op. cit. The "red berets", soldiers of the Paratroopers' Commando Regiment (RCP), were responsible for the security of President ATT, himself a former commando paratrooper. After the March 2012 coup, the RCP soldiers were considered to be hostile to the "green berets" who formed the majority of army troops. At the end of April, a group of "red berets" and other soldiers attacked the positions held by the junta's soldiers in Bamako, which was interpreted as an attempted counter-coup. The clashes left dozens dead on both sides and about twenty soldiers arrested by the junta disappeared. 22 soldiers were executed. Crisis Group interview, military source, Bamako, 14 February 2013. Also see "Mali: les dessous d'un contre-coup d'État manqué", *Jeune Afrique*, 7 May 2012.

[86] These commitments were part of the framework agreement signed on 6 April 2012 by ECOWAS and the coup leaders. See ibid.

[87] According to Law 12-26/AN-RM of 29 June 2012, which officially created this committee.

to harass Sanogo's enemies.[88] Even though they are not completely under the control of Sanogo and may be tempted to keep their distance, they continue to report to him and remain indebted to him.[89]

The remains of the Malian army command structure is composed of officers, mainly colonels, who were not close to the former president and who enjoy a minimum of respect from the rank and file. This has allowed it to accompany French forces in the recapture and reoccupation of the northern towns. Without necessarily being close to Sanogo's junta, these officers emerged following the coup, which was above all a "class revolution" within the armed forces. Sanogo presented himself as defender of the material interests of soldiers who were on low pay and living in miserable accommodation in the camps, while making sure, according to many observers, to improve his own lifestyle and that of his fellow coup leaders.[90] Despite the alleged excesses, atrocities and crimes committed by members of the junta, and although the coup contributed to the country's disintegration, many people remain convinced that corruption, disorganisation and negligence had reached such a level within the defence and security forces that radical change was required.[91]

The civilian transitional authorities, the future elected government and Mali's international partners must not forget that the country's political leaders were primarily responsible for the collapse of the defence and security forces. Governments that are weak and lack legitimacy also lack credibility and cannot impose their decisions on the military. The initial response to another clash between "green berets" and "red berets", which Sanogo wanted to disband, showed that the army chief of staff had forgotten he was subject to the political authorities, the government and the president, who is the commander in chief. He had initially believed that the crisis was exclusively within the competence of the military authorities.[92] Fortunately, the president and the prime minister repaired the damage when they took a conciliatory and reasonable attitude in order to defuse the conflict.[93] However, President Traoré will find it hard to assert his authority over the armed forces.[94]

---

[88] The Direction générale de la sécurité d'Etat's most recent intervention was to question the director of *Le Républicain* newspaper, Boukary Daou, on 6 March, because of the publication of an open letter to the military denouncing the privileges granted to Captain Sanogo after he was appointed to lead the committee monitoring army reforms. Granted provisional release on 2 April, the journalist was hooded, ill-treated and humiliated during his detention on government security premises. Crisis Group interview, Bamako, 3 April 2013. Also see "Insécurité à Bamako: L'inquisition continue", *Le Prétoire* (sur malijet.com), 11 March 2013.

[89] Crisis Group interviews, Malian officials and diplomats, Bamako, 5, 7, 14 February 2013.

[90] During the days that followed the coup, the junta controlled all the state's financial accounts and Kati became a centre for the distribution of favours by Captain Sanogo. Many rumours circulated in Bamako about the change in the lifestyle of Sanogo and other junta members. Crisis Group interviews, Bamako, senior Malian civil servant and Malian officer, 8 and 14 February 2013.

[91] Crisis Group interviews, experts on military questions, Bamako, 11 February 2013.

[92] Crisis Group interviews, senior officers, Bamako, 8 and 14 February 2013. Early in the morning of 8 February, the security forces (soldiers, green berets, gendarmes and police officers) surrounded the red berets' base at Djicoroni-Para (a district of Bamako) deploying many vehicles. Shots were heard for several hours. Only civilians were hit, including one child who was killed. See "Mali: le camp des bérets rouges de Djicoroni encerclé par les forces de l'ordre", RFI, 8 February 2013.

[93] "Mali: vers une restructuration des bérets rouges au sein de compagnies propres", RFI, 16 February 2013.

[94] Many remarked that the soldiers do not have good memories of his time at the defence ministry between April 1993 and October 1994. Crisis Group interviews, experts on military questions, political actors and senior officer, Bamako, 9, 11 and 14 February 2013.

2. The transitional authorities and the other political and social forces

Military intervention in the north ended the mobilisation of various political and social movements against the interim president. Even though some of these movements appeared after the coup and expressed support for the junta, they were never going to be content with such a restricted role. They see themselves as the most radical opposition to the "old guard" represented by Dioncounda Traoré, ex-president of the National Assembly under President ATT and official candidate of the Alliance pour la démocratie au Mali-Parti africain pour la solidarité et la justice (ADEMA-PASJ) in the presidential election cancelled last year.[95] Traoré, who became interim president by virtue of a forced return to constitutional order, promised not to contest the presidential election that will bring the transition to a close, as demanded by ECOWAS. However, he is still seen as a protector of the interests of the Bamako political elites that dominated the corridors of power under ATT and, even before that, Alpha Oumar Konaré.[96]

Traoré represents precisely the political class that Captain Sanogo's junta and many political and social actors and a significant part of the population wanted to drive out of power. Very weak during the first phase of the transition (April to December 2012), the most symbolic episode being the brutal attack on him on 21 May, the president has regained some political space since the liberation of the north and the simultaneous neutralisation of the ex-junta and others calling for a national dialogue to question the transitional institutions. Since Diango Cissoko replaced Cheick Modibo Diarra on 11 December, the president has even greater control of the transition now that he no longer has a political rival as prime minister.

The appointment of Diango Cissoko strengthened the feeling in Bamako that the political consequences of the coup had been neutralised by the return of the "old" political leaders that were responsible for the country's collapse.[97] Like Dioncounda Traoré, though certainly a bit less political, the current prime minister is part of the "old system".[98] Many people fear the return of the ATT and ADEMA regime officials under cover of the duo formed by Traoré and Cissoko. Other influential politicians

[95] One of the co-founders of the ADEMA-PASJ in 1990, the movement that spearheaded the opposition to General Moussa Traoré's dictatorship and crucible of the dominant political class for the last twenty years, the current interim president was minister of the civil service, labour and modernisation of the administration (June 1992-April 1993), minister of state for defence (April 1993-October 1994) and minister of state for foreign affairs, Malians abroad and African integration (October 1994-August 1997). Elected deputy in 2007, Dioncounda Traoré led the ADEMA-PASJ parliamentary group during the entire 1997-2002 legislature, before losing in the 2002 election. President of the party for a while, he was again elected deputy in the elections, which ADEMA-PASJ won amid growing popular discontent, and was elected president of the National Assembly, a post he occupied until the events of last year propelled him into the post of interim president after the formal resignation of the overthrown head of state, ATT.

[96] Crisis Group interviews, political and civil society actors, diplomats, Bamako, 4-14 February 2013.

[97] Crisis Group interviews, political and civil society actors, Bamako, 10, 11 and 12 February 2013.

[98] After occupying many administrative posts, Cissoko joined the government in December 1984, as justice minister under President-General Moussa Traoré, before becoming secretary general of the presidency (February 1988-June 1989) and secretary general of the presidency with ministerial rank (June 1989-March 1991). After General Traoré fell and Alpha Konaré came to power, he kept a low profile as a senior civil servant before returning to favour in November 2002, after the election of ATT, as director of the prime minister's cabinet with ministerial rank. In January 2008, he regained his favourite post in the strategically important role of secretary general of the presidency until he was appointed mediator of the republic in 2011.

also fear that experienced senior civil servants close to ADEMA will control the transition as preparations proceed for presidential and legislative elections.

The political class remains clearly divided. The main party leaders, who know each other well and generally worked together during the presidency of Alpha Oumar Konaré (1992-2002), seem to be expecting a genuine explanation to take place on who was responsible for the gradual destruction of ethics in the management of public affairs – or in other words, washing of dirty laundry in public. In this context, there may be a new challenge to the legitimacy of the interim president at the end of April, the end of the one-year period set for the transition, or in July if – or rather when – elections are postponed.[99]

B. *A Still Laborious Political Process*

Preparations for military action, particularly regarding the conditions for deploying ECOWAS forces, and diplomatic efforts to obtain the Security Council's authorisation clearly took precedence over the political process in the final months of 2012. Security Council Resolution 2071 (12 October) urged "the transitional authorities in Mali to present a detailed roadmap for transition with concrete steps and timelines and to accelerate efforts towards the strengthening of democratic institutions and the restoration of constitutional order in the Republic of Mali through the holding of timely, peaceful, inclusive and credible elections by the end of the transition". The same resolution urged "the transitional authorities of Mali, the Malian rebel groups and legitimate representatives of the local population in the north of Mali, to engage, as soon as possible, in a credible negotiation process in order to seek a sustainable political solution, mindful of the sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Mali".

The occupation by the armed groups of the entire northern part of country made progress in preparations for the elections more difficult. Almost all Malian political actors agreed on the need to delay elections in a divided country. Negotiations with the armed groups were restricted to Ouagadougou, where President Compaoré continued to maintain contact with MNLA and Ansar Dine. However, neighbouring countries, France and the Malian authorities were never convinced that he had a chance of success.[100] Whether a line could be drawn between terrorist groups and armed groups defending legitimate political objectives remains uncertain.[101]

Resolution 2085 (20 December) again insisted on the need for a political process in response to the government's slowness in producing a roadmap. The political battle about how to conduct the national dialogue that was supposed to prepare a consensual roadmap lasted for months. The replacement of the prime minister and the liberation war in the north allowed the Cissoko government to dispense with a broad consultation of political and social actors when producing a roadmap. Presented to the National Assembly, it was unanimously adopted by those deputies present on 29

[99] For more on the preparation of the elections, see below.
[100] Crisis Group interviews, diplomats, Bamako, 7 and 9 February 2013, and Paris, February 2013.
[101] Algeria tried to build bridges between the MNLA and Ansar Dine and worked hard to obtain favourable treatment for the latter group until Iyad Ag Ghali's about-face at the end of December 2012. The Algerians were surprised by his decision to launch a military offensive on the south and considered this move to be unforgiveable "treason". Crisis Group interview, security expert, 5 February 2013.

January, despite the many observations made during the session.[102] The government had already negotiated in advance the support of parliamentary political forces, whose legitimacy was as questionable as that of the interim president. Legislative elections were due last year and the deputies had an interest in affirming their role in the transition.

Given the vague contents of the roadmap, it could have been presented much earlier. Everyone understood that the primary aim of the exercise was to satisfy the repeated demands of external partners who made the presentation of a credible roadmap a condition for resuming the financial aid suspended since the coup. This was particularly true of the EU and its member countries with regard to their bilateral aid.[103] Little effort went into preparing the roadmap and little attention was paid to its contents when it was completed. The partners unanimously greeted the existence of this document and announced the resumption of their cooperation with the Malian government.[104]

The roadmap says that "the government continues to prioritise dialogue with groups that do not question the territorial integrity and constitution of Mali" and focuses on the two major components of the transition, which are the restoration of national territorial integrity and the organisation of free and transparent elections.[105] One of the objectives under the first heading was to hold "a dialogue with the following preconditions: renunciation of the armed struggle; crimes against humanity and war crimes committed during the period of belligerence should not go unpunished; support for the principles of democracy and the rule of law; support for the unitary character of the Malian state; and compliance with all provisions of the Mali constitution".[106] The "National Commission for Dialogue and Reconciliation", which "will be created in February 2013" and will have an "inclusive composition", is responsible for the supervision of the dialogue. The roadmap added that, "in particular, all northern communities shall be represented".[107]

The end of February deadline was not met, but on 6 March, a presidential decree officially created the Dialogue and Reconciliation Commission (CDR) for a two-year period.[108] Its mission was to "organise a dialogue to promote reconciliation between

[102] "Mali: Les députés votent 'une feuille de route' politique pour l'après-guerre", AFP, 29 January 2013; "Assemblée nationale: la feuille de route de la transition fait l'unanimité", *L'essor* (sur malijet.com), 31 January 2013.

[103] The restrictions are even stricter in the case of the U.S., which cannot provide direct assistance to a government resulting from a coup. That is why Washington's priority demand is for the organisation of elections.

[104] "Bruxelles va reprendre son aide au Mali, soit 250 millions d'euros", Euronews, 12 February 2013; "La France va reprendre son aide au Mali", Europe1 with AFP, 4 February 2013.

[105] Feuille de route pour la transition, prime minister's cabinet, Republic of Mali, January 2013.

[106] The document states that "discussions can cover (i) further decentralisation; (ii) consideration of specific regional characteristics in the design and implementation of public policies; (iii) the development of infrastructure, especially the opening up and exploitation of natural resources".

[107] The other priorities mentioned under this heading are the resumption of administration in the liberated areas, including a program to restore infrastructure; the voluntary return of refugees and displaced people in the north, their reintegration and the implementation of a "program of intercommunal dialogue to restore coexistence and the will to live together of populations within the north and between populations in the north and south"; and finally, the fight against impunity and referral of the "perpetrators of all human rights violations, particularly violence against women" to the relevant national and international jurisdictions.

[108] It must be composed of 33 members (a president, two vice-presidents and 30 commissioners) appointed by the president from "among the dynamic forces of the nation". On 30 March, the pres-

all Malian communities", and more specifically to "draw up an inventory of the political and social forces interested in the process of dialogue and reconciliation; identify armed groups eligible for dialogue in accordance with the roadmap for the transition; record cases of human rights violations in the country since the beginning of hostilities until the complete recapture of the country; propose ways of overcoming the traumas suffered by the victims; identify and propose activities to strengthen social cohesion and national unity; highlight the virtues of dialogue and peace; contribute to the emergence of a national consciousness and the support of all citizens for the general interest; promote the country's democratic and socio-cultural values, especially the right to be different".[109]

The roadmap also clarified the process for presidential and legislative elections, which the 6 April 2012 framework agreement set as the transitional government's second objective. It reaffirmed that the president, prime minister and members of the government would not be able to contest in order "to guarantee the neutrality of the electoral process". Former Prime Minister Cheick Modibo Diarra, who wanted to stand for president, did not welcome this decision, but his replacement, Diango Cissoko, and interim President Traoré accepted it, even though the latter was to be ADEMA-PASJ's candidate at the cancelled elections planned for June 2012. However, that will not be enough to reassure the main candidates, who fear ADEMA-PASJ will regain control of electoral administration to the advantage of that party's candidates.[110]

Regarding technical preparations, the debate on the electoral register to be used in the next elections – whether to update the allegedly consensual existing electoral register or create a new biometric register – was settled in favour of the latter, in accordance with the wishes of most political actors. The register will use biometric data collected in the 2009 Civil Status Census (RAVEC), which targeted Malian citizens aged 15 and over and registered details of 6.8 million people.[111] Transforming this register into an electoral roll will require a census of the youngest voters (born in

ident and the two vice presidents of the commission were finally appointed. "Commission dialogue et réconciliation au Mali: les premières nominations rendues officielles", RFI, 31 March 2013.

[109] Decree 2013-212 of 6 March 2013 on the creation, organisation and operational procedures of the Dialogue and Reconciliation Commission.

[110] Leading candidates for the party's nomination include Ibrahima N'Diaye, Soumeylou Boubeye Maïga, Ousmane Sy, Kassoum Tapo and Dramane Dembélé. A former minister of employment and professional training under ATT, Ibrahima N'Diaye is the party's interim president and vice president of the Front uni pour la défense de la démocratie et de la République (FDR), which opposed the 22 March 2012 coup. Soumeylou Boubeye Maïga is a former director of the Direction générale de la sécurité d'Etat, former defence minister and former foreign minister under ATT. Ousmane Sy was minister of territorial administration and local government under President Konaré and is an expert on decentralisation and governance. In December 2012, he was appointed secretary general of the presidency by Dioncounda Traoré. Former president of the Bar, Kassoum Tapo has had a high profile since the coup, as spokesperson for the FDR. Ex-student leader, an educated engineer with experience in the mining industry, at the age of 46, Dramane Dembélé sees himself as representing the party's new generation. See "Présidentielle: 20 candidats dans les rangs de l'Adema", maliactu.net, 13 March 2013; "Adema: 8 candidats (déjà) en course pour l'investiture", *L'Aube* (sur malijet.com), 25 February 2013; "Primaires de l'ADEMA-PASJ à l'élection présidentielle de juillet 2013: un quatuor final Kassoum Tapo, Ousmane Sy, Iba N'Diaye et Dramane Dembélé", maliactu.net, 8 April 2013.

[111] Crisis Group interview, expert, Bamako, 10 February 2013. Also see "Audit du Fichier électoral consensuel (FEC) et évaluation du fichier population issu du Recensement administratif à vocation d'état civil (RAVEC)", final report, January 2013.

1995) and an analysis of the geographical distribution of voters in order to decide where to locate polling stations.[112]

After the interim president's commitment to organising elections by the end of July, the territorial administration minister announced in February that the first and second rounds of the president election will take place on 7 and 21 July and the first round of the legislative elections will take place on 21 July.[113] Many national and international actors did not welcome such an ambitious timeframe, which does not seem very realistic given the technical tasks ahead and the need to create the conditions for these elections to be meaningful for all Malian citizens. The decision to partially hold the presidential and legislative elections together was later abandoned.[114]

[112] Ibid.
[113] "Colonel Moussa Sinko Coulibaly face à la presse: 'Le Premier Tour des élections présidentielles aura lieu le 7 July 2013'", *La Nouvelle Patrie* (maliweb.net), 19 February 2013.
[114] See Section IV.B for an analysis of the conditions necessary for holding credible elections and for developments in April.

V. Expanding the National and International Roadmaps

A. *Identifying Threats to Security and the North's Real Problems*

1. Assessing security needs at the local level

Mali's security needs should be identified on a region by region basis, taking into account the local dynamics revealed by the military intervention. The town of Gao and the surrounding area were the scene of the most diverse responses by the presumed terrorist elements of MUJAO that controlled the region. For a few weeks, they achieved their objectives, which were to maintain fear and prevent the population from resuming their normal life. But despite sporadic attacks, calm has generally been restored since the beginning of March, and displaced people have started to return home.[115] The attacks on Gao confirmed the presence of a large number of MUJAO combatants just a few dozen kilometres outside the town.

For the next few months, the situation in Gao and the surrounding region will require a strong presence of Malian and foreign forces, including special units for the detection of explosive devices and mine clearance, as well as a limited but experienced force capable of reacting in the event of further infiltration by armed groups, a role the French have played until now. Only developments on the ground will allow for the adjustment of security arrangements to meet evolving needs. However, an intense security campaign throughout this vast region and cooperation between the security forces and the civilian population ought to be able to greatly reduce the risk of serious attacks.[116] The French and Malian forces have undertaken several search operations in the area around Gao and found large caches of arms but few or no combatants.[117]

The other immediate and lasting security need in the Gao region is to protect the civilian population that could be subjected to violence by elements of the Malian security forces or other civilians because of their suspected membership or cooperation with the MUJAO or MNLA. A strengthened presence of disciplined Malian gendarmerie, police and foreign forces will be indispensable.

The days after the recovery of Timbuktu were calmer than in Gao, with the exception of looting, which further sacked a town that had already suffered much destruction by the armed jihadis. There were no significant attacks by the armed groups that had occupied Timbuktu and other places in the region (Niafunké, Léré, Diré, Goundam) until 21 March, when combatants attacked the airport zone.[118] Ten days later, a new coordinated attack by elements who infiltrated the town before being killed shook Timbuktu again,[119] raising fears that the MUJAO, which had not had a major presence in this region, might be opening a new front. After the MNLA's brief occupation, it was Ansar Dine and AQIM that took control of the region. Since the military intervention, however, the lines have blurred between the MUJAO, Ansar Dine and AQIM.

---

[115] "Mali: à Gao, des cars bondés ramènent les déplacés ayant fui les jihadistes", AFP, 12 March 2013. On 25 March 2013, according to official UN figures, the Mali crisis led to the displacement of 470,285 people (177,637 refugees and 292,648 internally displaced). See "Mali Humanitarian Snapshot as of 25 March 2013", OCHA, http://bit.ly/12KUN31.

[116] Crisis Group interviews, military sources and diplomat, Bamako, 7 February, 2 and 5 April 2013.

[117] "Mali. Opération d'ampleur dans la région de Gao", AFP, 9 April 2013.

[118] "Attaque de djihadistes à Tombouctou", AFP (lemonde.fr), 21 March 2013; "Mali: une dizaine de jihadistes tués à Tombouctou", AFP (leparisien.fr), 21 March 2013.

[119] "Calme relatif à Tombouctou après un week-end d'affrontements", AFP, 1 April 2013; "Au moins trois jihadistes tués à Tombouctou", AFP, 1 April 2013.

In addition to the mobile combatants of AQIM and the Tuaregs recruited by Iyad Ag Ghali who shuttled between the three regions with their column of armed trucks, most members of Ansar Dine in small places like Diré were mainly Tuaregs, perfectly well known by their neighbours. Most of them left just before the start of French air strikes and have not reappeared.[120] In this region as well, it will be necessary to maintain a large security force for many months to protect the town of Timbuktu, especially the symbols of the state, from further terrorist attacks; prevent intercommunal violence and settling of scores; and create the conditions for the quick and safe return of residents who fled in anticipation of reprisals. Very few Arab families remain in Timbuktu and significant efforts and concrete measures will be required to help them overcome their fear.[121]

In Timbuktu, many Arab-owned shops were looted and evidence suggests that Malian soldiers arrested Arab residents who were later found dead. The repatriation to Bamako of five soldiers suspected of committing atrocities was good news,[122] even though the investigation has made no further progress.[123] Malian political and military leaders must work even harder to prevent atrocities by the armed forces and punish the perpetrators immediately. The challenge of restoring coexistence of the different communities remains daunting. Some have seen their neighbours join the ranks of the MNLA and then Ansar Dine and impose their law for months, and warn that they will not allow themselves to be taken by surprise again. "If there is another rebellion in the area, it will be extremely violent", an elected representative of Diré told Crisis Group.[124]

The serious security risks in the Kidal region could compromise the gains obtained so far in terms of restoring peace. A distinction must be made between the military operations by French and Chadian forces seeking out combatants and arms caches in the valleys of the Ifoghas mountains, which were continuing at "a moderate pace" at the beginning of April,[125] and the risk of violence against civilians in the town of Kidal and to a lesser extent Tessalit. It is in the Kidal region that the question arises about how to treat the MNLA and how to reestablish the Malian state other than through a military confrontation with the movement, which has no intention of laying down its arms before negotiations with Bamako.[126] Although many Malians are angry that the French forces were not accompanied by the Malian army when they entered Kidal at the end of January, the country's leaders know that their army was incapable of carrying out that task on its own and that it did not even attempt to do so.[127]

As the Malian army continues to re-equip itself with weapons, ammunition and vehicles, the country's military and political leaders could be tempted to launch a recapture of the Kidal region, which would have every chance of turning into an armed confrontation with MNLA combatants. The latter are present in the town of Kidal as

[120] Crisis Group interview, resident of Diré, meeting of people from the Timbuktu region, Saly, 22 February 2013.
[121] Crisis Group interviews, political actor and senior Malian official of Arab origin, Bamako, 3 April 2013.
[122] "Soupçons d'exactions des militaires sur les civils à Tombouctou: deux sous-officiers et trois caporaux entre les mains de la gendarmerie", *L'Indépendant* (maliweb.net), 1 March 2013.
[123] Crisis Group interview, diplomat, Bamako, 5 April 2013.
[124] Crisis Group interview, resident of Diré, meeting of people from the Timbuktu region, Saly, 22 February 2013.
[125] Crisis Group interview, military source, Bamako, 2 April 2013.
[126] Crisis Group interviews, Malian political actors and diplomats, Bamako, 2-5 April 2013.
[127] Ibid.

well as in Tessalit and In Khalil. However, the nature of the MNLA's presence in Kidal in April 2013, which was not previously one of its base, is unclear and has undoubtedly changed since the beginning of the war in January. The "MNLA of Kidal" comprises not only the movement's original combatants, who are from the Gao region, but also armed elements that controlled Kidal under the banner of Iyad Ag Ghali's Ansar Dine, who is himself from the town. The Ansar Dine leaders who participated in talks in Ouagadougou in December and broke away from Ag Ghali at the beginning of January created the MIA, mainly composed of Ifoghas, but the MNLA and the MIA would probably join forces against the Malian army.[128]

The possibility of a military confrontation in this region between the Malian army, which could seek revenge for the 96 men it lost at Aguelhoc in the Kidal region last year, and Tuareg rebels, whether they claim they belong to the MNLA or not, cannot be ruled out. This would be the worst-case scenario because there would be a major risk that Malian soldiers would fail to distinguish between rebels and civilian Tuaregs.[129] Everything should be done to avoid this scenario, including providing a political response to the MNLA problem and rapidly deploying AFISMA forces followed by the UN mission. The risk of violence in Kidal is increased by the antagonisms between the Imghad and Ifogha Tuareg tribes and between Tuaregs and Arabs. Like elsewhere, the fight for political and economic control of the Kidal region could well provoke the configuration and reconfiguration of alliances between the different groups.[130]

2. Understanding the trafficking and transnational crime

The combined effect of AQIM's main activity, the abduction of Western hostages, and the discovery by Latin American networks of the Sahel-Saharan option for transporting cocaine has destroyed almost all legal economic activities in northern Mali. The hostage business, like drug trafficking, can only be conducted by armed groups and therefore goes hand-in-hand with arms trafficking and a level of insecurity that is incompatible with traditional economic activities. Tourism in the Malian, Mauritanian and Niger desert, which employed mainly young Tuaregs, has obviously been destroyed. The massive gap between the profits from hostage taking and drug trafficking and those from non-criminal economic activities has further devastated the traditional economy, inexorably attracting the young and the not so young as well as a section of the local elites into the now prevalent criminal economy.

Transnational crime has had a major impact on the political, economic and social dynamics of northern Mali in recent years. "Trafficking has killed economic development in the north", said a development expert in the Kidal region, who explained that "when drug traffickers offer CFA30 million in cash to young Arabs or Tuaregs for transporting a single batch of cocaine through a particular part of northern Mali,

[128] The MIA has already announced a rapprochement with the MNLA, which should be confirmed in May.
[129] Crisis Group interviews, Malian political actors and diplomats, Bamako, 2-5 April 2013.
[130] People from the region see a connection between the 2009 local elections, the weakening of the Ifogha notables' political power (to the advantage of the Imghad, traditionally vassals) and security problems in this region. Moreover, some conflicts may be related to drug-trafficking disputes between Arab and Tuareg groups, for example, the attack against the MNLA on 23 February 2013 at In Khalil near the Algerian border, for which the Arab Azawad Movement (Mouvement arabe de l'Azawad, MAA) claimed responsibility. Crisis Group interviews, elected representative, Kidal region and senior Malian official, Bamako, 2 and 3 April 2013. For more on the MAA attack, see "Des avions français bombardent le Mouvement arabe de l'Azawad", *Le Monde* with AFP, 25 February 2013.

how are they going to be interested in agricultural and pastoral development projects worth CFA3 billion over five years?"[131] Highly lucrative trafficking is not new to the region, for example, cigarettes from the coastal countries cross Burkina Faso before going through Mali. But the arrival of Latin American cocaine in the Sahel has had an explosive financial impact and clearly changed the balance of economic and political forces.

Even though it is difficult to conduct research on this subject because of the lack of evidence, the main trafficking routes are well known.[132] The organisers of the cocaine trade, especially its transport on what is only a section of a long route between production locations in America and the main areas of consumption in Europe, are also quite well known by the local populations.[133] The trade has expanded since the mid-2000s. The cocaine routes generally begin on the coast, especially in Guinea and Mauritania, before crossing northern Mali, then Algeria or Libya, to Egypt and the Middle East before entering Europe.[134] There are several routes across the Sahel, each one with its network of carriers and protectors, including members of the civilian and military authorities in each country.

The most precise information about the involvement of political and military figures in organised criminal networks concerns Mali.[135] But in Mauritania and Niger as well, groups that are well known locally for controlling part of the traffic are socially and politically influential.[136] The controversy over the cocaine traffic often obscures the trade in cannabis resin produced in Morocco. The groups involved are also transnational and include Moroccan, Saharan, Mauritanian, Malian, Nigerien, Algerian and Libyan networks.[137] No national solution will suffice to tackle a transnational problem that is linked to powerful political, military and economic interests. Neither is there an exclusively military or security solution. The rhetoric that lumps together terrorists, drug traffickers and rebels is counterproductive and makes little sense. The network of actors, partners, accomplices and profiteers at different levels of these trafficking operations is much bigger and more heterogeneous than that of the armed groups.

3. Isolating transnational terrorism and long-term religious radicalisation

The issue of Islamist terrorism is as transnational as trafficking; the French and African forces' striking victory over AQIM and its allies in Mali should therefore not be seen as a victory over terrorism in the region. The quantity and quality of arms, ammunition and logistical capacities discovered by French and Chadian soldiers as they penetrated the Ifoghas mountains leave no doubt as to the role of the area as a stra-

[131] Crisis Group interview, development expert, Kidal region, Bamako, 12 February 2013.
[132] In the case of arms trafficking, which is the main source of insecurity, the itineraries usually mentioned are the Kidal-Tin-Essako-Vallée de Tamassina-Tédjérert-Algerian and Niger border route in the Kidal region and the Timbuktu-Mauritanian border-Polisario zone in the Timbuktu region. "Security Management in Northern Mali", op. cit.
[133] Ibid.
[134] Wolfram Lacher, "Organized Crime and Conflict in the Sahel-Sahara Region", Carnegie Papers, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, September 2012.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Ibid.

tegic rear base for terrorist groups.[138] The intervention has undoubtedly disrupted and seriously weakened these groups for some time. However, there is no lack of jihadi support or weapons in Algeria, Libya, Tunisia and even Morocco. Without a regional approach to security involving all countries of North Africa and the Sahel, the threat will quickly return. There is no reason to be optimistic given the serious weakness of the political and security systems in countries like Libya and Tunisia and the opacity of the Algerian politico-military regime.

A different but related question that must be taken seriously is the penetration of religious currents that promote an interpretation of Islam likely to justify the armed struggle – a problem that all countries in the Sahel, West and North Africa face. Important lessons must be learned from the nine-month occupation of northern Mali by the jihadis. Apart from their arms, what factors allowed a group like the MUJAO to establish itself in the Gao region and recruit young people so easily, some of whom were sufficiently indoctrinated to die for the jihadi cause?

As an interlocutor of Crisis Group in Bamako said, "the fighting starts in the head and this is where we need to start when fighting extremism".[139] Another added, "when someone invokes God when asking you to do something, he's asking you to keep your mouth shut .... The argument of God is definitive .... Some villages in the Gao region were ready and waiting for the arrival of the fundamentalists because they had been converted to Wahhabism a long time ago".[140] The conversion of populations that practiced a traditional form of Islam to more radical currents of Islam imported from other regions does not necessarily mean armed struggle and terrorism. However, religious radicalisation can certainly lead to acceptance of, or participation in, armed jihadi groups.

> In northern Mali, there have always been Saudi Arabia-trained preachers that have promoted Wahhabism in both north and south without that leading to excesses in the application of the sharia; later, Pakistani, Egyptian and other preachers brought the *dawa* to the region and, along with Iyad [Ag Ghali], they toured nearly all the mosques in Mali. When the armed groups arrived, they did not find it difficult to recruit members.[141]

The leaders of the armed groups were foreigners, especially Algerians and Mauritanians, and people from several West African countries joined the MUJAO, including Nigerians linked to Boko Haram.[142] However, the local recruitment of Peul and Songhay Malians in the Gao region calls for a reflection on the link between, on the one hand, medium- and long-term developments in ideological currents within the Islamic community and, on the other, the propensity for extremism followed by armed jihadi mobilisation. Many Malians rightly believe that a public debate on the religious di-

[138] French military sources mentioned 100 tonnes of weapons and ammunition. Crisis Group interview, Bamako, 2 April 2013.
[139] Crisis Group interview, security expert, Bamako, 5 February 2013.
[140] Crisis Group interview, resident of the north working in Kidal, Bamako, 12 February 2013.
[141] Crisis Group interview, resident of the north working in Kidal, Bamako, 12 February 2013. Commonly called *dawa* or *tabligh*, the Jamaat ut-Tabligh is a missionary movement of Indian origin introduced to Mali in the mid-1990s. The *tabligh* preaches a rigorous Islam of personal redemption and does not seem to have a political goal.
[142] A diplomat indicated that about 30 Nigerians (speaking both English and Hausa) were identified among the wounded in Gao hospital during military operations.

mensions of the crisis is indispensable and urgent and that an "ideological combat" needs to be organised against the extremist currents.[143]

At present, the Malian authorities must pay particular attention to the treatment of people arrested on the basis of their alleged membership of the armed Islamist groups, especially in the Gao, Timbuktu and Mopti regions.[144] To use only repression, without trying to understand how economic, social and cultural exclusion and the absence of the state promoted Islamist radicalisation in many places in northern and southern Mali, would be both ineffective and dangerous. A distinction should be made between membership of an armed group that claims to be Islamist and support for radical currents that question secularism and defend certain Islamic practices and/or the imposition of sharia. The crisis in Mali and the destructive role played by armed groups such as AQIM and the MUJAO in the name of jihad provide an opportunity that the leaders of Mali and all West and North African countries should seize in order to further undermine the credibility of extremist religious currents without resorting to anti-terrorist rhetoric.

4. Developing a fair and balanced view of the north's problems

The MNLA was formed by politically motivated young Tuareg graduates and elected Tuareg political representatives in the north linking up with a military wing formed by Tuaregs who had rebelled at the beginning of the 1990s and had been recruited by the Malian army and well-armed Tuareg combatants returning from Libya after Qadhafi's fall.[145] However, they have so far been unsuccessful in their attempt to unite the Tuareg elites with representatives of other northern communities. Iyad Ag Ghali, another important leader in the 1990s rebellion who became an adviser to ATT and then a radical Islamist close to AQIM, decided to create his own movement, Ansar Dine, with a different jihadi agenda from the independence-seeking and non-Islamist MNLA. Moreover, not all Tuareg communities are in favour of resorting to an armed rebellion to demand independence or even autonomy for the three northern regions.

There is not one but several Tuareg communities that share the Tamashek language and culture and that have either formed settlement or nomadic communities in the three northern regions, while only forming a majority in the Kidal region.[146] The rigid and complex social stratification of the Kel Tamashek, as well as the antagonisms and struggles for influence between tribes with a noble and others with a not so noble historical tradition, are well known.[147] Malian Tuaregs are far from having a

[143] Crisis Group interviews, Bamako, 5, 12, 13 February 2013, meeting of experts, Addis Ababa, 19 January 2013.

[144] Between January and April, 159 people under arrest were brought to court, which released 27 of them. About 10 per cent of those arrested were foreigners from several countries (Nigeria, Tunisia, Algeria, France, Burkina Faso...). Crisis Group interview, diplomat, Bamako, 5 April 2013.

[145] See Crisis Group report, *Mali: Avoiding Escalation*, op. cit.

[146] According to the 2009 census, the population of the Kidal region was 67,638 habitants, compared with 544,120 for the Gao region, 681,691 for Timbuktu, 2,037,000 for Mopti (centre) and 2,625,919 for Sikasso.

[147] Southern Malians in power in Bamako have always exploited the rivalries within the Tuaregs in order to contain and even combat the groups more likely to rebel against the Malian state, but these divides also reflect a situation that has developed over many years. Tensions between the Tuaregs of the noble Ifoghas and the "vassal" Imghads are just one example of internal rivalries within the Kel Tamashek. See Crisis Group report, *Mali: Avoiding Escalation*, op. cit.

shared view of the way they have been and are currently treated by the Malian state, dominated in Bamako by their compatriots from southern and central communities. Tuareg intellectuals, especially those in the Kidal region, explain that the indiscriminate repression of the 1962-1963 revolt left its mark and that the parents of the leaders of the 1990s rebellion had been killed, martyred or humiliated by the Malian army during the first years of independence under President Modibo Keita.[148]

The 1990s rebellion mobilised several Tuareg communities and also the Arab communities of northern Mali, probably because the northern populations were so clearly marginalised.[149] However, significant developments have taken place since the beginning of the 1990s and the signing of a National Pact. The MNLA claims the marginalisation of the Tuaregs and the populations of Azawad, including the Songhay, Peuls, Bozos, Arabs and other communities in the Gao and Timbuktu regions, has fuelled the 2012 rebellion. But both the southern elites in Bamako and some elected representatives and officials in the north disagree. The latter point out that the 1990s rebellion ended with the state's recognition of the political, economic and cultural marginalisation of the northern populations, particularly the Tuaregs and the Arabs, and that the National Pact has led to genuine progress.[150]

---

[148] Violent repression in the Kidal region combined with distrust and ignorance of the Tuareg nomadic culture by the black southern political and military elite formed during the colonial period, and later the droughts of the 1970s, pushed many Tuaregs towards Algeria and especially Libya. Qadhafi welcomed them and recruited some of them into his army, such as Tuareg rebel leaders Ag Bahanga and Ag Ghali before they returned to Mali and launched a rebellion in 1990. Crisis Group interviews, Tuareg intellectuals, Bamako, 6 February 2013; Addis Ababa, 17 January 2013; Saly (Senegal), 22 February 2013 (during a meeting of elected representatives and community leaders in the Timbuktu region, organised by the international NGO Humanitarian Dialogue). Also see Crisis Group Report, *Mali: Avoiding Escalation*, op. cit.

[149] As a young Tuareg said, "until 1990, the town of Kidal was considered to be and treated like a prison and the administration did not let foreigners into the town". He added that there was not a single Tuareg officer in the Malian army until the early 1990s, but that all of that changed with the 11 April 1992 National Pact; "after 1992, there were 200 officers [approximate figure] from all Tuareg groups in the Malian army". Crisis Group interview, Tuareg intellectual, Bamako, 6 February 2013. When asked about the marginalisation of the Tuaregs, the deputy Assarid Ag Imbarcawane, representing Gao, said the same, "the 11 April 1992 Pact changed everything. It provided a way of enforcing positive discrimination towards the northern populations. This was what happened .... We recruited 3,500 young men into the army, the security services, the civil service, bypassing examination procedures .... We made some of them commanders, captains, lieutenants, non-commissioned officers and managers. I am talking about the Malian state, not me. So there was positive discrimination in favour of the Tuaregs. It benefited all the northern populations". "Assarid Ag Imbarcawane, 2ème Vice-président de l'Assemblée Nationale: 'Il n'y a pas de problème touareg au Mali'", *22 septembre*, 11 February 2013. He is a member of the political circle in the capital where he is perceived as "a Tuareg in Bamako".

[150] This was also the reaction of parties and political groups in the Front uni pour la sauvegarde de la démocratie et la République (FDR), which opposed the March 2012 coup. The UN Secretary-General's report of 29 November 2012 stated that, among the causes of the crises affecting Mali were "deep-seated feelings among communities in the north of being neglected, marginalized and unfairly treated by the central government". In a statement released on 1 December 2012, the FDR said that, "such allegations fail to take account of efforts made since the signature of the National Pact on 11 April 1992 to strengthen integration and national cohesion in Mali". The statement mentioned "the reintegration of 2,540 demobilised rebel combatants into the economy through the funding of 886 individual and collective projects" as well as "the introduction of the principle of decentralised administration by local authorities with the creation of 703 communes throughout the country". The FDR also said that "in Mali, the Tuaregs have occupied or occupy all positions in the state apparatus (prime minister, ministers, president of the high council of local authorities, vice-president of

The situation in Mali cannot be described today as a conflict between, on the one hand, a southern centralist state, where corruption is rampant, that oppresses Tuaregs and Arabs, colludes with drug traffickers and helped AQIM establish itself in the north and, on the other, an MNLA that represents all Tuareg communities, is the standard-bearer of all their legitimate demands and that is not involved in corruption, trafficking or the establishment of armed jihadi groups. It is certainly true in recent years that MNLA members have sometimes publicly denounced the ATT presidency, its alliances with traffickers, particularly Arabs, in the Timbuktu and Gao regions and its toleration of AQIM, which has sometimes seemed to go as far as collusion in the Western hostages business.[151] However, many MNLA members and locally influential elected representatives in the north, not to mention Tuareg army officers who deserted to join the rebellion and who were as much involved in northern affairs as their southern brothers-in-arms, are directly implicated in the kind of activity that led to the decline of the state.[152]

The Azawad as claimed by the MNLA is much bigger than the areas with a Tuareg majority, and Tuaregs are predominant within the movement. This had led many Malians in both the south and north to lump together, on the one hand, Tuaregs who took advantage of the state's decline and unexpected armed reinforcements from Libya and the young Tuaregs who joined up out of solidarity or opportunism with, on the other hand, all the Tuareg families who live peacefully and, like other communities, struggle to survive daily, and did not want to finish up once again in refugee camps in Mauritania, Algeria or Burkina Faso.[153]

The collapse of the state has revealed multiple fault lines that distract from a dispassionate analysis of the north's real problems, for which Mali must find solutions if it wants to restore and preserve its sovereignty without having to face a rebellion on a regular basis. An assessment of what the state has really done for its northern populations over the last two decades is necessary, and should go beyond claiming the existence of a National Pact and other peace agreements, the important number of Tuaregs in the armed forces, the customs service and state administration, or that major development programs in the north were managed by Tuareg elites. To affirm that Bamako has enforced a deliberate policy of discrimination is unfair, but to pretend that the northern populations have no legitimate demands is incorrect.

Although all of Mali's regions have suffered from corruption and bad governance, resulting in ineffective education, health, infrastructure and economic and social development policies, the north, where natural conditions are difficult, has paid a par-

the National Assembly, general directors, diplomats, regional governors, circle prefects, etc.)". The FDR stated that "several organisers of the rebel armed groups were deputies in the National Assembly, members of the high council of local authorities and members of the armed and security forces before their defection" and that "on the eve of the January 2012 rebellion, the Malian army had 258 officers of Tuareg or Arab origin in its ranks". See "Crise malienne: le FDR récuse le rapport de Ban Ki-Moon", *Le Républicain* (on maliweb.net), 3 December 2012.

[151] See Crisis Group report, *Mali: Avoiding Escalation*, op. cit. and Lacher, "Organized Crime and Conflict in the Sahel-Sahara Region", op. cit., which provides evidence of collusion between Malian government representatives under ATT and AQIM's criminal networks.

[152] Crisis Group interviews, elected representatives in the north, Tuareg intellectuals, expert in development questions in the north and senior officer, Bamako, 6, 12 and 14 February 2013; and meeting of experts on Mali, Addis Ababa, 17 January 2013.

[153] Discussions between residents of the Timbuktu region at a meeting organised at Saly (Senegal) by Humanitarian Dialogue, 22 February 2013.

ticularly high price or at least its populations believe so.[154] For years the government has been announcing major infrastructural projects for the north, but many important public works only really began in 2010-2011, towards the end of President ATT's second term in office, when the security situation was already giving cause for concern.[155] Political actors in Bamako and the local press constantly claim that billions of CFA were allocated to development programs in the north over the years. The problem is that some of this money was never really invested in services for the population. There have been some achievements in the three regions but certainly not enough to meet expectations or justify the amount of official resources involved.

Although corruption at the "centre" among political leaders and senior officials is widely considered to be responsible for development failures in the north, the elites in control of local governments have also sought individual enrichment. Decentralisation in Mali has showed its limitations but nevertheless exists and a significant amount of money has been allocated to northern regions managed by locally elected representatives who have not been instated by Bamako.[156] There is also misuse of public office for personal gain in the communes, the most common practice consisting of elected representatives creating companies to which they award public procurement contracts.[157] As these companies do not have the necessary expertise, the work is never carried out or is only carried out after major delays or is of poor quality.[158] This situation transcends regional characteristics and skin colour, and makes it difficult for elected Tuareg representatives who joined the MNLA to claim they are victims of corruption in Bamako.

Two other questions need answers in order to avoid a sterile debate: how much has been spent in the north and who stole the money, southerners from Bamako, Tuaregs and Arabs co-opted by Bamako or Tuaregs and Arabs independent from the central government? It is not enough to deplore the absence of economic development in the north, particularly in the desert areas far from the more hospitable zones along the Niger River. The cost of projects, such as village water supply projects, is much

[154] For example, with regard to road infrastructure, very little has been done to break the isolation of northern towns despite the promises made at the time of the peace accords. As a diplomat in Bamako stressed, "it is inconceivable that there is not a proper road between Bamako and Timbuktu, a world heritage site, nor between Gao and Kidal", and he added that it was necessary "to prioritise opening up northern Mali because roads promote economic links and strengthen ties between communities". Crisis Group interview, African diplomat, Bamako, 7 February 2013.

[155] During their conquest of the north, the armed groups got their hands on millions of euros worth of lorries, heavy construction engines and other equipment in the premises of enterprises working on contracts for the construction of new tarmacked roads, notably in Niafunké in the Timbuktu region. This has not received much coverage, however. Crisis Group interview, private sector operator, Niamey, 2 January 2013.

[156] Mali has 761 local authorities (703 communes, 49 circles, eight regions and the district of Bamako). The regions are administered by governors, the circles by prefects and the urban communes by sub-prefects, all government appointees. The decentralised representative bodies are the regional assemblies, the circle councils (whose members are indirectly elected) and the communal councils (directly elected). Some aspects of the central government's jurisdiction have been transferred to the newly-elected organs: registry offices, census, records and documentation, police administration, hygiene and sanitation. There is a gradual transfer of "specific jurisdictions" (education, health, water and natural resources management). See "Etude sur le bilan et les perspectives de la décentralisation au Mali", final report, study carried out by CATEK with support from the European Development Fund, the ministry of regional administration and local government, March 2011.

[157] Crisis Group interview, expert on development questions in the north, Bamako, 12 February 2013.

[158] Ibid.

higher in the north than in the south and they benefit far few people.[159] Experts in development policies in the Sahel are well aware of the technical and financial constraints on implementing projects in vast areas with a very low population density and inhabited by nomadic communities. These are nevertheless formidable obstacles for poor countries.

The problem is also inherently political, because a relatively under-populated region like Kidal carries very little electoral weight in the political battle waged in the capital. According to estimates by experts, at the end of 2013, the population of the entire Kidal region (without taking into account the impact of internally displaced people and refugees resulting from the crisis) will be 38,499, compared with 289,490 in the Gao region and 363,207 in the Timbuktu region, while the five other regions and the district of Bamako each have more than one million voters.[160] Presidential candidates or an elected president are thus very unlikely to worry about the needs of people living in Kidal.[161] Another implication of this situation is that a Tuareg politician from Kidal with political ambitions in Bamako has very little chance of winning a national election.[162]

The electorate of the three northern regions combined is approximately 700,000 in 2013, less than each of the country's other regions. An expert explained to Crisis Group:

> There is a flawed perception of the north's problems. People do not understand how natural constraints increase costs. The political elite in Bamako do not understand and they are not interested because of its very small electoral significance.[163]

Decentralisation was a sensible and positive response to the 1990s rebellions as locally elected representatives have an electoral interest in listening to the population and working towards building infrastructure. However, several studies assessing the results of decentralisation in Mali have confirmed that the corrupt practices of the central government have been reproduced at the local level; resources have remained limited; there has been a glaring lack of local skills; and electoral competition has not always been healthier and more democratic than at the national level.[164]

---

[159] Ibid.

[160] See "Audit du Fichier électoral consensuel (FEC) et évaluation du fichier population issu du Recensement administratif à vocation d'état civil (RAVEC)", op. cit.

[161] Northern populations have nineteen deputies in the National Assembly (eight for Gao, seven for Timbuktu and four for Kidal). A total of 147 deputies are directly elected for five-year terms, representing the circles of Mali and the communes of Bamako district. The electoral law provides for one deputy per 60,000 inhabitants (on the basis of the 1996 administrative census) and a second deputy for each additional 40,000 to 60,000 inhabitants. However, electoral constituencies of less than 40,000 inhabitants have the right to a deputy, which makes it easier for sparsely populated regions like Kidal to be represented, each circle of which sends a deputy to the National Assembly.

[162] Tuareg tribes, which have significant experience in the exercise of power, are understandably frustrated at being ruled by a political authority that is geographically and culturally distant. They also feel threatened in their own region by a system of local democracy that questions the traditional authorities of their society.

[163] Crisis Group interview, expert on development questions in the north, Bamako, 12 February 2013.

[164] For an assessment of the results of decentralisation, see "Etude sur le bilan et les perspectives de la décentralisation au Mali", op. cit.; and Younoussa Hamara Touré (AEMA), "Décentralisation dans le Nord Mali, le pouvoir local, de la colonisation aux collectivités locales: continuité ou rupture ?", *Traverses*, May 2006.

B. *Promoting a Political Peace and Reconciliation Process*

1. Establishing a peaceful political arena before the elections

The government's roadmap does not really clarify its view of how to resolve the crisis. It prioritises the organisation of elections, scheduled for July, although much remains to be done. Above all, the situation requires a dialogue between Malians at several levels. The apparent lack of political tension in Bamako since the liberation of the north should not overshadow the deep suspicion and mistrust that will increase as elections approach. The fear of a major post-electoral investigation into corruption, which could result in judicial proceedings, has raised the stakes of the forthcoming elections.[165]

Unless political actors show they are willing to defuse tensions, the electoral campaign risks deepening fault lines in a society that is already weakened by inter-communal strife and a difficult economic situation. In particular, competition could be high between candidates in the presidential and legislative elections who seek to respond to the radicalisation of public opinion in the south by taking an increasingly hard line against the Tuareg and Arab minorities in the north.[166]

The risk of a post-electoral crisis adding to an already very complex situation should not be underestimated. The presidential election will be particularly open and nobody can anticipate the impact of the political and military crisis on the vote. Challenges to the results of the first or second round of the presidential polls would open up the possibility of violence and chaos in a still fragile country.[167] In addition to the need to create the technical, logistical and security conditions necessary for election results to be credible, presidential candidates must make a solemn promise to accept the results or to contest them exclusively through legal means, to conduct an electoral campaign compatible with the objective of national reconciliation, to introduce policies seeking reconciliation if they win and, finally, to organise legislative elections as soon as possible and, in any event, before the end of 2013.

2. Launching an inclusive inter-Malian dialogue

Different sectors of Malian society agree that the need for a dialogue between northern communities should be one of the priorities of the second phase of the transition, in order to facilitate reconciliation and restore security for all internally displaced people and refugees, whatever their origins and skin colour. Given the diversity of local situations and the specific consequences of the occupation on each region in the north, dialogue should begin with local initiatives in the north, at the level of circles and then regions, and include all legitimate authorities: locally elected representatives, traditional authorities, religious authorities, women's and youth organisations, especially those formed during the occupation to resist and mediate between the population and armed groups. In particular, women from all northern ethnic communities should be as largely represented as possible.

A dialogue between the northern populations is urgent and should have simple and clear short-term objectives: end the fear of score-settling by Malian security forces and civilians failing to distinguish between members of armed groups and members

[165] The expected influx of foreign aid in a post-crisis context could also intensify the competition for political power.
[166] Crisis Group interviews, Malian political actors and diplomats, Bamako, 3-5 April 2013.
[167] Ibid.

of the communities from which these groups recruited. They should send a signal that coexistence between the Songhay, Peuls, Tuaregs, Arabs and other communities is once again possible. This reconciliation initiative should start immediately to allow for a quick return of displaced people, especially refugees, and to create an environment conducive to enthusiastic and widespread participation by northern communities in the elections.

The CDR, formally created on 6 March for a two-year mandate and whose establishment is underway,[168] has a crucial role to play in reconciliation. It should begin work immediately and continue under the authority of whoever wins the presidential elections. It should prepare a workplan and focus clearly on actions that will promote a security and peace environment in the north before the elections. Communication is essential to create dynamics favourable to peace or at least to counter those distributing messages of vengeance, hate and fear that encourage distrust between communities. The current government has itself "not said anything on the issue of intercommunal tensions since military operations started", as highlighted by an interlocutor of Crisis Group.[169]

The implementation of a genuine communications policy to promote peace and reconciliation is urgent. State radio and television stations as well as community radios, which have a large audience in remote areas, should be mobilised to this effect. The government should, at the same time, create a mechanism to monitor the media in order to detect messages inciting hate and violence. Those who broadcast such messages should be publicly denounced, punished and prosecuted in accordance with Malian law.

One of the CDR's tasks listed in the 6 March decree is to identify "the armed groups eligible to participate in the dialogue and reconciliation process". This is certainly its most delicate task because it requires consideration of whether to include the MNLA. Although there is broad consensus on the need for an intercommunal dialogue, the majority of political and civil society actors is opposed to negotiations with the MNLA. Political and civil society actors in Bamako reiterate that, "we have to discuss with everybody but it is out of the question to negotiate exclusively with armed Tuareg groups as has been done in the past".[170] Average citizens are often even more strongly opposed to negotiations with the MNLA for the reasons described above.[171] International arrest warrants issued against MNLA and Ansar Dine leaders are consistent with a hardline approach that is much more popular than negotiations.[172]

---

[168] By 10 April, only three of the 33 members of the CDR had been appointed. The president of the commission is Mohamed Salia Sokona, a civilian administrator, former minister for the armed forces (1997-2000) and former ambassador to Burkina Faso and Niger (2000-2003), and France (2003-2010). The first vice president is Touré Oumou Traoré, who is currently director of the very well-known and well-organised Coordination des associations et ONG féminines du Mali (CAFO). The second vice president is Méti Ag Mohamed Rhissa, lieutenant-colonel in the customs service and a Tuareg from Aguelhoc, in the Kidal region. The other commissioners should be appointed very soon.

[169] Crisis Group interview, political actor, Bamako, 8 February 2013.

[170] Crisis Group interviews, Bamako, 5-14 February 2013.

[171] In an opinion poll conducted in Bamako in February 2013, close to two thirds of those questioned were against negotiations and advocated the use of force. 72 per cent of those who favoured negotiations believed that they should involve representatives of northern communities. Only 18 per cent believed they should involve jihadi or political armed movements. See "Mali-Mètre, enquête d'opinion 'Que pensent les Maliens', 13-20 February 2013", Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Bamako.

[172] An arrest warrant has been issued for 28 people, including Alghabass Ag Intallah and Hamada Ag Bibi (Ansar Dine); Bilal Ag Chérif, Moussa Ag Assarid, Mohamed Djéry Mohamed Ag Najim and

The most reasonable option that takes account of the profound doubts about the credibility of the MNLA's agenda is to include its members and/or supporters in the dialogue without giving them more weight and legitimacy to speak on behalf of one or more northern communities than the unarmed representatives of these communities. As they claim to defend the interests of the people of Azawad, the MNLA leaders cannot refuse to discuss with representatives of the Tuareg, Arab, Songhay, Peul and other northern communities. The challenge is therefore twofold: encourage the MNLA to participate in an open dialogue on the north's real problems and to renounce its armed struggle, and persuade Bamako that it should not impose so many preconditions on talks – such as, for example, requiring the MNLA to immediately disarm – that it closes the door to dialogue.

In fact, an informal and discreet negotiation with MNLA leaders is required to discuss how to include their representatives or supporters in the dialogue and how to create the conditions for the stabilisation of the Kidal region, which is necessary to ensure its residents will be able to vote in the forthcoming elections. Although the region carries little electoral weight, its vast and strategic territory is an ideal rear base from which to regularly launch armed rebellions. The most reasonable and realistic way for the Malian state to regain control of Kidal and to maintain lasting security there is to compromise with representatives of the region's Tuareg communities, to make sure these isolated populations feel included and to take account of Algerian interests in this border area.

3. Redeploying the state in the north and reviving the local economy

An immediate priority is to restore public services in the Gao and Timbuktu regions, in addition to stationing army personnel and gendarmes in the towns. The public service infrastructure, which was already insufficient, was partly destroyed or looted at the start of the conflict last year or just before and during the January military operations.[173] Public buildings and houses that accommodated civil servants must be refurbished to allow the administration to resume work, which is also a condition for reviving the economy in places where only trade in basic products has been possible for almost one year. The rapid reestablishment of the administration and the refurbishment and construction of infrastructure should be integrated into a special emergency plan for the north. After all, the state should prioritise the needs of these communities that were largely left on their own for nine months, all the more so as foreign aid has been unfrozen.

Reestablishing the state and reviving the local economy through public works should be seen as a powerful instrument for peace. There should also be a break with past practices. Elected representatives and community leaders of the regions concerned should participate in discussions on all the important decisions on the restoration of the state in the north. The government must also establish specific procedures to guarantee transparency in the use of funds allocated to the north and in the recruitment procedures for public sector jobs. The fight against all forms of corruption and

Ibrahim Ag Assalley (MNLA); Oumar Ould Hamaha (Oumar le Barbu) of Ansar Charia and AQIM; Sidi Mohamed Ould Boumama (Sanda), Chérif Ag Attaher and Aliou Mahamane Touré (MUJAO).

[173] These public buildings were occupied and turned into logistics depots and therefore became targets for French air strikes. When alleged MUJAO members again infiltrated Gao and Timbuktu in February and at the end of March, they again targeted public buildings and took up positions there until they were bombarded by French air strikes.

nepotism must start now. Those who have spent time in the north recently say that citizens' attitudes have changed after the long months of occupation during which they had to organise themselves in order to survive.[174] They may not allow central government representatives or even locally elected representatives who have spent the last few months in Bamako to simply return and start telling them what to do again.

4. Creating the conditions for credible elections

As is often the case in this context, the organisation of presidential and legislative elections will be the focus of attention in the coming months. However, if the results do not truly reflect the voters' wishes and if the future president and deputies do not learn the lessons of the state collapse, the elections will not help resolve the crisis. The conditions for meaningful elections are not yet in place and will not be met by July. The government must urgently refurbish public infrastructure in the north, restore public services and create an environment conducive to a peaceful electoral campaign, while bearing in mind the population's concerns with its security and access to food, health and education. Elections are meant to create legitimacy, it would thus be regrettable if the turnout were even lower than in previous polls.

Preparations for the elections are on track. Important work was already completed before the rebellion and the coup. An electoral assistance project managed by the UN Development Programme (UNDP) has been implemented. During recent months, work has restarted on technical tasks, a mission to identify needs has been deployed by the UN's electoral assistance division and the EU has funded an audit to explore the two options available for the electoral register.[175] The experts and the authorities have identified the technical difficulties that need to be overcome under pressure from the tight deadlines imposed by the political situation. It is now important to rapidly mobilise the necessary funds and carry out a series of complex tasks within a very short period of time.[176]

One of the most important challenges is to ensure that internally displaced populations and refugees are registered on the voter rolls, and to take the practical measures needed for them to vote.[177] Their participation in the legislative elections is particularly difficult to organise because they can only vote in the constituencies where they normally live. This partly explains why the idea of holding the second round of the presidential elections and the first round of the presidential election at the same time was abandoned, with priority given to the presidential election.[178] There is still a broad political consensus about how to organise elections and the minister responsible for regional administration, Colonel Moussa Sinko Coulibaly, has a good reputation, though he is close to the leader of the ex-junta – he was his chief of staff during and right after the coup. But his capacity to manage the different

[174] Crisis Group interviews, Malian political actor and diplomat, Bamako, 4 and 5 April 2013.
[175] Crisis Group interview, expert, Bamako, 10 February 2013.
[176] In February, the estimated budget for the entire electoral process was $121 million, with Mali contributing only $50 million.
[177] Crisis Group interview, expert, Bamako, 10 February 2013.
[178] As often happens, important political actors do not seem hostile to the priority given to the presidential election. Crisis Group interviews, transitional authorities and political actors, Bamako, 3-5 April 2013.

levels of electoral administration, still dominated by officials closely associated with the old guard, remains to be seen.[179]

The current political system does not seem to be able to produce new leaders capable of breaking with the past. Malians seem profoundly disappointed with the entire political class, although perceptions of the integrity of each leading politician and presidential candidate vary with the extent of their involvement in past mismanagement of public affairs.[180] The most optimistic observers believe that change after the elections will not come from the individual elected as president, but from the collective demands of Malians, especially young people, for a change in governance. They believe the crisis has generated enough awareness to stop future leaders from managing public affairs as they please and to the exclusive advantage of their families, clans and political clientele, even if they are drawn from the same elite that has governed the country for years.[181]

The strong demand for political accountability does not mean it will happen automatically. Work must begin now to create the conditions for these elections to ensure a change in governance is possible in future – as it cannot happen immediately. External partners should support civil society's attempts to make the origin of the candidates' financial resources a discussion point during the campaign. In addition to the usual civil society coalitions to observe the elections, a group of citizens should be created to articulate precise questions to the candidates and to use the media to inform the public about candidates' parties, proposals and responses to key questions on the country's future. Nobody is expecting the forthcoming elections to produce miracles, but everything should be done to stop them exacerbating the crisis and to help them produce a legitimate government.

C. *Initiating a Meaningful Reform of the Defence and Security Forces*

There is no doubt that the Malian army was in a poor condition before the debacle between January and the end of March 2012 when the MNLA and Ansar Dine chased it out of the north. The mutiny followed by a coup in March revealed the full extent of the deterioration of the armed forces and the complete breakdown in trust between the generals on the one hand and many non-commissioned officers and the rank and file on the other. The deadly clashes between the red beret parachute commandos

[179] Crisis Group interview, diplomat, Bamako, 10 February 2013. A diplomat believes that the appointment in January of Babacar Sow, who was secretary general of the regional administration ministry for years under ATT and has a perfect understanding of the system, to the position of chief of staff of the prime minister, could strengthen the prime minister's and president's control of the electoral process.

[180] The most important candidates to the cancelled presidential election originally scheduled for June 2012 were Soumaïla Cissé, ex-minister and ex-president of the West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU) and candidate of the Union pour la république et la démocratie (URD); Ibrahim Boubacar Keïta (IBK), the former prime minister and former president of the National Assembly, candidate of the Rassemblement pour le Mali (RPM); Dioncounda Traoré, former president of the National Assembly, candidate of the ADEMA-PASJ; and Modibo Sidibé, the former prime minister and loyal supporter of ATT. One year on, the same candidates will be in the race, except for Dioncounda Traoré, who became interim president and who will make way for the candidate chosen by the ADEMA-PASJ. Also important in Malian politics are the Parti pour la renaissance nationale (PARENA) led by Tiébilé Dramé, which has been very active since the crisis began, and the Congrès national d'initiative démocratique (CNID) led by Mountaga Tall.

[181] Crisis Group interviews, young Malian officials, Bamako, 8 and 9 February 2013, and political actor, 4 April 2013.

and the green berets at the end of April 2012 and the equally violent settling of scores that followed showed the real state of the army. Those who believed in Captain Sanogo's good faith and capacity to restore order and integrity into an undisciplined army corroded by nepotism, of which he himself was a product, were quickly disappointed. In fact, there is no shortcut to restoring the Malian army and the entire defence and security forces.[182]

The EU was the first to take the initiative to help Mali rebuild an army capable of fighting, and at the time, with a view to recovering the north. Discussions in Brussels and among member states initiated by France – as with all Mali-related issues – resulted in the creation of the European Union Training Mission (EUTM Mali).[183] The launch of Operation Serval and the recapture of the north by France and the few Malian army forces able to participate in combat operations did not interfere with implementation of the EU initiative. European trainers subsequently arrived in Bamako as the Malian army was trying to establish a presence on the ground in the north.[184] Despite the evident difficulty of conducting training while urgent measures are being taken to secure the national territory, the mission remains valid. However, Mali cannot dispense with a complete overhaul of its defence and security forces, which will take several years.[185]

D. *For a UN Mandate Tailored to Mali's Needs*

In April 2013, the UN Security Council will take important decisions about the UN's policy and military presence in Mali. Since January, France and Chad have provided troops, on the basis of their bilateral political agreements with Mali, and ECOWAS countries have sent contingents as part of the AFISMA. On 8 March, the about 2,000-strong Chadian contingent officially joined the AFISMA, increasing the mission's total number of soldiers to 6,300. The mobilisation of financial resources for the AFISMA and for re-equipping the Malian army was the main concern of ECOWAS

[182] The police must also be reformed. In some quarters, it is considered to be in a "worse state" than the army. It is very divided and favouritism is rampant. Family and friendship ties determine promotions and budget allocations. Crisis Group interviews, gendarmerie officers, police officer, political actor, Bamako, 8, 14 February 2013.

[183] "Mise en place de la mission de formation de l'UE au Mali", press release, Council of the European Union, 13 January 2013.

[184] The EUTM's objective in Mali is to place military advisers alongside the army's general staff and to train four battalions of 650 soldiers each in one year (two and a half months for each battalion). On 8 February 2013, a first contingent of 70 men arrived in Bamako to assess the army's command structure and identify its "massive" needs. Training by around 150 European military personnel officially began on 2 April and a first battalion should be operational in July "with command structures, to carry out and lead operations in the north", in the words of the French general leading the mission, François Lecointre. The mission includes about 550 military personnel, including trainers, support staff and protection battalions, divided between Bamako, where its general staff is based, and Koulikoro, where the training centre is located. 22 European countries are participating. After France, the main contributor with 207 men, the others are Germany (71 soldiers), Spain (54), the UK (40), the Czech Republic (34), Belgium (25) and Poland (20). See "EUTM Mali: les premiers soldats maliens opérationnels en juillet", Défense globale, Les Blogs de *La Voix du Nord* (defense.blogs.lavoixdunord.fr), 5 March 2013.

[185] Accounts by Malian officers and soldiers all describe the poor management of the armed forces in every aspect during the last decade, including recruitment, training, management, discipline, respect for superiors and the integrity of the senior officers who ought to have set an example. According to Malian officers, basic training was neglected to such an extent that some soldiers never fired a gun during training. Crisis Group interviews, senior officers and soldier, RCP, Bamako, 8 and 14 February 2013.

and the AU. The donors' conference on Mali organised by the AU on 29 January in Addis Ababa obtained promises of contributions totalling $455 million, equivalent to around half the budget proposed by African organisations.[186]

However, the fear of sending an under-equipped African force into an extremely difficult environment requiring costly logistical support, because of the lack of reliable financial support, quickly led to a proposal to transform the AFISMA into a UN peacekeeping operation. There has been no real debate, at least in the Security Council, because France and the U.S. quickly reached agreement on the principle of authorising a UN force to secure the reconquered towns and facilitate political dialogue after the announced gradual withdrawal of the French forces. France and the U.S. initially seemed to have settled the question of forming a UN mission too hastily.[187] The decision seemed based on the French wish to get out of the Malian quagmire as soon as possible, or at least cease to be the main external actor, rather than on a detailed analysis of Mali's needs after Operation Serval.

Since January, France has made a series of rather confused announcements on the duration of its military involvement. Aware that external military operations produce little domestic political gains in the long term, Paris had no wish to continue almost single-handedly carrying the financial and political burden of the war effort in Mali.[188] However, the UN general secretariat did discuss the option of rapid military involvement by the international organisation. On 22 January, at a session of the Security Council, the under-secretary general for political affairs, Jeffrey Feltman, expressed the secretariat's reservations about deploying a UN mission in a context described by France as a war against terrorism.[189]

On 6 February 2013, the French ambassador at the UN, Gérard Araud, told the press that any mission would be a traditional peacekeeping operation, with AFISMA troops becoming blue helmets. However, he recognised that the Malian authorities were reluctant about the deployment of a UN mission that would be very visible in the south of the country and in the capital. In a letter to the UN Secretary-General dated 12 February, the Malian president noted that "the objective of liberating Malian territory has not yet been completed and peace has still not been established" and requested that the international community's presence "be configured first to sustain the restoration of territorial integrity, the restoration of peace and then stabilisation of the country". President Traoré called on the Secretary-General to support "the

[186] The U.S. promised $95 million, France $63 million, in addition to its military contribution, and the AU promised $50 million from its own funds.

[187] "We agreed that the African force in Mali should be placed under the UN's authority as quickly as possible", said the U.S. vice president, Joe Biden, alongside the French president, François Hollande, at the end of a working lunch on 4 February in Paris. "Mali: Biden et Hollande à l'unisson", AFP (Europe1.fr), 4 February 2013.

[188] The burden also means that France is increasingly exposed to terrorism in West Africa, on its own soil and elsewhere in the world. Whether the abduction of French hostages or other terrorist attacks on the borders of north Nigeria and north Cameroon, in Algeria and elsewhere were motivated by French military involvement in Mali or not is not relevant; what matters is that the question will be raised every time it happens. The feeling that intervention has opened up a Pandora's box that will be difficult to close is widespread.

[189] Feltman explained to Council members that UN assistance for offensive military operations would endanger the organisation's civilian personnel in the region. These reservations had already been expressed in the Secretary-General's report of 29 November 2012.

rapid deployment of the AFISMA" before transforming it into a "UN stabilisation and peacekeeping operation".[190]

Although there were clear financial benefits in transforming the AFISMA into a UN operation, the still unstable security situation in the north, the terrorist and transnational threats and the limited risk of violence in the southern part of the country do not necessarily call for the deployment of a traditional UN peacekeeping mission. UN peacekeepers are certainly not able to undertake the type of military actions the French and Chadian forces have conducted in the Kidal mountains since January. As long as such combat operations continue, it seems inappropriate to transform the AFISMA, which now includes the Chadian forces that fought alongside the French, into a UN peacekeeping mission. It would have been more convenient, in accordance with the analysis proposed in this report, to adopt a two-stage approach: consolidation of the military and civilian components of AFISMA followed by its transformation into a UN operation.[191]

Despite doubts about the hasty deployment of a UN mission where the peacekeepers could face terrorist attacks and have to fight, which would represent a significant paradigm shift for the UN,[192] the decision to replace the AFISMA with a UN "stabilisation mission" is underway. On 16 March, the under-secretary-general of UN peacekeeping operations, Edmond Mulet, who led a technical evaluation mission to Mali, said that the UN was hoping for the "complete presence" of the mission by July, after the expected approval of a Security Council resolution in April.[193] Mulet explained that it would not be a peacekeeping force that would act as a buffer between the north and south and that "the main objective of this international support is Malian sovereignty". The mission would not have "either a mandate or the capacity to contain the security threat posed by the terrorists", "actions that are taken with much greater effectiveness by partners that have the capacity", according to Mulet.[194]

These indications on the future mandate of a UN mission were confirmed by the UN Secretary-General's report on the situation in Mali submitted to the Security Council on 26 March.[195] This report presented two options for configuring the UN presence in Mali. The first option consisted of strengthening its multi-dimensional presence with a mandate to support the political process while the AFISMA continued to work with the Malian armed forces to ensure security, with the support of bilateral military partners, or in other words, France. The AFISMA could get involved in actions and should benefit from significant international support to strengthen its operational capacity. This option would allow a controlled transition from the current AFISMA to an integrated multi-dimensional UN stabilisation mission under chapter

[190] Letter from the president of the Republic of Mali to the UN secretary-general, communicated to the president of the Security Council on 25 February.
[191] The revised concept of operations for the AFISMA included the following numbers: a civilian component of 171, including 50 human rights observers, a military component of 8,859 and a police component of 590.
[192] Crisis Group interviews, diplomats, New York, January-March 2013. Also see Lori-Anne Théroux-Bénoni, "Stabilising northern Mali: different approaches to peace operations", Institute for Security Studies, 15 March 2013; and Arthur Boutellis, "Mali's Peacekeeping Mission: Full-Fledged Behemoth, or Have Lessons Been Learned?", International Peace Institute (www.theglobalobservatory.org), 12 March 2013.
[193] "Intervention au Mali: l'ONU devrait prendre le relais de l'armée française et de la Misma en juillet", AFP, 17 March 2013.
[194] Ibid.
[195] Advance copy of the Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Mali, 26 March 2013.

VII. The latter would be the second option but this mission would not be mandated to participate in the fight against terrorism, which would remain the prerogative of a "parallel force" yet to be defined but entirely or mainly French.

It is important to maintain a clear distinction between on the one hand, the need for a UN mission to stabilise the political and security situation, protect the civilian population, assist in the reestablishment of the state in the north, help organise the elections and promote inter-Malian dialogue, and on the other, the need to put in place an international force to fight terrorism in Mali and the region, which must be based on agreements between the countries concerned and France and the U.S.[196] Given that France decided to lead the war against AQIM and affiliated groups in Mali, with broad African and international support, it should not leave precipitately as soon as it has decided that it has achieved its military objective of neutralising terrorist groups. During a visit to Bamako on 5 April 2013, the French foreign minister confirmed a reduction in its military presence but also gave assurances that 1,000 of the 4,000 soldiers deployed would remain in Mali.[197]

The transformation of a poorly equipped AFISMA into a UN mission, of which it will form the backbone, is not going to quickly create a coherent and operational force capable of reacting to terrorist attacks. The Chadian and Nigerien troops, which are considered the most experienced and most familiar with the terrain of northern Mali, could be supplemented with contingents from Burundi and Mauritania that would also be capable of engaging in combat. However, these troops will be part of a UN mission and their possible involvement in clashes with residual elements of terrorist groups would expose the entire organisation, including UN agencies, to terrorist actions in Mali and elsewhere. This risk cannot be totally eliminated but it should be reduced as much as possible. France can begin a gradual withdrawal of its troops, but during an initial period (six months starting in April) it should maintain a rapid reaction capacity on Malian territory or in another country in the region.[198]

The size, mandate, resources and duration of the UN mission must be tailored to the country's real security and political needs and must not be defined according to the organisation's usual peacekeeping template or be based on analysis imported from elsewhere. The mission must be equipped with specific resources to collect and analyse information on security threats and must be able to access intelligence gathered by France and the U.S., which have increasingly significant resources in the region.[199] The UN mission should help mobilise and coordinate resources allocated to reform of the Malian forces. It should also include a strong civilian component dedicated to monitoring the human rights situation, especially the behaviour of Malian and foreign forces towards the population.

The Security Council should also provide the UN mission with a strong mandate to support the political process, in its dual dimensions of promoting political and intercommunal dialogue and preparing elections. The future special representative of

[196] The U.S. support French forces in Mali by providing intelligence. The deployment of surveillance drones in Niger and 100 U.S. military personnel strengthened the aerial surveillance capacities of the entire Sahel-Sahara region. See "Drone base in Niger gives U.S. a strategic foothold in West Africa", *The Washington Post*, 21 March 2013.

[197] "Paris propose de garder une force de 1.000 hommes au Mali", Reuters, 5 April 2013.

[198] This would be an "over the horizon" French force with the capacity to intervene quickly in Mali if necessary from a base located outside the country.

[199] Following a bilateral agreement, the U.S. installed a surveillance drone base where 100 military personnel will also be based.

the UN Secretary-General in Bamako should use their good offices to facilitate dialogue between political actors and the transitional authorities to contribute towards a peaceful electoral campaign. The mission should provide technical support for the creation and work of the Dialogue and Reconciliation Commission; it should also have a precise mandate to support the electoral process by using the UNDP's electoral assistance structures. The UN should deploy electoral experts throughout the country well before the elections.

The UN stabilisation mission should also have a large "civilian affairs" component able to assist Mali in reestablishing administrative control in the north. Special attention should be paid to restoration of judicial institutions and the prison service in the north and in the capital, where many alleged members of armed groups arrested by the security forces in the Gao and Timbuktu regions have been transferred. The Malian judicial structures will find it difficult to deal with this influx of prisoners, "deradicalise" these dozens of young people and reintegrate them into society. The state's resources and certainly the judiciary's are limited. It is necessary to rapidly assess the requirements for strengthening the capacities of the judicial apparatus and determine what international support will be necessary.

E. *Ensuring Effective International Coordination*

Former Burundian President Pierre Buyoya, currently political leader of the AFISMA and special AU envoy for Mali, should work with the Malian president, the ECOWAS mediator, President Compaoré, Mauritania, Algeria, Niger and France to try and include MNLA representatives in the inter-Malian dialogue. This task is urgently needed to avoid long months of confusion in the Kidal region that could threaten recent achievements. It is indispensable for regional and international actors to adopt a clear, coherent and common position on a political solution that includes a commitment by the MNLA to renounce its armed struggle and agreement by the Malian government to refrain from attempting to regain military control of the Kidal region as this could permanently compromise security and peace in the entire north.

The UN special envoy for the Sahel, the UN in general and the AU Commission should encourage Mali and its neighbours to establish new regional security mechanisms to control transnational flows of people, arms and illegal products. Once AQIM's forces have been significantly reduced, the real security threats to Mali will be external and directly related to the capacity of the countries of North Africa and the Sahel to control their borders.

Serious lessons should be learned from the poor performance of the Joint Operational General Staff Committee (CEMOC, which includes Algeria, Mali, Mauritania and Niger) based in Tamanrasset and the Unité de fusion et de liaison (UFL) in Algiers. The clear failure of these arrangements does not mean the idea of creating regional security mechanisms should be forgotten. A frank discussion is needed between all countries in the Sahel, West Africa and North Africa on common security interests and the scope for joint economic development initiatives. The AU's recent efforts to promote regional security in North Africa and West Africa are a step in the right direction.[200]

[200] See "Conclusions de Nouakchott", ministerial meeting on strengthening cooperation on security and the operationalisation of African peace and security architecture in the Sahel-Saharan region, African Union, 17 March 2013.

VI. Conclusion

The French military intervention has considerably changed the situation in Mali. It has not only allowed the rapid recapture of northern towns but also forced the international community to shoulder its responsibilities. However, the intervention is far from having resolved the profound political, economic and security problems affecting the country. In the north, the abuses of the Malian army have exacerbated intercommunal tensions. The recapture has not created effective and lasting security, while the Malian authorities remain absent from the vast region of Kidal, leaving the question of the complete recovery of territorial integrity unresolved. The many challenges ahead should serve as a reminder that victory so far remains elusive. The coming months will be crucial, especially with regard to the deployment of a UN stabilisation mission and the organisation of a political process to promote national dialogue and reconciliation. Elections will be an important part of this process but much more is required to resolve this crisis.

Dakar/Brussels, 11 April 2013

Appendix A: Map of Mali

Appendix B: List of Acronyms

ADEMA-PASJ	Alliance for Democracy in Mali-African Party for Solidarity and Justice, Alliance pour la démocratie au Mali-Parti africain pour la solidarité et la justice
AFISMA	African-led International Support Mission to Mali
AQIM	Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb
ATT	Amadou Toumani Touré
AU	African Union
CEMOC	Comité d'état-major opérationnel conjoint, Joint Operational General Staff Committee
CNID	National Congress for Democratic Initiative, Congrès national d'initiative démocratique
COPAM	Coordination des organisations patriotiques du Mali, Coordination of Patriotic Organisations in Mali
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EU	European Union
EUTM Mali	European Union Training Mission Mali
IBK	Ibrahim Boubacar Keïta
MAA	Mouvement arabe de l'Azawad, Arab Movement of Azawad
MIA	Mouvement islamique de l'Azawad, Islamic Movement of Azawad
MNLA	Mouvement national de liberation de l'Azawad, National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad
MP22	Mouvement populaire du 22 mars, Popular Movement of 22 March
MUJAO	Mouvement pour l'unicité et le jihad en Afrique de l'Ouest, Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa
PARENA	Parti pour la renaissance nationale, Party for National Recovery
RCP	Régiment de commandos parachutistes, Parachute Commando Regiment ("red berets")
RPM	Rassemblement pour le Mali, Rally for Mali
UFL	Unité de fusion et de liaison, Liaison and Fusion Unit
URD	Union pour la république et la démocratie, Union for the Republic and Democracy
WAEMU	West African Economic and Monetary Union

Appendix C: About the International Crisis Group

The International Crisis Group (Crisis Group) is an independent, non-profit, non-governmental organisation, with some 150 staff members on five continents, working through field-based analysis and high-level advocacy to prevent and resolve deadly conflict.

Crisis Group's approach is grounded in field research. Teams of political analysts are located within or close by countries at risk of outbreak, escalation or recurrence of violent conflict. Based on information and assessments from the field, it produces analytical reports containing practical recommendations targeted at key international decision-takers. Crisis Group also publishes CrisisWatch, a twelve-page monthly bulletin, providing a succinct regular update on the state of play in all the most significant situations of conflict or potential conflict around the world.

Crisis Group's reports and briefing papers are distributed widely by email and made available simultaneously on the website, www.crisisgroup.org. Crisis Group works closely with governments and those who influence them, including the media, to highlight its crisis analyses and to generate support for its policy prescriptions.

The Crisis Group Board – which includes prominent figures from the fields of politics, diplomacy, business and the media – is directly involved in helping to bring the reports and recommendations to the attention of senior policy-makers around the world. Crisis Group is chaired by former U.S. Undersecretary of State and Ambassador Thomas Pickering. Its President and Chief Executive since July 2009 has been Louise Arbour, former UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and Chief Prosecutor for the International Criminal Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and for Rwanda.

Crisis Group's international headquarters is in Brussels, and the organisation has offices or representation in 34 locations: Abuja, Bangkok, Beijing, Beirut, Bishkek, Bogotá, Bujumbura, Cairo, Dakar, Damascus, Dubai, Gaza, Guatemala City, Islamabad, Istanbul, Jakarta, Jerusalem, Johannesburg, Kabul, Kathmandu, London, Moscow, Nairobi, New York, Pristina, Rabat, Sanaa, Sarajevo, Seoul, Tbilisi, Tripoli, Tunis and Washington DC. Crisis Group currently covers some 70 areas of actual or potential conflict across four continents. In Africa, this includes, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Liberia, Madagascar, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, Uganda and Zimbabwe; in Asia, Afghanistan, Burma/Myanmar, Indonesia, Kashmir, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Malaysia, Nepal, North Korea, Pakistan, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Taiwan Strait, Tajikistan, Thailand, Timor-Leste, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan; in Europe, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Cyprus, Georgia, Kosovo, Macedonia, North Caucasus, Serbia and Turkey; in the Middle East and North Africa, Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Israel-Palestine, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Syria, Tunisia, Western Sahara and Yemen; and in Latin America and the Caribbean, Colombia, Guatemala and Venezuela.

Crisis Group receives financial support from a wide range of governments, institutional foundations, and private sources. The following governmental departments and agencies have provided funding in recent years: Australian Agency for International Development, Austrian Development Agency, Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Canadian International Development Agency, Canadian International Development Research Centre, Royal Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, European Union Instrument for Stability, Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, German Federal Foreign Office, Irish Aid, Principality of Liechtenstein, Luxembourg Ministry of Foreign Affairs, New Zealand Agency for International Development, Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, United Kingdom Department for International Development, U.S. Agency for International Development.

The following institutional and private foundations have provided funding in recent years: Adessium Foundation, Carnegie Corporation of New York, Elders Foundation, William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, Humanity United, Henry Luce Foundation, John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, Oak Foundation, Open Society Foundations, Ploughshares Fund, Radcliffe Foundation, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Stanley Foundation, The Charitable Foundation, Tinker Foundation Incorporated.

April 2013

Appendix D: Reports and Briefings on Africa since 2010

Central Africa

CAR: Keeping the Dialogue Alive, Africa Briefing N°69, 12 January 2010 (also available in French).

Burundi: Ensuring Credible Elections, Africa Report N°155, 12 February 2010 (also available in French).

Libya/Chad: Beyond Political Influence, Africa Briefing N°71, 23 March 2010 (only available in French and Arabic).

Congo: A Stalled Democratic Agenda, Africa Briefing N°73, 8 April 2010 (also available in French).

Chad: Beyond Superficial Stability, Africa Report N°162, 17 August 2010 (only available in French).

Congo: No Stability in Kivu Despite a Rapprochement with Rwanda, Africa Report N°165, 16 November 2010 (also available in French).

Dangerous Little Stones: Diamonds in the Central African Republic, Africa Report N°167, 16 December 2010 (also available in French).

Burundi: From Electoral Boycott to Political Impasse, Africa Report N°169, 7 February 2011 (also available in French).

Chad's North West: The Next High-risk Area?, Africa Briefing N°78, 17 February 2011 (only available in French).

Congo: The Electoral Dilemma, Africa Report N°175, 5 May 2011 (also available in French).

Congo: The Electoral Process Seen from the East, Africa Briefing N°80, 5 September 2011 (also available in French).

Africa without Qaddafi: The Case of Chad, Africa Report N°180, 21 October 2011 (also available in French).

Implementing Peace and Security Architecture (I): Central Africa, Africa Report N°181, 7 November 2011 (also available in French).

The Lord's Resistance Army: End Game?, Africa Report N°182, 17 November 2011.

Burundi: A Deepening Corruption Crisis, Africa Report N°185, 21 March 2012 (also available in French).

Black Gold in the Congo: Threat to Stability or Development Opportunity?, Africa Report N°188, 11 July 2012 (also available in French).

Eastern Congo: Why Stabilisation Failed, Africa Briefing N°91, 4 October 2012 (also available in French).

Burundi: Bye-bye Arusha? Africa Report N°192, 25 October 2012 (only available in French).

The Gulf of Guinea: The New Danger Zone, Africa Report N°195, 12 December 2012 (also available in French).

Eastern Congo: The ADF-Nalu's Lost Rebellion, Africa Briefing N°93, 19 December 2012 (also available in French).

Horn of Africa

Rigged Elections in Darfur and the Consequences of a Probable NCP Victory in Sudan, Africa Briefing N°72, 30 March 2010.

LRA: A Regional Strategy Beyond Killing Kony, Africa Report N°157, 28 April 2010 (also available in French).

Sudan: Regional Perspectives on the Prospect of Southern Independence, Africa Report N°159, 6 May 2010.

Somalia's Divided Islamists, Africa Briefing N°74, 18 May 2010 (also available in Somali).

Sudan: Defining the North-South Border, Africa Briefing N°75, 2 September 2010.

Eritrea: The Siege State, Africa Report N°163, 21 September 2010.

Negotiating Sudan's North-South Future, Africa Briefing N°76, 23 November 2010.

Somalia: The Transitional Government on Life Support, Africa Report N°170, 21 February 2011.

Politics and Transition in the New South Sudan, Africa Briefing N°172, 4 April 2011.

Divisions in Sudan's Ruling Party and the Threat to the Country's Stability, Africa Report N°174, 4 May 2011.

South Sudan: Compounding Instability in Unity State, Africa Report N°179, 17 October 2011 (also available in Chinese).

Kenya: Impact of the ICC Proceedings, Africa Briefing N°84, 9 January 2012.

Kenyan Somali Islamist Radicalisation, Africa Briefing N°85, 25 January 2012.

The Kenyan Military Intervention in Somalia, Africa Report N°184, 15 February 2012

Somalia: An Opportunity that Should Not Be Missed, Africa Briefing N°87, 22 February 2012.

China's New Courtship in South Sudan, Africa Report N°186, 4 April 2012 (also available in Chinese).

Uganda: No Resolution to Growing Tensions, Africa Report N°187, 5 April 2012.

Ethiopia After Meles, Africa Briefing N°89, 22 August 2012.

Assessing Turkey's Role in Somalia, Africa Briefing N°92, 8 October 2012.

Sudan: Major Reform or More War, Africa Report N°194, 29 November 2012 (also available in Arabic).

Kenya's 2013 Elections, Africa Report N°197, 17 January 2013.

Sudan's Spreading Conflict (I): War in South Kordofan, Africa Report N°198, 14 February 2013.

Eritrea: Scenarios for Future Transition, Africa Report N°200, 28 March 2013.

Southern Africa

Zimbabwe: Political and Security Challenges to the Transition, Africa Briefing N°70, 3 March 2010.

Madagascar: Ending the Crisis, Africa Report N°156, 18 March 2010 (only available in French).

Madagascar: Crisis Heating Up?, Africa Report N°166, 18 November 2010.

Zimbabwe: The Road to Reform or Another Dead End, Africa Report N°173, 27 April 2011.

Resistance and Denial: Zimbabwe's Stalled Reform Agenda, Africa Briefing N°82, 16 November 2011.

Zimbabwe's Sanctions Standoff, Africa Briefing N°86, 6 February 2012 (also available in Chinese).

Implementing Peace and Security Architecture (II): Southern Africa, Africa Report N°191, 15 October 2012.

West Africa

Cote d'Ivoire: Securing the Electoral Process, Africa Report N°158, 5 May 2010 (only available in French).

Cameroon: Fragile State?, Africa Report N°160, 25 May 2010 (also available in French).

Cameroon: The Dangers of a Fracturing Regime, Africa Report N°161, 24 June 2010 (also available in French).

Guinea: Reforming the Army, Africa Report N°164, 23 September 2010 (also available in French).

Côte d'Ivoire: Sortir enfin de l'ornière ?, Africa Briefing N°77, 25 November 2010.

Northern Nigeria: Background to Conflict, Africa Report N°168, 20 December 2010.

Nigeria's Elections: Reversing the Degeneration?, Africa Briefing N°79, 24 February 2011.

Côte d'Ivoire: Is War the Only Option?, Africa Report N°171, 3 March 2011 (also available in French).

A Critical Period for Ensuring Stability in Côte d'Ivoire, Africa Report N°176, 1 August 2011 (also available in French).

Liberia: How Sustainable Is the Recovery?, Africa Report N°177, 19 August 2011.

Guinea: Putting the Transition Back on Track, Africa Report N°178, 23 September 2011.

Côte d'Ivoire: Continuing the Recovery, Africa Briefing N°83, 16 December 2011 (also available in French).

Beyond Compromises: Reform Prospects in Guinea-Bissau, Africa Report N°183, 23 January 2012 (only available in French and Portuguese).

Liberia: Time for Much-Delayed Reconciliation and Reform, Africa Briefing N°88, 12 June 2012.

Mali: Avoiding Escalation, Africa Report N°189, 18 July 2012 (also available in French).

Beyond Turf Wars: Managing the Post-Coup Transition in Guinea-Bissau, Africa Report N°190, 17 August 2012 (also available in French).

Mali: The Need for Determined and Coordinated International Action, Africa Briefing N°90, 24 September 2012 (also available in French).

Côte d'Ivoire: Defusing Tensions, Africa Report N°193, 26 November 2012 (also available in French).

Curbing Violence in Nigeria (I): The Jos Crisis, Africa Report N°196, 17 December 2012.

Guinea: A Way Out of the Election Quagmire, Africa Report N°199, 18 February 2013 (only available in French).

Appendix E: International Crisis Group Board of Trustees

CHAIR

Thomas R Pickering
Former U.S. Undersecretary of State; Ambassador to the UN, Russia, India, Israel, Jordan, El Salvador and Nigeria

PRESIDENT & CEO

Louise Arbour
Former UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and Chief Prosecutor for the International Criminal Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda

VICE-CHAIRS

Ayo Obe
Legal Practitioner, Lagos, Nigeria

Ghassan Salamé
Dean, Paris School of International Affairs, Sciences Po

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Morton Abramowitz
Former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State and Ambassador to Turkey

Cheryl Carolus
Former South African High Commissioner to the UK and Secretary General of the ANC

Maria Livanos Cattaui
Former Secretary-General of the International Chamber of Commerce

Yoichi Funabashi
Chairman of the Rebuild Japan Initiative; Former Editor-in-Chief, *The Asahi Shimbun*

Frank Giustra
President & CEO, Fiore Financial Corporation

Lord (Mark) Malloch-Brown
Former UN Deputy Secretary-General and Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

Moisés Naím
Senior Associate, International Economics Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; Former Editor in Chief, *Foreign Policy*

George Soros
Chairman, Open Society Institute

Pär Stenbäck
Former Foreign Minister of Finland

OTHER BOARD MEMBERS

Kofi Annan
Former Secretary-General of the United Nations; Nobel Peace Prize (2001)

Nahum Barnea
Chief Columnist for *Yedioth Ahronoth*, Israel

Samuel Berger
Chair, Albright Stonebridge Group LLC; Former U.S. National Security Adviser

Emma Bonino
Vice President of the Italian Senate; Former Minister of International Trade and European Affairs of Italy and European Commissioner for Humanitarian Aid

Micheline Calmy-Rey
Former President of the Swiss Confederation and Foreign Affairs Minister

Wesley Clark
Former NATO Supreme Allied Commander

Sheila Coronel
Toni Stabile Professor of Practice in Investigative Journalism; Director, Toni Stabile Center for Investigative Journalism, Columbia University, U.S.

Mark Eyskens
Former Prime Minister of Belgium

Nabil Fahmy
Former Ambassador of Egypt to the U.S. and Japan; Founding Dean, School of Public Affairs, American University in Cairo

Joschka Fischer
Former Foreign Minister of Germany

Lykke Friis
Former Climate & Energy Minister and Minister of Gender Equality of Denmark; Former Prorector at the University of Copenhagen

Jean-Marie Guéhenno
Arnold Saltzman Professor of War and Peace Studies, Columbia University; Former UN Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations

Carla Hills
Former U.S. Secretary of Housing and U.S. Trade Representative

Lena Hjelm-Wallén
Former Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Sweden

Mo Ibrahim
Founder and Chair, Mo Ibrahim Foundation; Founder, Celtel International

Igor Ivanov
Former Foreign Minister of the Russian Federation

Asma Jahangir
President of the Supreme Court Bar Association of Pakistan, Former UN Special Rapporteur on the Freedom of Religion or Belief

Wadah Khanfar
Co-Founder, Al Sharq Forum; Former Director General, Al Jazeera Network

Wim Kok
Former Prime Minister of the Netherlands

Ricardo Lagos
Former President of Chile

Joanne Leedom-Ackerman
Former International Secretary of PEN International; Novelist and journalist, U.S.

Lalit Mansingh
Former Foreign Secretary of India, Ambassador to the U.S. and High Commissioner to the UK

Benjamin Mkapa
Former President of Tanzania

Laurence Parisot
President, French Business Confederation (MEDEF)

Karim Raslan
Founder, Managing Director and Chief Executive Officer of KRA Group

Paul Reynolds
President & Chief Executive Officer, Canaccord Financial Inc.

Javier Solana
Former EU High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy, NATO Secretary General and Foreign Minister of Spain

Liv Monica Stubholt
Senior Vice President for Strategy and Communication, Kvaerner ASA; Former State Secretary for the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Lawrence H. Summers
Former Director of the U.S. National Economic Council and Secretary of the U.S. Treasury; President Emeritus of Harvard University

Wang Jisi
Dean, School of International Studies, Peking University; Member, Foreign Policy Advisory Committee of the Chinese Foreign Ministry

Wu Jianmin
Executive Vice Chairman, China Institute for Innovation and Development Strategy; Member, Foreign Policy Advisory Committee of the Chinese Foreign Ministry; Former Ambassador of China to the UN (Geneva) and France

Lionel Zinsou
CEO, PAI Partners

PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL

Crisis Group's President's Council is a distinguished group of major individual and corporate donors providing essential support, time and expertise to Crisis Group in delivering its core mission.

Anonymous (3)
Dow Chemical
Mala Gaonkar
Frank Holmes
Investec Asset Management
Steve Killelea
McKinsey & Company
Ford Nicholson & Lisa Wolverton
Harry Pokrandt
Shearman & Sterling LLP
Ian Telfer
White & Case LLP
Neil Woodyer

INTERNATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

Crisis Group's International Advisory Council comprises significant individual and corporate donors who contribute their advice and experience to Crisis Group on a regular basis.

Anonymous
Anglo American PLC
APCO Worldwide Inc.
Ryan Beedie
Stanley Bergman & Edward Bergman
BP
Chevron
Neil & Sandra DeFeo Family Foundation
Equinox Partners
Neemat Frem
FTI Consulting
Seth & Jane Ginns
Alan Griffiths
Rita E. Hauser
George Kellner
Faisel Khan
Zelmira Koch Polk
Elliott Kulick
David Levy
Leslie Lishon
Harriet Mouchly-Weiss
Näringslivets Internationella Råd (NIR) – International Council of Swedish Industry
Griff Norquist
Ana Luisa Ponti & Geoffrey R. Hoguet
Kerry Propper
PTT Public Company Limited
Michael L. Riordan
Shell
Nina Solarz
Horst Sporer
Statoil
Talisman Energy
Kevin Torudag
Yapı Merkezi Construction and Industry Inc.
Stelios S. Zavvos

SENIOR ADVISERS

Crisis Group's Senior Advisers are former Board Members who maintain an association with Crisis Group, and whose advice and support are called on from time to time (to the extent consistent with any other office they may be holding at the time).

Martti Ahtisaari
Chairman Emeritus

George Mitchell
Chairman Emeritus

Gareth Evans
President Emeritus

Kenneth Adelman
Adnan Abu Odeh
HRH Prince Turki al-Faisal
Hushang Ansary
Óscar Arias
Ersin Arıoğlu
Richard Armitage
Diego Arria
Zainab Bangura
Shlomo Ben-Ami
Christoph Bertram
Alan Blinken
Lakhdar Brahimi
Zbigniew Brzezinski
Kim Campbell
Jorge Castañeda
Naresh Chandra
Eugene Chien
Joaquim Alberto Chissano
Victor Chu
Mong Joon Chung
Pat Cox
Gianfranco Dell'Alba
Jacques Delors
Alain Destexhe
Mou-Shih Ding
Uffe Ellemann-Jensen
Gernot Erler
Marika Fahlén
Stanley Fischer
Malcolm Fraser
Swanee Hunt
Max Jakobson
James V. Kimsey
Aleksander Kwasniewski
Todung Mulya Lubis
Allan J. MacEachen
Graça Machel
Jessica T. Mathews
Nobuo Matsunaga
Barbara McDougall
Matthew McHugh
Miklós Németh
Christine Ockrent
Timothy Ong
Olara Otunnu
Lord (Christopher) Patten
Shimon Peres
Victor Pinchuk
Surin Pitsuwan
Cyril Ramaphosa
Fidel V. Ramos
George Robertson
Michel Rocard
Volker Rühe
Güler Sabancı
Mohamed Sahnoun
Salim A. Salim
Douglas Schoen
Christian Schwarz-Schilling
Michael Sohlman
Thorvald Stoltenberg
Leo Tindemans
Ed van Thijn
Simone Veil
Shirley Williams
Grigory Yavlinski
Uta Zapf
Ernesto Zedillo