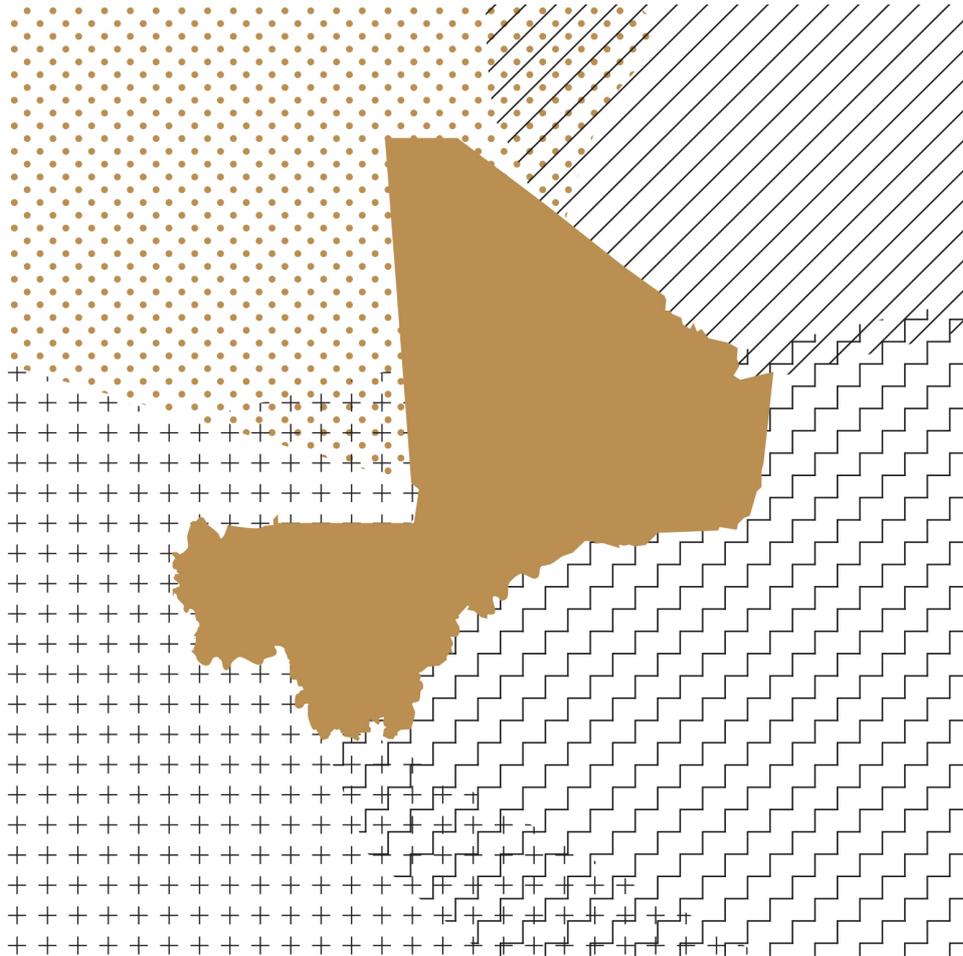


W O S C A P

ENHANCING EU PEACEBUILDING CAPABILITIES



Assessing the EU's conflict prevention and Peacebuilding interventions in Mali

Moussa Djiré, Djibril Sow, Kissima Gakou, Bakary Camara

Universite des Sciences Juridiques et Politiques de Bamako

Colophon

ASSESSING THE EU'S CONFLICT PREVENTION AND PEACEBUILDING INTERVENTIONS IN MALI

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Deliverable 3.3: Case Study Report Mali

Moussa Djiré, Djibril Sow, Kissima Gakou, Bakary Camara with contribution of Mohamed Lamine Dembélé, Kalilou Touré and Hafizou Boncana

Université des Sciences Juridiques et Politiques de Bamako



Whole of Society Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding

The Case Study Report on Mali was produced as part of the project “Whole-of-Society Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding” (WOSCAP). It contains the research findings on the EU interventions in conflict prevention and peacebuilding in Mali and focuses on: Multi-track Diplomacy, Security Sector Reform and Governance Reforms. This country case study aims to establish if and how EU interventions contribute to preventing conflict and consolidating the peace process in Mali, and it offers preliminary ideas on if and how EU interventions in this field might be improved. It is based on both a desk review and field research, with in-depth interviews with the representatives of local and international actors. Further, the WOSCAP project focuses on possible areas for improvement and recommendations regarding the EU capabilities. More information at www.woscap.eu

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Acronyms and abbreviations

ACP	Africa-Caribbean-Pacific Group of States
ADB	African Development Bank
ADEMA-PASJ	Alliance for Democracy in Mali – African Party for Solidarity and Justice
ADERE NORD	Support Programme for Development of the Northern Regions
AGETIC	Information and Communications Technologies Agency
AMM	Mali Municipalities Association
ANICT	National Investment Agency for local Authorities
APSA	African Peace and Security Architecture
AU	African Union
BUNUMA	United Nations Office in Mali)
CCT	Local Authorities Code
CDI	Institutional Development Commission
CFCT	Local Authorities Training Centre
CNRSS	National Council for Security Sector Reform
CNV	National Validation Committee
CONFED	National Authorising Officer's Support Unit for the EDF
COPAM	Coordination of Patriotic Organisations of Mali
COS	Strategic Orientation Committee
CPER	State-Region Plan Contract
CSCR	Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy Framework
CT	Local Authority
CTB	Belgian Technical Cooperation
DAFCT	Endowment Funds for the Running of Local Authorities
DAT	Technical support endowment
DCPND	National Decentralisation Policy Framework Document
DEC	Delegation of the European Commission
RED	Regional Economic Development
DGCT	General Directorate of Local Authorities
DGE	Loan Guarantee Endowment
DNAT	National Land Management Directorate
DNCT	National Local Authorities Directorate
DNI	National Internal Affairs Directorate
DNPD	National Planning and Development Directorate
DSP	Country Strategy Document
EC	European Commission
ECOWAS	West African Economic and Monetary Union

EDF	European Development Fund
EU	European Union
EUCAP	European Union Capacity Building Mission
EUTM	European Union Training Mission
FAMA	Malian Armed Forces
FDER	Regional Economic Development Fund
FECONG	Federation of NGO Groups of Mali
FNACT	National Local Authorities Support Fund
FOSC	Forum of Civil Society Organisations
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
GPRS	Multidisciplinary Think-Tank on Security Sector Reform
GSI	Special Intervention Units
GTIA	Combined Arms Tactical Group
HCC	High Council of Authorities
IDP	Institutional Development Programme
LOPM	Military Planning Act
MAECI	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation
MATCL	Ministry of Territorial Administration and Local Authorities
MDAC	Ministry of Defence and War Veterans
MDRI	Decentralisation and Institutional Reform Mission
MEF	Ministry of Economic Affairs and Finances
MICEMA	ECOWAS Mission to Mali
MINUSMA	United Nations Integrated Multidimensional Stabilisation Mission in Mali
MISAHEL	African Union Mission for Mali and the Sahel
MISMA	International Support Mission for Mali
MUJAO	Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa
NA	National Assembly
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NIP	National Indicative Programme
NSA	Non-state actors
OIC	Organisation of Islamic Cooperation
PACT	Local Authorities Support Programme
PADDER	Decentralisation and Regional Economic Development Support Programme
PADK	Decentralisation Support Programme in the Banamba, Kolokani and Nara Districts in the region of Koulikoro
PADRE	Decentralisation and State Reform Support Programme
PAG	Government Action Plans

PAIR	Institution Support Programme for the Regionalisation Process
PAOSC	Support Programme for Civil Society Organisations
PARAD	Administrative Reform and Decentralisation Support Programme
PARADDER	Administrative Reform, Decentralisation and Regional Economic Development Support Programme
PESC	Common Foreign and Security Policy
PNACT	National Local Authorities Support Programme
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PSDC	Common Security and Defence Policy
PSDR	Regional Development Strategy Plan
RA	Regional Assembly
RC	Regional Council
RLDT	Regional and Local Development Taxes
BC	State Building Contract
SCAP	Common Country Assistance Strategy
SCO	Civil Society Organisations
SHA	Aid Harmonisation Secretariat
SIRH	Computerised Human Resources System
SNAT	National Territorial Development Scheme
SRAT	Regional Territorial Development Scheme
SSR	Security Sector Reforms
TFP	Technical and Financial partners
USJPB	Bamako University of Legal and Political Sciences
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNO	United Nations Organisation

1. Introduction

This report provides results of the research conducted by a group of researchers of the Université des Sciences Juridiques et Politiques de Bamako (USJPB) on European Union interventions in Mali. It forms an integral part of a wider research project called “Whole of Society Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding” (WOSCAP), conducted by a consortium of twelve research institutes in Europe, Africa and Asia, under the coordination of the GPPAC. The project focusses on European Union (EU) intervention in conflict prevention and peacebuilding in crisis and post-crisis situations. WOSCAP includes case studies on EU interventions in four countries, focussing on EU efforts in the areas of multi-track diplomacy, governance reforms and security sector reforms (SSR). The general aim of the research programme is to document and analyse the intervention capabilities of the EU in these sectors, and to produce insights that can help strengthen these capabilities.

The present Mali country case study reviews EU interventions in conflict prevention and peacebuilding in Mali. It aims to establish if and how EU interventions contribute to preventing conflict and consolidating the peace process in Mali, and it offers preliminary ideas on if and how EU interventions in this field might be improved. It focuses in particular on the three aspects mentioned above (multi-track diplomacy, SSR, and governance reforms) in the contemporary Malian context.

The report describes and analyses the interventions carried out, determining their pertinence and coherence with the Mali policy, on the one hand, and with bilateral European interventions and those of other international partners in Mali, on the other hand. Similarly, in accordance with the recommendations of the Paris declaration on the effectiveness of aid and development, the study also discusses the effectiveness of the interventions, their level of ownership by local stakeholders and their sustainability. That is why Stakeholders perceptions constitute a key element of the present research report.

The present research builds on the conceptual insights a range of research institutions developed in the framework of the WOSCAP research programme, as reflected in the reports available on the WOSCAP website. This conceptual work was mainly carried out between the start the project (June 2015) and the project’s methodological workshop (November 2015). After this, the teams in charge of field research started local exploratory research to identify the key issues of field research. This was also the case of the Mali country team, relying on documentary research and preliminary interviews with some officials engaged in Mali-EU cooperation and/or interested in conflict prevention. WOSCAP participants subsequently discussed the country teams’ exploratory findings at another methodological workshop in Barcelona (February 2016). The Mali country team thus established the specific research issues that constitute the focus of the present report in an iterative manner.

The primary field research for this report took place over six months from March to October 2016, and also included further discussion in a meeting with partners in The Hague and a presentation of the preliminary results in Brussels in July 2016. These different meetings made it possible to improve the report. The Mali country team presented a provisional version of the report in a national workshop organised in October 2016, which was attended by some of the interviewees and various national stakeholders interviewed during the study. Pertinent comments made during this workshop were taken into account to further improve the report. The Mali report fundamentally relies on two types of sources: documentary research and

interviews. The documentary research included the analysis of the articles, reports and works on Mali in general, on the Malian conflict, as well as on international interventions, in particular those of the European Union. The Mali country team collected and reviewed the official EU documents relating to bilateral cooperation with Mali and the Malian conflict, relevant official Malian documents, as well as other documents related to projects reviewed. The meetings with stakeholders took place in the form of focus groups or semi-guided individual interviews. Including individual interviews and focus group interviews, the research team interviewed a total of 73 individuals.

The interviewees included, amongst others, the director of political affairs of the EU Delegation in Mali, officials of the Sahel EUTM and EUCAP, technical staff of EU-financed projects, military staff of the Malian Army, and directors and staff of different institutions supported by the EU, including the police, National Guard, Gendarmerie, territorial administration and Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Lastly, representatives of the project team participated in three important initiatives connected to actors involved in resolving the crisis:

- A multi-actor meeting on the post-crisis future of Mali organised by the United Nations Integrated Multidimensional Stabilisation Mission in Mali (MINUSMA);
- A national meeting on the evaluation of the Cotonou Convention and EU-ACP cooperation organised by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Mali international cooperation;
- Interviews organised by ADEMA-PASJ (Alliance for Democracy in Mali – African Party for Solidarity and Justice in post-crisis Mali).

The present report is divided as follows: Chapter 2 provides a brief overview of the Malian national context, with a particular focus on the development of the conflict since 2012. Chapter 3 deals with international interventions in Mali, with a special focus on European Union interventions. Chapter 4 presents the three selected case studies of EU intervention in Mali. The first case (4.2) deals with the sphere of multi-track diplomacy and focuses on the support of the peace process from the preliminary Ouagadougou Agreement to the first steps towards the implementation of the Peace Agreement and national reconciliation. It shows in particular how the European Union, in collaboration with other actors, has contributed to reaching the agreement and made its implementation possible. The second case study (4.3) deals with security sector reform (SSR) in Mali, including the European Union Military Training Mission in Mali (EUTM) and the Civil Security Forces Training Mission (EUCAP Sahel). The third case study (4.4) is devoted to EU support for governance reforms. It deals with the merits of EU support in the decentralisation process and in civil society's capacity building. Chapter 5 presents a brief overview of the findings and draws out the relevant conclusions concerning EU interventions in conflict prevention and peacebuilding in Mali.

2. National context

2.1 General information

Map 1. Mali



Source: www.quid.fr¹

Mali is one of the largest countries in Africa south of the Sahara with a surface area of 1.241.238 km² and almost 7000 km of border. The population of Mali was estimated in 2009 at 14,528,662 inhabitants of which 50.4% are women and a large proportion of persons under the age of 25 years. Rapid urbanisation led to an increase in the urban population from 22% in 1987 to 27% in 1998 then to 35% in 2009.² The density of the population varies greatly: from 90 inhabitants/km² in the central Niger delta, to less than 5 inhabitants/km² in the Saharan region in the North.³ The bulk of the population is concentrated in the southern part of the country and along the Niger River. The Ségou, Sikasso and Koulikoro regions host 51% of the

¹ Map used in Mali's National Indicative Programme (NIP), 10th European Development Fund (EDF), available at: http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/delegations/mali/documents/more_info/dsp_pin_2008_2013.fr.pdf, accessed on 20 November 2016.

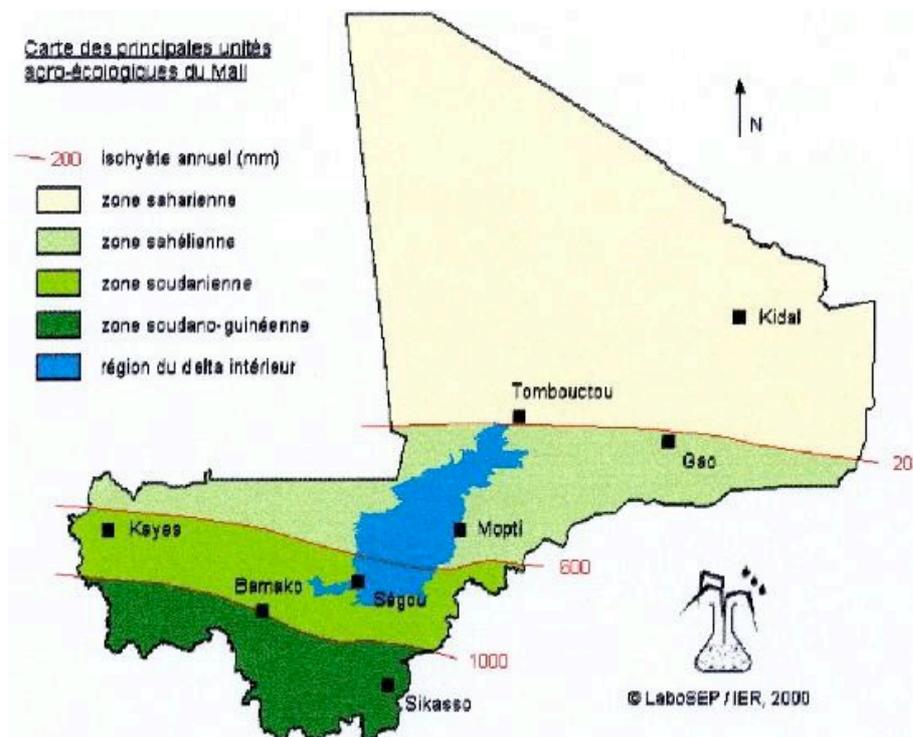
² Conseil National de la Société Civile. Cadre Stratégique pour la Croissance et la Réduction de la Pauvreté 2012-2017. Available at: http://www.maliapd.org/IMG/file/pdf/DOCUMENTS_CLES/1_CSCR/2012_MALI_CSCR_2012_2017_VF.pdf, accessed 10 November 2016.

³ Ibid.

population whereas the three regions of the North (Gao, Timbuktu and Kidal) only account for 9% of the total population.

A landlocked country, Mali shares borders with seven states. 60% of the territory comprises desert areas (Kidal, Timbuktu and Gao regions). The country's topography is marked by a series of plateaux and mountains interspersed with flooded valleys or deserts. The hydrography mainly comprises the Niger River and the Senegal River, and their respective tributaries. The PIRT study (Land Resources Inventory Programme) identified forty-nine agro-climatic areas. These can be grouped into five large zones. The map (map 2) below provides an overview.

Map 2. Agro-ecological zones in Mali ⁴



Mali is one of the poorest countries in the world, ranking 179 in the UNDP's Human Development Index of 2015.⁵ In spite of considerable progress over the last few years, the majority of Malians lack adequate access to basic social services such as health, education, potable water and electricity. Mali's GDP has an average growth rate of 3.6% per annum, with 80% of the active population contributing on average 40% to 45%. Gold, which constitutes the main mining resource of the country, contributes to 10% of the GDP.⁶

Since its 1960 independence until 1991, successive one-party regimes, de facto regimes, or emergency regimes ruled Mali. In 1991, the country started a political transition which led to a democratic constitution (25 February 1992) and multi-party elections. From that

⁴ Source: IER/Labo Sep, available at: <http://www.fao.org/ag/agp/agpc/doc/counprof/mali/malifr.htm>, accessed 19 November 2016.

⁵ See Human development index (HDI). United Nations Development Programme. Available at: <http://hdr.undp.org/en/indicators/137506>, accessed 10 November 2016.

⁶ Source: Ministry of Agriculture of Mali, 2006.

time onwards, the country was regularly cited as the model of democracy in Africa. The 22 March 2012 coup d'état, which overturned the statutory authority two months before scheduled general elections, abruptly ended this perception.

Mali is a unitary state. However, in order to ensure better governance, it has opted for extensive decentralisation. The country consists of 8 regions, 49 districts and 703 communes. Bamako, the capital, has a special status with similar powers to those of the regions. All these local authorities are legal entities and enjoy management autonomy. Decentralisation intended to endow the country an institutional framework suited to the expression of democratic freedoms and the conduct of sustainable development actions. However, in practice, the institutions have not functioned well. This largely explains the political and security crisis experienced by the country since March 2012 (Gonin et al 2013).

At present, Mali is experiencing a critical period in its history, marked, amongst others, by numerous initiatives to help overcome the major security and socio-political crisis experienced since January 2012. Mali's predicaments echo the endemic vulnerabilities of the Sahel region. These vulnerabilities include, amongst others, drought, food insecurity, illiteracy, economic crises, poor governance, lack of development prospects and incapacity of the elites since independence to unify the communities into a national project. They serve to justify the claims of the rebel movements which have popped up in northern Mali at different times (1963, 1990, 1996 and 2012) (Konaté et al 2013).

2.2 The 2012 crisis and its background

Mali is characterised by great ethnic diversity, with sedentary populations mainly in the south and in the centre of the country practising agriculture and forestry, and nomadic populations established mainly in the northern and central part of the country practising pastoralism. For several centuries, these different ethnic groups have gotten along well, with conflicts from time to time which did not exceed a raid to plunder. Inter-ethnic integration and mixing reached such a degree that some Malian politicians did not hesitate to speak of the existence of a Malian nation.

Towards the end of colonisation, France envisaged the creation of a Saharan State comprising the Saharan regions of Mali, Algeria, Mauritania and Niger. Several Tuareg tribal chiefs adhered to this project which the French government subsequently abandoned. The historical exclusion of Tuareg tribes is generally forwarded as an element to justify the different armed movements that have developed over the years (Kéïta 2005). In reality, beyond geopolitical and actual economic factors, it is necessary to remember the fact that the Tuareg society is a very hierarchical society, with a well-established aristocratic class. Some Tuareg leaders were against the principles of equality and citizenship advocated by the new independent state (Keïta 2012). Military repression of the Tuareg rebels in 1963 and 1964 sowed the seeds for future rebellions, including that of 1990 which was ended by the National Pact between the Malian Government and the rebel movements. As a result of this National Pact, the rebels put down their weapons and were integrated into the army and different administrations. Furthermore, a special development programme for the country's northern regions was initiated. In spite of significant progress, the implementation of the National Pact experienced various problems.

Tuareg dissatisfaction continued and contributed to endemic insecurity in the region. Renewed rebellion occurred in 1996. Further serious confrontations arose between 2006 and 2009. The Malian authorities were unable to provide suitable and substantive answers to the issues at stake. Continued dissatisfaction eventually led to the creation of the Tuareg separatist National Liberation Movement of Azawad (MNLA) in 2011. It was launched in a context of severe weakening of the Malian State and the surge of Jihadist and Salafist groups (Bourgeot 2013; Maïga 2013). In addition, northern Mali suffered the backlash from the war in Libya, which broke out in 2011. The downfall of Gaddafi provoked the return of the Tuareg of Malian origin who had been incorporated in the army of the Libyan leader in northern Mali. These combatants returned from Libya with powerful military equipment. The alliance between the terrorist groups and rebel movements proved much stronger than the Malian military.

The MNLA attacked the military installations of Ménaka and Aguelhok in January 2012. The Tuareg-led offensive, backed by various national and foreign Jihadist groups, forced government troops to cede several strongholds. These defeats showed the weaknesses of the Malian army, in particular the blatant lack of equipment, corruption and incompetence of part of the military hierarchy, as well as the poor organisation and lack of motivation of the soldiers. The strong sentiment of frustration within the troops was the reason for the mutiny of the soldiers and junior officers of the Kati camp, who called for equipment and improvement in their conditions. Noting the lack of resistance, the mutineers set up a National Committee of Democratic Reform and State Restoration (CNRDRE) and deposed president Amadou Toumani Touré on 22 March 2012, transforming their mutiny into a coup d'état (Kéita 2013; Sidibé 2013). The coup d'état led to a wave of arrests of key figures of the former regime, politicians and economic operators. Several military leaders were deposed. This situation created further confusion within the army and contributed to the rapid occupation of the cities of the North by separatists, Jihadists, and drug traffickers. The MNLA unilaterally proclaimed the independence of the vast northern regions of Mali under the name of Azawad on 6 April 2012.

In the South of Mali, resistance to the coup was organised through the Front for the Republic's Defence (FDR), a coalition comprising several political parties and civil society organisations. However, it was not sufficiently strong to push back the perpetrators of the coup d'état, who enjoyed the support of a relatively large proportion of the population. The political and social forces in favour of the leaders of the coup d'état also organised themselves into an organisation called the Coordination of Patriotic Organisations of Mali (COPAM). In the South, Malian society was clearly split into two opposing camps with several groups trying to navigate between them. To add to the split, a counter coup d'état perpetrated by the "Red Berets" – an elite corps supposedly close to the deposed president – was savagely repressed. The leaders of the coup took advantage of this attempt to carry out a thorough purge within the army, sometimes torturing and massacring those who had not been loyal to them. This situation further disrupted the army which surrendered all its positions in the North and even some military installations in the centre of country. The main western donor agencies decided to suspend their economic and financial cooperation with Mali until the re-establishment of democracy. Under pressure from the international community, the military leaders of the coup d'état accepted to withdraw and to leave the power in the hands of the transition government.⁷

⁷ Previous paragraph based on Djiré & Diallo (forthcoming).

In January 2013, as part of advances in the centre of the country, several Jihadists groups took over the town of Konna in the Mopti region. Faced with this advance, the transitional authorities led by interim President Dioncounda Traoré requested France's intervention. The French operation 'Serval' provided a powerful military response. Konna was quickly recaptured. The Malian army then followed the French forces which successively recaptured the three important cities in the North, Gao, Timbuktu and Kidal. In the region of Kidal, in the extreme North, the French and Chadian Armed Forces secured the area without the Malian army. For millions of Malians, it seemed that the objective of the operation was not to reconquer the entire territory but to pursue Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQMI) combatants in their hideouts and to destroy their stocks of arms, ammunition, fuel and food. For France, which initiated Operation Serval, it was a matter of "finishing the job" in the context of an anti-terrorist war and possibly freeing French hostages held in the area.

The defeat of the Jihadist forces created conditions for dialogue between the government and the MNLA. On 18 June 2013, a preliminary agreement was signed in Ouagadougou (Burkina Faso) between the Malian Government and the Tuareg armed movements. Nation-wide elections in the second half of 2013 contributed to democratic restoration. In 2015, after long negotiations in which the international community, led by Algeria, served as mediator, a National Peace and Reconciliation Agreement was signed in Bamako, first by the Malian Government, armed groups favourable to national unity, and mediators (15 May 2015) and later by irredentist armed groups (20 June 2015).

The National Peace and Reconciliation Agreement constitutes a veritable road map for the total reform of the Malian State. Therefore it affects all segments of the country's development. It is a framework for the return to peace and security, for implementing a veritable national reconciliation, restoring social cohesion, reaffirming national unity and allowing reconciled Malians to place their country on a growth and sustainable development path. It includes one preamble, seven sections, 20 chapters and 68 clauses plus three appendices. It is based on four major themes: Politics and institutions, Defence and security, Economic, social and cultural development, and Justice, reconciliation and humanitarian actions.⁸

Altogether, this agreement contains provisions that would fundamentally change the institutional situation in the country. The signing of the peace and reconciliation agreement raised great hopes in Mali. However, the main protagonists soon became divided over the definition of the terms and conditions of its implementation. The quartering of the armed groups has suffered many problems. Different parties to the agreement have engaged in recurring mutual accusations. Finally, recurrent attacks by the Jihadist groups, including against a hotel right in the middle of Bamako (20 November 2015) and in several towns in the North and South during 2016, have demonstrated that peace had not yet been attained (United Nations 2015, 6. United Nations 2016, 1).

The cartography of actors of the Malian crisis is difficult to establish in the face of moving goal posts and tangled and changing interests. In order to understand Mali's continued vulnerabilities, it is insufficient to only focus on the aspect of Tuareg irredentism. Clearly, this historical phenomenon gained renewed relevance in the context of Jihadist aspirations to gain

⁸ Mr. Zeïni Moulaye, summarised presentation of the Mali Peace and Reconciliation Agreement (MAECI) during a workshop in Bamako in 2015.

influence in or take over Sahel countries. The Sahel region lies on the border of the Arab world and sub-Saharan Africa. It is naturally subject to Arab influences, especially through Islam. The long-established illusion of a sub-Saharan region outside of the influences and trends that dominate the Arab and Muslim worlds is contradicted by both history, as well as events which we witnessed at the end of the Cold War. In fact the Sahara has never been an impenetrable barrier but an “inland sea which has always invited passing from one bank to another”, as Henri Labouret said (cited in Sambe 2012, 123). When the AQMI phenomenon declared itself in Maghreb societies, its extension to the south of the Sahara should have also been expected. The geopolitical configuration has turned this Sahel region into a very coveted area, both on a strategic and economic level, with regard to mining and energy resources which it has in abundance.

The North of Mali suffers from a clash of diverging interests, ideological influences, and religious models. The depth of this confrontation only started to be felt with the appearance of radical Islamic groups and, above all, the terrorist actions and taking of hostages. Beyond the influence of AQMI, the situation in Mali also relates to the longstanding ‘Wahhabi’ expansion project in the area (Sambe 2012, 124). Some observers speak of a veritable strategy of conquest. Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries have financed the multiplication of specialised institutions operating in the region which covet the status of NGOs on the international scene. Thus, Sunnite Islamic movements have multiplied and are gaining ascendance vis-à-vis the more traditional and open-minded Islam practised in most Sahel regions.

Jihadist forces have used a strategy of infiltration in northern Mali, which allowed it to gain influence without drawing the attention of the international community. This occurred first in the form of preachers, traders/traffickers, and promoters of charitable organisations. These persons and institutions established relations with certain layers of the population and with local organisations. Then, they infiltrated and worked with local separatist and Islamic organisations before revealing themselves as Jihadists. In a document entitled “General Directives related to the Jihadist Islamic project in Azawad”, dated 20 July 2012, Abdelmalek Droukdel, the leader of AQMI, unveils his objective in northern Mali: create an Islamic state which will not be labelled Jihadist and that will rely on existing independentist movements.⁹ In this document, he recommended that in order to achieve his objectives, the movement should renounce to the strict and immediate application of Sharia and give local actors the feeling that they were leading the process.

The proponents of international Wahhabism have for a long time worked on a project for a Wahhabi area of influence in Africa, in particular in the Sahara and Sahel areas. With the recent upheavals in the sub-region and the consequences arising from the alliance between local Jihadist groups and Al-Qaeda, the Islamic movements and charities supported by Arab countries are becoming sources of concern. As the Salafist and other extremist ideologies become well established in the sub-region, Jihadist action also becomes more likely.

The situation can be illustrated by the example of the Malian Islamic movement Ançar Dine. Ançar Dine was able to establish a pact with various pre-existing armed stakeholders: Arab and Tuareg militia and, above all, with the AQMI, perpetrator of numerous kidnappings and assassinations of Westerners in Mauritania, Mali and Niger. Its leader, Kidal native Iyad Ag

⁹ The indicated document was found in Timbuktu on 16 February 2013 by journalists Nicolas Champeaux and Jean-Louis Le Touzet from RFI and Libération.

Ghali, was backed by AQMI to take the city of Timbuktu. Ghali approached the city's imams to ask them to assist him in establishing Sharia law, but they did not want to cooperate with him. Ançar Dine nonetheless hastened to restore order, and with the assistance of the AQMI, distributed food to the population in order to appear as the new 'saviours' of northern Mali. Ançar Dine was further strengthened by the creation of the Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa (MUJAO), a split-off faction of AQMI. These two forces formed a coalition with the MNLA in order to share northern Mali into areas of influence. With the victory of the Jihadists, northern Mali, with its vast uncontrollable desert spaces became the place of refuge for Jihadist combatants of all nationalities. The decline of Malian power after the coup facilitated this project. The embargo imposed on the Malian Junta by the international community benefited the AQMI logistics processes.

Thus the Malian crisis can be seen as a twofold phenomenon: a security crisis in the North with the presence of armed groups and an institutional crisis followed by the coup d'état of 22 March 2012. The armed rebellion in January 2012 and the vain attempts at retaliation of the Malian Armed Forces (FAMA) revealed the military's serious shortcomings. The military, in fact, proved to be incapable of safeguarding the territorial integrity of Mali and of ensuring the protection of the population. These shortcomings arise from the chaotic state of the army, characterized by a lack of discipline, endemic corruption, nepotism, and the breakdown of relationships between senior officers and the troops.

This combination of factors led to the occupation of two-thirds of Malian territory by various armed groups. The security situation in Mali is therefore the result of a slow erosion of State authority and its defence capacity, as well as the radicalisation of movements in opposition to the central government. Clearly, the advancement of Jihadist forces would never have reached this magnitude if they had been confronted with a strong and responsible State. The situation of the military echoes that of Malian politics in general, plagued by elite corruption (Cissé 2006). Many Malian observers have therefore argued that Malian democracy is in dire need of reform.

3. Overview of interventions in Mali, including the role of the EU

3.1 Introduction

The Malian crisis and the advancement of Jihadi terrorism generated widespread concern among the international community, and gave rise to a series of actions and interventions of several states and other international stakeholders. This chapter pays particular attention to the role of the EU and of EU Member States in efforts to support the Malian State and to resolve the crisis. Some interventions stand out as particularly important, such as the French military operation 'Serval,' which significantly contributed to the retreat of the Jihadi groups in Mali, and the United Nations Integrated Multidimensional Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA). The international community furthermore played a key role in the dialogue initiatives and peace negotiations mentioned in the previous chapter. The role of the European Union has to be understood in this broader interplay of international actors, in which also other countries and organisations play key roles. Hence, before focusing on EU intervention, this chapter briefly reviews the roles of the most important international actors and initiatives that have played a role in the resolution of the crisis in Mali, namely the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), African Union, United Nations, G5 Sahel, France and other countries.

While, at the bilateral level, each country has its own programme of interventions, it is important for all stakeholders be able to work with a certain degree of consensus among the international community and to ensure that different interventions do not overlap. On the one hand, there are mechanisms for coordinating developmental interventions and, on the other hand, mechanisms for coordinating security interventions. In the area of development, Mali is one of several African countries in which the coordination of its Technical and Financial Partners (TFPs) with the Government and amongst themselves is very closely knit. Coordination is based on a "troika" type organisation and relies on technical mechanisms in the form of the unit of the Strategic Framework for Growth and Poverty Reduction (SFGPR) of the Department of Finance, the technical pool of TFPs, and the Secretariat for the Harmonisation of Aid (SHA). Moreover, the architecture of the thematic groups allows for ongoing collaboration across technical and financial partners, NGOs and state technical services.

3.2 Key International actors

ECOWAS

From the beginning of the Malian crisis, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) has played a prominent and active role in its management. ECOWAS monitored the Malian situation through the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) and its vast experience in crisis management. Several warnings were issued to the Malian authorities without actually giving rise to any suitable action on their part. According to a senior official of

ECOWAS in Bamako, in December 2011, everything was on high alert in Mali. On 17 December 2011 a warning mission was in Bamako to meet the authorities, civil society and political parties. Unfortunately this was not received favourably by the Head of State at that time. Besides, it does not fall within ECOWAS's remit to force a Head of State to take measures. ECOWAS again alerted the Malian government the day before the coup d'état. After the coup d'état of 22 March 2012, ECOWAS instituted sanctions against the military junta and decreed an embargo against Mali.¹⁰

ECOWAS appointed the President of Burkina Faso as mediator and after several rounds of negotiations he managed to get the Junta to withdraw to the benefit of the restoration of constitutional order in exchange for the promise to form a new government and amnesty for the acts committed (the coup d'état being qualified by the Malian constitution as a criminal offence). In accordance with the terms of this agreement, the former President of the Republic officially resigned from his post. The Constitutional Court, which was approached by the Prime Minister, noted the vacuum of power and appointed the President of the National Assembly as interim president. Likewise, a "Prime Minister with full powers" proposed by the junta was appointed and a government of national union was set up. Officially, the Junta was dissolved, but remained very present throughout the transition.

Previous to this, ECOWAS had developed a plan for international military deployment of an ECOWAS Mission to Mali (MICEMA). This plan foresaw the deployment of an international force of 3300 men per annum, under the leadership of African Union on Malian territory, to support the Malian army. MICEMA was not deployed, but the initiative did eventually lead to the deployment of MINUSMA (see below). ECOWAS was also involved in negotiations with Algeria which led to the Peace Agreement. Similarly, it participated in the monitoring of the implementation of this agreement.

ECOWAS thus played a pivotal role in the resolution of the Malian crisis, contributing to a strong international consensus on behalf of the Malian cause. ECOWAS also acknowledges some weak points of its intervention which were revealed by the Malian crisis. This issues include the insufficient training of the armed forces of most Member States; insufficient coordination between ECOWAS and the African Union; and insufficient political mobilisation of certain African States which are geographically close to Mali. All of this constitutes a source of additional experiences and lessons learned to improve ECOWAS intervention in times of conflict.¹¹

African Union (AU)

The African Union intervened at several stages of the Malian crisis. Firstly, it fought against the coup d'état and worked with ECOWAS and other international players for the return of the constitutional situation. Thus, the AU also supported a military mission, something which also impacted on the ECOWAS plans. "The AU sought to overcome Algeria's reluctance [to

¹⁰ Decision of embargo was taken this organisation 02 April 2012 in ECOWAS Dakar extraordinary meeting. See also Communication of the Special Representative of ECOWAS in Mali at the time of the workshop organised by ADEMA (Alliance for Democracy in Mali) in Bamako in June 2016.

¹¹ Communication of the Special Representative of ECOWAS in Mali at the time of the workshop organised by ADEMA (Alliance for Democracy in Mali) in Bamako in June 2016.

MICEMA] by making it a continental initiative, transforming MICEMA into the African-led International Support Mission in Mali (AFISMA). Finally, and in order to facilitate the provision of support from the UN, the AU, in collaboration with the Malian government, ECOWAS and other international actors developed a strategic concept that framed the military action in a more global perspective” (Theroux-Benoni 2013). The deployment of the African-led International Support Mission to Mali (AFISMA) was ultimately decided by the UN by means of resolution 2085 of 20 December 2012. The Jihadi offensive of 2013 nonetheless led to immediate military action by France at the request of the Malian transitional government. When MINUSMA was deployed in July 2013, it absorbed AFISMA.¹²

The African Union Mission for Mali and Sahel (MISAHHEL) was created after the transfer of authority from AFISMA to MINUSMA in order to maintain a presence of the AU and to support Mali and the Sahel countries in their stabilisation and development efforts. MISAHHEL manages the African Union (AU) Strategy for the Sahel region and aims to support Mali in the crisis recovery process and help the countries of the Sahel face security, governance and development challenges. The MISAHHEL mandate comprises three main components:

- a) The political component aimed at supporting the consolidation of peace gains; the promotion of the rule of law and contribution to the strengthening of democratic institutions in the Sahel region, including human rights protection, capacity building of national human rights institutions, the judicial system and civil society organisations. This component also concerns humanitarian matters, especially in the North of Mali.
- b) The second component of MISAHHEL is devoted to security in Sahel. It is aimed at coordinating the efforts of the AU linked to security challenges, in particular conflicts, terrorism, organised crime, as well as different types of trafficking.
- c) The third and last component is related to development problems in the Sahel, and deals with matters concerning the environment, such as the deterioration of the environment, as well as under-development in general.

The AU also supported the negotiation process, both for the Ouagadougou Framework Agreement and the National Peace and Reconciliation Agreement.¹³

United Nations (UN)

The UN has also played and continues to play a fundamental role in the resolution of the Malian crisis. The UN General Secretary has made several declarations and presented several reports on Mali. The same applies to the Chairman of the Security Council. Nevertheless, the Security Council resolutions on the Malian crisis deserve special attention, in particular those concerning the United Nations Integrated Multidimensional Stabilisation Mission in Mali

¹² It must be recalled that the AU had studied the consequences of the Libyan crisis on the sub-region well in advance. Several missions were carried out, leading to several recommendations. The UN idea to have a mission for the Sahel arose from the report drawn up in this context. The idea of the African Mission for the Sahel also falls in line with this standpoint. Communication of the Special Representative of ECOWAS for Sahel and Mali, at the time of the workshop organised by ADEMA (Alliance for Democracy in Mali) in Bamako in June 2016.

¹³ Communication of the Special Representative of ECOWAS for Sahel and Mali, at the time of the workshop organised by ADEMA (Alliance for Democracy in Mali) in Bamako in June 2016.

(MINUSMA). The Security Council created MINUSMA by means of resolution No. 2100 of 25 April 2013.¹⁴

MINUSMA was mandated to include up to 11,200 members of military personnel, including reserve battalions that could be rapidly deployed within the country, as and when required, and 1,440 members of police personnel. It was also specified that the majority of the soldiers, police force and organic civil and support components would mainly operate in the North of the country, with possibly a logistics base in Gao or Sévaré and a light presence with civil, military and police components in Bamako. This resolution furthermore provided for the United Nations Office in Mali (BUNUMA), previously created by resolution 2005 of the Security Council of 20 December 2012, to be integrated into MINUSMA.

MINUSMA was officially deployed on 1 July 2015, prioritising the protection of the main urban centres and the communication routes. The mission assigned from the beginning by the Security Council to MINUSMA was to help the Malian transitional authorities to stabilise the country and to apply the road map for the transition, setting up essential conditions for channelling humanitarian aid and the return of displaced persons, the extension of the State authority and preparation of free and peaceful elections, open to all. At the same time it was supposed to protect civilians and to monitor the human rights situation.¹⁵

Subsequent resolutions of the Security Council modified the MINUSMA objectives somewhat in accordance with unfolding events and needs. Thus, by resolution 2164 of 25 June 2014, the Security Council focussed the mandate of MINUSMA on priority tasks such as security, stabilisation and protection of civilians, support of national political dialogue and national reconciliation, as well as the support for restoration of the State's authority throughout the country, reconstruction of the Malian security sector, promotion and protection of human rights and humanitarian aid.

With Resolution 2227 of 29 June 2015, the Security Council stipulated that MINUSMA would carry out tasks concerning the following areas:

- a) Cease fire;
- b) Support in the application of the Agreement for peace and reconciliation of Mali;
- c) Good offices and reconciliation;
- d) Protection of civilians and stabilisation;
- e) Promotion of defence of human rights;
- f) Humanitarian aid and projects in favour of stabilisation;
- g) Protection, safety and security of United Nations personnel.¹⁶

On 29 September 2016 the UN Secretary General published a report on the situation in Mali, clarifying that MINUSMA's military component now comprised 10,635 soldiers, (of which 1.6%

¹⁴ This resolution recalls the resolutions 2056 (2012), 2071 (2012) and 2085 (2012), as well as the declarations of the President of the Security Council of 26 March (S/PRST/2012/7)) and 4 April 2012 (S/PRST/2012/9), as well as his declarations to the press on Mali dated 22 March, 9 April, 18 June, 10 August, 21 September, 11 December 2012 and 10 January 2013. The Council reconfirms many of the principles, in particular its firm commitment to sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Mali.

¹⁵ Mandate of MINUSMA, in: <http://minusma.unmissions.org/mandat-O>, consulted on 10 September 2016.

¹⁶ See United Nations (2016).

were women), namely 80% of the authorised staff (13,289). On the same date, the police component of the Mission included 1,274 persons, namely 66% of the authorised staff (1,920), 78% of police outside of the units created (of which 14% were women) and 63% of members of police units created (of which 4.5% were women) being deployed. Many EU Member States contribute staff to MINUSMA, with Germany, Denmark, France, the Netherlands and Sweden as the largest contributors.¹⁷

The Secretary General's September 2016 report made clear that, though MINUSMA has contributed significantly to the pacification of Mali, the crisis is ongoing, and the need for an international military mission like MINUSMA continues to be very real. In this sense, the Secretary General specified that the "slow implementation of the peace agreement continued to fuel the volatile security situation in central and northern Mali, which in turn further obstructed progress on its implementation. During the reporting period, there were persistent attacks against the Malian and international forces, the resumption of armed confrontation between the Coordination of Movements of Azawad (CMA) and the Platform and increased intercommunal violence."¹⁸ Similarly, the "humanitarian situation in Mali remained volatile", with strong negative effects on health care, education and food security.¹⁹

G5 Sahel

To a large extent, the creation of the G5 Sahel can be seen as one of the consequences of the Malian crisis. Created on 16 February 2014 in Nouakchott, it is made up of five Sahel states: Burkina Faso, Mali, Mauritania, Niger and Chad. Its objectives are to:

- Guarantee conditions of development and security in members states;
- Offer a strategic intervention framework in order to improve populations' living conditions;
- Link security and development, supported by democracy and good governance within a mutually beneficial regional and international framework;
- Promote an inclusive regional and sustainable development.

The G5 Sahel contributes to the implementation of security and development actions in the Member States, in particular through:

- Strengthening of peace and security in the Sahel G5 countries;
- Development of transport, water, energy and telecommunications infrastructure;
- Creation of conditions of better governance in the member countries;
- Strengthening the resilience of populations by sustainably guaranteeing food security, human development and pastoralism.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid. pp. 6-7.

¹⁹ "In the lean season (June to September), more than 3 million people, or 16 per cent of the Malian population, were food insecure, including approximately 420,000 who needed immediate food assistance. At the end of the academic year in June, 296 out of 2,380 schools remained closed in the crisis-affected regions of Gao, Kidal, Mopti, Ségou and Timbuktu. ... Ténenkou, in the Mopti region, remained the most affected, with 69 per cent of schools closed." United Nations 2016, 11.

The G5 Sahel joint military force was created during its second summit held in N'Djamena on 18 November 2015. Furthermore, during the same summit, a security and defence committee, as well as a cooperation platform for security were created.²⁰ Security laws were also adopted at the N'Djamena summit.²¹ G5 Sahel is heavily supported by France, in particular through the Barkhane operation. With regard to defence and security, the G5 Sahel has, for example, set up a military cross-border cooperation partnership (PMCT) which has already attained certain results:

- 1 shared road map, updated, active and still being followed;
- 14 joint cross-border operations conceived and planned;
- 9 joint operations led with lessons shared;
- 11 operational coordination committees organised.²²

France

France plays a special and fundamental role in the Malian crisis, both in military terms, through the operations Serval and Barkhane, as well as in political terms, through its role in the negotiations and the implementation of peace agreements. To start with the military component, French military operation Serval, launched on 11 January 2013²³ at the request of Mali's interim authorities, was a determining factor in the liberation of Mali's occupied regions. The operation unfolded rapidly and was carried out with the support of the forces of ECOWAS and Chad. Subsequently, on 1 August 2014, France launched the Barkhane operation. In addition to Mali, this second French military operation covers Burkina Faso, Niger, Chad and Mauritania. Barkhane was aimed at favouring the fight by G5 Sahel partners against armed terrorist groups (ARG), throughout the Sahel-Saharan Strip (SSB). The notion of partnership is considered as the basis for the Barkhane operation. Barkhane coordinates with other forces engaged in the stabilisation process in Mali: MINUSMA, EUTM Mali and Malian Armed Forces (FAMA). In terms of its size, Barkhane is presently the largest French army operation outside of the country, with 3500 soldiers.²⁴

France has actively participated in the different negotiations between the protagonists of the Malian crisis. It has supported the electoral process and supports the monitoring and implementation of the Algiers Peace Agreement. It supports Mali in different areas of socio-economic and cultural development in Mali, both on a central level and a territorial and regional

²⁰ G5 Sahel, Meeting of the Security and Defence Committee in <http://www.g5sahel.org/index.php/2-uncategorised/31-reunion-du-comite-de-defense-et-securite>, consulted on 10 September 2016.

²¹ G5 Sahel, Security laws adopted during the N'Djamena summit, in <http://www.g5sahel.org/index.php/2-uncategorised/136-textes-de-securite-adoptes-lors-du-sommet-de-n-djamena>, consulted on 10 September 2016.

²² G5 Sahel, PMCT brochure, p. 2, in http://www.g5sahel.org/images/fichiers/20151125_BROCHURE-PMCT-V2.pdf, consulted on 10 September 2016.

²³ In January 2014, it had about 2500 French soldiers engaged in the Serval operation. Nevertheless, on 8 January 2014, the French President announced that the military staff in Mali was going to be reduced to 1600 and then 1000.

²⁴ Information from the French Ministry of Defense, available at: <http://www.defense.gouv.fr/operations/sahel/dossier-de-presentation-de-l-operation-barkhane/operation-barkhane>, accessed 17 November 2016.

authority level. Whatever may be said, the Malian crisis has been an occasion for significant rapprochement between Mali and France.

Other countries involved

The Malian crisis has provoked a large international response, involving many countries in one way or the other. African States, including Chad, Burkina Faso, Niger, Côte d'Ivoire, Togo, Benin, Nigeria, and Senegal have also greatly contributed to the resolution of the Malian crisis. This was achieved through bilateral efforts as well as through the participation in the liberation of northern Mali, and through the role of these countries in MINUSMA.

With regard to the specific case of Algeria, the country played an important role in facilitating peace negotiations. It also participated in the implementation of the peace and reconciliation agreement negotiated in its capital, Algiers.

Morocco and Mauritania also played a certain role. Morocco defended the idea of the territorial integrity of Mali and contributed to the financing of AFISMA under the authority of the AU, with the amount of 5 million dollars, 10% of the combined pledges of the African States. The King of Morocco visited Mali in February 2014, and several bilateral agreements were accorded, including with regard to military and security. As for Mauritania which shares a long border with Mali, it hosted Malian refugees and cooperated with Mali on several security issues including within the framework of the G5 Sahel.

Great Britain also took part in resolving the Malian crisis. In particular it introduced the Conflict, Security and Stability Programme in Sahel (CSSF). The objectives and components of this programme are related to cross-border security and the fight against organised crime, conflict reduction, and multilateral cooperation for security.

Germany, Belgium, Sweden, Switzerland, Denmark, the Netherlands, to quote but a few, have also been partners with Mali for a long time and are also working with Mali on crisis resolution and development issues. Some of the interventions of these partners appear in the case study chapter on EU interventions in the present study. They pertain to multi-track diplomacy, security reform and the governance sector.

Other countries that are contributing towards the resolution of the Malian crisis and the implementation of the Algiers Peace Agreement include the United States, Russia, China, and Japan. The support of these countries is significant. The United States is a key actor, though without harming the key roles of France and the EU in the management of the Malian crisis.

3.3 European Union Interventions

The European Union (EU) and its predecessors have a long history of support for Mali. It is the first partner of the country in terms of contribution to public development aid. The Lomé Convention and the Cotonou Agreements (1975 and 2000 respectively) provided important frameworks for this cooperation. In particular, the political dimension of the relationship with the EU was beefed up in the Cotonou Agreement between the EU and so-called African-Caribbean-Pacific (ACP) countries, which includes Mali. Article 8 of the Cotonou Agreement states that “the parties shall regularly conduct global, balanced and in-depth dialogue leading to

mutual commitments.”²⁵ Whereas the different Lomé Agreements were centred on economic cooperation, the Cotonou Agreement places heavy emphasis on “political dimensions” by supporting the democratisation processes and reforms aimed at improving governance. The EU and EU Member States together presently represent approximately 80% of public aid to Mali.

In terms of results, EU-Mali cooperation presents a mixed picture. Mali development indicators continue problematic in spite of already close to half a century of development cooperation and aid. For example, the Joint EU-Mali Report of 2006 stresses that “notwithstanding the presence of over 40 Technical and Financial Partners (TFPs) in Mali ...and notwithstanding significant advances in the restructuring of public finance, the consolidation of macro-economic reforms and of the democratic and decentralisation process, the reduction of poverty in Mali remains very poor (only 0.3% over the last 10 years)”.²⁶

Since the outbreak of the political and security crisis in 2012, the EU intervention has intensified in Mali. The EU and the EU Member States have given their logistical and operational support in the fight against terrorist groups in northern Mali. In particular, the EU has been involved in the reform and upgrading of the security forces by setting up a training mission for the Malian army and a civil mission to support internal security forces through EUTM (European Union Training Mission) and EUCAP-SAHEL (European Union Capacity Building Mission). Furthermore, Mali forms part of the EU strategy for the Sahel and thus benefits from considerable additional aid. The EU supported the return to constitutional order and the presidential elections of 2013, as well as the political resolution of the crisis through dialogue. It supports the authorities in the implementation of sustainable reforms with respect to governance and justice.

On 8 July 2013, with the support of the Delegation of the European Union in Mali, a study mission to the Malian presidency proposed a crisis exit strategy.²⁷ The three primary components of this strategy were: 1. Restoration of governance; 2. Rebuilding of the nation; and 3. Re-establishment of decentralisation. In August 2013, the EU pledged its support for the Malian government and population in ending the crisis and moving towards sustainable and inclusive development. A key principle adopted in this commitment includes “a broad approach throughout Mali to work on the actual causes of the dynamics that led to the conflict, and to support the rebuilding of the Malian State.”²⁸

The EU's support for the rebuilding of the Malian state, one of the focal points of its intervention in Mali, takes the form of several measures. In 2013, the EU granted emergency aid to Mali in the form of a donation to the State budget for the resumption of basic services to the population as well as the restoration of the rule of law. The EU also supported decentralisation by favouring the return of the national administration in local authorities of

²⁵ The full text of the Cotonou Agreement can be found at: http://eurlex.europa.eu/resource.html?uri=cellar:eebc0bbc-f137-4565-952d-3e1ce81ee890.0004.04/DOC_2&format=PDF, accessed on 12 November 2016.

²⁶ EU-Mali Cooperation (2006, EU-Mali Joint Report, p. 23.

²⁷ Pierre Calame, Karine Goasmat et ARGA, Rapport de mission, available at: http://www.maliapd.org/IMG/file/pdf/Actu/Strategie_Mali_dossier_8_juillet_2013.pdf, accessed on 19 November 2016.

²⁸ Les engagements de l'Union Européenne sur les zones post-conflit, Août 2013, p. 1. In: http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/mali/documents/eu_mali/ue_regions_post_conflit_fr.pdf, accessed on 12 November 2016.

post-conflict zones, through the supply of administrative equipment, support in re-establishing basic social services, and aid to the Local and Regional Authorities Support Fund (FNACT). Plans also included making office equipment and supplies available to decentralised authorities. The EU also supported the post-crisis electoral process by working in favour of transparent and peaceful elections with strong participation of voters.

The EU interventions in the Malian crisis are very varied, and can be grouped in four major sectors: humanitarian aid, policy support, security, and development.

The humanitarian aid is based on the requirements of the most vulnerable populations in Mali and is provided whilst respecting humanitarian principles. The European Commission Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection Office (ECHO) mission is dedicated to this cooperation component. This component was not suspended even during the crisis.

The policy support sector includes political dialogue on key issues such as human rights, democratic principles and rule of law, proper management of public affairs, policies in favour of peace, conflict prevention and resolution, fight against terrorism, cooperation in the fight against the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the coherence of community policies, and migrations.

Since the outbreak of the crisis, security has become a major concern to the point of becoming one of the core political issues for exiting the crisis. Over and above the strictly militaristic dimension, security in the Sahel context in general, and in particular Mali, is intrinsically linked to development problems.²⁹ The main security issues (terrorism, rebellions, trafficking) have their roots in the state of political, social, economic and cultural underdevelopment which weakens state institutions and increases the vulnerability of populations. The crisis revealed the existence of very serious socio-economic and cultural problems within the northern region of Mali as well as within the Malian army. Hence, from the first actions in favour of the crisis, the actors involved raised the interdependence between development and security by highlighting the dialectics by which underdevelopment and the lack of prospects caused the frustration which can lead to rebellion. On the other hand, it is clear that without a condition of security and peace, there can be no sustainable development. Therefore, the international community and the Malian authorities have adopted a new security sector reform (SSR) strategy which is multi-dimensional, integrating the military dimension and socio-economic dimensions.

It is based on these factors that the EU and its Member States have provided political, logistical and operational support in the fight against terrorist groups in northern Mali. In particular, the EU has been involved in the reform and upgrading of the security forces by setting up a training mission for the Malian army through the EUCAP-Sahel (European Union Capacity Building Mission) and a civil mission to support internal security forces through EUTM (European Union Training Mission). Furthermore, Mali forms part of the EU strategy for the Sahel and thus benefits from considerable additional aid.³⁰

About the matter of development aid, on the one hand the EU agreed, during the International Donor Conference on Mali in Brussels (May 2013), to provide € 1,28 billion,

²⁹ European External Action Service, strategy for the security of development in the Sahel region (summarised), consulted on 10 June 2016 on the site: www.eeas.europa.eu.

³⁰ Benoit Cusin, Political Advisor to the EUTM, interviewed by the author, Bamako, Tuesday, 5 April 2016.

including direct transfers to the Malian government (budgetary support).³¹ On the other hand, the 11th European Development Fund provides a package for Mali of € 615 million covering the 2014-2020 period. In particular, during the negotiation process up until the implementation, it supported Mali through the joint evaluation mission with the World Bank, the compiling of the specific strategy for the development of the North, during the Pledging Conference in Paris and the International Donor Conference in Brussels.

The EU employs diverse financing instruments in relation to Mali. The most important one is the European Development Fund (EDF). This financial instrument is a basket into which all the EU Members States pay in accordance to their GDP. It is up to the European Commission to distribute it between the African-Caribbean-Pacific (ACP) countries. The EDF has a duration of 5 years. Currently it is the 11th EDF, which has been realised on the basis of the National Indicative Programme (NIP) which is a voluminous document, compiled and prepared in collaboration with the Malian government and other stakeholders. In Mali, the Minister of Foreign Affairs acts as the national authorising officer of the NIP. In this regard, a unit has been created to implement and monitor projects financed by the EU: it is called the CONFED, the Authorising Officer's Support Unit for the EDF. Each NIP (National Indicative Programme) is signed by the national authorising officer and the EU development commissioner. The current NIP in Mali was signed on 10 March 2015.

Table 1. Mali's 11th EDF breakdown

Projects and Programmes	Amounts in EUR
Reform of the State and consolidation of the rule of law	280 million
Rural development and food security	100 million
Education	100 million
Support of the transport sector	110 million
Support of the National Authorising Officer & Civil Society	25 million
Total	615 million

Source: NIP of the 11e EDF, 2014-2020, p. 8.

Clearly, the financial means constitute an important lever of European diplomacy and indicate the level of commitment of both the European Union and the Malian authorities to reach the partnership goals. "The European Union played a decisive role during the Malian crisis on a political, security and development level: it still maintains some responsibility today and is still the key interlocutor of the Malian authorities in the stabilisation, peace and reform process in Mali. This key role is indicated by the financial volume and guidelines proposed for the 11th EDF" as stated in the 2014-2020 National Indicative Programme document.

The 11th European Development Fund provides a package for Mali of € 615 million covering the 2014-2020 period, in the framework of the National Indicative Programme (NIP), signed on 6 March 2015. This programme, which falls in line with the 11th EDF, is based on the provisions of articles 2 and 4 of appendix IV of the ACP-EC partnership signed in Cotonou

³¹ In total, the International Donor Conference mobilized €3.25 billion to rebuild Mali. See: http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-13-429_en.htm, accessed on 12 November 2016.

on 23 June 2000, revised on 25 June 2005 (in Luxembourg) and on 22 June 2010 (in Ouagadougou). The 2014-2020 NIP focal sectors include: political reform, security, development aid and humanitarian aid for the populations affected by the crisis.³²

3.4 European Union Interventions: Architecture, Coordination and Coherence

The European strategy for the resolution of the crisis in Mali incorporates a number of different methods and strategies to achieve its objectives. In line with its philosophy of promoting peace and development, the European Union relies primarily on two methods, the importance of which has been underscored since the outbreak of the crisis in 2013: the first method makes use of institutional means (through diplomacy) and the second of financial instruments.

As far as diplomacy is concerned, Mali is a classic case of acquisition of new skills subsequent to the Treaty of Lisbon. This is why Mali is the only country in the world (today in 2016) which has two EU missions and where there are five instruments: 1. the delegation, 2. an advisor to the EU Representative in the Sahel, 3. EUTM (European Union Training Mission), 4. EUCAP (European Capacity Building Mission), 5. ECHO (European Commission Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection Office): this office is concerned with humanitarian aid and therefore does not fall under the Ambassador. The delegation falls under Foreign Affairs whereas the other two missions (EUTM & EUCAP) fall under the European Council (which has 28 Member States). The latter is, moreover, required to approve the 3rd mandate of EUTM and EUCAP. This operation is led by the Member States. It falls under the political authority of the Ambassador but receives no instructions. The delegation enjoys autonomy.

Brussels fixes the major objectives and it is up to Brussels to find the means of achieving these objectives. The process is supported by coordination between the Member States: there is a permanent representative at meetings, visits and exchanges at Bamako. The most traditional formula is the meeting of heads of missions which meets once a week, together with the ambassadors, and is presided over by the EU Ambassador (an innovation introduced under the Lisbon Treaty).

EU joint planning provides a reference framework for the coordination of EU developmental programmes and those of its Member States in Mali. The overall objective is to assist in promoting inclusive and lasting growth which will create jobs and support the fight against poverty. In this context, coordinated planning aims to support the reconstruction of the State, national reconciliation, and the establishment of peace and security in Mali. Such coordination therefore aligns with the priorities of the Government Action Plan (GAP) (2013 – 18) and is the basis for elaborating the Common Country Assistance Strategy (SCAP) II. The SCAP (2008-2011)³³ is the main reference document for the coordination of the intervention programmes of technical and financial partners with those of the Government. In 2012, SCAP's

³² The NIP of the 11th EDF amounts to a total of € 615 million, namely more than FCFA 403 billion, over a period of seven years. The focal sectors concerned include the following: Reform of the State and consolidation of the rule of law (EUR 280M) including the first phase of budgetary support for the 2015-2017 period, which for information purposes, is EUR 150 M; Rural development and food security (EUR 100 M); Education (€100 M); and Aid to the transport sector including asphaltting of the Bourem-Kidal road (EUR 110 M).

³³ Mali-Luxembourg Cooperation Programme, (2015), Programme Indicative of Cooperation III (2015-2019), p. 6

evaluation had been completed, and the study on the comparative advantages had begun when the *coup d'état* of 22 March of that same year interrupted its progress.

Table 2. Major EU Instruments in Mali

Instruments	Mission	Oversight	Duration	Observations
EU Delegation at Bamako	Policy - diplomacy - other	Foreign Affairs Service	Permanent	At level of ambassador since the Lisbon Treaty
EUTM	Capacity Building	European Council	Non-permanent	3rd period of office in process
EUCAP	Capacity Building	European Council	Non-permanent	3rd period of office in process
Special Representative for the Sahel	Implementation and monitoring of European strategy in the Sahel	European Council	Permanent	Office based in Mali. The Representative represents the EU in the Algiers negotiations
ECHO	Humanitarian Aid	European Council	Permanent	Not dependent on the Ambassador

During the crisis, the technical and financial partners had continued the process through consensual positioning and the drafting of a policy note on emergence from the crisis. In October 2013, the Government announced that the work of SCAP II would resume and that it represented the common response of the technical and financial partners to Government priorities with due consideration for the lessons learned from the crisis by all parties. The document was drawn up together with the Government through its specialised structures, notably the Secretariat for the Harmonisation of Aid (SHA), in reference to the Government Action Plan (GAP) (2013 – 2018).

It must be emphasised, in relation to coordination, that the EU adopts an overall approach which takes into account all other approaches. It further notes that the mandates are complementary for example, Operation Barkhane is concerned with the fight against terrorism; the United Nations Integrated Multidimensional Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) is concerned with the maintenance of peace; EUTM is concerned with the training of the army; EUCAP is focused on the police, Gendarmerie and the National Guard. Before initiating a mandate, the EU dispatches strategic missions. In addition, weekly meetings are held between the EU and the Member States to ensure the coherence of the various interventions. The aim is to ensure that the Malian Armed Forces (FAMA) are able to perform their missions in full.³⁴

³⁴ Interview of EU mission responsible by authors in Bamako, 5 April 2016.

3.5 Coordination issues

This multiplicity of donors, actions and initiatives puts strong demands on policy coherence and coordination at different levels, all with a range of relevant stakeholders involved. A representative from the Embassy of Great Britain illustrated in an interview for this study how this coordination dynamics might function in practice.

“We are working in close collaboration with the EU. Our work contributes to the achievement of the overall objectives of the EU. We meet on a regular basis. We have our advisor in EUTM and two training experts. We have an advisor in the delegation to support and influence decisions. We contribute to the achievement of EU objectives. At the central level, we finance MISAHEL (African Union Mission for Mali and the Sahel). Furthermore, we meet on a monthly basis with the FTPs from all sectors. We participate on a regular basis in these meetings. By way of illustration, France is lead partner when it comes to the agricultural sector and Canada in the case of security. We participate in meetings with MINUSMA so that we are cognisant of the coordination plan.”³⁵

Thus far, the effectiveness of coordination is evident particularly at the strategic level, including high level meetings with the Malian government. It is nonetheless true that there are a number of lacunae or even a lack of coordination at the operational level. A diplomat interviewed for this study has drawn attention to the need to consider this dimension more carefully if the effectiveness of European interventions is to be increased:

“It is important for these [coordination] meetings to address matters at the operational level. Currently operational questions are not being considered: Who is where? Who finances whom? It is necessary to drill down when discussing issues of coordination. When dealing with policy, such meetings tend to be very quick, the mapping is done, but there is no mention of who finances whom.”

It would appear that this lack of operational coordination is felt by the Mali Government which has difficulty in keeping track of some of the activities funded by EU Member States. This was underscored by a former advisor in the office of the Prime Minister in Mali:

“Maliens have not taken MINUSMA’s mandate on board. Subsequent to the Brussels meeting, commitment sits close to € 3 billion. However, what needs to be noted is that all EU commitments prior to the crisis are included in this amount: construction of the Nior route, for example. Except for € 13 million, the balance is managed through bilateral and multilateral cooperation. In this scenario, the Government has emphasised that its partners are mobilising funds for Mali but are not reporting this to it. The Government was not, in other words, aware of all the reconstruction activities carried

³⁵ Interview of a representative of European embassy by author in Bamako, 16 August 2016.

out in the North. For this reason the Government has decided to centralise all action plans around the Department for the Reconstruction of the North.”

The above illustrates that Mali’s heavy dependency on foreign assistance has created a complex and multifaceted governance dynamic in the country. Though Mali’s ownership is considered key to the success of support, the political and bureaucratic requirements of the international actors, as well as the complexities of the support architecture, actually make it very challenging for the Malian State to exert leadership and control in the whole process.

4. Selected cases of EU intervention in Mali

4.1 Introduction

The present chapter presents three short case studies on EU interventions in Mali, focussing on multi-track diplomacy, security sector reform and governance reform. As highlighted in the previous chapter, the EU is one of Mali's fundamental partners, and its engagement is extensive and multifaceted. EU interventions do not stand by themselves. They are heavily intertwined with interventions from EU Member States, and with interventions from other international actors. They are also closely connected to Malian institutions. EU interventions take place in this complex field of forces.

The first case study presented in this chapter focuses on EU engagement in multi-track diplomacy in Mali. It shows how the EU's diplomatic role is broad and important, and cannot be seen in isolation of its crucial financial support role in Mali. The second case study focuses on security sector reform, and highlights the efforts in this field by EUTM and EUCAP. The third case study focuses on governance reform. It reviews the most important programmes in this field, demonstrating how EU support towards improved governance in Mali draws on a substantial history, which has translated into the fine-tuning of programmes and mechanisms in view of previous experiences.

4.2 EU Multi-track diplomacy in Mali

Multi-track diplomacy has been extensively applied in Mali. Since the institutional and security crisis broke out in 2012, this form of diplomacy has proven its capacity to contribute to the promotion of dialogue for peace amongst actors with diverging interests. Furthermore, Mali's double crisis of democratic break-down, in combination with the security emergency led the members of the international community in general, and the EU in particular, to invest heavily in a return to peace and to strengthen their support.

The EU used a whole range of strategies in resolving the crisis in Mali. The geographic position of Mali also means that problems have a tendency to overrun the local, national, sub-regional and global framework as witnessed by the migration issues and terrorism which affects the Sahel, Maghreb and Europe. Faced with this situation, the approach that the European Union is attempting to adopt is holistic as it concerns practically all areas and all actors of the crisis.

Since the advent of the crisis in 2012, EU-Malian dialogue has proven to be very valuable in the search for sustainable solutions. Thus, it made it possible to establish conditions for discussions between the government parties and the rebels. It helped to strengthen the interim and transitional authorities in order to successfully carry out the electoral process intended to re-establish constitutional legality. Lastly this dialogue has made it possible to maintain European cooperation, thus avoiding the aggravation of the crisis. The 2014-2020 National Indicative Programme (NIP) document in this sense explains that "the European Union played a decisive role during the Malian crisis on a political, security and development level: it still maintains some responsibility today and remains a key interlocutor of the Malian authorities

in the stabilisation, peace and reform process in Mali.³⁶ The EU supported the return to constitutional order and the presidential elections of 2013, as well as political resolution of the crisis through dialogue. It is a member of the group of mediators which guided the Algiers negotiations up until its signature by all parties on 20 June 2015. It is a member of the monitoring committee for the implementation of said agreement.³⁷

From the beginning of the process, the EU was represented by the former ambassador of France in Mali, Michel Reveyrand-De Menthon, who had a good knowledge of the country and the parties involved in the crisis. He led the negotiations in Algiers when the new authorities requested the Algerian intervention, as the head of a pool of mediators, in order to attempt to find a common ground with the rebel groups. What must be highlighted again is the moral weight afforded by the parties to the EU. This is particularly true for the government representatives, as becomes clear from the following interview conducted with a research participant:

“During the crisis the EU was like a civil society member. Objectively what can be said is that it is easier to be suspicious of an EU country than of organisations like the EU or ECOWAS. In fact, countries may have individual strategies to satisfy their own interests in relations with a country. But as for the EU, it is an international organisation. We never doubted the goal of the EU, which was to support Mali in its development. Therefore, during the Algiers negotiations, when it was seen that the EU was going to form part of the mediation team, it enjoyed unanimous support. It is true that parties often doubt the mediators. During the negotiations, there was not the slightest suspicion that there was a desire to support one party over the other, which is not the case for other countries. Besides it could not be seen how a group of states could attempt to put a noose around the neck of another state. Therefore, for us the EU is a partner in good faith whose sole objective is to support Mali in its development.”³⁸

On the other hand the rebel groups were more circumspect with regard to the EU's positions, without however openly rejecting them.

“There I witnessed during his interventions (with regard to Mr. Reveyrand-De Menthon), that he was trying to be conciliatory. When Mali presented its regionalisation reform and the Coordination of Movements of Azawad (CMA), with its federalist plan, he intervened to say that he did not see the difference. They are just different terms but with identical content and that if the stakeholders are convinced.... this was one of its interventions. When there were differences of opinion, he called on both parties to work together and to consider what unites them. During the negotiations, the CMA was

³⁶ The NIP EU-Mali 2014-2020 is available at: http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/programme-indicatif-national-ue-mali-2014-2020_fr, accessed on 12 November 2016.

³⁷ The Peace and Reconciliation Agreement is the result of a process initiated by the Presidents of Mali and Algeria following the working visit of President Ibrahim Boubacar Keïta to Algiers on 18 and 19 January 2014. The practical terms and conditions of the Algiers process were established by the Road Map of 24 July 2014 but the principle was provided for by the Ouagadougou Preliminary Agreement of 18 June 2013.

³⁸ A representative of Malian government interviewed by author, in Bamako, 16 June 2016.

more radical. He met with members of this organisation on the side, in order to tell them that they were asking for too much. In my opinion he was unable to convince them because he was a representative of the EU.”³⁹

Even when the negotiations became tough, the EU limited itself to highlighting the fact that the failure to sign the agreements would benefit terrorists. Besides, as confirmed by a member of the CMA, “at this stage of affairs, there are veiled threats. It is not an open threat. He highlighted the fact that a split would benefit terrorist groups.”⁴⁰ This pacifist position has established an atmosphere of openness and trust which has helped to advance the cause for peace considerably in a context where the desire for revenge could break the fragile negotiation process at any time.

Presently, the main challenge is the implementation of the Algiers agreement. The contribution of the mediators and in particular that of the EU is crucial. This is two-fold: firstly on a political level in the framework of the Agreement's Monitoring Committee (CSA) and secondly with respect to providing technical and financial support in implementing the necessary reforms.

With regard to monitoring, a special responsibility is incumbent upon the mediators who are the guarantors of the smooth execution by the parties of the obligations linked to the agreement. This is highlighted by Mr. Zeini Moulaye:

“The Agreement is a document of compromise compiled with the support of international mediation, led by Algeria, including Burkina Faso, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria and Chad; the African Union, ECOWAS, United Nations, EU and Islamic Cooperation Organisation etc. Section VI was especially dedicated to the guarantee, support and monitoring-evaluation mechanisms which were omitted in previous agreements and which should inspire more hope than in the past.”⁴¹

The importance of the mediation role is underscored in the agreement. Clause 52 of chapter 17 of section 4 stipulates that “Mediation under the auspices of Algeria as head of the negotiations is the political guarantor of the Agreement and respect of the provisions by the Parties. In this regard, it: continues to offer its good offices to the Parties; advise the Parties, if required, in the implementation process; and plays the role of last resort on a political and moral level in the event of problems that are of a nature to compromise the objectives and aims of this Agreement.” And the next Clause 53 reads: “The Mediation actively contributes to the international advocacy for the optimal application of the Agreement and mobilisation of the support required in favour of Mali.”

In spite of these provisions, the agreement is experiencing implementation problems. It is not without difficulty that the monitoring committee has thus far held 10 meetings, at irregular intervals. The monitoring committee had to resolve a certain number of problems

³⁹ A representative of Coordination of Azawad Movements (CMA), interview by author, Bamako, 20 June 2016.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Mr. Zeïni Moulaye, declarations during summarised presentation of the Mali Peace and Reconciliation Agreement (MAECI), Bamako, 2015.

which considerably delayed the decisions and in the face of which mediation demonstrated a considerable amount of tact and responsibility to further advance the process. Amongst others, there is the question of the representation of the armed groups within the committee; the financing of the agreement; security issues; interim authorities, etc. (United Nations 2016).

According to the Permanent Secretary of the High Representative's Office of the President for the implementation of the agreement, Mr Inhayé Ag Mohamed, amongst the difficulties that are slowing down the implementation of the agreement are the persistence of insecurity, the lack of financing required for the projects and programmes provided for in appendix 3 of the agreement, the complexity of the procedures for the implementation of certain measures and the disbursement of financing already acquired etc.⁴²

Experts confirm this delay in the implementation process. Jean-Hervé Jézéquel, analyst of the International Crisis Group, indicates that:

“The billeting and disarmament process is very late. There is also a transition period which must be implemented with the temporary authorities who will be in charge of administering the North. This component has not yet been really initiated. Furthermore, state services have not yet been restored either. There is a delay on a great number of items.”⁴³

According to this expert, this situation is due to the fact that:

“A great number of actors doubt the fact that this agreement can be implemented and, if it is implemented, that it can really change things. As a result of this lack of confidence in the agreement, there is a lack of political willingness to implement it.”⁴⁴

Nevertheless, the government has undertaken certain actions aimed at showing its faith in the implementation as shown by the recent ministerial reshuffling which saw the appointment of some members of armed groups, the appointment of a high-level representative of the President entrusted with the implementation of the agreement and signing in April 2016 of a subsidiary agreement relating to the setting up of interim authorities and the deployment and redeployment of decentralised departments of the State and administrative districts in the regions of Timbuktu, Gao, Kidal, Taoudéni and Ménaka. Nevertheless, the resumption of hostilities between the Gambia and CMA,⁴⁵ between July and August 2016, and the recent attacks against MINUSMA highlight the fragility of the security situation, in spite of the recent strengthening of MINUSMA's mandate by the Security Council.

As explained by the representative of the Federation of NGOs, members of civil society in Mali often question the inclusiveness of the process.

⁴² Bintou Danioko, Declarations in a seminar entitled “The role of the media in monitoring and implementing the Algiers Peace and Reconciliation Agreement”, held in Bamako on 28 and 29 July 2016.

⁴³ Jean-Hervé Jézéquel interviewed by Anthony Latier of RFI on Sunday 20 December 2015.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Communiqué of the International Mediation in August 2016.

“Civil society did not participate because there was no representative appointed by the structures. The parties who attended did not have a mandate and were more or less co-opted by the authorities. When we were in Koulouba, the President told us that not everyone can be in Algiers. We contacted MINUSMA and it replied that the process was between government and the armed groups, which also had their civil society. However, already in the first meetings in Ouagadougou proposals were made to include dialogue between Malians as the problems are known. But this did not work. Besides, we did everything to meet Tiebilé Dramé but he was not keen [to meet with us]. However, we made a plan to ensure that he was personally handed our proposal document. We did not participate in the Algiers process. ... Algiers was therefore an armed group-state dialogue. This is the reason why the implementation of the agreement is experiencing problems. It is going from bad to worse.”⁴⁶

In sum, the degree of inclusiveness reached through civil society participation depends on what civil society organisations participate and what their legitimacy is in the eyes of other civil society groups. Civil society participation in itself might not be enough.

Table 3. Actors involved in Algiers Agreement and Agreement's Monitoring Committee

Actors	Position	Mandate
Algeria	Lead negotiator	Chairman of the CSA
Burkina Faso	Member of the Mediation Team	Deputy Chairman of the CSA
Mauritania	Member of the Mediation Team	
Niger	Member of the Mediation Team	
Nigeria	Member of the Mediation Team	
Chad	Member of the Mediation Team	
United Nations Organisation	Member of the Mediation Team	
European Union	Member of the Mediation Team	Co-chairing the committee on economic, social and cultural development
Organisation of Islamic Cooperation	Member of the Mediation Team	Monitoring, control, supervision and coordination of the effective application by the Parties of all the Agreement's provisions.
African Union	Member of the Mediation Team	
CEDEAO	Member of the Mediation Team	
MAECI	Head of the negotiation team	Defend the government's position
High representative to the Inter-Malian Inclusive Dialogue ⁴⁷	High representative of the Head of State	Defend the position of the government, facilitate negotiations and implementation of the agreement

⁴⁶ Two representatives of the Federation of NGO Groups in Mali; interview by author, Bamako, 1 July 2016.

⁴⁷ Within the framework of the monitoring committee of the Agreement, the President has appointed the High Representative of the President of the Republic for the implementation of the agreement.

Actors	Position	Mandate
Platform	Party to the conflicts Agreement's signatory	Deemed close to the government, represents the populations settled in northern Mali.
Coalition of Azawad people (CPA-Ousmane) and the Coordination of patriotic movements and forces of resistance II (CMFPR-II)	Party to the conflicts, signatory of the agreement	Opposed to the government, comprising mainly Tuaregs.
HCI, CAFO, FECONG, CNJ, universities, media ⁴⁸	Participant in the inclusive dialogue and monitoring of the implementation	Expression of point of view of civil society organisations in its diversity.
Permanent member of the Security Council	Participants in the CSA activities	Responsible for maintaining global peace and security.
MINUSMA and MISAHHEL	CSA assistance (technical secretariat of the CSA)	General mission (stabilisation and rehabilitation of the country).
Independent observer	Evaluation of the agreement's implementation	

EU multi-track diplomacy takes multiple forms and does not place all role players on equal footing. In a complex and multidimensional context, in which actors have varying capacities and legitimacy, multi-track diplomacy actions tend to evolve over time. Four different levels can be highlighted:

a) The bilateral level between the EU and the Mali Government. This level is the most long-standing and the most formalised. It is the primary diplomatic channel formalising the legal, political and economic relations between the EU and Mali. These relations have strengthened since the Lisbon Treaty, which raised the status of the EU delegation to that of an Embassy. In doing so, it strengthened the political dimension of the relations between the authorities of the two partners. Thus, on 17 January 2013, the Foreign Affairs Council (FAC) of the EU convened an extraordinary meeting aimed at addressing the conflict situation in Mali. One of the outcomes of this extraordinary meeting was a €20 million stabilisation support package, approved under the Instrument for Stability (IfS), managed and implemented by the European Delegation to Mali.⁴⁹

b) The following level is that of bilateral relations of EU Member States with Mali. Here, it is important to emphasise France's role in particular. Through Operation Barkhane

⁴⁸ Many observers consider that the authorities have exercised co-optation in choosing persons to represent structures on the basis of its own assessment of their personal qualities.

⁴⁹ Practical measures financed by this instrument include the 2015 project "Self-Portrait of Mali: Obstacles to Peace" led by the Malian Institute of Research for Peace (IMRAP) in collaboration with Interpeace and aimed at establishing a dynamic, participatory and inclusive national dialogue to formulate a consensual agenda, owned by Malians, and strengthen social cohesion and lasting peace in Mali. See IMRAP & Interpeace (2015).

France remains responsible for the military anti-terrorist campaign. Given the current MINUSMA mandate, which is not that of a military mission, France is the only country with a military force on the ground capable of opposing rebel groups. In the initial stages of the operation, its intervention saw a significant increase in France's popularity in the eyes of the population, especially in the North of Mali. Subsequently, when the French military stopped short at the gates of Kidal, popularity made place for incomprehension. Since then France's activities have been met with more criticism. Some representatives of civil society even see the crisis in the North of Mali as France's responsibility. As reflected in the following quote from an interview with representatives of the Federation of NGO Groups of Mali (FECONG-Mali), this criticism has sometimes eclipsed the initiatives of other partners including the EU.

"The international community is represented by France and to some extent by the USA. Whatever these two countries say is seen as the opinion of the other members of the international community, including the EU. France is at the helm. MINUSMA, as it was conceived and implemented, is seen as a French programme. The person in charge of operations at the level of the United Nations, Hervé Ladsous is French. Operation Serval, followed by Operation Barkhane, has enabled France to do whatever it wishes in the North of Mali. Barkhane is operating on its own in the controlled areas. It does not form part of MINUSMA although the chief of the MINUSMA forces is a Frenchman. This situation reveals the weight that France and Germany carry as leaders of the EU. Germany, which arrived somewhat later on the scene, has nonetheless integrated its forces into MINUSMA. The EU delegation, however, is keenly aware of this situation. This is why, when there was word that France was arming the MNLA, the delegation was almost closed down."⁵⁰

Another expert on the Mali crisis shares these concerns:

"The Serval Operation is France's alone. It was initiated in its interests. From the outset, I indicated that the euphoria would be short-lived. Then we saw that France stopped short at the gates of Kidal. I have always maintained that Kidal has no special status, but the Mali State is not able to enter Kidal as long as its army does not have the operational capacity to do so. This is why the idea is to cut the links between the rebel groups and this part of the country. Only a developmental solution, not a military one, will enable the country to emerge from the crisis."⁵¹

This critique should not obscure, however, that other EU Member States are actively involved in supporting reconciliation initiatives, conflict resolution processes and strengthening stability

⁵⁰ Two representatives of the Federation of NGO Groups in Mali (FECONG), interview by author, Bamako, 1 July 2016. This idea was shared by representatives of two Tuareg armed group GATIA interviewed 19 March 2017 by authors in Bamako.

⁵¹ A member of the team of Malian government to the Inter Malian Talks in Algier, interview by author, Bamako, 10 May 2016.

and peace in Mali. Examples of these are Great Britain,⁵² Germany, and Denmark,⁵³ to mention a few. These EU Member States nonetheless suffer the omnipresence and omnipotence of France, which manages to place its cadres in decision-making positions and to ensure the adherence of the EU. A member of the diplomatic corps, who has preferred to remain anonymous, pointed out that there seems to be some kind of unwritten rule that, in Anglophone countries, the EU aligns itself with the line adopted by Great Britain and, in Francophone countries, with France.⁵⁴ The latter therefore has little difficulty in appointing its own cadres to strategic positions both in the EU delegations and MINUSMA and in other organisations intervening in the Mali crisis – something which is frustrating to other Member States.

- c) The third level involves regional and sub-regional relations between the EU and African organisations. The EU has attempted to encourage co-operation between Sahel countries facing similar cross-border challenges. The appointment of a special representative for the Sahel (EUSR) in 2013 has, from this perspective, strengthened European intervention in the sub-region. Indeed, the European Union Special Representatives (EUSR) ensure the promotion of EU policies and interests in regions and countries experiencing conflict and supports the action of the EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Federica Mogherini. EU action consists of contributing to regional and international efforts aimed at establishing lasting peace, security and development in the Sahel. In addition, it will be responsible for co-ordinating the overall EU approach with regard to the regional crisis based on the EU Strategy for Security and Development in the Sahel.⁵⁵ Particular engagement has also

⁵² Great Britain's intervention in Mali takes the form of its participation in the Conflict, Stability and Security Fund (CSSF) which has three components, namely cross-border security and the fight against organised crime, the reduction of conflicts, and multilateral cooperation on security. Five (5) million pounds sterling are provided each year to support activities in various countries (Mali, Burkina Faso, Senegal, Niger, Chad, Liberia and Nigeria) and intervention zones (in Mali, the programme is active in the regions of Timbuktu, Mopti, Segou, Kayes and Bamako). Great Britain works with various partners in the implementation of the programme including the Consortium of Non-Governmental Organisations, Living Earth, International Alert, the National Crime Agency, Foundation Hironnelle and more.

⁵³ The Royal Embassy of Denmark has been active in Mali since 2006 and, subsequent to the 2012 multidimensional crisis, it has revitalised its axes of intervention, adapting these to the political and security context of the country. This approach has led to the elaboration of a policy document on Mali-Denmark (2016-2021) which sets out the vision, axes of intervention and the strategic objectives of Danish cooperation in Mali for the next five years. From 2013 until today, the Kingdom of Denmark has supported the initiatives of national and international organisations for peaceful co-existence, the prevention and management of armed, community and religious conflicts and reconciliation in general. Organisations benefiting from such support over this period include inter alia: MINUSMA through support to the trust fund and military contribution; The Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (a Swiss NGO) with offices in Bamako since 2011, experienced in mediation; IMRAP (the Malian Institute of Research and Action for Peace) / Interpeace (Malian-Swiss) working on inter and intra-Malian dialogue through action research; Studio Tamani with strong capacity in communication and debate on reconciliation and the consolidation of peace.

⁵⁴ Anonymous diplomat, interview by author, Bamako, May 2016.

⁵⁵ The European Council recently appointed Ángel Losada Fernández as the Special Representative of the European Union (EUSR) for the Sahel until 28 February 2017 to replace Mr Michel Dominique Reveyard-De Menthon, who was appointed on 18 March 2013.

taken place with ECOWAS, which has played a leading role in moments of extreme crisis.

- d) The fourth and final level is the local one. It involves non-state actors who, since the Cotonou Agreement, have become stakeholders in cooperation objectives. It also involves the armed groups who have been fighting the Mali State since 2012. The EU policy favours the inclusiveness of diplomatic processes for a range of local actors, and this was also reflected in the Malian peace process. For example, representatives of civil society have participated in the Algiers negotiation process through voluntary inclusion. Zeini Moulaye notes that:

“The [Algiers] document was conceptualised on the basis of audiences held with the Parties to the negotiations (the Government, the Coordination and the Platform) as well as the Representatives of civil society especially invited to Algiers in September 2014 to ensure the inclusivity of the process.”

Similarly, according to a government expert:

“In relation to other agreements, it was important that this agreement [Algiers] be inclusive in its conceptualisation: the maximum number of actors were included. Aside from the pact, I have never seen an agreement negotiated in such a spirit of cooperation. The Road Map started with the audience of civil society, with two representatives of the National Assembly, two representatives of the High Council of Territorial Authorities, two representatives of Cafo [Coordination des Associations et ONG Féminines du Mali – a group of NGOs and associations of women in Mali], and two representatives from each northern region. The Mediator Pole considered civil society to be part of the Government. It subsequently invited rebel groups to send their representatives. For the most part, the latter were represented by community elders from the North. It is true that there was some debate on the criteria for representation, especially in relation to the rebel groups, in other words, in relation to the community elders. However, it was noted that if they were excluded they tended to raise objections. It is not feasible, however, to include unlimited numbers in a negotiation process. At some point, it becomes necessary to limit numbers while ensuring that those who are included have the requisite status. Feedback sessions were also held for the various structures. For this reason the High Representative visited universities, unions, political parties, religious institutions, and customary authorities to involve them in the process and to ask for their support. This approach was successful.”⁵⁶

As indicated earlier, different civil society organisations in Mali also question the level of inclusiveness of the process, as they consider that the civil society organisations invited to participate lack legitimacy, since they only represent certain interests and tend to be very close

⁵⁶ A member of the team of Malian government at Inter Malian Talks in Algiers, interview by author, Bamako, 10 May 2016.

to the government. At the same time, for state representatives, the participation of civil society actors can be seen as a complicating factor. Some members of the government delegation even felt that civil society organisations had done a disservice to the government's cause. One member of the government delegation at the negotiations articulates this as follows:

“The participation of civil society in the Algiers negotiations did not serve the government cause well. In the first round, many participants and Algeria chartered a plane. However, most of the members drawn from civil society went on shopping trips in Algiers and overloaded the plane on its return. In the second round the airline company forced passengers to pay for the excess. This meant that in the third round there were few representatives from civil society. In other words, civil society worked more to the government's disadvantage than in support of it.”⁵⁷

Table 4. EU Multi-track Diplomacy in Mali

Actor	Domains	Level	Instruments
<i>State/Government</i>	Policy-development-security-humanitarian aid	National	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ National Indicative Programme ▪ Diplomatic Mission
<i>Civil Society</i>	Support-democracy-information	Local	Subvention, call for candidates
<i>Member States</i>	Coordination-development- strategy	National	Meeting of Heads of Mission
<i>Sub-regional Organisations</i>	Cooperation-development-security	Sub-regional	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Regional Indicative Programme ▪ Sahel Strategy

To sum up, in the context of Mali, Europe's multiple voice diplomacy has both strengths and limitations which need to be highlighted.

Achievements

Most sources pointed to the appropriateness of a holistic approach which allowed all levers to be used to support emergence from the crisis. Indeed this approach is critical given the fragility of economic and political institutions in Sahel countries such as Mali and the trans-border nature security threats. In the political arena, in particular, European support has proved to be crucial to support the State at a critical time in its existence. This understanding was found to be unanimous among all the parties, not only because the EU has never questioned the territorial sovereignty and integrity of the country, but also because it has remained constructive and supportive in relation to peace efforts. The level of financial engagement and the incentive measures provide by the EU represents another major advantage in European diplomacy in Mali. It is important to emphasise the credibility enjoyed by the EU among the

⁵⁷ A member of the Governmental Delegation to the Algiers negotiations, interview by author, Bamako, 6 May 2016.

various actors, one of the strengths of European diplomacy. In fact the EU as an organisation of states is considered to be honest and in good faith in all its interventions. But representatives of an armed Tuareg group interviewed 19 March 2017, complained about alignment of EU position on the French one.

The first limitation concerns a problem, already pointed out by Brodin (2006) and Nkundabagenzi (2004), among others, that the role of the EU and of certain EU Member States, in particular France and Great Britain, do not always synchronize well. Operation Serval intervention is a perfect illustration of this insofar as:

“The EU itself was not able to intervene. Serval was purely and simply a French operation. It intervened in its interests. At the start, I indicated that euphoria would be short-lived. Subsequently we saw that the operation stopped short at the gates of Kidal. I have always maintained that Kidal has no particular status, but the Mali State cannot undertake a military operation in Kidal as long as its army is not operational. This is why we have to ask ourselves how we cut the links between the rebel groups and their countries. Only a developmental solution will assist the country in emerging from the crisis, not a military one.”⁵⁸

Another difficulty highlighted was the fact that EU support often also came accompanied by cumbersome bureaucracy, complex procedures, incoherence of instruments, and slow implementation. In this sense, one member of the European delegation in Bamako emphasised that:

“International presence in Mali bears testimony to the importance of Mali for the international community and the crisis. Finally, this presence is part of the problem and creates difficulties for the Malian authorities. It is a heavy weight for the authorities to bear.”⁵⁹

Civil society organisations, in particular, underscored these difficulties the Mali government and other actors faced in the sense that they were hard pressed to mobilise scarce human resources in order to submit a large number of reports to its European and multilateral funders, instead of concentrating on implementing reforms and strategies for the long-term fight against poverty.⁶⁰

Another perceived weakness of the EU in Mali is its lack of visibility to the Mali people. This calls for particular attention if Euro-Malian relations are to emerge from the more narrow confines of diplomatic relations to which they were previously largely restricted. Such an approach, currently still rather timid, would give EU interventions greater presence and legitimacy. By increasing its visibility among the people and the local authorities, it would help highlight the EU and increase the EU’s political and public leverage in the country.

⁵⁸ A member of the team of Malian government in Inter Malian Talks in Algiers, interview by author, Bamako, 10 May 2016.

⁵⁹ Andrzej Bielecki, European Union Delegation to Mali, interview by author, Bamako, 29 April 2016.

⁶⁰ MAECI, Report on the Workshops of 13, 14 and 15 April 2016 on Post Cotonou, p. 6.

4.3 EU support for SSR in Mali (EUTM-MALI and EUCAP-SAHEL-MALI)

Mali's transitional authorities requested the assistance and support of the European Union in the reconstruction of the Malian Army to enable it to perform its state missions more effectively and to allow the Mali State to exercise full sovereignty over the entire Malian territory. The European Council acceded positively to this request and, in accordance with Resolution 2085 of 24 December 2012 of the UN Security Council, invited Member States to support Mali in re-establishing peace and security in the country. This is the context in which the EU Council, on 17 January 2013, adopted the Resolution to establish an EU military mission aimed at contributing to the training of the Malian Armed Forces.⁶¹ This European mission aims to assist in raising the standard of the Malian armed forces by using its expertise to reorganise and restore the chain of command and to train combat units to deal with their operational needs.

After the 2013 elections, the idea of security sector reform (SSR) gained more solid footing in Mali. Concrete relevant measures and initiatives include:

- Adoption in November 2013 of the six-point “Government Action Plan (GAP) 2013-2018”, the second point of which refers to “restoring the security of persons and property throughout the national territory”; the modernisation of the defence and security forces is the most important measure envisaged under the GAP;
- Resolutions 2100 and 2164 of the UN Security Council, which *inter alia* provides MINUSMA with the mandate to assist the Malian authorities in rebuilding the security sector;
- The implementation of the Multidisciplinary Think-Tank on Security Sector Reform (GPRS);
- The establishment by Decree n° 2014-0609/P-RM of 14 August 2014 of a National Council for Security Sector Reform (CNRSS), together with its operational arm: the Sectoral Committee Coordination Unit;
- The appointment by Decree n° 2015-0141/P-RM of 5 March 2015 of a National Coordinator (Mr Ibrahim Diallo);
- The initiation of the restructuring of the Army under MDAC (Ministère de la Défense et des Anciens Combattants/Ministry of Defence and War Veterans), through the adoption of the Military Planning Act (LOPM) recently adopted by Parliament.
- Establishment of a Sectoral Committee under the MEF (Ministère de l’Economie et des Finances/ Ministry of Economic Affairs and Finances);
- Establishment of a Sectoral Committee under the MSPC (Ministère de la Sécurité et de la Protection Civile/Department of Civil Security and Protection) which is currently in the process of finalising the drafting of an Internal Security Planning Act (Loi de Programmation de la Sécurité Intérieure (LOPSI)) within the context of its EUCAP-Sahel Mali with the support of the EU.

⁶¹ Council Joint Decision 2013/34/CFSP.

Notwithstanding the measures put in place for the SSR, the process has suffered important delays, primarily in relation to the integration of veterans. The Malian Authorities provide two explanations for this status quo: 1) a need to redraft the Decree establishing the NCSSR, which, according to the Department of Defence favours the police to the detriment of the army, and 2) the signing of the Peace Agreement following the Algiers negotiations in May and June 2015, which recommended the integration of armed movements, signatories of the agreement, into the Malian Armed Forces.

Thus far, some provisions have been made for quarters to receive the veterans from armed movements who are signatories of the Peace Accord. Three sites are already ready to receive the veterans and three others are scheduled to be ready in October 2016. To accelerate the operationalisation of the SSR, the Malian Authorities say they are waiting for the finalisation of the integration process.⁶² Following the redrafting of the decree establishing the NCSSR, three commissions have come into being: SSR, DDR (Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration) and CI (Integration Commission). The two latter commissions came into effect in December 2015; the SSR commission, for the moment, is at a standstill.

The President of the SSR Commission states that: "SSR is not part of the Algiers Accord as such, but a unit that facilitates the Accord. The SSR is a long-term process of global reform, a restructuring of the State which is premised on the understanding that no sector should be subject to insecurity."⁶³ In addition, he emphasises that "the intervention of the EU follows the crisis experienced by the country. It is being included in the process but was not the vector for the SSR."⁶⁴

In the light of the above, there is good cause to ask when and how SSR will find a foothold in Mali, given it is taking place in a context of chronic insecurity. This complex situation calls for good planning, starting with an appraisal of the current situation followed by continuous assessment of the situation and founded on the articulation of an appropriate vision for the SSR and coherent planning in respect to actions and national and international actors. For the time being, a number of external partners in Mali have SSR programmes. This multiplicity of action plans could undermine the effectiveness of all of these programmes unless they are well coordinated.

The involvement of the EU in relation to security and SSR in the Sahel has assumed a new dimension in Mali, namely the contribution of its support, first through the instruction and training of the defence forces within the context of the EUTM and then through building the capacity of the internal security forces in a second programme, EUCAP-SAHEL- Mali. These two initiatives are aimed at strengthening the functional and operational capacities of the Malian defence and security forces. These two EU SSR interventions will be reviewed in more detail below.

⁶² The President of the SSR Commission emphasises that the SSR does not form part of the Algiers Accord, but simply facilitates the Accord.

⁶³ President of the SSR Commission, interview held on 2 August 2016.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

EUTM-MALI

The European Union Training Mission in Mali (EUTM) started on 18 February 2013. Given the urgent need for the implementation of an appropriate training mechanism, the EU mission for the training of Malian military, EUTM is one of the most important leverages that the EU has in Mali in the area of SSR. Twenty-three European nations are participating in the mission with the following objectives:

- Support Mali in the restructuring of its army and in responding to its operational needs through the training of Special Intervention Groups (GTIA);
- Provide expertise and advice, oversight over the logistics chain, human resources and to support the organisation and restoration of the chain of command aimed at the adoption of a Military Planning Act.

At the outset of the process of establishing EUTM there were some divergences between the EU and the Malian army officers as to what the priorities for military support should be. According to a senior officer “in August 2012, an EU delegation met with me to establish what, in the current Malian context, we needed in terms of training.” He added:

“In the short-term, our need was essentially for air support and specific training in air reconnaissance in the area of air conflict. However the EU was proposing the implementation of a training mission for the Mali military. For my part, I had to manage a critical situation and did not have time to wait for cures for a disease that could take three years. ... At that time, the EUTM was not compatible with the specific needs of the Malian Army and the GTIA (Special Intervention Groups), conceptualised for the purposes of pushing back the enemy in a pitched battle, was not a useful option for us. We were rather in need of light Special Intervention Units (GSI) which did not require major logistical means.”⁶⁵

However, the positions of the Malian authorities and the EU soon drew together as events further unfolded and the idea of an EU military training mission gained traction.

The mission was established with its mission office in Bamako, although the training takes place at Koulikoro (60km from Bamako) for an initial period of 15 months with over 200 European instructors. The chosen course was to train Special Intervention Groups (GTIA) with battalions of 500 to 600 men.⁶⁶ EUTM training content is essentially defensive and not offensive. In addition to tactical training, modules on International Humanitarian Law (IHL), human rights, and the protection of civilians were also taught. With the exception of the first GTIA Waraba, which was made up of soldiers coming from different military regions, the other GTIA have been made up of personnel from the same military region.⁶⁷ After their EUTM training, GTIA Waraba personnel were deployed to Aguelhok, Tessalit and Anefis.

⁶⁵ Anonymous senior military officer, interview, Bamako, 29 March 2016.

⁶⁶ Battalion Waraba, completed on 22 June 2013; Battalion Elou, completed on 14 September 2013, Battalion Balanzan, completed on 18 March 2014.

⁶⁷ Mali has 5 zones of defence and 8 military regions distributed over the entire national territory.

Once trained, the GTIAs are deployed to operations related to the securitisation of the territory and the population. Some return to their original battalions. The GTIAs deployed on the ground are provided with technical support from EUTM to allow it to assess the knowledge acquired from EUTM in practical terms and to allow any necessary adjustments to be made.

This is the reason the first GTIA, Waraba, returned to the EUTM centres in Koulikoro for retraining. The Commandant of the Joint Services Military School (EUTM training venue), Colonel Nouhoum M. Traoré explains that: "Following the deployment of GTIA Waraba to the North, certain shortcomings were recorded, such as response in the face of danger, and the detection of mines ...To correct these, GTIA Waraba returned to undergo additional training."⁶⁸ In his opinion, EUTM brought about a significant improvement in the quality of trained Malian soldiers. "From this month, July, I was to receive officers from G5 Sahel member countries for training by the EUTM. This will give you an idea of how important EUTM has become in the sub-region as a result of the positive outcomes it has produced in training the Malian military."⁶⁹

Moreover, interviews conducted with various GTIA personnel revealed the effectiveness of the modules taught by EUTM, especially in self-protection techniques and survival in theatres of operation. Several techniques have been taught, notably the Check Points security, the detection of mines and their destruction. "Before the training, the Check Point securitisation was not really well organised. But after our return from Koulikoro, the EU instructors taught us good practice in the area of Check Point security", reported a GTIA soldier. EUTM training modules were adapted to on-the-ground needs of the troops.

"When we arrived at Koulikoro, we had a meeting with the EUTM European instructors. They asked me to present a report on the security situation in our area and the technical difficulties facing us. I made a full report. It was on the basis of this report that the training modules were conceptualised so as to take account of our concerns."⁷⁰

Overall, the EUTM trainings played an important role in improving the skill level of the soldiers. Nonetheless, the interviews conducted for this research report did reveal some shortcomings. For one, research participants considered that the EUTM staff could have done more to use local expertise and to adapt the training to the Malian context. On the other hand, it was noted that trainers were not all equally skilled and qualified, and that European participating countries do not have the same procedures or even the same training processes. A GTIA soldier recounted how "during the training, companies and sections were divided up among the European trainers. It was noted that units trained by the British had acquired greater skills."⁷¹

Difficulties emerged in other areas in relation to the continuous availability of the contingents to be trained. The Office of General Staff explained this as the need to manage certain urgent matters owing to recurring attacks in several areas of the country, notably in the North and central part of the country which meant that it had been necessary to strengthen

⁶⁸ A Malian officer of the Joint Services Military School, interview, July 2016.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Instructor of a company of the 8th GTIA, interview.

⁷¹ GTIA soldier, interview.

measures in these areas and maintain an early warning system in the country. This has sometimes made it difficult to supply contingents to train.

Lastly, one important development with regard to training was highlighted by a senior army officer:

“One of the weaknesses of the defence and security in Mali is its recruitment system. Instead of recruiting 2000 and 2500 personnel each 3 or 5 years, the current trend in reforms is to establish a permanent “factory” producing police or military personnel ... providing annual and continuous training for small numbers of personnel in accordance with needs. Permanent trainers have been provided at the Hombori and Samanko centres for this purpose. Furthermore, all officers will have to provide training exercises in these centres on an ongoing basis.”⁷²

Thus, in order to further capitalise on the skills acquired through the EUTM programme and to provide additional training, the Army’s General Staff reformed its own training programmes to better supplement the EUTM training.

Furthermore, the EUTM also includes an expert Advisory Support Mission. This mission was implemented alongside the training of the troops. It rendered advisory support in elaborating military doctrine on the use of force. The efforts were focussed on the Military Planning Act, with the aim of raising the standard of the Malian Army. The Act sets out general strategic policy, rationalises the overly heterogeneous equipment stock and provides Human Resource direction, favouring planning in emergency contexts.

From EUTM’s side this involved rationalising the command structures to respond to the need to control the territory and to the needs associated with operational preparation, developing a culture of operational preparedness based on command involvement and rigorous controls. From the General Staff’s side, this involves the conceptualisation of civil equipment as a strategy for communication between the army and the population. Such communication involves the supply of basic social services such as the construction of small bridges, and the supply of irrigation pumps. In terms of ICT, a Computerised Human Resources System (Système Informatisé des Ressources Humaines) (SIRH) has been implemented, but this has not yet been effective.⁷³

EUCAP SAHEL-MALI

In addition to EUTM, on 15 April 2014 the European Council approved a civilian support mission for the internal security forces in Mali, under the name EUCAP Sahel Mali. EUCAP Sahel Mali is a European Union civilian mission based in Bamako, tasked with providing strategic advice and training to three internal security forces in Mali, i.e. the police, the Gendarmerie and the National Guard, as well as the relevant ministries in order to support reform in the security sector. EUCAP Sahel Mali supports the Malian State to modernise its security forces and enable them to respond more effectively to the need for protection of the

⁷² Anonymous senior military officer, interview, Bamako, 29 March 2016.

⁷³ A representative of EUTM, interview by author, Bamako, 5 April 2016.

entire Malian population throughout the country. It also constitutes an important element of the regional approach in the European Union's security and development strategy for the Sahel, including the management of borders and border security.

EUCAP Sahel Mali's mandated objectives are the following:

1. EUCAP Sahel Mali aims to enable the Malian authorities to restore and maintain constitutional and democratic order, as well as the conditions for lasting peace in Mali and to restore and maintain the authority and legitimacy of the State throughout the national territory of Mali through the effective redeployment of its administration.
2. In support of Mali's intention to restore the authority of the State and, in close collaboration with other international actors, notably MINUSMA, EUCAP Sahel Mali shall assist and advise the Internal Security Forces (ISF) to implement security reforms as determined by the new government, with the aim of:
 - Improving their operational efficacy;
 - Restoring their respective hierarchy of command;
 - Strengthening the role of administrative and judicial authorities in terms of the direction and management of their missions;
 - To facilitate their redeployment to the North of the country.⁷⁴

Together, European experts and experts from the National Police, the National Guard and the Gendarmerie developed a joint training programme for the internal security sector. In this regard "the modules taught were selected and developed in terms of general security, judicial policing and the provision of information."⁷⁵ Three training modules were implemented for the National Police:

- High-level training (commissioners);
- Training of cadres (inspectors);
- Local training (Non-Commissioned Officers).

In addition, the EUCAP Sahel-Mali programme has enabled the elaboration of a recruitment and training policy in respect to National Police officers which will be adopted into law by a bill on security which is currently being prepared.⁷⁶ SSR in Mali also involves the rationalisation of the ratio of police officer/inhabitant which is currently in the order of 1 police officer/1000 inhabitants.⁷⁷ This is further supported by the new network across the country aimed at establishing 25 Commissariats by 2020, and the police academy project. However, the training of trainers at a more advanced level has not yet been considered.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Section 2 of 2014/219/CFSP of the EU Council of 15 April 2014 on the EU CSFP mission in Mali (EUCAP Sahel Mali), available at: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/FR/TXT/PDF/?uri=OJ:JOL_2014_113_R_0004&from=FR, consulted on 10 October 2016.

⁷⁵ Representative National Police Directorate in Bamako, interview, Bamako, 6 May 2016.

⁷⁶ Representative National Police Directorate in Bamako, interview, Bamako, 6 May 2016.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

An assessment is carried out at the end of each year. According to the senior member “the training contributed to improving and building intervention capacity, especially in the judicial police (scientific and technical police)”. It is important to emphasise that, in accordance with its mandate, EUCAP does not intervene in the initial training sphere, although it would be desirable from the perspective of the heads of these services for EUCAP-Sahel to be involved at this level too.

EUCAP also delivers logistical resources that complement training. It provides the police with support in the computerisation of its archives and its personnel staff database. The security services have been provided with computers and file information systems, and the biometric control system has been improved. The training modules cover general security, judicial policing (technical and scientific police) and information technology. The security force units have received equipment (for example, in the area of digital finger prints). This support is very much needed, and some stakeholders consider that EUCAP-Sahel action in these areas has been somewhat timid. For example, the Directorate indicated to EUCAP its ongoing concern regarding the urgency to have police archives computerised and to count on a reliable human resources information management system, as well as a computerised filing system.

Some practical difficulties have been emphasised. These arise from linguistic barriers between non Francophone trainers and the officers to be trained. These barriers impact on the efficacy of the modules which are taught. Moreover, it has been noted that the trainers do not all follow the same approach and that there is insufficient coordination and coherence in the training offered. This sometimes results in overlap between trainings. Responsibility for this lies not only with EUCAP, but also with other stakeholders, both Malian and international. MINUSMA for example also provided training and equipment support to the justice system, penitentiaries (prison rehabilitation) and to the internal security forces. According to the observations of a training expert in the police, there seems to be a kind of rivalry between external partners which does not favour coherence.⁷⁹

The role of EUCAP and in particular EUTM is differently appreciated by actors of Malian conflict. While a representative of the Malian government positively appreciated them, a representative of the Coordination of Azawad Movements (CMA) interviewed 19 March 2017, considers that EUTM should wait integration of former rebel soldiers before starting the training process of the new national army.

4.4 EU interventions in governance reform (PARADDER, State Building Contract and PAOSC I and II)

The governance sector occupies a special place in the pallet of EU interventions in Mali. Over many years the EU and other international partners have invested significantly in supporting governance reform and good governance in Mali. Though progress in this area has been made, the Malian crisis of 2012 also laid bare a range of serious governance deficits in the country. In recent decades, the main focus of governance support has been decentralisation. The European Commission has supported decentralisation in Mali through the mechanism of the

⁷⁹ Focus group interviews with staff from the National Police, Bamako, May and August, 2016.

common aid programme since 1999.⁸⁰ In 2003 the Mali Government approved an Institutional Development Programme (IDP) integrating public administration reform and decentralisation. This focus on governance has continued in the present NIP (11th EDF) with its ambition to “reform the State and consolidate law and order”. The NIP aims to “strengthen efficacy, credibility and the legitimacy of institutions in order to consolidate law and order”. It envisions outcomes in terms of the efficacy and credibility of judicial institutions; the fight against corruption and fraud; the effective decentralisation of the State; and reconciliation, among other aspects.

Within the area of EU support for governance reform in Mali, the Support Programme for Administrative Reform, Decentralisation and Regional Economic Development (PARADDER) occupies a central role. Furthermore, with the 2012 crisis, the EU initiated two specific budgetary support programmes through the mechanism of the "State Building Contract" (SBC). EU interventions in favour of Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) also play an important role in governance. Different cases are examined below.

PARADDER

In 2006, PARADDER's predecessor, the Administrative Reform and Decentralisation Support Programme (PARAD), introduced two major innovations. The first one focussed on deconcentrated services and territorial authorities, the second on the use of sectoral budgetary support. At the end of the programme, PARAD's main limitations were identified as: the continued fragility of communes; the weakness in the mobilisation of financial resources by communities; the transfer of certain skills and tasks to communities (education, health, water) without, however, the transfer of corresponding State resources.⁸¹

PARADDER took over the baton from PARAD. Within the framework of the 10th EDF, on the basis of the National Support Programme to Territorial Authorities 2010-2014 and of the Operational Plan of the Institutional Development Programme (IDP) 2010-2013, the PARADDER programme was funded to the amount of € 75 million. Due to the development in Mali, the PARADDER implementation period was extended from 2010-2014 to 2010-2017.⁸²

The specific objective of PARADDER is to continue to provide support for the effective implementation of State reform policies, decentralisation, service sectors (health, education, water), with the addition of economic development in the North and in the Niger Delta. The use of these funds is subject to the absorption capacity of the Regional Assemblies and of deconcentrated services as well as by the security situation in the North of Mali. In order to take account of this persistent insecurity, provision was made for a portion of the € 20 million funding to be used to strengthen State presence in the regions.

The financing agreement for the PARADDER programme was signed with some delay in June 2010. Difficulties were associated, in particular, with the crisis in the North. For example,

⁸⁰ This started with the allocation of € 45,6 M in the 8th EDF (European Development Fund), 1999-2005.

⁸¹ See European Commission - Seminar "Local Authorities in Development", Bamako, 4 June 2010, Theme 1, at: https://webgate.ec.europa.eu/fpfis/mwikis/aidco/images/9/9e/CaseStudySummary_Mali_Theme1_FR.pdf.

⁸² See overview of projects on the EU delegation in Mali website. Available at: https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/eeas/files/presentation_projets_site_web.pdf, accessed on 15 November 2016.

sub-contracted investment feasibility studies were suspended shortly after having started because of security problems in the North of Mali.

PARADDER includes a strong focus on technical assistance to build the institutional capacity of structures intervening in the decentralisation and institutional development process. Several structures benefit from technical assistance: the Department of Territorial Administration; the Department of Decentralisation and State Reform; the General Directorate of Local Authorities (DGCT); the Institutional Development Commission (CDI); the Information Technologies and Communications Agency (AGETIC); the Local Authorities Training Centre (CFCT); the National Administration Academy of Mali (ENA); as well as the Public Service General Management (CGSP).

If we take the case of the DGCT, PARADDER's support enabled it to implement its action plan and to monitor and follow, on a regular basis, the various actors in the decentralisation process, the Local Authorities, the Supervisory Authorities, Civil Society Organisations, as well as State Technical Services. Outcomes included the conceptualisation and dissemination of infrastructure and support, and the production of studies. With regard to Regional Economic Development (RED), technical assistance to the regions and other local authorities is particularly important given the huge training needs at this level and the importance of enabling these entities to participate fully in development.

Co-financed by PARADDER, the Local Authorities Support Programme (PACT) was implemented by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) from 2010-2013. The programme aimed to build the capacities of community authorities and to encourage synergies between the various actors in order to support social and economic development. PACT was initially designated for the regions of Koulikoro, Segou and Mopti. It was subsequently extended to other regions of Mali. The project intervened in Regional Councils (RCs) in Segou and Mopti to strengthen the management of regional economic development. It was involved in the Segou RC in the following areas: project management, administrative management, good governance, CT function, and mobilisation of resources, as well as accountability. PACT conducted training programmes in these spheres with the elaboration of manuals and other support documents. The outcomes achieved by PACT in Segou (and Koulikoro) were subsequently replicated to scale in other regions.⁸³ It should be noted that even at the height of the crisis, German collaboration continued in Mali. PACT concluded in March 2015. To consolidate the achievements made by PACT and also to introduce further innovation, GIZ launched a new programme, again in partnership with the Mali Government: Support Programme for Decentralisation and Regional Economic Development (PADRE/GIZ).

PADRE is also co-financed by the EU through PARADDER. PADRE, a three-year programme (April 2015 to March 2018), principally covers the regions of Kayes, Segou and Mopti. The programme aims to build State capacity in the mobilisation of financial resources, the promotion of regional economic development and the delivery of basic public services by strengthening community authorities, while adhering to principles of good governance.

Whereas PACT focussed far more on communes, PADRE intends to focus more on regions, without neglecting the other levels. In addition, PADRE also focuses on deconcentration. In fact, State reform is a major focus of the programme. The aim is to go

⁸³ PADRE/GIZ staff members, interview, Ségou, 17 August 2016.

beyond areas with skills and to ensure that the regions are placed squarely at the centre of economic development, with due adherence to the principles of subsidiarity and substitution and to work towards the establishment of basic socio-economic infrastructure.

PADRE focusses on structural investment and catalysts. Its programmes do indeed assist with the structuring of the economy and social cohesion so as to avoid, as far as it is possible, frustration among the population. This is how it works in the Segou region. The RC in Segou is responsible for overseeing the projects that have been identified. According to the PADRE approach, when the EU indicates its interest, the RC draws together all the actors in order to identify the pathways that are to be prioritised. Once these have been identified, the EU decides on its financing. The EU provides 100% of the finance which is currently based on a direct agreement between the EU and the RC of Segou. The partnership between PADRE and GIZ takes the form of a local subcontract. The RC has to provide a 15% contribution, 10% in kind and 5% in cash.

The interviews conducted for this research project indicate that PACT and PADRE/GIZ interventions are, on the whole, well received in the Segou region.⁸⁴ They have allowed the RC to acquire technical skills and to complete a number of projects. The direct-agreement formula between the EU and the RC is considered appropriate as it ensures the accountability of the region and avoids the cumbersome nature of the previous formula which did not include this kind of agreement.

Certain difficulties also emerged from the interviews. Although the RC does not view the EU procedures in general as problematic, given the current technical level of RC staff, the amendment to certain aspects of the projects is seen to be fairly complicated. As a prerequisite for the selection of a contractor, the EU “requires the names of four candidates to be put forward, then consults its database to establish whether their names are already in the database.”⁸⁵ According to some interviewees, this process takes time and leads to delays in finalising the dossier, especially as many of the local entrepreneurs would not be in the EU database.⁸⁶ This is why it is perceived to be difficult for some actors to meet the conditions for accessing EU financing. In addition, some interviewees from the PADRE/GIZ staff consider that local authorities sometimes fail to adequately adhere to principles of good governance, accountability and delegation. This hampers the effectiveness of the interventions in their favour.⁸⁷

Another example of a programme supported in the framework of PARADDER is the Institution Support Programme for the Regionalisation Process (PAIR), a programme aimed at providing institutional support for the regionalisation process. PAIR receives close to € 3 million of EU financing, within the framework of the PARADDER programme. The project runs from 2014 to 2017. The Belgian Technical Cooperation (CTB) plays an important role in the implementation of PAIR.⁸⁸ The programme’s general aim is to contribute to regional economic

⁸⁴ Representatives from the Regional Council of Ségou and of PADRE/GIZ staff, interviews, Ségou, 17 August 2016.

⁸⁵ Representatives from the Regional Council of Ségou, interview, Ségou, 17 August 2016.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ PADRE/GIZ staff members, interview, Ségou, 17 August 2016.

⁸⁸ Belgium is strongly involved in the decentralisation support process and in governance in Mali. For more information on Belgium activities in Mali, see the Mali country page at: <https://www.btcctb.org/fr/countries/mali> and the country brochure at: http://www.btcctb.org/files/web/publication/Brochure_CTB_Mali_09_2010.pdf

development, which is conceptualised as an important factor in sub-regional peace and stability, in job and income creation for the younger generation, and to respond to the needs of migrants. The PAIR more specifically aims to support the Mali regionalisation process in favour of regional economic development. PAIR envisages contributing to strengthening of the management and coordination of regionalisation; capacity building of regional actors; and the implementation and monitoring of contracts, projects and plans. PAIR is primarily conceptualised for the regions in the North but provision was made for other regions to be included in the programme with due consideration of the envisaged re-structuring the regions and the security situation in the North.

The State Building Contract

The fragility of the Malian State is a major concern for the EU (Sidibé 2013; Lima 2013). This concern led to the use of the State Building Contract (SBC) mechanism. The first SBC between the EU and Mali was put in place on 15 May 2013, for the period 2013-2014. The purpose of this first SBC programme was to support the Government in the implementation of the Route Map for transition, as well as in its fight against poverty and for the promotion of sustainable and inclusive growth and the strengthening of governance. The SBC focuses on general budgetary support for the State, rather than on sectoral support.⁸⁹

The first SBC programme was worth € 225 million, financed under the 10th EDF envelope. Of this amount, € 220 million was available for untargeted general budget support⁹⁰ with centralised management. The remaining € 5 million concerned additional support under the heading of complementary measures, with partially decentralised management. The execution of the first SBC programme contributed significantly to the implementation of the Road Map and the successful conclusion of the transition.⁹¹

A second SBC programme was conceptualised along the same lines as the first. It is financed by the 11th EDF envelope, and is worth an estimated € 220 million. It seeks to support the Mali Government in restoring stability, strengthening law and order and realising economic and institutional reforms aimed at consolidating democracy, improving governance, lasting and inclusive economic recovery, improving access and the quality of basic social services. SBC 2 targets key areas of State reform, such as public finances, the fight against impunity, security, decentralisation, food security and education. Its implementation period is four years. The EU underscores the relevance of SBC 2 as follows:

⁸⁹ According to Jean-Luc Bernasconi, "General Budgetary aid is defined as the transfer of financial resources to the Treasury of the partner country to support the country in the execution of its national budget (operational and investment expenditure). Budget aid is "general" when it is not allocated to a particular sector. The resources are managed by the partner States in accordance with the regulations on the management of public finances in force in the partner countries." Jean-Luc Bernasconi, "Development financing through budgetary aid: first balance sheet and medium-term perspectives", Swiss Yearbook on Development Policy [On-line], Vol. 26, n°2 | 2007, placed on-line on 22 June 2009, Consulted on 01 October 2016. URL: <http://aspd.revues.org/146>.

⁹⁰ The funds are paid directly to the Public Treasury for expenditure by the State in accordance with the terms and conditions agreed upon. In such a case no sector in particular is targeted.

⁹¹ Summary Document of the Annual Action Plan 2015 for the financing of the 11th Mali EDF, available at: <https://www.gtai.de/GTAI/Content/DE/Trade/Fachdaten/PRO/2016/02/Anlagen/PRO201602025005.pdf?v=1>, accessed in September 2016.

“The choice [for SBC 2] responds accurately to the objective of improving governance in the management of the State and of access and the quality of basic social services. It is justified insofar as Mali, despite significant support from the international community during and after the 2012 crisis and despite the signing of an inter-Malian peace agreement, remains a fragile State, in the grip of growing insecurity, the victims of which are first and foremost the people.”⁹²

The SBC mechanism was generally well received during the transition. SBC 1 contributed significantly to improving the financial situation in Mali,⁹³ a situation which had deteriorated markedly after the suspension of most of the funding support following the coup d'état in March 2012. Most observers also evaluate SBC 2, with its interventions in the different focus areas, as extremely positive for Mali. Nonetheless, some interviewees highlighted difficulties associated with the cumbersome nature of centralised management, while acknowledging the merits of decentralised management.⁹⁴

In all, the SBC initiatives have been an extremely important tool for Mali's emergence from the crisis, for the support of the Peace Agreement's implementation and for reconciliation in Mali. General budget support is provided in addition to EU sectoral support. To lessen the risks of poor management, provisions were made for strict terms and conditions for the unblocking of funds in the various programme documents. In addition, the EU believes that, given the lessons learned from the support Mali has received in the past, it is important to ensure the dissemination of regular technical and policy information on the reforms to avoid extra budgetary expenditure without due regard for public tender processes. The programme also aims to ensure proper coordination and common action by the funders through the implementation of strict rules and the fostering of the discipline and rigor necessary for transparent and credible management of the Mali State budget.⁹⁵

PAOSC I and II

Beyond support of the Malian State, the EU is also active in providing support to non-state actors in Mali.⁹⁶ The acknowledgement of the importance of civil society and other non-state actors in political and social-economic development has important precedents, for example, in

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Bernardi, Hart & Rabinowitz (2015) confirm that SBC has had encouraging results.

⁹⁴ Interviews with representatives of civil society organisations in Bamako, Koulikoro and Segou; members of Régional council in Koulikoro and Segou. Also based on interventions of civil society organisations at the national workshop of Cotonou agreement national evaluation, held in Bamako on 13, 14, and 15 April 2016.

⁹⁵ Summary Document of the Annual Action Plan 2015 for the financing of the 11th Mali EDF, p. 3, at: <https://www.gtai.de/GTAI/Content/DE/Trade/Fachdaten/PRO/2016/02/Anlagen/PRO201602025005.pdf?v=1>, consulted in September 2016.

⁹⁶ In an EU brochure it states: “Supporting Non-State Actors means favouring the involvement of the population in development, both local and national. It means working towards improved governance for more participatory development which is therefore more aligned with the interests of the people. Civil society organisations add real value through their proximity to the local communities and their greater flexibility in implement development actions.” See Eurpaid (n. d.)

the Cotonou Agreement.⁹⁷ As Malian non-state actors play an important role in strengthening and consolidating the State and the democratic process, the EU calls upon non-state actors to play its part in the areas of governance and accountability, as well as in the planning and implementation of development policies in Mali.⁹⁸

The most relevant EU support initiative vis-à-vis Mali civil society is the Support Programme for Civil Society Organisations (PAOSC), presently in its second phase. It was preceded by the ARIANE Programme (2006-2010)⁹⁹ and by Phase I of PAOSC (2010-2011).

Table 5. PAOSC I Summary Overview

<p>Title of Programme: <i>Support Programme for Civil Society Organisations - Phase I (PAOSC 1)</i></p> <p>Period: 2010-2011</p> <p>SFGPR 2007-2011 Effect <i>Strategic Framework for Growth and Poverty Reduction</i> <i>Promotion of democratic governance and public freedoms/Capacity Building of Civil Society</i></p> <p>UNDP and the Mali-Partner Cooperative Framework <i>Capacity building of civil society organisations and the private sector in the areas of planning, implementation and monitoring of development projects/programmes</i></p> <p>CPAP, to which the programme contributes, Effect <i>Capacity building of civil society organisations in advocacy, political dialogue, civil control of public action, political, strategic and development programme formulations.</i></p> <p>Implementation Partner <i>Institutional Development Commission (IDC)</i></p> <p>Responsible Parties MAECI/DCI (Ministry of Foreign Affairs/IDC, MATCL (Ministry of Territorial Administration and Local Authorities, DENNMARK, CANADA, SWEDEN, SWITZERLAND, UNDP))</p> <p>Partnership Strategy <i>The partnership strategy of the programme rests on the principle of the Declaration of Paris and the Accra Action Plan, supported by the willingness of TFPs and the Government to coordinate their actions in relation to civil society.</i></p>

⁹⁷ The Cotonou Agreement stimulates the involvement of civil society actors in democratisation, good governance and the fight against poverty in order to enhance political and socio-economic development. This translates, among other aspects, into engagement in political dialogue and in sectors where their skills and comparative advantages are acknowledged. In the revised Cotonou Accord, non-state actors are drawn from the private sector and social and economic partners, including unions, civil society in all its forms depending on national characteristics. See articles 6 and 7 of the amended Cotonou Accord. See also Montagner (2006).

⁹⁸ See NIP 11th 2014-2020, Mali, p. 28.

⁹⁹ The ARIANE programme was the first EDF initiative in support of non-state actors. It was launched under the 9th EDF. The programme was financed to the value of € 7 million and ran from 2006 to 2010. Its general aim was to build the capacity of Malian civil society and thus improve its involvement in the determination of public policy and support its efforts to combat poverty. It was aimed specifically at consolidating Mali's civil society by financing grassroots actions in support of governance and the fight against poverty, building the capacity of actors and improving information and communication. Overall, the ARIANE Assessment Report considered that the major outcomes had been achieved. Some recommendations were formulated to be taken into consideration in PAOSC I. See the Final Assessment Report (Audibert & Coulibaly 2010).

The programme falls under the intervention focus “Promotion of democratic governance and public freedoms/Capacity Building of Civil Society” within the Strategic Framework for Growth and Poverty Reduction (SFGPR). It represents the prologue to a five-year support programme for SCOs: PAOSC II, to which the TFPs contribute €19.235.306 to the common fund which finances it.”

Source: United Nations Development Programme (2010, 4).

PAOSC I was co-financed by Canada, Denmark, Switzerland, the Netherlands, the United States, Sweden and the UNDP (United Nations Development Programme). The various contributors put together a common fund. PAOSC I implementation was supervised by the UNDP, responsible for the fiduciary management of the common fund. PAOSC I represents an important example of the coordination between EU interventions and those of other Technical and Financial Partners (TFPs). From its beginning, PAOSC was designed as a preamble to PAOSC II, aiming towards the “improvement in institutional and organisational capacities (action, mobilisation, negotiation and intermediation, both horizontal and vertical) of the beneficiary SCOs in such a way as to minimise the risks to the success of PAOSC II” and towards “the creation of conditions favourable to the implementation of PAOSC II, which would experience only a few negative effect from the availability, receptiveness and commitment of SCOs vis-à-vis the Programme.” (United Nations Development Programme 2010, 13). Hence, PAOSC I prioritised institutional and organizational support to civil society umbrella structures and platforms, the so-called 3rd and 4th level of civil society,¹⁰⁰ in order to strengthen representation and coherence in Malian civil society. The outcomes of PAOSC I were, therefore, to improve the efficacy of PAOSC II.¹⁰¹ Thus, the synergy between the two phases of PAOSC was very strong (United Nations Development Programme 2010, 11).

The general aim of PAOSC II is to improve the Government's development programmes and policies, as well as technical and financial capabilities, and to ensure that these respond appropriately to the needs of the population, and in particular the most vulnerable groups.¹⁰² Its specific objective is to build the capacity of Mali's CSOs so that they are able to participate more fully in the democratic, state-reform and decentralisation process and are better able to play their part as agents of social development and change.

¹⁰⁰ The four SCO levels are: Level 1, made up of grassroots organisations in rural and urban areas, very often informal but playing an important role at the local level; Level 2, made up of SCOs, formally constituted and quite well structured; Level 3, made up of umbrella structures (coordinating bodies, federations and networks, ...) established by several organisations wishing to collaborate along thematic or geographical lines; and finally Level 4, consisting of platforms or forms of collaboration (United Nations Development Programme 2010, 10).

¹⁰¹ The PAOSC I strategy was presented in the Project Document in the following way: “PAOSC II's optimisation of the conditions for success included evaluation and possible capacity building of administration and management in SCO structures with a view to confirming that they were in a position to function properly throughout PAOSC II and well beyond. It also included evaluation and possible improvement in vertical and horizontal collaboration mechanisms, as well as dialogue within and outside the SCOs to ensure strong relations and rapid involvement of all SCO structures in the activities and actions of PAOSC II. Finally it also included the evaluation and possible improvement in the data collection and dissemination mechanisms to ensure that information was readily available, realised and exchanged in a way that met the needs of all levels and all circumstances.” (United Nations Development Programme 2010, 12).

¹⁰² For a general overview of PAOSC II, see United Nations Development Programme (2010, 9).

PAOSC II focuses on three aspects: 1) Enhancing the skills of the CSOs in the area of political dialogue, political analysis, research studies, advocacy and citizen control, as well as in internal governance; 2) Quality performance by Malian CSOs in the area of political dialogue, political analysis, research studies, advocacy and citizen control over their areas of intervention; 3) Efficient collaboration, within and outside the CSOs, on issues of development to ensure improved sharing of information, experiences and coordination of initiatives.

PAOSC II is financed by the EU, Canada, Denmark, Sweden, and Switzerland to the amount close to € 20 million.¹⁰³ In this instance too, a long-term common fund has been established. Management Agency made up of the consortium ECO3/GOPA/I&D, with ECO3 as the lead organisation, implements the programme. This time, the fiduciary management of the common fund is entrusted the EU delegation. The stakeholders in the implementation of the Programme are:

- The National Authorising Officer of the EDF, who represents the Republic of Mali and monitors the project management;
- The European Union Delegation in Bamako and the other FTP contributors who provide an orientation programme and monitor the implementation of PAOSC and the follow up on activities;
- The Management Agency, referred to above, is responsible for the administrative and financial management as well as the implementation of the programme estimates;
- The Secretariat of the Forum of Civil Society Organisations (FOOSC) also contributes to the orientation, implementation and monitoring of PAOSC II activities.

EU interventions vis-à-vis civil society seem to have enabled a number of positive outcomes for Malian civil society. The various meetings with the SCOs on this subject have tended in this direction.¹⁰⁴ However, the beneficiaries did not fail to point out some difficulties as well. They generally deplore the role assigned to civil society by the EU, namely “as support to the State”. CSOs would prefer not to be treated as ‘a project’ but as a full partner, “a sector in its own right.”¹⁰⁵

In addition, several SCOs emphasise the cumbersome nature of the call for proposals procedure and often find it difficult to meet all the conditions required. As a result many CSOs do not have access to EU support. Many express their desire for greater involvement of the CSOs, especially at the regional and local levels; some civil society actors even indicated that “power should be at the local level”, including CSO support. Some CSO representatives say the EU is not visible and is far removed from the beneficiaries.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ The respective contributions of the partners is made, in the currency of each contributor, as follows: Canada: CAD 5 million; European Commission: € 7 million; Denmark: DKK 7,5 million; Sweden: SEK 60 million; Switzerland: CHF 3 million.

¹⁰⁴ Two representatives of the Federation of NGO Groups of Mali, interview, Bamako, 1 July 2016; CSO representatives in Ségou, interview, Ségou, 16 August 2016.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

5. Conclusions

This report analyses three spheres of contemporary EU intervention in Mali: multi-track diplomacy; two missions in the field of security sector reform (EUTM and EUCAP-Sahel-Mali), and several programmes in the field of governance reform (PARADDER, State Building Contract and PAOSC I and II). At all levels, the EU policies were reviewed against the background of Mali's peace process, in order to understand to what extent the EU is able to contribute to conflict prevention and peacebuilding interventions in the case of Mali, and whether and how it uses sustainable, comprehensive and innovative civilian means to do so.

As one of the least developed Sahel countries, Mali is experiencing a critical period in its history. The Malian crisis can be seen as twofold: a security crisis in the North with the presence of armed groups and an institutional crisis followed by the coup d'état of 22 March 2012. The combination of the two interconnected crises laid bare the weakness of the Malian State and led to the occupation of 2/3 of Mali's territory by various armed groups in 2012 and early 2013. International intervention, including the French military operation Serval and Barkhane, was necessary to re-establish control over key areas in the North of the country.

Since the crisis escalated, in January 2012, numerous initiatives have tried to deal with Mali's profound socio-political and security problems. In 2013, the Ouagadougou Agreements, a new Presidential election, and the approval of the United Nations Integrated Multidimensional Stabilisation Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) all contributed to the Malian peace process, though they did not completely halt the hostilities. Following negotiations held in Algiers, a National Peace and Reconciliation agreement was signed in Bamako between May and June of 2015.

This agreement, facilitated by a team of mediators which included the European Union, contains important provisions that change the country's institutional fabric. Although the agreement raised great hopes, the definition of implementation terms and conditions have also divided the protagonists. Furthermore, problems have occurred as a result of mutual accusations and the quartering of the armed groups. Lastly, the attacks of the Jihadist groups against a hotel in Bamako (November 2015) and in several towns in the North and South demonstrated that peace had not yet been attained.

Like most of Mali's development partners, the European Union was initially taken aback by the eruption of the 2012 crisis, and expressed its deep concern. Before this, efforts were focussed on initiatives to counter the threat of terrorism and fight against trafficking (drugs, human beings, etc.). But the suddenness of the fall of democracy, the violence of the attacks and the multi-level consequences of the crisis led the members of the international community in general, and the EU in particular, to invest heavily in a return to peace. The EU has employed several interventions to contribute to the establishment and consolidation of peace, and key among them are multi-track diplomacy, support for security sector reform and support for governance reform. Indeed, the EU and EU Member States have been key players in helping Mali emerge from the crisis. France fulfilled a special role in this, with its deployment of the operations Serval and Barkhane, and its strong diplomatic presence. As stakeholders interviewed for this study confirm, France's role in Mali reflects on EU interventions in positive as well as negative ways. In short, the EU can rely on France to get things done, but this can sometimes be in detriment of a more impartial and balanced approach to different stakeholders and issues.

This report demonstrates that, since the start of the crisis in Mali, EU multi-track diplomacy has proven its capacity to contribute to the promotion of peace dialogue amongst stakeholders with diverging interests. Several elements stand out. First, it is important to acknowledge the EU capacity to engage in the process with respect and support for the role that different international institutions or governments were already playing. This allowed enhancement of crucial support for key efforts undertaken by ECOWAS, the African Union, and the Algerian government, among others. Here, the EU showed the importance of its capacity to cooperate rather than to dictate. Second, the EU focus on multi-stakeholder diplomacy allowed the EU to engage and interact with a range of non-state actors, a dynamic that also proved its worth in relation to the peace process. Though the peace negotiations only allowed for limited participation of non-state actors, the EU contributed to facilitate significant engagement with non-state actors around the peace process. Nonetheless, some civil society organisations would have liked to be more involved, and see the lack of inclusiveness of the negotiations as a missed opportunity.

The EU's choice for the diversification of actors involved in diplomatic efforts has coincided with the de facto retreat of the State because of the crisis. Besides helping to cope with institutional fragility, multi-track diplomacy also allowed to take into account the trans-border dimensions of the conflicts and threats, and thus act more comprehensively in the dialogue process. In this context, the Malian stakeholders interviewed for this report considered that the EU's sustained dialogue with a range of actors contributed to the amelioration of the institutional and security crisis in Mali since 2012. Research participants thus also framed EU multi-track diplomatic efforts in favourable terms.

Another important EU contribution to the peace process in Mali consists of support for security sector reforms (SSR). It is clear that SSR in Mali will be a lengthy process. The security sector in Mali has never really been reformed owing to resistance from actors in the sector and to the reluctance of the population to collaborate with the security services. To build a new security structure requires the transformation of the entire system and adapting the organisation and security operations to the real security needs of the country. It must introduce a new professional ethic by restructuring command units, adapting resources to new security missions and changing security management methods. This is compounded by the need for internal control, better client service, reward based on merit, equity in promotion, and accountability. All of this requires the adoption of principles that protect fundamental rights such as a regulatory framework for the security services. It also calls for the establishment of effective democratic control over the security sector by improving the effectiveness of parliamentary committees, strengthening judicial authority and the checks and balances provided by civil society; the development of a human security framework which supports lasting human development. This means 'civilianising' security by opening up the security sector so that it becomes transparent, and subject to public and civil control.

In 2013, the EU set up a Malian Security Forces Training Mission (EUTM-Mali) tasked with strengthening the Malian army, focusing on operational deployment and on strengthening of the chain of command. EUTM also provides advisory support in elaborating military doctrine and planning. The EU furthermore supports the European Capacity Building Programme for the Malian Security Forces (EUCAP-Sahel-Mali), set up in 2014. This programme focuses on capacity building, training, equipment, and organisation development for the police,

Gendarmerie, and the National Guard. EUCAP also supports the improvement of the justice system, including training of justice officials and policy development.

Research participants pointed out that the training programmes of both EUTM and EUCAP were designed in part on the basis of local inputs, which strongly enhanced the quality and relevance of the trainings. Some drawbacks identified in this research project were the occasional discontinuity between training modules, insufficient coordination and coherence in the training offered, language barriers between trainers and trainees, and the significant differences in quality between the trainers in charge. This finding points at the need to step up participants' training evaluation measures. Besides training, enhanced use of ICT tools also plays an important role in EUTM and EUCAP. Research participants underscore the relevance of this focus, while also pointing out that the progress on the use of relevant ICT tools in the security sector is very slow, and that additional efforts are required. Another item of critique was that the multiplicity of international stakeholders aiming to engage with Malian institutions (i.e. in the case of SSR, MINUSMA is an important actor as well) sometimes leads Malian stakeholders to perceive a sense of rivalry between international actors, which may be vying for the attention or favour of Malian stakeholders.

The study has also pointed the diversity of perceptions of EU interventions in Mali by different stakeholders and in particular the issue of visibility

Finally, with regard to EU interventions in the sphere of governance support, it must be taken into account that the EU has already supported governance in Mali for many years. Support pertains to several sectors. For decades, most support went to the decentralisation of the government aimed at obtaining good governance, transparency and local ownership. EU support for civil society slowly but surely also gained importance. As a result of the escalation of the conflict, these extensive development cooperation relations were partially readjusted to fit the new circumstances, though this process, as of yet, can be considered incomplete.

In the aftermath of the 2012 crisis, as the transition towards legitimate government began, the Malian State found itself in dire financial and institutional circumstances. In this context, the EU used governance support interventions mainly as a tool to keep the State afloat. These measures, most crucially exemplified in the State Building Contract (SBC) mechanism, were indeed essential to keep the Malian institutional framework in place. It made the democratic transition and the peace agreement possible. Support for decentralisation efforts in the framework of PARADDER suffered some delays because of the crisis, but have been resumed. PARADDER was foreseen to function until 2014, but, given the circumstances, the EU adjusted this to 2017. Civil society support activities also continued through the PAOSC II programme.

Decentralisation, regionalisation and civil society development all have an important role to play in helping to provide long-term solutions for the conflict in Mali. It is clear that socio-economic development of the marginalised regions, as well as the distorted power balance between the local and the national in the actual functioning of the Malian State constitute longstanding grievances that have fed the conflict. In this sense, Mali's current state of affairs justifies the continuation of governance support in the fields in which EU has already been active for many years. Nonetheless, given the somewhat modest previous results, more reflection might be necessary on the kind of changes that are needed to ensure lasting peace and development. Initially, with the Malian State headed for disaster, there was little room for such reflection. However, as the Malian State emerges out of the crisis that threatened its very

existence, slowly some more room will become available for this. The peace agreement also provides important elements for a viable governance reform agenda.

For the EU's support for governance reform in Mali, it has to be taken into account that Mali's heavy dependency on foreign assistance has a paradoxical impact on the institutional development of the country. Mali's longstanding heavy dependence on foreign assistance has created a complex and multifaceted governance dynamic in the country. Though Mali's ownership is considered key to the success of support, the political and bureaucratic requirements of the international actors, as well as the complexities of the support architecture, actually make it very challenging for the Malian State to exert effective leadership and control in the whole process. One of the practical implications of the interaction between state institutions and donor requirements is that the Malian institutional framework has become overly complex, as problems tend to be tackled by bureaucratic measures. The EU might consider the peace process in Mali as an opportunity to redesign governance reform in such a way as to avoid the relative stalemate of previous years, in which results have been largely disappointing. A pre-condition for this is the establishment of a broad consensus among international donors and actors in Mali that donor policy and practice need to be revised accordingly.

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