



**ROSA
LUXEMBURG
STIFTUNG**

RLS RESEARCH PAPERS ON PEACE AND CONFLICT STUDIES IN WEST AFRICA

SYNTHESE

**STUDY ON ALTERNATIVE SOLUTIONS
FOR PEACE IN
MALI**

12/2024/1

Study proposed by Dr MILLOGO Kibessoun Pierre Claver

The study, led by Dr MILLOGO Kibessoun Pierre Claver, doctor of public law and national consultant for the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, highlights the importance of implementing measures to control donations to NGOs by Member States and raising awareness among notaries to their AML/CFT (Fight against money laundering and terrorist financing) obligations. It highlights terrorist exploitation of the nonprofit sector, including for fundraising, logistical support, recruitment, and other forms of support for their activities. The study mentions Iyad Ag Ghali, a member of a terrorist group, and reports disapproval of his fundamentalist orientation by a prominent traditional authority of the Kounta, the most prestigious Arab group in northern Mali, illustrating the polarizing nature of his views within the Tuareg community. It also examines disturbing cases of terrorist financing. Among these, she cites a company and its director based in Mali who received funds into an account opened in a neighboring country. Another suspicious case concerns a humanitarian NGO which paid a large sum to a company for services whose justification seems questionable. The study addresses various aspects of the conflict in Mali, including the involvement of different groups, the challenges of peacebuilding, and the role of stakeholders in promoting peace and stability in the region.

Through three articulated questions on three axes, the study by Dr. MILLOGO Kibessoun Pierre Claver revolves around the following points:

1. Who are the external actors who benefit from the economic and geopolitical fallout of the conflicts in Mali ?
2. How do local actors benefit from conflicts and what are the interest groups that support armed groups ?
3. How have the history of the crisis and endogenous Islamism influenced the current situation in Mali ?

Axis 1: Who are the external actors who benefit from the economic and geopolitical fallout of the conflicts in Mali ?

The external actors who benefit from the economic and geopolitical fallout from the conflicts in Mali are mainly Western powers, the Gulf monarchies, certain countries of the European Union, and other African countries. These actors are involved in financing the Malian conflict, thus contributing to its maintenance and its complexity. They exploit Mali's economic resources, particularly mining, for their own interests. Furthermore, these foreign actors partly escape the control of the Malian authorities in place, which underlines the importance of analyzing how they exploit the country's resources for a better understanding of the current crisis.

In addition, some local actors also have an interest in the conflict continuing, because they benefit from it. These local actors may financially support armed groups and seek to influence political authorities in the direction of their own interests. It is therefore crucial to consider both international and local actors who benefit from the economic and geopolitical fallout of the conflicts in Mali for a comprehensive analysis of the situation.

Cette publication a été soutenue par la fondation Rosa Luxemburg. Les positions exprimées ici ne reflètent pas nécessairement les points de vue de Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung.

This publication has been supported by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. The positions expressed herein do not necessarily reflect the views of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung”



**ROSA
LUXEMBURG
STIFTUNG**

Regional Office West Africa

Villa 43, Mermoz Sotrac, Dakar, Senegal

Tel. +221 33 869 75 19 - Email: info.dakar@rosalux.org

Axis 2: How do local actors benefit from conflicts and which interest groups support armed groups ?

Local actors benefit from conflicts in Mali in different ways. Some individuals or groups have a financial interest in the conflict continuing, because it allows them to profit from the unstable situation. These local actors may be involved in illegal or informal economic activities that thrive in times of conflict, such as trafficking in arms, drugs or other resources. In addition, some local interest groups may seek to influence political authorities to serve their own interests, which may contribute to the perpetuation of the conflict.

Regarding interest groups that support armed groups, it is important to note that some local actors may provide financial, logistical or ideological support to these groups. These interest groups can have various motivations, such as the defense of their economic, political or identity interests. Their support for armed groups can contribute to the prolongation of the conflict by strengthening the capacities of these groups to carry out violent actions against the authorities in place or other factions.

In summary, local actors benefit from conflicts in Mali by taking advantage of illegal or informal activities that thrive during times of conflict, while some local interest groups support armed groups for various reasons, thereby contributing to the perpetuation of the conflict.

Axis 3: How have the history of the crisis and endogenous Islamism influenced the current situation in Mali ?

The history of the crisis in Mali, notably the independence demands of the Tuaregs since colonization and the peace agreements not fully implemented, has contributed to the instability and recurring conflicts in the country. Difficulties in managing these demands have fueled endemic rebellion, with more serious outbreaks during crises such as the droughts of the 1970s and 1980s. Signed peace agreements have not always been respected, and funds intended for development have sometimes been misused, thus fueling tensions and conflicts.

Furthermore, the instrumentalization of the discontent of the Tuaregs by Colonel Gaddafi for his own destabilizing designs in sub-Saharan Africa also had an impact on the situation in Mali. Its fall in 2011 led to the return of some fighters to Mali, contributing to the rise of endogenous Islamism and armed groups in the region. These historical elements have therefore shaped the current context of conflict and instability in Mali.

Regarding endogenous Islamism, it developed in reaction to various factors such as marginalization, corruption, lack of effective governance and social injustices. These factors have fostered the emergence of extremist groups that have exploited frustrations and divisions within Malian society to recruit supporters and expand their influence. Thus, endogenous Islamism has contributed to the complexity of the conflict in Mali and to the terrorist threat in the region.

In summary, the history of the crisis in Mali and the emergence of endogenous Islamism have profoundly influenced the current situation by fueling ethnic, political and social tensions, and by fostering the emergence of armed and extremist groups in the country.