

The unforeseen 2012

Mali crisis

Risk v. Threat analysis



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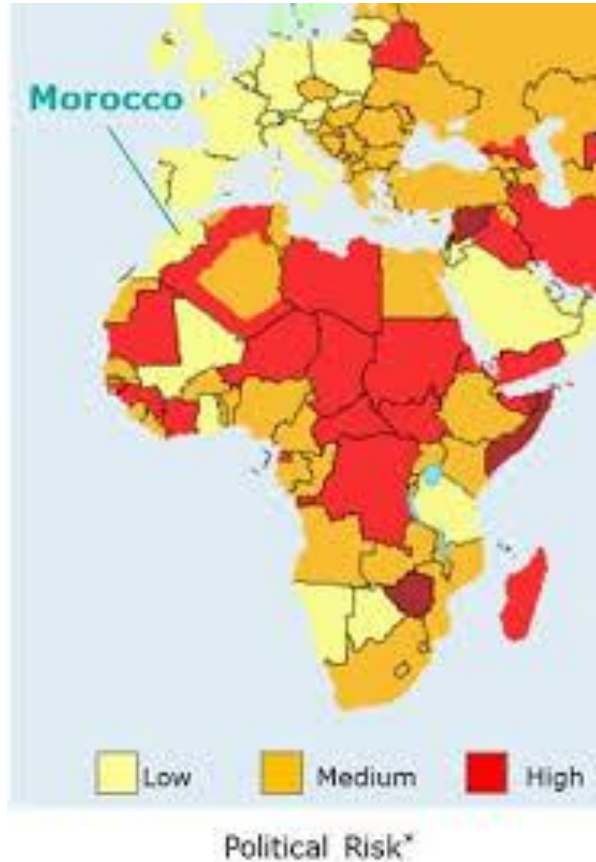
Sergei Boeke

Mali then & now

- Disputed elections; *Ibrahim Boubacar Keïta (IBK)*
- Insecurity country
- MINUSMA & Barkhane



Mali pre-2012



Failed States Index 2011

2. Chad
14. Nigeria
15. Niger
37. Burkina Faso
72. China
76. India
- 76. Mali**

Poster-boy for democracy; stable → donor darling

Mali 2012 crisis

Trigger: fall Gaddafi and return Tuareg fighters.

1. Jan: Rebellion separatist Tuaregs (4th since 1960)
2. Mar: Mutiny/coup, end of democracy
3. Jun: Rebellion hijacked by salafi-jihadist groups (Sahelistan)

Unfortunate Cascade?

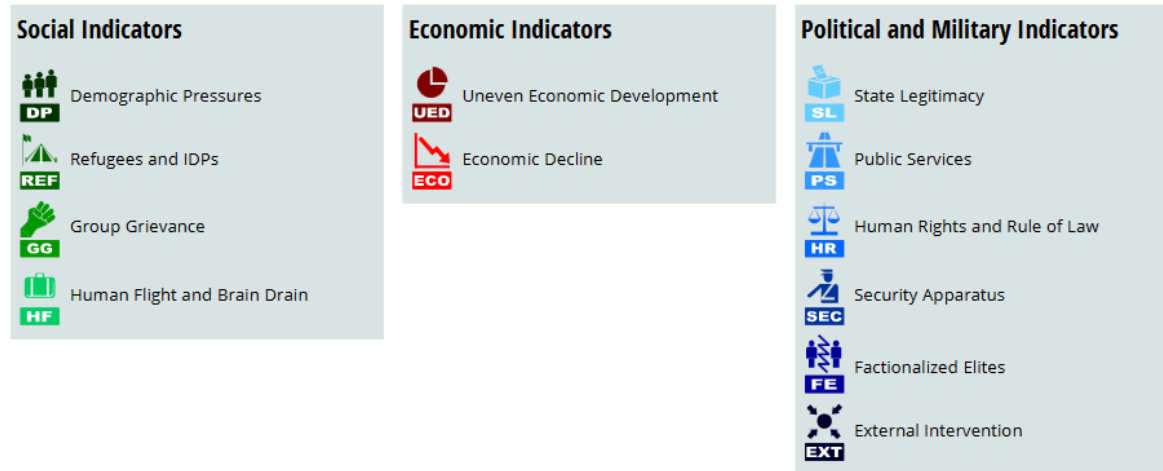


Risk/threat analyses

- **Risk** = probability x impact
Calculate → estimation of negative event
Association with safety studies
- **Threat**: possibility of harm occurring
Malicious actors: capability, intent, actions
Association with security studies

Risk Assessment

- Failed & Fragile States Index
- Opaque
- Measure & compare Conflict Assessment System Tool (CAST)
Emphasis on Indicators



Mali indicators:

- Democracy: fraud?! Turn-out around 35%
- Strength Security Sector

Threat Assessment

- Qualitative focus; incorporate unique circumstances
- Drivers: role of Islam, ethnic/tribal politics, Sahelian cultures (Soares, Lecocq, Klute, Scheele)

Terrorism: - policy (GWOT)

- Focus (Filiu, Guidère, Lounas// Keenan)

Emphasis on drivers / underlying trends

- Corruption state: the façade of legitimacy
- Grievances north-south: state fragility

Friction

France

- Mr. Mali (Laurent Bigot); critical presentation → fired
- But no-one foresaw. Underestimated consequences Libya? (MENA division)

Netherlands

- Foreign intelligence country designation: No Mali allowed (exclusive domain MFA & development aid)
- Critical reports & warnings buried

Scenario exercises

- Multi-disciplinary; multi-agency, focus on drivers
- “One Hippopotamus and eight Blind Analysts; a multi-vocal analysis of the Malian Crisis” (Lecocq et al)
- “After Mali comes Niger”; Burkino Faso...

Conclusion

- Hindsight bias: could or should have been foreseen?
- Catalyst crisis Mali was Western policy:
Unified Protector (blow-back)
- Risk analysis (quantitative) vs threat methodology (qualitative) = **prism determines view & conclusion**
 - Scenario exercises as middle way
- Friction: policy-makers ignored warnings/complicit