

THE FRENCH WAR ON AL QA'IDA IN AFRICA

In January 2013, France intervened in its former African colony, Mali, to stop an Al Qa'ida advance on the capital. French special forces, warplanes, and army units struck with rapid and unexpected force. Their intervention quickly repelled the jihadist advance, and soon the terrorists had been chased from their safe haven in Mali's desolate north – an impressive accomplishment.

Although there have been many books on the U.S. wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, there are almost none on the recent military interventions of America's allies. Because it was quick, effective, and relatively low cost, the story of France's intervention in Mali contains valuable lessons for future strategy.

Based on exclusive interviews with high-level civilian and military officials in Paris, Washington, and Bamako, *The French War on Al Qa'ida in Africa* offers a fast-paced, concise strategic overview of this conflict. As terrorist groups proliferate across North Africa, what France accomplished in Mali is an important reference point for national security experts.

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For Uma and Usha



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PREFACE

In the last few years, the world has witnessed a deeply troubling spread of violent extremist groups across North Africa and the Middle East. Al Qa'ida has proven tenacious and rise of the so-called Islamic State of Iraq and al Sham (ISIS) has meanwhile opened a whole new era in the history of U.S. counterterrorism efforts, in the Middle East as well as North Africa. From Iraq to Syria to Libya, the United States, its allies, and its partners have confronted the challenge of developing a military strategy that can be both effective against such groups and also politically saleable to domestic populations reluctant to engage again in large-scale counterinsurgency missions of the type the United States undertook in the decade after the 9/11 attacks. The French found such a strategy in their 2013 intervention against al Qa'ida in Mali. France was able relatively quickly, and at a relatively low cost, to eliminate a major al Qa'ida safe haven, restore Mali's integrity, and deal a major blow to the regional terrorist groups that threatened Mali, France, and many other countries. Mali is a poor, weak country with multiple conflicts that have yet to be resolved. It could again descend, as Libya did after the 2011 NATO intervention there, into civil war. But there is little question that the French intervention had an overall positive effect.

Most literature on intervention strategy in the United States focuses on the U.S. experience alone. By bringing the experience of a key ally to light for an American audience, I hope this book will add a valuable perspective to counter-terrorism strategy debate within the U.S. policy and academic community.

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I am as grateful as ever, if not more so, for the willingness of many people to contribute valuable time and support to the research and thinking that went into this project. In Paris, I was very lucky to have several of the most knowledgeable experts in the field of French strategic studies and African affairs give time to the project, including Etienne de Durand, Camille Grand, Philippe Gros, Nathalie Guibert, Marc Hecker, Isabelle Laserre, Antonio Missiroli, and Jean-Jacques Patry. In the United States, Jolyon Howorth, Leo Michel, and Douglas Porch contributed sound advice on French military affairs.

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Most of all, thanks to my wife Sumona Guha and my daughters, Uma Kamala and Usha Kate, who were always supportive of my work, despite the extended overseas travel. I can only hope that when my girls reach my age, we will be a little further along in understanding how to deal with the kind of threats and challenges this story presents. Perhaps the outlook will be a little rosier than it is today. The book is dedicated to them.



ABBREVIATIONS

AFISMA African-led International Support Mission in Mali

AQIM Al Qa'ida in the Islamic Maghreb

ATT Amadou Toumani Toure

CIA U.S. Central Intelligence Agency

DCRI Direction Centrale du Renseignement Intérieur

(Central Directorate of Homeland Intelligence)

DGSE Direction Générale de la Sécurité Extérieure

(General Directorate for External Security)

DoD U.S. Department of Defense

ECOWAS Economic Community for West African States

EU European Union

EUFOR European Union Force
GDP Gross Domestic Product

GIA Groupe Islamique Armé (Armed Islamic Group)

GPS Global Positioning System

GSPC Groupe Salafiste pour la Prédication et le Combat

(Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat)

GTIA Groupe Tactique Interarmes (Joint

Tactical Group)

HCUA High Council for the Unity of the Azawad

IBK Ibrahim Boubacar Keita
IED Improvised Explosive Device

IFOR Implementation Force

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xviii Abbreviations

ISAF International Security Assistance Force

ISIS Islamic State of Iraq and al Sham

JCET Joint Combined Exchange Training

KFOR Kosovo Force kWh Kilo-Watt Hours

MAA Arab Movement of the Azawad

MINURCA United Nations Mission in the Central African

Republic

MINURCAT United Nations Mission in the Central African

Republic and Chad

MINUSMA United Nations Multidimensional Integrated

Stabilization Mission in Mali

MNLA Mouvement Nationale pour la Liberation de

l'Azawad (National Movement for the Liberation

of Azawad)

MUJAO Mouvement pour l'Unicité et le Jihad en Afrique

de l'Oues (Movement for Unity and Jihad in West

Africa)

NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organization

OEF Operation Enduring Freedom

RAF Royal Air Force

RCE Regional Command East
RPG Rocket-Propelled Grenade
SFOR Stabilization Force – Bosnia

SOCOM U.S. Special Operations Command TRANSCOM U.S. Transportation Command

UAV Unmanned Aerial Vehicle

UN United Nations

UNAMIR United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda
UNIFIL United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon
UNMIBH United Nations Mission in Bosnia and

Herzegovina

UNOCI United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire



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UNOSOM United Nations Operation in Somalia

UNPROFOR United Nations Protection Force – Former

Yugoslavia

UNTAC United Nations Transitional Authority in

Cambodia

USAID United States Agency for International

Development