

**AFRICA DEVELOPMENT
AFRIQUE ET DÉVELOPPEMENT
Vol. XLIV, No. 1, 2019**

**Quarterly Journal of the Council for the
Development of Social Science Research in Africa**

**Revue trimestrielle du Conseil pour le développement
de la recherche en sciences sociales en Afrique**

Special Issue on
Money, Security and Democratic Governance in Africa (I)

Numéro spécial sur
Argent, sécurité et gouvernance démocratique en Afrique (I)

This volume of *Africa Development* is dedicated to
Naffet Keita (1968–2018)
who passed away before the editing was completed.

Ce volume *d'Afrique et développement* est dédié à
Naffet Keita (1968–2018)
décédé avant la fin de son édition.

CODESRIA would like to express its gratitude to the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), the Carnegie Corporation of New York (CCNY), Andrew Mellon Foundation, Oumou Dilly Foundation and the Government of Senegal for supporting its research, training and publication programmes.

Le CODESRIA exprime sa profonde gratitude à la Swedish International Development Corporation Agency (SIDA), à la Carnegie Corporation de New York (CCNY), à la fondation Andrew Mellon, à la fondation Oumou Dilly ainsi qu'au Gouvernement du Sénégal pour le soutien apporté aux programmes de recherche, de formation et de publication du Conseil.

Africa Development is a quarterly bilingual journal of CODESRIA. It is a social science journal whose major focus is on issues which are central to the development of society. Its principal objective is to provide a forum for the exchange of ideas among African scholars from a variety of intellectual persuasions and various disciplines. The journal also encourages other contributors working on Africa or those undertaking comparative analysis of the developing world issues.

Africa Development welcomes contributions which cut across disciplinary boundaries. Articles with a narrow focus and incomprehensible to people outside their discipline are unlikely to be accepted. The journal is abstracted in the following indexes: *International Bibliography of Social Sciences (IBSS)*; *International African Bibliography*; *African Studies Abstracts Online*; *Abstracts on Rural Development in the Tropics*; *Cambridge Scientific Abstracts*; *Documentationseliens Africa*; *A Current Bibliography on African Affairs*, and the *African Journals Online*. Back issues are also available online at www.codesria.org/Links/Publications/Journals/africa_development.htm.

Afrique et développement est un périodique trimestriel bilingue du CODESRIA. C'est une revue de sciences sociales consacrée pour l'essentiel aux problèmes de développement et de société. Son objectif fondamental est de créer un forum pour des échanges d'idées entre intellectuels africains de convictions et de disciplines diverses. Il est également ouvert aux autres chercheurs travaillant sur l'Afrique et à ceux se consacrant à des études comparatives sur le tiers monde.

Afrique et développement souhaite recevoir des articles mobilisant les acquis de différentes disciplines. Des articles trop spécialisés ou incompréhensibles aux personnes qui sont en dehors de la discipline ne seront probablement pas acceptés. Les articles publiés dans le périodique sont indexés dans les journaux spécialisés suivants : *International Bibliography of Social Sciences*; *International African Bibliography*; *African Studies Abstracts Online*; *Abstracts on Rural Development in the Tropics*; *Cambridge Scientific Abstracts*; *Documentationseliens Africa*; *A Current Bibliography on African Affairs*, et *African Journals Online*. Les numéros disponibles de *Afrique et Développement* peuvent être consultés à l'adresse suivante: www.codesria.org/Link/Publications/Journals/africa_development.htm.

All editorial correspondence and manuscripts should be sent to:

Tous les manuscrits et autres correspondances à caractère éditorial doivent être adressés au :

Editor-in-chief/Rédacteur en Chef

Africa Development / Afrique et Développement

CODESRIA, Av. Cheikh Anta Diop x Canal IV B.P. 3304, Dakar, 18524 Sénégal

Tel: +221 825 98 22 / 825 98 23 – Fax: +221 824 12 89

Email: publications@codesria.org

Web Site: www.codesria.org

Subscriptions/Abonnement

(a) African Institutes/Institutions africaines	\$32 US
(b) Non African Institutes/Institutions non africaines	\$45 US
(c) Individual/Particuliers	\$30 US
- Current individual copy / Prix du numéro	\$10 US
- Back issues / Volumes antérieurs	\$ 7 US

Claims: Undelivered copies must be claimed no later than three months following date of publication. CODESRIA will supply missing copies when losses have been sustained in transit and where the reserve stock permits.

Les réclamations : La non réception d'un numéro doit être signalée dans un délai de trois mois après la parution. Nous vous ferons alors parvenir un numéro de remplacement dans la mesure du stock disponible.

ISSN: 0850 3907

**AFRICA DEVELOPMENT
AFRIQUE ET DÉVELOPPEMENT**

Vol. XLIV, No. 1, 2019

Contents/Sommaire

<i>Editorial: Money, Security and Democratic Governance in Africa</i>	1
<i>Éditorial : Argent, sécurité et gouvernance démocratique en Afrique</i>	3
La gouvernance de la sécurité au Mali : entre libéralisation et/ou privatisation des offres de sécurité et quête de sécurité humaine en question	
<i>Naffet Keita</i>	5
‘Blood Money’, Migrants’ Enslavement and Insecurity in Africa’s Sahel and Libya	
<i>Henry Kam Kah</i>	25
Dépenses militaires du Tchad dans la guerre contre le terrorisme en Afrique centrale et au Sahel : entre puissance militaire régionale et crise de sécurité humaine	
<i>Rahis Israel Manamon</i>	45
Investment in Security Forces and Human Development Challenges in Africa: Lessons from Nigeria’s Experience	
<i>Plangshak Musa Suchi</i>	55
L’argent au service de la terreur : flux financiers illicite et terrorisme dans les sous-régions centrale et ouest-africaine	
<i>Tchango Ngale Georges Alain</i>	77



Naffet Keita
(1968–2018)



Editorial

Money, Security and Democratic Governance in Africa (I)

This special edition of *Africa Development* is published posthumously. It is dedicated to the memory of Naffet Keita who wrote the introductory article, but passed away before the editorial process was completed. He died in a traffic accident on Monday 22nd October 2018, together with his friend and colleague Ambroise Dakouo, on their way to participate in a seminar on security in Ségou, Mali. For a period of over twenty years, Naffet continued to research, write about and provide policy advice on questions related to conflict and radicalisation in Mali, distinguishing himself as one of the few grounded experts on security issues in Africa. Some of his most important publications include a book on the subject of the Tuareg Rebellion, another on slavery in Mali, a research on unemployment and development in underdeveloped countries, and more recently, a book on telephony and mobility in Mali. Amongst many things, he argues that radicalisation is the product of a failure by governments and political systems to provide the basic needs of society. In other words, insecurity arises out of a rupture of the social contract.

This edition of *Africa Development* is the first of four thematic issues bringing together a selection of contributions from the international conference on “Money, Security and Democratic Governance in Africa”, organised by CODESRIA and the United Nations Office for West Africa (UNOWAS) in Bamako, Mali, from 19 and 20 October 2017. The meeting followed a series of policy dialogues between the two organisations and research communities on the continent, part of CODESRIA’s engagements in seeking empirically grounded answers to critical questions on security and governance in Africa. Naffet Keita was a resource person during the conference, delivering one of the keynotes.

Security, governance and money are intimately linked. Governance challenges are known to fuel insecurity which in turn undermines efforts at promoting good governance in many countries. Illicit financial flows have the tendency to subvert good governance and fuel insecurity. The illicit proceeds of transnational organized crime, including drugs and human

trafficking have become big contributors to governance challenges in Africa. Illicit funds have permeated, and compromised electoral and governance processes and structures in a number of countries. Furthermore, many groups are known to be using proceeds from various forms of trafficking to purchase arms and pay for operations. Difficulties in domestic resource mobilization undercut the ability of states and supra-state entities to provide adequate security. Countries and regional organizations often depend heavily on external funding for their operations, thereby raising new concerns.

New efforts to reinforce security agencies in response to insurgencies and terrorism also raise concerns over a resurgence of the state security paradigm after the rise of human security in the 1990s. This return to the primacy of force not only crowds out investments in other vital areas of service delivery, but also threatens much of the progress made in focusing on the links between governance and security.

Contributions provide responses to several pertinent questions: To what extent do illicit financial flows undermine democratic governance and security in Africa and what are the sources of the funds involved in these flows? What are the effective ways to curb the influence of illicit money on democratic governance and security in Africa? How are gender and age involved in the interactions of money, security and governance? How can social movements, especially those involving women and the youth, help curb the influence of illicit financial flows on democratic governance and security in Africa? How has investment in law enforcement agencies and security forces affected the capacity and interest of African states to deal with human development challenges? What are some of the deleterious 'side effects' of efforts to curb the influence of illicit flows on democratic governance and security in Africa?