

**CORRUPTION AS A NATIONAL
SECURITY CHALLENGE:
WHICH WAY OUT?**



**A LECTURE TO BE DELIVERED TO THE
PARTICIPANTS OF SENIOR EXECUTIVE COURSE
NO. 40, 2018, OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR
POLICY AND STRATEGIC STUDIES,
KURU, NIGERIA**

By

**Professor Sani Abubakar Lugga
The Waziri of Katsina**

**On Thursday, 1st November, 2018
At The Auditorium Of The
National Institute For Policy And Strategic
Studies, Kuru, Plateau State Of Nigeria**

Professor Sani Abubakar Lugga occupies the traditional office of the Waziri (Vizier or Prime Minister) of Katsina Emirate, the second largest Traditional Council in Nigeria. He holds a Doctor of Management Degree, a Doctor of Philosophy in Conflict Management Degree and a Master of Business Administration Degree in addition to several National and Higher Diplomas. He is a Fellow of the Nigerian Institute of Management, a Fellow of the Institute of Management Consultants (Nigeria), a Fellow of the Institute of Professional Financial Managers (UK), a Fellow of the Institute of Journalism and Management (Nigeria), a Fellow of the Chartered Institute of Commerce of Nigeria and a Fellow of the London Graduate School (UK).

He is the key founder of Al-Qalam University Katsina, where he lectured for several years without receiving any salary or allowances. He is also a Visiting Professor of Management Studies at St. Clements Private Swiss University, Switzerland; and a Visiting Professor at Ecole Superieure Universitaire, Cotonou, Benin Republic. The Professor has so far written and published 48 books and has delivered hundreds of lectures and speeches at several forums. One of his books that has relevance to the Niger Republic/Nigeria relations has been translated into the French language at the request of the Niger Republic Government. In addition, an Ethiopian Government Agency has indicated interest in translating another of his books that is on the first Muslim Hijrah to Negash in ancient Habasha (Ethiopia) into the Ethiopian Amharic language.

The Professor has a long working experience at top management positions in the Nigerian private and public sectors and held several honorary appointments. He is a recipient of many medals and awards in various endeavours of life and his main hobby is philanthropy, service to humanity and championing peaceful co-existence. He is an Ambassador of the Universal Peace Federation and a Member of the Professors World Peace Academy. The Waziri wants to be remembered for humble worship of Allah (SWT) and diligent service to humanity.

INTRODUCTION

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen, permit me to open with absolute gratitude to Allah, the Almighty, the Most Gracious, the Most Beneficent and the Most Merciful; Who enabled us to gather here today.

Let me extend my gratitude to the Distinguished Director General and Honourable Directing Staff of this great Institute for finding me worthy to present a Lecture to their distinguished Participants of the Senior Executive Course No. 40, 2018. It is indeed a great honour to be one of those to share knowledge on policy and strategic studies with such a high calibre of elite Nigerians from all walks of life. Thank you very much and may Allah bless. *Ameen*.

The invitation letter I received requested me to deliver a Lecture on the theme **“Strengthening Internal Security Framework and Community Policing in Nigeria: Models, Policy Options and Strategies”**. The letter also requested me to formulate a topic that will address the issue of internal security in Nigeria and proffer a way forward. In this regard, I chose a topic that is normally relegated to the background when it comes to discussing security challenges despite its enormous importance to the issue; that is, **“CORRUPTION AS A NATIONAL SECURITY CHALLENGE: WHICH WAY OUT?”**.

Depending on how one scholarly looks at it, corruption could conclusively be classified as one of the major factors breeding insecurity in all communities and Nations. In my view, corruption has more hand in Nigeria’s security challenges than any other factor. Perhaps that is why all governments, since Independence in Nigeria, have been claiming to be fighting this monster! The following excerpts of speeches from coup leaders during government take-over; and from political leaders during power hand-over will justify my assertion:-

RADIO BROADCAST BY MAJOR CHUKWUMA NZEOWU ANNOUNCING THE FIRST MILITARY COUP IN NIGERIA ON RADIO NIGERIA, KADUNA, ON JANUARY 15TH 1966

*My dear countrymen... The aim of the Revolutionary Council is to establish a strong united and prosperous nation, **free from corruption** and internal strife... Our enemies are the political profiteers, the swindlers, the men in high and low places that seek bribes and demand 10 per cent; those that have **corrupted** our society and put the Nigerian political calendar back by their words and deeds.*

MAJOR HASSAN USMAN KATSINA'S RADIO ADDRESS ON JANUARY 18, 1966, AS MILITARY GOVERNOR OF THE NORTHERN PROVINCES OF NIGERIA

*The new Government has no intention to be vindictive but it will at the same time watch closely the activities of people who had in the past engaged in **corrupt practices**. Any subversive activity on their part will be severely dealt with.*

MAJOR GENERAL AGUYI IRONSI'S BROADCAST TO THE NATION AS THE FIRST MILITARY HEAD OF STATE ON 24TH MAY 1966

*I have to make it abundantly clear to everyone that my Government will continue to use the services of the present civil servants. However, my government believes in maintaining the highest standard of efficiency in the Civil Service and will not hesitate to do away with anyone found guilty of inefficiency, nepotism, tribalism and **corruption**.*

BRIGADIER MURTALA MOHAMED'S FIRST ADDRESS AS THE NEW MILITARY HEAD OF STATE ON 30TH JULY, 1975

After the civil war, the affairs of State, hitherto a collective responsibility, became characterised by lack of consultation,

Corruption As A National Security Challenge: Which Way Out?

*indecision, indiscipline, **corruption** and even neglect. Indeed, the public at large became disillusioned and disappointed by these developments... Fellow Countrymen, the task ahead of us calls for sacrifice and self discipline at all levels of our society. This government will not tolerate indiscipline. The Government will not condone **abuse of office**.*

BRIGADIER SANI ABACHA'S MILITARY COUP SPEECH AGAINST PRESIDENT SHEHU USMAN ALIYU SHAGARI ON 31ST DECEMBER 1983,

*You are all living witnesses to the great economic predicament and uncertainty, which an inept and **corrupt leadership** has imposed on our beloved Nation for the past four years. I am referring to the harsh, intolerable conditions under which we are now living. Our economy has been **hopelessly mismanaged**; we have become a debtor and beggar Nation... In some States, workers are being owed salary arrears of eight to twelve months and in others there are threats of salary cuts. Yet our leaders revel in **squandermania, corruption and indiscipline**.*

COUP SPEECH BY THE NEW MILITARY HEAD OF STATE, MAJOR GENERAL MUHAMMADU BUHARI ON JANUARY 1ST 1984

*It is true that there is a worldwide economic recession. However, in the case of Nigeria, its impact was aggravated by **mismanagement**. We believe the appropriate government agencies have good advice but the leadership disregarded their advice. The situation could have been avoided if the Legislators were alive to their constitutional responsibilities; but instead, the Legislators were preoccupied with determining their salary scales, fringe benefits and unnecessary foreign travels, which took no account of the state of the economy and the welfare of the people they represented. As a result of our inability to cultivate financial discipline and prudent management of the economy, we have come to depend largely on internal and external borrowing to execute*

Corruption As A National Security Challenge: Which Way Out?

*government projects with attendant domestic pressure and soaring external debts, thus aggravating the propensity of the outgoing civilian administration to **mismanage our financial resources**...While **corruption and indiscipline** have been associated with our state of under-development, these two evils in our body politic have attained unprecedented height in the past few years. The **corrupt, inept and insensitive leadership** in the last four years has been the source of immorality and impropriety in our society. Since what happens in any society is largely a reflection of the leadership of that society, we deplore **corruption** in all its facets. This government will not tolerate **kick-backs, inflation of contracts and over-invoicing of imports** etc. Nor will it condone forgery, fraud, embezzlement, misuse and abuse of office and illegal dealings in foreign exchange and smuggling... **Corrupt officials and their agents** will be brought to book.*

THE COUP SPEECH BY BRIGADIER JOSHUA DOGONYARO THAT OVERTHREW MAJOR GENERAL MUHAMMADU BUHARI ON AUGUST 27, 1985

Fellow countrymen; the intervention of the military at the end of 1983 was welcomed by the Nation with unprecedented enthusiasm. Nigerians were unified in accepting the intervention and looked forward hopefully to progressive changes for the better. Almost two years later, it has become clear that the fulfilment of expectations is not forthcoming...

The Nigerian public has been made to believe that the slow pace of action of the Federal Government headed by Major General Muhammadu Buhari was due to the enormity of the problems left by the last civilian administration. Although it is true that a lot of problems were left behind by the last civilian government, the real reason, however, for the very slow pace of action is due to lack of unanimity of purpose among the ruling body; subsequently, the business of governance has gradually been subjected to ill-motivated power play considerations.

Corruption As A National Security Challenge: Which Way Out?

*The ruling body, the Supreme Military Council, has, therefore, progressively been made redundant by the actions of a select few members charged with the day-to-day implementation of the SMC's policies and decisions. The concept of collective leadership has been substituted by stubborn and ill-advised unilateral actions, thereby destroying the principles upon which the government came to power. Any effort made to advise the leadership, met with stubborn resistance and was viewed as a challenge to authority or disloyalty. Thus, the scene was being set for systematic elimination of what, was termed as oppositions. All the energies of the rulership were directed at this imaginary opposition rather than to effective leadership. The result of this misdirected effort is now very evident in the country as a whole. The government has started to drift. The economy does not seem to be getting any better as we witness daily increased inflation. The nation's meagre resources are once again being **pilfered and wasted** on unproductive ventures.*

THE NEW MILITARY HEAD OF STATE, MAJOR GENERAL IBRAHIM BADAMASI BABAGINDA'S ADDRESS TO THE NATION ON AUGUST 27, 1985

*The history of our Nation had never recorded the degree of **indiscipline and corruption** as in the period between October 1979 and December 1983. While this government recognises the bitterness created by the **irresponsible excesses of the politicians**, we consider it unfortunate that methods of such nature as to cause more bitterness were applied to deal with past misdeeds. We must never allow ourselves to lose our sense of natural justice. The innocent cannot suffer the crimes of the guilty. The guilty should be punished only as a lesson for the future...*

The last twenty months have not witnessed any significant changes in the national economy. Contrary to expectations, we have so far been subjected to a steady deterioration in the general standard of living. Intolerable sufferings by the ordinary Nigerians have risen

Corruption As A National Security Challenge: Which Way Out?

higher. Scarcity of commodities has increased; hospitals still remain mere consulting clinics, while educational institutions are on the brink of decay. Unemployment has stretched to critical dimensions.

*My colleagues and I are determined to change the course of history. This government is determined to unite this country. We shall not allow anything to obstruct us. We recognise that a government, be it civilian or military, needs the consent of the people to govern if it is to reach its objectives. We do not intend to rule by force. Fundamental rights and civil liberties will be respected, but their exercise must not degenerate into irrational expression nor border on subversion. The War Against Indiscipline will continue, but this time, in the minds and conduct of Nigerians, and not by way of symbolism or **money-spending campaigns**. This government, on its part, will ensure that the leadership exhibits **honest and proper** example. Criticisms of actions and decisions taken by us will be given necessary attention and where necessary changes made in accordance with what is expected of us.*

INAUGURAL SPEECH BY PRESIDENT OLUSEGUN OBASANJO FOLLOWING HIS SWEARING IN AS PRESIDENT ON MAY 29, 1999

*Government officials became progressively indifferent to propriety of conduct and showed little commitment to promoting the general welfare of the people and the public good. Government and all its agencies became **thoroughly corrupt and reckless**. Members of the public had **to bribe their way** through in ministries and parastatals to get attention; and one government agency **had to bribe another** government agency to obtain the release of their statutory allocation of funds. The impact of **official corruption** is so rampant and has earned Nigeria a very bad image at home and abroad. Besides, it has distorted and retrogressed development.*

Corruption As A National Security Challenge: Which Way Out?

*Corruption, the greatest single bane of our society today, will be tackled head-on at all levels. **Corruption** is incipient in all human societies and in most human activities. But it must not be condoned. This is why laws are made and enforced **to check corruption**, so that society would survive and develop in an orderly, reasonable and predictable way. No society can achieve anything near its full potential if it allows **corruption** to become the full-blown cancer it has become in Nigeria. One of the greatest tragedies of military rule in recent times is that **corruption** was allowed to grow unchallenged, and unchecked, even when it was glaring for everybody to see. The rules and regulations for doing official business were deliberately ignored, set aside or by-passed to facilitate **corrupt practices**. The **beneficiaries of corruption** in all forms will fight back with all the foul means at their disposal. We shall be firm with them. There will be no sacred cows. Nobody, no matter who and where, will be allowed to get away with the breach of the Law or the perpetration of **corruption and evil**.*

*Under this administration, therefore, all the rules and regulations designed to help honesty and transparency in dealings with government will be restored and enforced... The **rampant corruption** in the public service and the cynical contempt for integrity that pervades every level of the bureaucracy will be stamped out.*

SPEECH BY PRESIDENT UMARU MUSA YAR'ADUA AFTER HIS SWEARING IN AS THE PRESIDENT, MAY 29, 2007

*We acknowledge that our **elections had some shortcomings**. Thankfully, we have well established legal avenues of redress, and I urge anyone aggrieved to pursue them. I also believe that our experiences represent an opportunity to learn from our mistakes. Accordingly, I will set up a panel to examine the entire electoral process with a view to ensuring that we raise the quality and*

Corruption As A National Security Challenge: Which Way Out?

standard of our general elections, and thereby deepen our democracy...

*Over the past eight years Nigerians have reached a national consensus in at least four areas: to deepen democracy and the rule of law; build an economy driven primarily by the private sector, not by government; **display zero tolerance for corruption** in all its forms, and, finally, restructure and staff our government to ensure efficiency and good governance. I commit myself to these tasks... We are determined to intensify the **war against corruption**, more so because **corruption is itself central to the spread of poverty**. Its **corrosive effect is all too visible in all aspects of our national life**.*

PRESIDENT GOODLUCK EBELE JONATHAN'S INAUGURAL SPEECH, FOLLOWING HIS SWEARING IN AS THE PRESIDENT, MAY 29, 2011

A decade ago, it would have been a mere daydream to think that a citizen from a minority ethnic group could galvanize national support, on an unprecedented scale, to discard ancient prejudices, and to win the people's mandate as President of our beloved country. That result emanated from the toil and sacrifice of innumerable individuals and institutions, many of whom may never get to receive public appreciation for their effort... The success of the 2011 elections and the widespread acclaim which the exercise received was due to the uncommon patriotism and diligence exhibited by many Nigerians... Unfortunately, despite the free, fair and transparent manner the elections were conducted, a senseless wave of violence in some parts of the country led to the death of ten members of the NYSC and several others. These brave men and women paid the supreme sacrifice in the service of our fatherland. They are heroes of our democracy. We offer our heartfelt prayers and condolences in respect of all those who lost their lives...

*Fellow citizens, in every decision, I shall always place the common good before anything else. The **bane of corruption shall be met by the overwhelming force** of our collective determination, to rid our*

Corruption As A National Security Challenge: Which Way Out?

*Nation of this scourge. The **fight against corruption is a war in which we must all enlist**, so that the limited resources of this Nation will be used for the growth of our common wealth.*

INAUGURAL SPEECH BY PRESIDENT MUHAMMADU BUHARI FOLLOWING HIS SWEARING IN AS PRESIDENT ON 29TH MAY, 2015

Having just a few minutes ago sworn on the Holy Book, I intend to keep my oath and serve as President to all Nigerians. I belong to everybody and I belong to nobody.

A few people have privately voiced fears that on coming back to office I shall go after them. These fears are groundless. There will be no paying off old scores. The past is prologue.

*Our neighbours in the Sub-region and our African brethren should rest assured that Nigeria under our administration will be ready to play any leadership role that Africa expects of it... At home we face enormous challenges. Insecurity, **pervasive corruption**, the hitherto unending and seemingly impossible fuel and power shortages are the immediate concerns. We are going to tackle them head on. Nigerians will not regret that they have entrusted national responsibility to us. We must not succumb to hopelessness and defeatism. We can fix our problems.*

Daunting as the task may be it is by no means insurmountable. To achieve our objectives we must consciously work the democratic system. The Federal Executive under my watch will not seek to encroach on the duties and functions of the Legislative and Judicial arms of government. The law enforcing authorities will be charged to operate within the Constitution. We shall rebuild and reform the public service to become more effective and more serviceable. We shall charge them to apply themselves with integrity to stabilize the system.

For their part the legislative arm must keep to their brief of making Laws, carrying out over-sight functions and doing so expeditiously.

Corruption As A National Security Challenge: Which Way Out?

*The judicial system needs reform to cleanse itself from its immediate past. The country now expects **the judiciary to act with dispatch on all cases especially on corruption, serious financial crimes or abuse of office**. It is only when the three arms act constitutionally that government will be enabled to serve the country optimally and avoid the confusion all too often bedevilling governance today.*

*Constitutionally there are limits to powers of each of the three tiers of government but that should not mean the Federal Government should fold its arms and close its eyes to what is going on in the States and Local Governments. Not least the operations of the Local Government Joint Account. While the Federal Government cannot interfere in the details of its operations it will ensure that **the gross corruption at the local level is checked**. As far as the Constitution allows me, I will try to ensure that there is **responsible and accountable governance at all levels of government in the country**. For I will not have kept my own trust with the Nigerian people if I allow others abuse theirs under my watch...*

WHAT IS CORRUPTION?

Transparency International (TI), the most famous corruption fighting non-governmental organisation in the World, states that,

Corruption is the abuse of entrusted power for private gain. Corruption can be classified as grand, petty and political, depending on the amounts of money lost and the sector where it occurs. Grand corruption consists of acts committed at a high level of government that distort policies or the central functioning of the state, enabling leaders to benefit at the expense of the public good. Petty corruption refers to everyday abuse of entrusted power by low and mid-level public officials in their interactions with ordinary citizens, who often are trying to access basic goods or services in places like hospitals, schools, police departments and other agencies. Political corruption is a manipulation of policies,

Corruption As A National Security Challenge: Which Way Out?

institutions and rules of procedure in the allocation of resources and financing by political decision makers, who abuse their position to sustain their power, status and wealth.

Merriam-Webster's Learner's Dictionary defines corruption as,
Dishonest or illegal behaviour especially by powerful people (such as government officials or police officers)

Wikipedia, the free encyclopaedia defines corruption as,
A form of dishonest or unethical conduct by a person entrusted with a position of authority, often to acquire personal benefit. Corruption may include many activities including bribery, and embezzlement.

Generally speaking and even by the definitions above, corruption is normally only attributed to government, governmental agencies and all forms of leaderships (political, military, monarchy, etc.). Usually, only persons in "authority" at all levels (from the Presidents and Monarchs to the clerks and messengers) are associated with corruption.

In my view however, corruption has eaten deep into the fabrics of all strata of the society, particularly in Nigeria; where the leaders and the led, government functionaries and the citizens, could all be said to be guilty of corruption one way or the other. Therefore, I find the definition of the words "**corrupt**" and "**corruption**" by the Advanced Learner's Dictionary as most apt, which states that,

Corrupt:- (1) *Willing to act dishonestly or illegally in return for money or personal gain.* (2) *Not following accepted standards of behaviour.* (3) *Something containing errors or changes and no longer in the original state*

Corruption:- *Dishonest or wicked behaviour*

I therefore aver that, illegal and dishonest acts and actions by leaders and other people in authority is corruption. Influencing others to act against accepted standards of behaviour (like soiling

Corruption As A National Security Challenge: Which Way Out?

the good characters of the youths) is an act of corrupting them. When people act dishonestly or wickedly in the course of their work, duties or other day-to-day activities, they are corrupt. Where one football team bribes the other to concede defeat (match fixing), is corruption. Theft of public or private properties, embezzlement, favouritism, sectionalism, etc., etc., are all acts of corruption. Even in texts, data or technology, corruption has taken roots, as for example, when a computer file becomes inactive, the file is said to be corrupted; and when some texts or data contain errors they are said to be corrupted. In my candid view therefore, **any dishonest or unethical conduct; or any act of wickedness by a person is an act of corruption;** and I intend to base my Lecture on this premise.

CORRUPTION AS A SECURITY CHALLENGE

Transparency International avers that corruption impacts societies in a multitude of ways. In the worst cases, it costs lives. Short of this, it costs people their freedom, health, money, etc. The effect of corruption can be divided into four main categories: (1) political, (2) economic, (3) social and (4) security.

On the political front, corruption is a major obstacle to democracy and the Rule of Law. Offices and institutions lose their legitimacy when they are misused for private advantage. Corrupt politicians invest public resources in projects that will line their pockets rather than benefit communities, and prioritise high-profile projects such as grandiose secretariats and government lodges, over less spectacular but more urgent and more useful projects such as schools, hospitals, roads and **human capital development**. Corruption depletes national wealth, hinders the development of fair market structures and distorts competition; which in turn deters investment and development. Corruption corrodes the social fabric of society; and undermines people's trust in the political system, in its institutions and in its leadership.

Corruption As A National Security Challenge: Which Way Out?

In terms of criminality and insecurity, corruption gives rise to massive unemployment as the wealth of the Nation is siphoned into private pockets instead of being invested into the productive and development sectors that create employment. The result of massive unemployment is a restive youth who easily engage in criminal activities like robbery, kidnapping, militancy, terrorism, insurgency, rape, thievery, drugs abuse, etc. These criminal acts translate into gross national security challenges.

The 2015 Transparency International Corruption Perception Index clearly shows the correlation between corruption and insecurity, as the most insecure, crises ridden and war-torn Nations of the World are among the listed top-most 14 Groups of the most corrupt Nations in the World! Among these 14 Groups are:- Syria and Iraq (ISIS), Afghanistan (fight against terror), Libya and South Sudan (civil war), Somalia (Al-Shabbab insurgency) and Nigeria and Chad (Boko Haram insurgency). (www.transparency.org).

Without any iota of doubt, corruption has given birth to the biggest threats to Nigeria's corporate existence today, which are insecurities of monumental dimensions. They include religious, ethnic, political and communal conflicts that have been heightened by the Boko Haram insurgency, livestock rustling and Niger Delta militancy. Other security challenges facing the Nation include, assassinations, kidnappings, armed robbery, cultism, disregard for law and order, disregard for human lives, etc.

The last few years in Nigeria have witnessed an alarming spate of conflicts, insurgency and all forms of security challenges and human rights violations. As a result of various crises in Nigeria, over 40,000 killings were reported between 2011 and 2015 (Premium Times quoting US Council on Foreign Relations, Nigeria Security Tracker, May 2011 to September 2015). The Borno State Governor recently released *Boko Haram* casualty figures that showed more than 100,000 deaths! The North-East Recovery and Peace Building Assessment Team stated that public

and private properties worth over \$9 billion (about 4.36 trillion Naira at the current parallel market exchange rate) were destroyed in the North-East between 2011 and 2015 (News Agency of Nigeria quoting Senior Special Assistant to the President on Internally Displaced Persons, Dr Mariam Masha, on 31st March, 2016). This figure is almost equal to Nigeria's Federal Government budget of 4.65 trillion Naira for the year 2015! Several Local Governments once fell to Boko Haram insurgents where they declared the areas as their "Caliphate". These happenings, resulting from gross corruption, are beyond conflicts; they are a national catastrophe that have retarded the socio-economic development of the Nation thereby making poverty and insecurity to be on the increase and life becoming more unbearable for the vast majority of Nigerians

THE MAGNITUDE OF NIGERIA'S CORRUPTION

In May 2016, the former British Prime Minister Mr. David Cameron said to no less a personality than British Queen Elizabeth II, that, "*We've got some leaders of some **fantastically corrupt** countries coming to Britain...Nigeria and Afghanistan, possibly the two most corrupt countries in the World*". (Vanguard Newspaper, 10th May, 2016). When asked to comment on Mr. Cameron's statement and to demand for an apology from the British Prime Minister, Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari stated that, "*Mr. Cameron was telling the truth... He was talking about what he knew... What would I do with an apology? I need something tangible... I am more interested in the return of stolen assets held in British banks*" (bbc.com, 11th May 2016). The British Prime Minister said it. The Nigerian President confirmed it. Who needs more proof?

All attention on corruption is normally focussed on leaders; but the leaders who are said to have institutionalised corruption are from the larger society and not from outer space! They seem to simply

Corruption As A National Security Challenge: Which Way Out?

be carrying over what they have acquired as ordinary citizens to their exalted offices in leadership.

Nigerian communities condone and encourage corruption by celebrating corrupt leaders. A public officer who “steals” and dishes out such illegal wealth to his retinue of supporters, friends and associates and does not ensure the bringing of any official development (like good roads) to his community is normally considered and celebrated as a “good and philanthropic leader”. On the other hand, a public officer who does not “steal” and dish out the illegal proceeds to supporters, friends and associates but ensures the bringing of official development (like portable water) to his community is normally considered as a “miser and a bad leader”! Corrupt leaders who share their corrupt wealth are seated in the front rows in any community function and the praise singers are always at hand to tell the high heavens the “good” things the corrupt leaders do with their stolen wealth. The poor honest leaders who do not steal are hardly invited to any community function, talk-less of their being seated in the front rows!

Even the most ordinary Nigerian knows full well that there is no public officer, from Mr. President down to the cleaner, who can afford to dish out millions of Naira to friends and associates or donate such to Community Associations from his or her salary. Never-the-less, people accept such gifts from such public officers and later call them “thieves”. What an irony! In Law and in conscience, there cannot be a thief without a receiver of stolen properties!

Nigeria seems to have fallen into the highest class of corruption, that of ENDEMIC CORRUPTION. This type of corruption is so prevalent that it is part of the everyday life and structure of the society; which means it is in the Executive, in the Legislature, in the Judiciary, in the Security, in the Academia, in the Traditional Institution, in the Work Force, in the Labourers, in the Farmers, in the Traders, in the Industrialists, in short - it is in all the strata of

the society! We can now see why leaders who come from such a “**corrupt amalgam**” exhibit corrupt tendencies and behave and act corruptly.

In addition, corruption in Nigeria seems to be as old as the Country herself, as it has been a recurring decimal from the colonial days to date, but at different rates and levels. We shall however restrict ourselves, in this Lecture, to the broad discussion of the magnitude of corruption and the fight against it under the former military (1984/85) and the current civilian governments of Major General/President Muhammadu Buhari.

Major General Muhammadu Buhari’s Military Administration’s Probe of Alhaji Shehu Aliyu Shagari’s Civilian Administration

The present fight against corruption is not the first time President Muhammadu Buhari is taking corruption by its horns. The military struck and toppled Alhaji Shehu Usman Aliyu Shagari’s civilian administration on 31st December 1983 due to what the military called, “gross and endemic corruption”. A series of well publicised probes were instituted by the new Head of State, Major General Muhammadu Buhari. Special Tribunals were set up to try politicians who were ALL accused of corruption by the new military junta. Some of those convicted by the Tribunals and their prison sentences were as follows:-

1. Governor Jim Mwoyede of Anambra State (25 years)
2. Governor Ambrose Alli of Bendel State (10 years)
3. Governor Sam Mbakwe of Imo State (10 years)
4. Governor Abubakar Rimi of Kano State (21 years)
5. Governor Sabo Bakin Zuwo of Kano State (44 years)
6. Governor Olabisi Onabanjo of Ogun State (22 years)
7. Governor Solomon Lar of Plateau State (22 years)
8. Governor Adamu Atta of Kwara State (21 years)
9. Governor Abdu Dawakin Tofa of Kano State (21 years)

10. Mr. Samuel Adetunji Kolade, Chairman of National Bank (21yrs)

General Buhari's military regime preoccupied itself with blaming, probing, prosecuting and jailing members of the Shehu Shagari civilian administration for corruption. But Gen. Buhari's administration itself was involved in some instances of corruption. The 53 suitcases saga that arose in 1984 during the currency change exercise was a case in question. The Buhari junta ordered that every container, box or suitcase arriving into the country must be inspected irrespective of the status of the person behind it. 53 suitcases were however imported through the Murtala Mohamed International Airport, Lagos, without a customs or security check, allegedly at the behest of Major Mustapha Jokolo, the then aide-de-camp (ADC) to General Buhari. That elicited hues and cries and the government did nothing concrete to clear the air. The security operatives, most notorious being the National Security Organisation (NSO), present day DSS, were also alleged to have been grossly corrupt in their selective investigations, apprehending and prosecution of suspects. The case of the Drugs Anti-Trafficking Decree under which some persons were executed by firing squad as a result of the Decree's retrospective effect was also considered as grossly corrupt and unjust, as no Law was ever known to have retrospective effect anywhere else in the World. The infamous Decree that gagged the freedom of speech was also said to have been applied selectively and corruptly particularly on members of the Press.

President Muhammadu Buhari's Civilian Administration's Probe of President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's Civilian Administration

President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan was one the luckiest humans in Nigeria's history who personally professed to trekking to school as a child without shoes due to the level of poverty in his family. He was therefore labelled as the "shoeless president". Dr Jonathan was

Corruption As A National Security Challenge: Which Way Out?

a Local Government Councillor who became a State Deputy Governor and who later became Governor when the Governor was impeached in questionable circumstances triggered by the then President Olusegun Obasanjo. Dr Jonathan was a Vice President who became President when the President died in office. Against all odds, Dr Jonathan was rigged into office with the active support of his godfather, former President Obasanjo, to serve his own four years term after completing the one year term of late President Yar'adua.

To the surprise of Nigerians, the brain behind Jonathan's becoming Governor, Vice President and President, former President Obasanjo, wrote a damning letter towards the end of Dr Jonathan's tenure in 2014 accusing Jonathan of being the most corrupt and most clueless President Nigeria ever had! Obasanjo urged Nigerians not to allow Jonathan to win elections for a second tenure (as if he won in the first tenure!). That letter did not go well in the Jonathan's camp and some "rejoinders" emerged, the most damning of which being an article carried by Vanguard Newspaper of December 7th, 2014, titled, *"The Gospel According to St. Obasanjo"*.

In the article, it was stated that, *"General Obasanjo was the man who launched Nigeria into the comity of heavily indebted Nations when he took the first ever N1 billion International Monetary Fund (IMF) loan in 1978 when the Nigerian currency was 75 Kobo to the United States Dollar. Moments after Obasanjo left office in 1979, his regime's pet project, Operation Feed the Nation (OFN), ceased to exist and it was succeeded by the Obasanjo Farms Nigeria (OFN). Today, the Ota Farms which was allegedly reduced to zero level by the regime of the late General Sani Abacha, is reputed to be one of the richest privately owned farms in the World. Obasanjo was the first President in the World to have issued himself a license to own a private university while still a sitting President. He is the proud owner of Bell University of*

Corruption As A National Security Challenge: Which Way Out?

Technology, Ota. Obasanjo is also the owner of the N12.7 billion Obasanjo Presidential Library in Ogun State built through a corrupt appeal fund launching. His multi-billion Naira hilltop mansion, was built while he was President. Obasanjo was alleged to have bought substantial shares in the Transcorp Group, meaning that he is into hospitality, airlines, insurance, agriculture, construction, oil and gas, etc. It was under Obasanjo's Presidency that prominent Nigerian politicians, including Chief Marshall Harry, Chief A. K. Dikibo, Chief Ogbonnaya Uche and Chief Bola Ige were assassinated". (Vanguard, December 7th, 2014).

The Obasanjo/Jonathan (godfather/godson) debacle apart, in late 2013, Nigeria's then Central Bank Governor, Malam Sanusi Lamido Sanusi, informed President Goodluck Jonathan that NNPC had failed to remit US\$20 billion of oil revenues, which it owed the State. Jonathan dismissed the claim and placed Malam Sanusi on suspension. Upon release of both the PwC and the Deloitte report, it was determined that truly close to \$20 billion was indeed missing or misappropriated either by the NNPC or the government (PwC on NNPC, Part 1, April 2015). In addition to this, the government of Dr Goodluck Jonathan had several corruption scandals including the over \$250 million security contracts to militants in the Niger Delta (www.afrioilgasreport.com). There was also the case of some top officials of the Central Bank from various States, who colluded with officials of some private banks to defraud the country of about N8 billion in the cash stripping of mutilated currencies (Premium Times, May 31st 2015).

Allegations upon allegations of corruption have been emerging since the defeat and exit of President Jonathan from office on May 29th, 2015; some of which are attributed to the Obasanjo administration. The allegations include the following:-

1. Sixty (60) million barrels of oil valued at \$13.7bn stolen under the watch of the NNPC from 2009 to 2012 (NEITI Report).

Corruption As A National Security Challenge: Which Way Out?

2. \$2.2 billion illegally withdrawn from Excess Crude Oil Accounts of which \$1bn was supposedly approved by President Jonathan to fund his re-election campaign - the infamous “Dasukigate” (Vanguard Newspaper, 14th July 2015).
3. In March 2011, ten suspects from the office of the Head of the Civil Service of the Federation were arraigned alongside 30 companies on 134-count charges for allegedly defrauding the Pensions Account, Office of the Head of Service of the Federation, of over N30 billion. (Daily Trust, 25th September, 2015)
4. Nigeria Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (NEITI) discovered that \$11.6 billion was missing from Nigeria Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) Company Dividend Payments (Sahara Reporters, 18th June 2015).
5. Diversion of \$2.2 million vaccination medicine fund, by the Ministry of Health (Sahara Reporters 30th October 2014).
6. Diversion of Ebola fight fund of about 1.9bn Naira (Vanguard Newspaper 12th June 2015).
7. The Nigerian Maritime Administration and Safety Agency (NIMASA) Fraud under investigation by EFCC, inclusive of accusation of funding PDP and buying a small piece of land for 13 billion naira (www.punchng.com 28th July 2015).
8. Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) scams and multifarious scams including 2.7 billion Naira worth of contracts that do not conform to Public Procurement Act (Premium Times, 8th August, 2015).

From the return to democracy in 1999 to 2015, allegations of corrupt practices have been on the rise. It seems there wasn't any President, State Governor or Senate President or House Speaker or Political Party Leader or Senior Government Official or senior politician or senior technocrat who has not been accused of corruption within this period.

Corruption As A National Security Challenge: Which Way Out?

A cursory look at the former Governors who were accused of corruption from 1999 to date reveals the following list:-

1. Alhaji Abdulkadir Kure (Niger)	23. Adm. Murtala Nyako (Adamawa)
2. Sen Abdullahi Adamu (Nasarawa)	24. Dr. Orji Uzor Kalu (Abia)
3. Alhaji Abubakar Audu (Kogi)	25. Chief Rashidi Ladoja (Oyo)
4. Senator Adamu Aliero (Kebbi)	26. Dr. Sam Egwu (Ebonyi)
5. Alhaji Adamu Muazu (Bauchi)	27. Senator Saminu Turaki (Jigawa)
6. Sen Ahmed S. Yarima (Zamfara)	28. Malam Sule Lamido (Jigawa)
7. Alhaji Akwe Doma (Nasarawa)	29. Dr. Theodore Orji (Abia State)
8. Alhaji Attahiru Bafarawa (Sokoto)	30. Alhaji Usman Dakingari (Kebbi)
9. Chief Ayo Fayose (Ekiti)	31. Bar Ibrahim Shema (Katsina)
10. Senator Bukola Saraki (Kwara)	32. Mr. James Ngilari (Adamawa)
11. Dr. Chiroke Nnamani (Enugu),	33. Mr. Jonah Jang (Plateau)
12. Dr P. Alamieyeseigha (Bayelsa)	34. Chief Adebayo Akala (Oyo)
13. Sen. Danjuma Goje (Gombe)	35. Alhaji Ramalan Yero (Kaduna)
14. Mr. Gabriel Suswan (Benue)	36. Alhaji Ali Modu Sharif (Borno)
15. Mr. George Akume (Benue)	37. Mr. Martin Elechi (Ebonyi)
16. Sen G. Akpabio (Akwa-Ibom)	38. Mr. Ikedi Ohakim (Imo)
17. Malam Isa Yuguda (Bauchi)	39. Dr. Peter Odili (Rivers)
18. Mr. James Ibori (Delta)	40. Mr. Timipre Sylva (Bayelsa)
19. Rev. Jolly Nyame (Taraba)	41. Chief Gbenga Daniel (Ogun)
20. Mr. Joshua Dariye (Plateau)	42. Mal. Ahmadu Fintiri (Adamawa)
21. Chief Lucky Igbinedion (Edo)	
22. Sen. Danjuma Goje (Gombe)	

Out of these 42 Governors who were taken to various Courts of Law on varying charges of corruption, some of whose cases have been lingering for the past 11 years (since 2007), only six have so far been convicted to terms of imprisonment. They are as follows:-

1. Former Governor Jolly Nyame of Taraba State: He was convicted by a High Court of the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja, on May 30th 2018 to serve a jail term of 14 years for diverting N1.64 billion.

Corruption As A National Security Challenge: Which Way Out?

2. Former Governor Joshua Dariye of Plateau State: He was convicted to serve a jail term of 14 years on June 12th 2018 for misappropriating N1.16 billion ecological funds.
3. Former Governor of Adamawa State, James Bala Ngilari: He was sentenced to serve a jail term of 5 years on March 6th 2017 for defrauding his State of N167 million. Acquitted by Appeal Court on 20th July 2017.
4. Former Governor of Edo State, Lucky Igbinedion: He was sentenced to six months imprisonment on 19th December 2008 laundering N25 billion, but got a plea bargain that made him pay a fine of N3.5 million.
5. Former Governor James Ibori of Delta State: Freed in Nigeria but jailed for 13 years in London for laundering \$250 million. Released after serving only 4 years jail term on April 17th 2012.
6. Late Governor Diepreye Alamieyesegha of Bayelsa State: He was sentenced to a jail term of 2 years on July 26th 2007, based on a plea bargain after he was found guilty of laundering N3.7 billion. He was pardoned on 12th March 2013 by President Jonathan who once served as Deputy Governor under him.

APC/PDP FEUD OVER WHICH PARTY HAS MORE CORRUPT MEMBERS

The All Progressive Congress (APC) and the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) have been locked in bitter feuds over which political party has more corrupt members. Since the advent of the APC Government of President Buhari in 2015, the ruling party consistently heaps the blame of the monumental corruption in the polity on the former PDP Governments that ruled before it. The PDP opposition party on the other hand consistently insists that the corrupt PDP politicians mentioned by the APC have dumped the PDP and are now members of the APC!

As a culmination of the feud, in March 2018, the PDP opposition party challenged the ruling APC government to publish the list of

Corruption As A National Security Challenge: Which Way Out?

looters in the country in order to settle the matter once and for all! Responding, on Friday, March 30, 2018, the Nigerian Information Minister released a list of 6 alleged corrupt Nigerian politicians that included the current chairman of the opposition PDP and other former executive members of the party. In the same vein and on the same day, the opposition party responded with a list of over 50 alleged corrupt APC politicians with the Senate President, top Ministers and serving Lawmakers included. At the end of the claims and counter claims, the following 90 alleged corrupt top members and supporters of both the APC and the PDP made up the list:-

1. Senate President, Bukola Saraki	31. Governor Aliyu Wammako	61. Governor Danjuma Goje
2. Speaker Yakubu Dogara	32. Governor Sullivan Chime	62. Governor Nasir El-Rufai
3. Governor Aminu Tambuwal	33. Governor Rabiu Kwankwaso	63. Senator Lokobiri
4. Governor Samuel Lalong	34. Alhaji Abubakar Mohammed	64. Dr. Chinweke Mbadinuju
5. Governor Abdullahi Ganduje	35. Malam Bello Hayatu	65. Senator Alkali Mohamed
6. Governor Nasir El-Rufai	36. Senator AbdulAzeez Nyako,	66. Senator Hunkuyi
7. Governor Samuel Ortom	37. Senator Alkali Mohammed,	67. Chief of Army Staff Dambazau
8. Governor Ishaku Darius	38. Dr. Aliyu Modibbo,	68. NSA Sambo Dasuki
9. Governor Rochas Okorochoa,	39. Senator Andy Uba,	69. Minister Dieziani Alison-Madukwe
10. Governor Bindo Jibrilla	40. Senator Nazif	70. Lt.-Gen. Azubuike Ihejirika
11. Minister Rotimi Amaechi	41. Senator Magnus Abe	71. Chief of Defence Staff Alex Badeh
12. Minister Kayode Fayemi	42. Engr. Dakuku Peterside	72. CG Customs Dikko
	43. Senator Silas Zwingima	73. Air Marshal Adesola Amosun
	44. Senator Binta Massi	74. Senator Bala Abdulkadir,

Corruption As A National Security Challenge: Which Way Out?

13. Minister Chris Ngige	45. Malam Nuhu	75. Senator Stella Oduah
14. PDP Chair, Uche Secondus	Ribadu	76. Governor Babangida Aliyu
15. Mr. Olisah Metuh	46. Dr. Idi Hong	77. Senator Jonah Jang
16. Dr. Raymond Dokpesi	47. Mrs. Jummai Al-Hassan	78. Minister Bashir Yuguda
17. Mr. Dudafa Waripamo-Owei	48. Governor George Akume	79. Senator Peter Nwaboshi
18. Mr. Robert Azibaola	49. Governor Aminu Masari	80. NSA Dasuki Aide Aliyu Usman
19. Governor Saminu Turaki	50. Speaker Gali Na'abba	81. NSA Dasuki PA Ahmad Idris
20. Governor Timipre Sylva	51. Senator Barnabas Gemade	82. Governor Rasheed Ladoja
21. Governor Murtala Nyako	52. Minister Audu Ogbe	83. Mr. Tom Ikimi
22. Senator Bello Tukur	53. Mr. Oserheimen Osunbo	84. Minister Femi Fani-Kayode
23. Senator Hunkuyi	54. Mr. Musiliu Obanikoro	85. PPS Hassan Tukur
24. Senator AbdulAzeez Ibrahim	55. Governor Adams Oshiomhole	86. Minister Nenadi Usman
25. Senator Adamu Aliero	56. Governor Jim Nwobodo	87. Madam Benedicta Iroha
26. Senator Danjuma Goje	57. Governor Atiku Bagudu	88. NSA ally Aliyu Usman Jawaz
27. Senator Abdullahi Adamu	58. Governor Ahmed Abdulfatah	89. Dr. Godknows Igali
28. Senator Joshua Dariye	59. Governor Abubakar Sani Bello	90. Rtd. Lt.-Gen. Kenneth Minimah
29. Governor Orji Uzor Kalu	60. Governor Usman Dakingari	
30. Mr. Babachir Lawal		

Sources:- Daily Trust Newspaper 30th March 2018; www.pulse.ng 30th March 2018; The Sun Newspaper 6th April 2018; Leadership Newspaper 31st March 2018; Daily Post Newspaper 30th March 2018; This Day Newspaper 2nd April 2018; Vanguard Newspaper 1st April 2018; Punch Newspaper 1st April 2018; etc, etc.

FIGHTING CORRUPTION: WHICH WAY OUT?

Corruption is a dodged fighter and whoever wants to fight corruption must be ready not only to be fought back, but to be fought back dirty and bad! Corruption has eaten deep into the Nigerian fabric to the extent of its being prevalent almost everywhere. So where is the fighter of corruption starting in the Nigerian context?

A DataPro Special Report, 2016, gave a good summary-description of corruption in Nigeria when it states that one only needs to live in Nigeria for a short period to feel the breath and smell the odour of corruption. It is everywhere! It begins at home. It is taken to the work place. At recreation centres and places of worship, one can feel its presence. Everybody is involved. The young and the old; the men, women, students, judges, lecturers, journalists, civil servants, politicians, government officials, soldiers, civilians, security agents - just name it! Everywhere you turn in Nigeria; a system exists where people and institutions benefit and profit using unfair means and illegal methods: a system that runs on deception, intimidation, lies, threats, falsehood, violence and coercion. The result is predictable: an entrenched systemic and endemic practice of corruption throughout the country.

What makes corruption in Nigeria different from what obtains in other countries is the associated culture of impunity. In Nigeria corruption takes place in the open and in your face. People rationalise it to justify it. When corruption is questioned in Nigeria; it fights back through blackmail, ethnicity and religious bigotry. The culture of impunity is what some analysts consider the most defining factor of corruption in Nigeria that has to be tackled first.

General Approaches to Fighting Corruption in Nigeria

Since the first major attempt by the General Murtala Mohamed's government to fight corruption, other governments followed with attempts to tackle this monster. The attempts included General

Corruption As A National Security Challenge: Which Way Out?

Muritala's Code of Conduct Bureau for Public Officers of 1976; General Obasanjo's Jaji Declaration of 1977; Alhaji Shehu Shagari's Ethical Revolution of 1981-83; Buhari's War Against Indiscipline (WAI) of 1984-1985; General Abacha's War Against Indiscipline and Corruption (WAIC) of 1996; Chief Obasanjo's Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) of 2000 and the Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) of 2004. Current enabling Laws for the fight against corruption include the Money Laundering Amendment Act of 2002, the Money Laundering Prohibition Act of 2003, the Advanced Free Fraud and other Related Offences (Amendment) Act of 2006, the Fiscal Responsibility Act of 2007, the Public Procurement Act of 2007 and the Nigerian Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative Act of 2007.

The Police: The fight against corruption generally starts with investigation. It is the constitutional duty of the Nigeria Police to investigate and prosecute corrupt persons. In April 2005, retired IGP Tafa Balogun was arraigned at the Federal High Court, Abuja, on charges involving about N13 billion obtained through money laundering, theft and other sources. He was subsequently jailed for six months following a plea bargain with the Court in exchange for returning much of the property and money he embezzled (Guardian Newspaper, 2005).

Balogun's successor, IGP Sunday Ehindero faced a probe on retirement in 2007 over N2.5 billion Police Cooperative Society money, N300 million Police Fund money and the source of money for allegedly building about eight magnificent houses (Leadership Newspaper, May 2008). Since then, many Inspectors General of Police have been accused of corruption and the society unfortunately refers to the Police as the most corrupt public institution.

The EFCC: Since the Police aren't doing it, the Federal Government established the Economic and Financial Crimes

Corruption As A National Security Challenge: Which Way Out?

Commission (EFCC) to do it. The first EFCC Boss, Malam Nuhu Ribadu was accused by critics of pursuing cases only against the political opponents of President Obasanjo (who appointed him). Ribadu was accused by the new government of Umaru Musa Yar'adua in 2007 of failing to declare his own assets, suspended him, stripped him of his promoted police rank and sent him on a training course to the **great NIPSS**. In 2009, he left Nigeria on exile, saying that his life had been threatened (bbc.com, March 2011).

It is said that females are less corrupt than men, so Madam Farida Waziri took over from Nuhu Ribadu as the EFCC Boss. She was also booted out on accusations of corrupt practices in November 2011 (bbc.com, November 2011).

The immediate past EFCC Chairman, Mr. Ibrahim Lamorde, has a warrant of arrest issued by the Senate for his failure to appear before it to answer to an accusation of diverting over N1 trillion of the loot recovered by the anti-graft agency (Premium Times February 2016).

Committees: Since the EFCC has failed to deliver as expected, a special 12-member Committee of trusted persons to fight the corruption war was set up on 24th August 2015, by President Buhari who empowered it to probe the Ministry of Defence Purchases from 2007 to 2015. Bum! A senior member of the Committee, retired Air Commodore Umar Muhammed (a very close friend and confidant of President Buhari) was arrested by the DSS in June 2016 and after a five-hour search, found and seized the sum of \$1.5 million (about N500 million) in cash and various exotic cars in his high brow Abuja residence. In addition, the third interim report of the Committee was a subject a corruption controversy having been said to have been manipulated to remove the names of General Danbazu and General Buratai who were allegedly earlier indicted by the Committee. Many Committee Members are also being accused of corruption!

Corruption As A National Security Challenge: Which Way Out?

Prosecution: After the investigation, comes the prosecution. Nigeria's Chief Prosecutor, the Attorney General and the Minister for Justice, Alhaji Abubakar Malami, SAN, is being accused of political corruption in his prosecution of the Senate President, Bukola Saraki, his Deputy, Ike Ekweremadu and other top officers of the Senate. The Minister is said to be the private Lawyer of those who accused Senator Saraki and others before his appointment as a Minister. The Senate as a whole invited the Minister to appear before the Red Chamber to defend himself against the allegation of political corruption in the case of the Senate President and others (Premium Times, June 2016). The matter is now in the cooler just as many before it!

The Courts: Where do the prosecutors go to prosecute their cases? The Courts of course! The case of the five corrupt Judges sacked by the Federal Court of Appeal in December 2015 is still fresh in our minds. The sacked corrupt Judges were Justice J.O. Bada, Justice P.M. Ekpe, Justice H.A. Barka, Justice M.N. Oniyangi, and Justice U.A. Ogakwu (Sahara Reporters, Dec. 2015). The National Judicial Council (NJC), at the end of its 86th Meeting that was held on May 8 and 9, 2018 issued a press statement that,

“The Council sacked Justice Michael Goji of the High Court of Adamawa State and petitions written against twenty-five (25) Judicial Officers and others by EFCC were considered by Council after which it resolved to empanel seven (7) Committees to look into the allegations. Also, petitions against various Judges were dismissed for lack of establishment of misconduct, being subjudice or that such petitions were matters for appeal. The dismissed petitions were against Hon. Mr. Justices A. I. Chikere and J. T Tsoho, Emeka Nwite and Nnamdi Dimgba of the Federal High Court, Hon. Mr. Justice Adetokunbo Banjoko of FCT High Court, Hon. Mr. Justice Taminu Zailani, Chief Judge, Kaduna, Hon. Mr. Justice M. A. Adeigbe, High Court, Osun State (who had already

Corruption As A National Security Challenge: Which Way Out?

retired from the Bench), and Hon. Mr. Justice E. N. Ogbuiji, High Court, Rivers State”. (vanguardngr.com/2018/05/)

Lawyers: The defence team matters most when a case is in Court, therefore, are the Nigerian Lawyers free from corruption? Firstly, once you control billions or trillions of Naira, be sure to have a big team of SANs and Co., behind you. They will get you bailed out on a N500 million bail bond and two sureties in the same amount, who also must own huge buildings in Abuja or Lagos. Secondly, two Judges and two senior lawyers are currently hooked-up in alleged corruption cases. They are Justice Mohammed Yunusa and Justice Rita Ofili-Ajumogobia of the Federal High Court, Lagos; and two very Senior Advocates of Nigeria, Mr. Rickey Tarfa (SAN) and Dr. Joseph Nwobike (SAN). When Mr. Rickey Tarfa was arraigned in court on February 16th 2016, ninety (90 not 9) Senior Advocates of Nigeria appeared in the same Court to defend him (Premium Times of February 2016 and National Pilot Newspaper of March 14th 2016).

The Bail: Now let us assume, by some miracles, that you are finally investigated and taken to Court on corruption charges. The trial begins. Hon. Justice AA heads the panel of Judges. 50 Senior Advocates of Nigeria (SANs) and 50 of their junior learned colleagues represent you. Firstly, your lawyers ask you to plead “not guilty” even though you know and they know full well that you are guilty. Secondly, they get you out of detention on bail. Thirdly, you were a State Governor, who could not be arrested or prosecuted while in office and now you are a Distinguished Senator of the Federal Republic of Nigeria who has been granted bail on a N500 million bail-bond. Fourthly, you fulfil the bond conditions and nobody questions where your sureties got the N500 million bond money from. Finally you go back to the Senate and propose a motion to amend the Nigerian Constitution in order to extend the immunity clause to include Distinguished Senators and Honourable Members of the House of Representatives. That is the

Corruption As A National Security Challenge: Which Way Out?

end, as the corruption case continues for the next 100 years, while you enjoy your illegally acquired wealth!

The Executive and the Legislature: So far, over 80% of corruption cases in the Courts and the allegations of corrupt practices in Nigeria are hovering over members of the Executive Arm of Government at both Federal and States levels. Serving and former members of the presidency, ministers, governors, commissioners and heads of parastatals form the bulk of the accused.

The Senate and the House of Representatives make Laws for the governance of the Nation and they are the only institutions in Nigeria that can constitutionally summon every Nigerian (from Mr. President to you and me) before them to answer any question on any matter. They are also the only institutions that could remove Mr. President from office. They have such powers because they represent all the over 180 million Nigerians! The Senate is enmeshed in corruption controversy connected to illegal tampering with its appointment procedures and many of the Distinguished Senators have cases of alleged corruption hanging over their heads in the Courts. The House of Representatives is enmeshed in corrupt practices pertaining to Budget 2016 padding, where billions of Naira were alleged to have been corruptly inserted into the Budget for bogus constituency projects and some Hon. Members have alleged corruption cases in Courts.

CONCLUSION

If the truth should be told, corruption investigation in Nigeria is corrupted. Prosecution is corrupted. Trial is corrupted. Judgement is corrupted. Members of the corruption suspect's community (who are beneficiaries of the corrupt wealth) celebrate such persons as their heroes and heroines. On the other hand, every corruption case is seen as being "politically, ethnically or religiously motivated" by the supporters of the corruption suspect.

Corruption As A National Security Challenge: Which Way Out?

So, where do we start (or end) the fight against this monster - CORRUPTION?

The Military Head of State, Major General Muhammadu Buhari started the fight against corruption in his first coming as a military leader with all the powers inherent in that absolute dictatorship. He fought corruption for about one and a half year's between January 1984 and August 1985. Corruption fought back and defeated him, a full Military General in full military uniform, who once fought in the Nigerian civil war and won. Civilian President Buhari was widely reported by the media on 26th of July 2016, as having broken a 31 years silence on the military coup that removed him from office in 1985. He said that, ***"I was removed from office in 1985 by military officers who I was about to discipline for corruption"***. At the commissioning of the new Corporate Headquarters of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission in Abuja on 15th May 2018, President Buhari stated that, ***"This government promised to fight corruption but corruption will continue to fight back. During my first attempt to fight corruption, corruption fought back successfully. I was removed as the Head of State, detained for three years and people who we recovered stolen money from were given back their money and I remained in detention up until my mother had to die to save me from detention."***

Can the new born "civilian democrat", President Alhaji Muhammadu Buhari, defeat corruption this time around? I believe President Muhammadu Buhari and all his advisers should be seeing what we, the ordinary Nigerians, are seeing. I believe they see corruption fighting them back even in the highly fortified Presidential Villa in Abuja. I believe they know full well that corruption has eaten deep into the fabrics of all the strata of the Nigerian Nation and that no one can CHANGE such a society so devastated by corruption overnight. I believe they know that when you fight one opponent at a time, you have one opponent to

Corruption As A National Security Challenge: Which Way Out?

contend with; but when you fight one hundred opponents at a time you have one hundred opponents fighting back at the same time. I believe President Buhari is watching those he entrusts with investigating corruption being exposed as corrupt persons themselves. I believe he sees the prosecutors, the lawyers and the Judges being accused of corruption. I believe he knows that the allegedly corrupt persons he is pursuing are celebrated heroes in their communities.

I would say, at the very high risk of being misunderstood, that I think President Muhammadu Buhari should re-strategise in his current fight against corruption. Those he is fighting are not only fighting back in the Courts of Law. No. They are blocking all avenues for the government's progress, manipulating the economy and upsetting the social order and making life unbearable for the ordinary citizens who are the massive supporters of Buhari. The people had such a high expectation from Buhari's government, the type never expected from any other government before! Corruption is fighting back so much that the peoples' suffering is steadily translating into loss of confidence in the government they fought tooth-and-nail to install!

Perhaps the Transparency International (TI) solution to combating corruption would be most appropriate at this moment in Nigeria. Transparency International website has thousands of pages of reports on corruption, but it has **only one paragraph on "How To Fight Corruption"**, which I quote as follows:-

We have chapters in more than 100 countries, pressuring governments, businesses and the powerful to take strong action against corruption. We also support witnesses and victims of corruption. In fighting corruption, our three guiding principles are: build partnerships, proceed step-by-step and stay non-confrontational. We have learned from experience that corruption can only be kept in check if representatives from government, business and civil society work together to develop

standards and procedures they all support. We also know that corruption can't be rooted out in one big sweep. Rather, fighting it is a step-by-step, project-by-project process. Our non-confrontational approach is necessary to get all relevant parties around the negotiating table.

The Nigerian Government has a herculean task in fighting corruption and the government cannot do it alone. The Nigerian Community must assist. Nigerians particularly have to change their corrupt attitudes of dishonesty, cheating one another and celebrating corrupt leaders. At the same time Nigerians have to turn to the Almighty God for succour. The defunct Northern Nigerian motto of “**work and worship**” is most apt today.

The Nigerian Constitution opens with “*We the people of Nigeria under one God ...*” Nigerian leaders take their oaths of office holding the Qur'an or the Bible in their hands and at the end saying, “*so help me God*”. The internationally renowned American researcher and scholar on Religion, Mr Samuel P. Huntington, asserts on page 91 of his book, “Who Are We?” that, “*more than 91% of the Nigerian population affirms strong religiosity*”. Nigeria is reputed to have more Mosques and more Churches (from grandeur to ramshackle ones) than any other country in the World. Therefore, Nigeria is a **multi-religious** Nation that believes in the One Allah-God of Muhammad (SAW) and Jesus (AS).

With a multi-religious status, the Nigerian government must make Religious Knowledge compulsory at least up to Secondary School level and entrench the love, understanding and respect of the two major Religions of Christianity and Islam by both Muslims and Christians. Nigerians must repent to Allah-God for their sins to be atoned and must truly serve Him as He ordained; and sincerely work hard in their chosen professions for the fight against corruption to succeed. For Allah-God to answer Muslim and Christian prayers, they must be religiously conscious, love one

Corruption As A National Security Challenge: Which Way Out?

another, change their bad habits for good ones and above all work hard!

Many Verses of the Glorious Qur'an and the teachings of Prophet Muhammad (SAW); and many Verses of the Holy Bible and the teachings of Jesus Christ (AS) support these assertions.

The Glorious Qur'an states, "*Verily, Allah will not change the condition of a people as long as they do not change their state (of affairs) themselves*". (Qur'an 13:11).

The Holy Bible states, "*Faith by itself, if it is not accompanied by action, is dead*" (James 2:17).

So, Nigeria's religiosity must be put into practice, as Allah-God will never grant Nigeria the much desired POSITIVE CHANGE until and unless Nigerians change their negative attitudes, acts and actions into positive ones. Nigerians must sit up and **condemn and eradicate corruption at governmental, private and public levels**; otherwise this monster shall continue to devour the Nation. No more, no less!

I would like to conclude by saying that, when (not if) the fight against corruption is ultimately won, by the grace of Allah, what shall be beyond it will be a Nigeria that is safe, secure, peaceful, stable, rich, endowed, progressive, developed - in short A NIGERIA THAT IS A PARADISE ON EARTH! **Thank you for listening and may God Bless.**

REFERENCES

1. Guardian Newspaper (April 4, 2005) *"Tafa Balogun in cuffs, faces 70 fraud charges"*
2. Leadership Newspaper (27th May 2008) *"Nigeria: Ehindero Opens Up On N557 Million Arms Fund"*
3. Morris, Stephen D. (1991), *Corruption and Politics in Contemporary Mexico*, University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa
4. Nigerian Vanguard Newspaper, 10th May, 2016
5. Premium Times (11th August, 2015), *ICPC indicts Okiro-led PSC, orders body to refund N145m*
6. Premium Times (8th August 2015); *"Multibillion naira contract scam rocks NDDC"*
7. Premium Times (February 2016 and national Pilot Newspaper March 14th 2016), *Corruption: Judges, SANs in troubled waters*
8. Premium Times (February 26th 2016); *Former EFCC chair, Lamorde, goes to school despite Senate arrest warrant*
9. Premium Times (June 21, 2016); *Senators tackle Buhari over Saraki, Ekweremadu 'forgery' charges*
10. Premium Times, June 12th 2016.
11. Premium Times, May 31st, 2015
12. Reuters (6 February 2015). *Special Report: Anatomy of Nigeria's \$20 billion Leak.*
13. Sahara Reporters (18 June 2015). *NNPC/NEITI And Missing \$11.6Bn NLNG Dividends: Another One For Buhari's In-tray*
By Ifeanyi Izeze
14. Sahara Reporters (December 21, 2015) *Court Of Appeal President Sacks Panel Of Judges Over Corruption*
15. Stamford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy (2011),
16. Transparency International Corruption Perception Index, 2015
17. United Nations Handbook on Practical Anti-Corruption Measures For Prosecutors and Investigators.

Corruption As A National Security Challenge: Which Way Out?

18. Vanguard Newspaper (12 June 2015). *"N1.9bn Ebola fund scam: Ministry staff stop arrest of officials"*. Retrieved 2 July 2016
19. Vanguard Newspaper, July 14th 2015, *Okonjo-Iweala took \$1billion for Jonathan's re-election bid- Oshiomhole*
20. Vanguard Newspaper, LAGOS, 7th December, 2014, *The Gospel According to St. Obasanjo*
21. Wikipedia, the free encyclopaedia: CORRUPTION
22. www.africaoilgasreport.com: (2nd July, 2016); *Looking Beyond Diezani Tenure*
23. www.aguntasolo.com. (29th April 2015); *This Yam, This Goat, This Country; PwC on NNPC*
24. www.bbc.com, (November 23, 2011); *Nigeria's anti-corruption chief Farida Waziri sacked*
25. www.bbc.com, 11th May 2016
26. www.punchng.com/news/efcc-quizzes-ex-nimasa-dg-for-fraud
27. www.punchng.com/news/oil-worth-13-7bn-stolen-under-nnpc-says-neiti
28. www.transparency.org