

CORRUPTION AND THE QUEST FOR GOOD GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

Corruption is a global phenomenon. It is not an exclusive problem of any State or Society; neither has it just reared its head in Nigeria. What is however worrisome is the alarming rate it has assumed and the threat it poses to good governance and nation-building. It is so pervasive that it is serving as a clog in the wheel of the nation's development. There are serious limitations and frustration on the part of anti corruption agencies as evident in handling of corruption related cases coupled with lack of political will to arresting the malaise at all levels of government. The paper sees an inverse relationship between corruption and good governance. It frowns at the accommodation and celebration by Nigerians of corrupt persons. It calls for a concerted effort at addressing the flu as the global perception of Nigeria in the comity of Nations poses a challenge as well as a limit to her inter-state relations.

Key words: Corruption, Good governance, Nation-building, underdevelopment.

“The accomplice to the crime of corruption is frequently our own indifference” Bess Myerson (First Jewish Miss America)

Introduction

There is a scourge bedeviling our nation and the source everyone knows is Corruption (EFCC,2010). It has remained the major obstacle to the emergence of a just society. The degree of systemic and pervasive corruption in the country has continually drifted the nation into an abyss of poor institutional and infrastructural decadence. It is perhaps the major explanatory factor for the deepening poverty and worsening insecurity in the country.

Adamolekun, (2013) submits that strong linkage of corruption to poverty and underdevelopment that is extensively documented in the development literature makes fighting corruption in Nigeria a priority concern for all those who would like the country to achieve two of our national goals that have eluded us since we articulated them in the 1970-1974 Second National developed Plan: (i) a great and dynamic economy and (ii) a land of bright and full opportunity for all citizens”(Ibid.p2)

The reality of corruption in Nigeria is that it is a wall-to-wall phenomenon, blanketing and smoldering every aspect of the country’s socio-economic life (ACID). But in spite of its centrality to the nation’s political life and its ubiquity in all other social transactions, it is perhaps by design, consensus or ignorance a spectral presence, lacking the necessary mass to permit a forceful and physical engagement.

Indeed as some people are wont to say “Corruption has been democratised in Nigeria (Vanguard, 2013). It is appalling to see us carrying on as a nation that is promoting corruption and glaringly deficient in enviable national character and general moral rectitude. Corruption runs through our social strata and most unfortunately, our youths have caught the bug. This is the more reason why the problem is putting the future of the country at stake.

It may then be borne out of sympathy and pity that Transparency International(TI), the global coalition against corruption based on its report said that the Corruption Perception Index (CPI) placed Nigeria 139th out of 176 countries surveyed, a position she shares with Azerbaijan, Kenya, Nepal, and Pakistan (Punch,2013) while Togo, Mali, Niger and Benin fared better than Nigeria. The report submits that Nigeria got 27 out of maximum 100 marks to clinch the position.

Corroborating the depth of corruption in Nigeria and attitudes of Nigerians, the United States in its reports said that Government Officials and Agencies frequently engage in corrupt practices with impunity. In its Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labour country reports on Human Rights practices for 2012, released, the judiciary and security agencies especially the police were said to be lacking in transparency. The report read in part.... the law provides criminal penalties for official corruption; however, the government did not implement the law effectively and officials frequently engaged in corrupt practices with

impunity. Massive, widespread and pervasive corruption affected all levels of government and the security forces (Punch, 2013)

Highlighting events that occurred in the country last year that portrayed lack of transparency and probity, the report listed the escape of the suspected mastermind of the Boko Haram 2011 Christmas Day bombing from custody, noting how the police commissioner who aided the suspect went unpunished, the conviction of former Delta State governor, James Ibori in the Southwark Crown Court in London of charges of money laundering and other financial crimes totaling ₦12.4billion, after he was acquitted by a Nigerian Court and the ₦1.067trillion fuel subsidy fund lost to “endemic corruption and entrenched inefficiency” as examples.

It stated further that, “in July, the government released a list of those who had benefited illegally from the subsidy programme which included relatives and colleagues of key government officials. In late July, the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) began arraigning suspects, first with a group of twenty indictments including six oil companies and eleven individuals. By year’s end, the EFCC initiated prosecutions of approximately fifty cases related to the subsidy scam. The majority of these cases involved companies and individuals who had fraudulently received subsidy revenue. Investigations and trials had not produced any convictions by year’s end”. The report faulted failure of President Jonathan to declare his assets from 2007 to 2012 and equally rated the anti-corruption efforts of the Independent corrupt Practices and other related offences Commission (ICPC) and EFCC as “largely ineffectual”, adding that despite ICPC’s wide mandate, it had only achieved sixty convictions since its inauguration in 2000.

It also listed a number of cases being handled by the EFCC that have remained inconclusive, including the case of alleged misappropriation of ₦1bn against former speaker of the House of Representatives, Dimeji Bankole and ₦40bn against his deputy Usman Nafada; and cases against four former Governors, Gbenga Daniel, Adebayo Alao-Akala, Aliyu Akwe Dome, and Muhammed Danjuma Goje, for allegedly misappropriating ₦58bn, ₦25bn, ₦18bn, and ₦12.8bn, respectively (Ibid p3)

In an excursion into this work, one may borrow a leaf from Muhammed Jubril that “the term Nigerian factor, a term which appeared to have found its way into public discourse in Nigeria when the then Vice President of the Republic, Late Admiral Augustus Aikhomu used it publicly in the late 1980s, has come to mean, unfortunately, corruption, nepotism, dishonesty, fraud and anything that is negative in our national life (Jibril, 2010)

Conceptual Clarification-Corruption

Corruption has recently been the subject of substantial theorizing and empirical research, and this has produced a bewildering array of alternative approaches, explanations, typologies and remedies.(www.proshareng.com) Literature is awash with cacophony of voices and postulation arising from meaning of the terminology as it has no uniform definition. This is because what is regarded as corruption depends on the actors, the profiteers, initiators, how and where it takes place. It also depends on the existing laws and regulations guiding certain actions. Some climes define corruption in the widest form while others legislated on the narrow definition of the term. The socio-cultural context and the time dimensions also make a universal definition sometimes unacceptable.

Owing to its fluidity and the changing nature of the concept, the United Nations (UN) has adopted a descriptive approach and criminalization of the act to describe what act is corrupt. The UN clearly highlighted bribery, embezzlement, illicit enrichment, abuse of office, laundering of proceeds of corruption, obstruction of justice, etc. as corrupt acts (Ibid)

The World Bank (Ibid) defines corruption as “the abuse of public power for private benefit”¹³. The Transparency International (TI) defined it as “the abuse of entrusted power for private gain”.

The Independent Corrupt Practice Commission (ICPC Act, 2000), defines corrupt acts to include “bribery, fraud and other related offences”

The vision 2010 Committee defines corruption as “all those improper actions or transactions aimed at changing the normal course of events, judgments and position of trust”(op cit) Corruption is perceived as “any decision, act or conduct that subverts the integrity of people in authority or effectiveness in performing its assigned roles” Lodge, (1998) sees it as “acts that are intentionally dishonest” Put differently, it is the “unsanctioned or unscheduled use of

public resources for private ends”(Levine,1975) which might take the form of non-performance or neglect of a recognized duty, or the unwarranted exercise of power with the motive of gaining some advantages more or less directly personal (Brooks,1992)

Webster’s Dictionary described the word “corrupt” as depraved, changed from a sound to a putrid state, dishonest, open to bribery, not genuine, to pervert, to defile, make wicked, to falsify, to bribe, while the lectrick law library’s lexicon sees corruption as an act done with an intent to give some advantage inconsistent with official duty and the rights of others. It includes bribery, but is more comprehensive; because an act may be corruptly done, though the advantage to be derived from it be not offered by another.

Saul Alinsky has this to say:

“Life is a corrupting process from the time a child learns to play his mother off against his father in the politics of when to go to bed; he who fears corruption fears life”(Kumuyi,2012)

Alan Doig and Robin Theobald aver (Ige, 2001), that the diverse manifestations of corrupt transactions have been identified as ranging from acceptance of money or other rewards for awarding contracts, violations of procedures to advance personal interest, including kick-backs from development programmes or multinational corporations, pay-offs for legislative support, and the diversion of public resources for private use, to overlooking illegal activities or intervening in the justice process. Forms of corruption also include nepotism, common theft, overpricing, establishing non-existing projects, payroll padding, and tax collection and tax assessment frauds.

It appears that because of the negative spirits and the spread of corruption in Nigeria, one is tempted to align with Aluko because of its near total capturing:

“Corruption now appears to have become a permanent feature of the Nigerian polity. It had become completely institutionalized, entered into the realm of culture and the value-system; it is now a norm and no longer an aberration. The young ones are born into it, grow up in it, live with it, and possibly die in it. The aged are not left out as they are re-socialized and begin to conform to it” (Aluko, 2002)

Good Governance

There is no single and exhaustive definition of “good governance”, nor is there a delimitation of its scope, that commands universal acceptance. The term is used with great flexibility; this is an advantage, but also a source of some difficulty at the operational level. Depending on the context and the overriding objective sought, good governance has been said at various times to encompass: full respect of human rights, the rule of law, effective participation, multi-actor partnerships, political pluralism, transparent and accountable process and institutions, an efficient and effective public sector, legitimacy, access to knowledge, information and education, political empowerment of people, equity, sustainability, and attitudes and values that foster responsibility, solidarity and tolerance.(UNHR)

However, there is a significant degree of consensus that good governance relates to political and institutional process and outcomes that are deemed necessary to achieve the goals of development. It has been said that good governance is the process whereby public institutions conduct public affairs, manage public resources and guarantee the realization of human rights in a manner essentially free of abuse and corruption, and with due regard for the rule of law. The true test of “good governance is the degree to which it delivers on the promise of human rights: civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights (Ibid).

UNDP sees good governance as “the exercise of economic, political, and administrative authority to manage a country’s affairs at all levels. It comprises mechanisms, processes and institutions, through which citizens and groups articulate their interest, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations, and mediate their differences.

Why Corruption Remains Unabated in Nigeria

A major plank of this paper is an attempt to see how people now see corruption. It is viewed as a rewarding venture as convicts are being celebrated and pardoned, coupled with the lackadaisical handling of corruption related issues and lack of political will by the government to curb corruption. Adeniran Adelokun sees it all when he opined that:

“Our society worships people of means. And it does not matter how this wealth is acquired, he may have been an armed robber, a drug pusher, ritualistic, or even a corrupt government official, that would not matter to us. All that we care about is that he brings some of his loot

back into the community for us to benefit from. And when he is caught in the act, we do everything to see him go without punishment (Punch, 2013).

Nigerians are united in celebrating obvious corruption as we are united in protecting the corrupt from being punished. Late Chinua Achebe's *No Longer at Ease* aptly captures the scenario (Ibid). It may not be out of place to postulate that Nigerians now see it as criminal if you are not involved in corruption in one way or the other. It seems as if you will be arrested by not being corrupt. This is the pathetic situation the country finds itself. In his comment in Abuja, the chairman of Nigerian Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (NEITI) Ledon Mitee, argued that Nigeria has laws strong enough to combat the menace but there is no strong leadership to bring culprits to book, and a lack of capacity by the implementing agencies (Mitee). He puts it differently and vividly thus:

“Some very possible reasons the problems have remained stagnant are: the institutions are weak in terms of capacity, funding and coordination and leadership at all levels is yet to generally talk true talk and walk the talk, as well as the need for a concerted effort in ensuring synergy in the operations of anti-corruption agencies”(Ibid)

Cases abound in Nigeria that lend credence to the thriving nature of corruption. The case of Chief Olabode George, former Chairman of Nigeria Post Authority, who was convicted for misappropriation of fund is exemplary. After serving his jail term which many believe was not proportional to the weight of the offence, he was given a rousing welcome by people in colourful uniform all in the name of thanksgiving. The act was shocking to his elsewhere mentor, Chief Obasanjo, who thought thanksgiving should be equated with remorse, rethink, rebirth and sober reflection. It is the same Bode George who is strategically angling himself for plum positions in the scheme of things come 2015.

Similarly, the granting of state pardon to former Bayelsa state governor, chief Diepreye alamieyeseigha which attracted criticisms from both within and without, many say is like giving National Honour to an opprobrious situation. The case of Lawan and Otedola that is on-going but almost dying a natural death, the Babalakin Saga, the Akingbola drama, pension scan issue, security and Exchange Commission, the Elemelu incidence and a host of other

serious cases involving political office holders across the country summarizes and perhaps account for how corruption is handled in Nigeria.

More revealing and strange is the issue of donation to President Jonathan's hometown Church-St. Stephen's Anglican Deanery and Youth development Center, Otuoke, totaling around N6bn. Bugaje observed that "it is the height of irresponsibility and insensitivity to spend public funds on such frivolities just because the president is involved (Nation, 2013). What are the sources of this money? It is surely from a comprador and cartel arrangement masquerading as businessmen or loyalists of Jonathan positioning themselves in the looting game.

One would have thought that while acknowledging that corruption is not new in Nigeria and not peculiar to Nigeria alone, the President would have hearkened to voices revealing the sorry state of the country. "But a greater tragedy is that when the matter is raised either by Nigerians or outsiders, the official response is one of denial or combative defence instead of a dignified silence or better still, a solemn resolve to do something about the cankerworm" (Guardian,2013)

Inspite of President Jonathan's declaration repeatedly to fight corruption, "the Presidency warned Nigerians to be wary of the assessment and described the state department reports as "parachute researches limited by absence of any knowledge of the country and its affairs" (Ibid)

Corruption as Albatross to Good Governance

Aside the corruption perception index earlier mentioned in this work, at the turn of the new millennium, the World Bank described Nigeria as a study in contradiction "so rich, yet so poor indeed, (Supra opcit) this short but well coined phrase is apt as it speaks volume of the Nigerian situation. For a country that has over the years earned billions of dollars from crude oil, the inequitable distribution of wealth among its teeming population continues to stun the world. The political elite, the ruling class and a privileged few live in abundance while majority wallow in poverty and squalor. The contradiction is directly linked to corruption. (Ibid) The resource that ought to have been marshalled to providing basic comfort for the citizenry has been cornered by the ruling elite. The impact of such looting on economic

development is staggering as it poses a threat to good governance. It goes to say that corruption and good governance are inextricably linked.

“Today, as never before, the level of criminal activities in our country is on the ascendancy. Bare-faced looting of public treasury; fuel subsidy and pension scams, money laundering, economic crimes of all sorts, oil bunkering. Kidnapping, cold-blooded murder and massacre as well as grand and petty corruption are now common occurrences” (Daily Post, 2013)

They are committed with recklessness and impurity.

“The result is that our nation, which should have been the pride of the black race, has been reduced to a pariah nation and in a state of utter helplessness. The security of life and property can no longer be guaranteed. We are on the precipice of the predicted failed state” (Ibid)

It is disturbing particularly so when the leadership of the country is not doing anything tangible in the face of bare-faced corruption.

“The end result is that the nation begins to drift and slide dangerously down the slippery road of economic ruination. In the process, there is a general desecration of societal and normative values, low level of performance in both socio-economic and technological developments and ultimately a petrifying decadence, the stench of which often puts off or prevent other nations, with a record of transparency and probity from wanting to interact or do business with a corrupt nation”(Ibid)

Put differently, one may equally ask the question: What are the costs of corruption? Corruption impacts societies in a multitude of ways. In the worst cases, it costs lives. Short of this, it costs people their freedom, health, or money.

* On the political front, corruption is a major obstacle to democracy and the rule of law. In a democratic system, offices and institutions lose their legitimacy why they are misused for private advantage. This is harmful in established democracies, but even more so in newly emerging ones. It is extremely challenging to develop accountable political leadership in a corrupt climate.

* Economically, corruption depletes national wealth, corrupt politicians invest scarce public resources in projects that will line their pockets rather than benefit communities, and

prioritise high-profile projects such as dams, power plants, pipelines and refineries over less spectacular but mere urgent infrastructure projects such as schools, hospitals and roads. Corruption also hinders the development of fair market structures and distorts competition, which in turn deters investment.

* Corruption corrodes the social fabric of society. It undermines people's trust in the political system, in its institutions and its leadership. A distrustful or apathetic public can then become yet another hurdle to challenging corruption.

* Environmental degradation is another consequence of corrupt systems. The lack of, or non-enforcement of, environmental regulations and legislation means that natural resources are carelessly exploited and entire ecological systems are ravaged. From mining, to logging, to carbon offsets, companies across the globe continue to pay bribes in return for unrestricted destruction (T I)

On 21st November, 1864, Abraham Lincoln wrote a letter to a certain Colonel F. William Elkins and stated that:

“I see in the near future a crisis approaching that unnerves me and causes me to tremble for the safety of my country ... corruptions have been enthroned and an era of corruption in high places will follow, and the money power of the country will endeavour to prolong its reign until all wealth is aggregated in a few hands and the Republic is destroyed”
(Op Cit P.4)

Addressing the same issue but speaking differently, Denis Diderot in his book, “observations on the Drawing up of Law”, (1921) remarked that:

“In a country where talent and virtue produce no advancement, money will be the national god. Its inhabitants will either have to possess money or make others believe that they do. Wealth will be the highest virtue, poverty the greatest vice. Those who have money will display it in every imaginable way. If their orientation does not exceed their future they will ruin themselves. In such a country, the greatest fortunes will vanish in the twinkling of an eye. Those who don't have money will ruin themselves with vain efforts to conceal their poverty. That is one kind of affluence: the outward sign of wealth for a small member, the mask of poverty for the majority, and a source of corruption for all” (Op Cit P.5)

Stemming the Tide of Corruption in Nigeria

“The task of fighting corruption and of developing the nation is the responsibility of all Nigerians, but the greater burden lies on the nation’s leadership. Therefore, let the President, Governors, political leaders, politicians, top civil/public servants, our Emirs, Obas and Obis lead by example and be in the vanguard of the struggle to eliminate corruption or reduce it to tolerable level”(Op Cit)

It is disheartening, unfortunate and worrisome that the heinous crime is being condoned by political leadership as many indicted and accused public office holders are walking free and now power-brokers in the nation. The two established bodies – ICPC and EFCC can at best be described as weak because of manifold reasons such as delay in court cases, operational problem and lack of political will.

Put differently, if you properly articulate the level of corruption and its general acceptance or docile reactions in our dear country-Nigeria, you will agree with me that the first ready attitude of the heart in any attempt to tackle it is to fail initially and then gradually rise to condemnation and finally ask that all should be left to God (Echenna, 2012). That God wants us out of this self-inflicted poisonous situation cannot be over-emphasized, but we need to match our disdain for this menace with actions articulated to produce some long term change in the psyche of the coming generation (Ibid). The late Professor Achebe once said that keeping an average Nigerian from being corrupt is like keeping a goat from eating yam (Ibid). The corollary of the above is that corruption poses a daunting challenge but not insurmountable, just that it will require serious determination on the part of everybody.

“Corruption is a big issue in the country today as in other parts of the World like Russia, China and others, but why are they eradicating poverty and Nigeria isn’t? It is not just corruption. It is the kind of failed interventions that are procured with the proceeds of corruption” (Vanguard, 2013)

It is innate in man to take advantage of other and the society where such an adventurer will not be apprehended (Supra Op cit p.12). Every Nigerian must be sensitized on the need to be part of the fight against corruption. It must be a clarion call and a concerted effort as explained by structural functionalism theory as any deficient part or malfunctioning part can

create problem for the whole system. Corruption must be made repulsive and structures put in place must be strengthened. The unnecessary selective approach in the fight as witnessed in the past must be jettisoned. Donald T. Regan has this to say:

“We do so many things at the federal level that would be considered dishonest and illegal if done in the private sector” (New York Times,1986)

Ray Davies is reported to have lamented that:

“Money and corruption are ruining the land, Crooked politicians betray the working man, pocketing the profits and treating us like sheep And we are tired of hearing promises that we know they’ll never keep”(Supra Op cit P.13)

John Fletcher in his play “The Honest Man’s Fortune” posits that:

“Corruption is a tree, whose branches are of an Immeasurable length, they spread everywhere; and the dew that drops from thence hath reflected some chairs and stools of authority (Supra Op cit PP.12&13)

Eduard Shevardnaze in his own observation remarked thus:

“Corruption has its own motivations, and one has to thoroughly study that phenomenon and eliminate the foundations that allow corruption to exist” (Supra Op cit P.14)

Complaining about the House of Representatives of the United States of America, Andrew Jackson bellyached when he said:

“I weep for the liberty of my country when I see at this early day of its successful experienced that corruption has been imputed to many members Of the House of Representatives, and the rights of people have been battered for promises of office.”(Supra Op cit P.14)

Some of the quotes about corruption above are from supposedly advanced countries showing pitiful nature of corruption at one time or the other. However, it captured their disdain for corruption but Jhurry Muhammed Anas prescription may sound applicable when he stated that:

“An uncorrupted individual in a corrupted system will finally end up being corrupted himself except and unless he is constantly fighting against the corruption.”(Supra Opcit P.14)

Tackling Nigeria’s corruption monster in a systemic manner would require the president taking on the role of supreme anti-corruption champion – this is the lesson from almost every

country that has achieved or is achieving low corruption. (Supra Op cit P.3) Singapore and Botswana have achieved it, and Brazil is convincingly engaged on that path. The admissions by President Jonathan won't be damning in any form, but could mean either the driver in charge of the vehicle is sleeping and straying from the major way or that some parts of the vehicle have developed faults. An overhauling of the vehicle – an appraisal of the whole system, to prepare for the long and tortuous journey-tackling corruption head-on is a must. We must begin as a people to do a practical appraisal of our resolve to collectively tackle this deadly flu by giving attention to the corrupt practices traceable in our immediate domains.

There have been various means being adopted by various countries to solving the problem of corruption. However, for the purpose of combating corruption in Nigeria and make it adaptable to suit the local prevailing situation, the following are suggested:

* **Formal, informal and non-formal Education** – The greatest vehicle for cultural transmission towards a transformation of prevailing social paradigm is education. In its formal form, the curriculum of learning must be overhauled to re-educate citizens on the danger of corruption and that real living occurs when individuals have sound moral values, or at least, consistently and seriously aspire to it. The various orientation agencies such National Orientation Agency (NOA), governmental and non-governmental bodies should be part of this orientation and re-orientation drive.

* **Religion as a nation-building institution** – Nigerians listens to their spiritual leaders, much more than they do politicians and policy makers. The pulpit ought to be mobilized as a knowledge and faith-based platform for reaching the souls of Nigerians and in directing them towards the evil of corruption.

* **Strengthening of anti-graft Institutions** – Strong anti-graft Institutions are a necessity in the fight against corruption, not only in Nigeria but also anywhere in the World. Credible and determined individuals should be appointed to head such agencies, given the necessary support with strong political will. The judiciary equally as a partner has a rescuing role.

* **Economic growth** – Poverty breeds vice(s). Nigeria should embark on not just the deceptive increment in Gross Domestic Product ((GDP), but real development in terms of standard of living, health, education, food security and infrastructural growth must be given prominence. If the gap between the rich and poor is reduced, people can be discouraged pursuing wealth and becoming greedy.

*** Promoting of Inter-Ethnic relations** – There is a deep rooted animosity that was ignited by colonialism which established tussle for power among tribes and creating a condition of rabid competition for the nation’s resources. Nothing is seen as bad in the pursuit of this agenda. The spirit of brotherliness must be preached so as to tolerate ourselves and fight the common enemy – corruption which impedes nation-building.

CONCLUSION

Corruption in Nigeria cannot be exclusively seen as a problem of leadership considering the nature and life style of the average Nigeria citizen by way of silent contribution and partial or proper involvement has tacitly, overtly or covertly endorsed the act of corruption. The menace of corruption stands between our nation and the attainment of its potentials. The fate of our country is too important to be left in the hands of the few citizens presently at the helm of affairs of our political structures and the anti corruption organizations. We are obviously in too much of a hurry to realize that every act of corruption that we engineer or allow to dictate to us destroys a milestone in the future of our collective psyche. We are our own greatest enemies. It seems all attempts to solving the problem of corruption in Nigeria have not yielded much fruit. While calling on us to resolve collectively by going back to the basis which is the family where everyone comes from, I will borrow a leave in the final submission from Winston Churchill’s words:

“I say to you as I said to the Ministers who have joined this government, I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears and sweat. We have before us an ordeal of the most grievous kind; we have before us many months of struggles and sufferings. You ask what our policy is. I say it is to wage war by land, by sea and air. War with all our might and with all the strength God has given us and to wage war against a monstrous tyranny never surpassed in the dark and lamentable catalogue of human crime, that is our policy. You ask what is our aim, I can answer in one word, it is victory however long and hard the road may be for without victory there is no survival”)

It suffices to say that there is urgent need for a rethink, rebirth and new spirit by turning crusaders to salvaging the orgy of corruption. It must equally be made a National Anthem if at all we hope for a better future as the saying goes “if you want peace, prepare for war”.

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