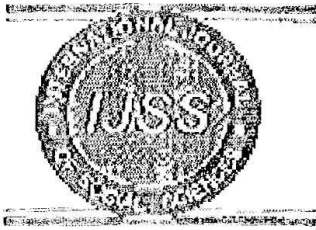


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**CORRUPTION AND LEADERSHIP IN NIGERIA:
THE BANES OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT**

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ABSTRACT

Nigeria is a nation blessed with abundant human and natural resources. Harnessing such rich resources towards national development has for quite sometime been a matter of serious national concern. It is generally agreed that one of the banes of national development has always been poor, corrupt and insensitive leadership in managing and harnessing the full potentials of men and materials of this nation for the good of all. Despite the fact that so many measures have been put in place to check this ugly development very little has been achieved to checkmate its epidemic dimension and cushion its effects on national development. The study attempts to identify some of the factors that promote corruption and tend to impede generation and appearance of altruistic leaders in the country and proposes that national development will show greater success only when selfless and proactive leadership is cultivated through promotion of nationalism.

INTRODUCTION

Nigeria is a nation blessed with both human and natural resources. With a population in excess of hundred and sixty-seven (167) million people, according to recent data released by the National Population Commission (NPC) and approximate

land mass of one million square kilometers, suitable for commercial agriculture and abundant solid minerals, largely untapped, prides itself as the most populous Black Country in the world. It is Ranked among the top ten crude oil and natural gas exporters in the world by the Vienna, Austria-based organization of petroleum exporting countries, (OPEC), with daily crude oil output of 2.2 million barrels per day (Mbpd), and a total of 32.8 cubic metres of natural gas daily. Nigeria has a gross domestic product of (GDP) of \$ 248 billion, while her GDP per Capita is \$ 1,600, which when adjusted for purchasing power parity (PPP), would be about \$ 2,400 per annum.

Most regrettably in spite of the large resources at its disposal no appreciable effort is made to lay a solid foundation for national development. If there is anything that Nigerians of all walks of life are worried about it, is the fact that Nigeria has a stunted growth. Countries such as Malaysia and Indonesia, and many others that were at the same developmental level with her in the 60s during the peak of the decolonization process, have since gone far ahead on the human, material and infrastructural development scales. In contrast, Nigeria, the most populous black nation in the world, appears to be on a steady decline and decay. Since many of the developed nations of the world, as well as those currently making giant strides among the 'third world' countries, are not as much endowed as Nigeria in terms of natural resources, a lot of analysts have concluded that the real problem Nigeria lies especially with those piloting the affairs of the country.

The effects of years of corrupt leadership by recessive administrations are glaringly manifested in different ranking of Nigeria in corruption scale. In 2000 Nigeria was rated as the most corrupt nation in the world out of a total of 90 countries. In 2001 Nigeria was ranked the second most corrupt nation out of a total of all 91 countries assessed. In 2002 Nigeria retained its number two position as the most corrupt country out of a total of 102 , in 2003 Nigeria was ranked as the most corrupt country out of a total of 133 and in 2005 the country was ranked number six out of 186 countries surveyed. The country has experienced high rate of poverty and unemployment, as well as conspicuous wide gap between the rich and the poor, which is a clear

indication of an unequal distribution of scarce resources within these nations. Nwogu (1995) wrote that the alarming rate at which poverty and unemployment increases in Nigeria, notwithstanding the well thought out national development plans by successive administrations in Nigeria goes to suggest that Nigeria is far from experiencing any form of national development. Scholars have also made numerous contributions regarding the slow rate of development in the country. All tend to attribute its slow rate of development to corruption and poor leadership. Leadership in Nigeria has been laced with corruption, nepotism and greed. This is evidenced in the wanton looting of the nation's treasury and the skeletal implementation of policies in the county. The result is that Nigerians go about in empty stomach; youths remain unemployed and decadence of social infrastructure.

Conceptual Issues

A person who exerts special influence over a number of people, in virtue of position, special and superior traits which he possesses above others, is a leader. Leadership is defined as a way of simulating and motivating subordinates to accomplish assigned tasks (Robert 1977). Leadership is the aspects of influencing people to strive willingly for the achievement of group objectives and it is a dynamic group relationship whose focus is solely on motivation and directing a group towards the achievement of a set goal. Agreeing with Okozu (2004) viewed leadership as process of influencing group activities towards goal-setting and goal achievement. It involves the use of non-cosines influence to shape a group or organization goals, motivate behaviour towards the achievement of those goals and help define group or organization culture. From charismatic point of view Zattman (1979) defined leadership as an expression of innate quality and trait that makes an individual a leader. In the words of Idike leadership has to do with the ability to take initiative to motivate, to influence, to direct, and to control the thoughts, the opinions, and actions of the people in any given society towards the achievement of any desired end. Simply puts, leadership causes things to happen either for the benefit or detriment of the group involved. In this context it

refers to powerful group of individuals who manned the nation's power structure

Corruption like leadership has no uniform definition. This is so 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. Accordingly Odekunle maintained that although the ubiquity of corruption is acknowledged, its magnitude and character are defined by different social and cultural contexts and time dimensions.. Everybody believes he knows what corruption is and what it is all about. This false claim makes those who themselves involve in corrupt practices to boldly and openly condemn others who involve in corruption of other forms. Accordingly, Umoh (1981:6) says "part of this confusion arises from the fact that opinions differ about the concept of corruption just as the attitudes of people also do towards the practice of corruption itself. What some people regard as corrupt practices are considered acceptable and fair dealings by others."As a result of the fluidity and the evolving 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. The World Bank (1997) defines corruption as "the abuse of public power for private benefit". The Transparency International (TI) defined it as "the abuse of entrusted power for private gain". Mushtaq Khan (1996) views corruption as the "behaviour that deviates from the formal rules of conduct governing the action of someone in position of public authority because of private motives such as wealth, power or status".

The Independent Corrupt Practices 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". Arnold (1978) says "corruption is most usually taken to mean the receiving or offering of money or other clear advantages in return for contracts, not being obliged to

discharge an obligation, obtaining a job for which one is not qualified, sidestepping justice, leaping ahead of a queue, and so on." Broadly speaking, corruption is anything done to influence another in order to take undue advantage of certain situations.

The other phrase national development is based on improved quality of standards of living at national level manifested through the realization of higher levels of civilization (Ake, 1996:125); control over productive forces (Anikpo, 1984); reduction in the rates of poverty, unemployment and inequality (Seer, 1970); access to basic social amenities (electricity, potable water, etc) institutionalization of democracy (the South Commission Report, 1993), advanced infrastructural development, enhanced education and improved productivity (Onuoha, 1999). Leadership and corruption play major role on nation development.

Theoretical Framework

Corruption among the ruling class and its effect on national development is to be understood from dialectical materialistic standpoint. It contends that the root cause of corruption in Nigeria can only be properly located in the socio-political economic system, which is based on the search for private gains, individualism, greed, materialism and the large – scale transfer of socially created wealth into the hand of a tiny fraction of a parasitic ruling class. In line with this Graf (1988) maintain that the possession of political power or access to government funds thus represented the sine qua non for the good life: status, security, honours, benefits and, above all, wealth. Since wealth was largely a function of government office, Smythe (1962) argued that politics centred around competition for top positions, and political activities were geared to gaining access to state power and the allocation of revenue and the patronage connected with it. Conclusively, the materialist approach therefore, believes that as long as the underdeveloped countries continue to operate a neo-colonial dependent capitalist system, corruption will continue to be the bane of fundamental transformation of the socio-economic system in favour of the oppressed and less privileged majority.

The Types and Origin of Corruption

Aluko (2008) had identified different types of corruption to include disobedience to laws and to constituted authority, electoral corruption, moral corruption, and financial corruption. He, however, maintained that though corruption of any form is detrimental to national development, today, the worldwide emphasis on corruption is centered on financial corruption and its ascribed debilitating effects on economic development of the poor nations of the world. Its essence is bribery and illegal and greedy acquisition of public funds into private pockets, which otherwise would have been invested for the public good.

Authors who write on corruption or touch some aspects of corruption in their writing tend to agree that this social cancer was planted in the Nigerian public life by colonial administration. Among them are Lacville (1991) Chinweigu (1978) Nkrumah (1978) and McMullan (1964). They maintained that all sorts of corruption ranging from kickback, over-invoicing, bribery, unfair rewards to embezzlement were imported to Nigeria by the colonialists and foreigners. Nkrumah (1978:141) urged "bribery and corruption which had been part and parcel of the colonial set-up must be stamped out."

Factors that Promote Corruption

There are also factors that promote corruption in Nigeria. Ambition is one of them. Accepting this fact George (1989) explained that Nigerian worker must strive to build houses buy cars look after his health and that of his family, trains his children, and so forth. In discharging these functions, he hardly receives assistance from the government or employer. Yet his income level is very low to his day to day requirements. The thought of the future ordinarily drives him to engage in corrupts and other fraudulent practices if and when opportunity occurs. The social habit of marrying several wives, having many children and keeping concubines promotes corruption. George (1989) asserted that the demand for a large family and the pressures from extended family and concubines drive the weak-hearted to commit corruption.

The culture introduced to the African by the white recognizes only the rich no matter how he acquired the wealth. This compels society to ignore the means to the end even if the rich occupies a position of public trust. It is this kind of person that is singled out for honour, praise and recognition. He is hailed when he donates big money at social gatherings or when he lavishes ill-gotten money at the religious functions, and at the public place, whereas in African tradition such people were outcasts. In this regard, Umoh (1981:12) said, "ethic and morality are for the dogs. Those who amass wealth by thievery, cheating, trickery, robbery, burglary, bribery, embezzlement and all sorts of traditionally unapproved or corrupt means are accorded the greatest respect in our society. They are among the first to be chosen as leaders and representatives of the people. They are among the chairmen and occupants of the high tables at our social and religious functions." In recent time some of the most corrupt leaders in the country were accorded national honours and awards. It is not uncommon to see corrupt individuals being selected for a string of chieftaincy titles. Important streets, schools, hospitals and public institutions are named after them. On the other hand the innocent but poor workers are derided and shunned.

Society's attitude of accepting and approving wealth acquired illegitimately encourages leaders to involve in corruption. It makes corruption to spread like wild fire and permeates the ranks and files of the society. The attitude of looking at those that do not involve in fraudulent and corrupt practices as fools and pretenders and subsequently scorning and shunning them even in public occasions and in government appointments stimulates corruption. Each instance an ex-convict or a person who had been caught involving in one kind of corrupt practice or the other being appointed to public office or being allowed to contest for election encourages corruption in the country. This attitude encourages leader to continue to acquire and accumulate ill-gotten wealth at the expense of the masses.

The arrival of foreign religions in Africa saw an increase in corruption in the country. It stemmed from the fact that these foreign religions, namely, Christianity and Islam, condemned most of the African culture that helped to keep corruption at

bay. Although these foreign religions are established firmly and are found everywhere in Nigeria, Wraith and Simpkins (1963) opined, "Christian morals are not yet backed by sanction as powerful as those of tribal moral. Some of the most powerful churches do not regard corruption and bribery as being a matter of first importance; because some are themselves corrupt." Islam is equally found wanting as far as keeping corruption at bay is concerned. Hence, Wraith and Simpkins maintained that the religion of Islam, a more powerful influence than Christianity in many regions and growing everywhere, for all its stern personal disciplines of prayer and fasting, and for all its greater integration of so many aspects of life with the faith, appears to be tolerant of bribery and corruption in secular affairs, and to be more concerned with private than with public morality. These circumstances help to increase the rate of corruption in the country. Those that have tried to live as moral men in a corrupt society have generally given way sooner or later under agonizing pressures. What further compounded the situation is that so little seems to be derived or gained from trying to live moral life. ✓

Leadership and Corruption in Nigeria

Leadership, during its early history, the best wisdom of the country would be gathered into deliberative bodies whose debates would enlighten the people, and in which men fit for leadership could show their power. In most countries across the world, this is no longer the case. Today, there is decline in the personality of the leadership. The public appointee or elected officer makes his office a personal gold mine to the detriment of the general interest of the masses. Such officers use every public opportunity to enrich themselves at the expense of the development of the nation. Achebe (1983) frankly said that the trouble with Nigeria is simply and squarely a failure of leadership. There is nothing basically wrong with the Nigeria character. There is nothing wrong with the Nigerian land or climate or water or anything else. The Nigerian problem is the unwillingness or inability of its leaders to rise to the responsibility, to the challenge of personal example which is the hallmark of true leadership.

In the segmented national society like Nigeria, as Graf (1988) claimed, each elite's power base is confined to its regional or ethnic-group support. Whereas the survival and development of Nigeria as a nation-state depended on the evolution of efficient, integrative, national institutions and national leaders at the centre capable of adequately balancing and incorporating disparate needs and claims. Since access to the decisive powers of patronage and distribution could be gained only via the central institutions the emergence of national leaders and parties was all but impossible, and the country becomes essentially a loose, potentially antagonistic coalition of particularistic corrupt elites based upon mutual advantage.

This attitude of materialistic obsession which invades the nation and is compounded by sectionalism both combine to provide a social ecology that breeds negative cultures. Corruption by the sectoral ruling class has permeated the entire social structure of Nigeria and has robbed the country of developing a vibrant economic base. As Okafor (2007) observed funds meant for development projects have been misappropriated, diverted, or embezzled and stashed away in foreign banks, while some incompetent and corrupt bureaucrats and administrators in the public enterprises and parastatals have liquidated public organizations. The collaboration of the political elites, local and foreign contractors in the inflation of contract fees have robbed Nigeria of the chances of using more than \$500 billion estimated revenue from the oil sale in the last 50 years to develop a vibrant economy that would have enhanced national development. The ruling (political) class failed because they replaced the vision, policy, and strategy, which should be the thrust of every leadership with transaction (contract award and other mundane money-related activities). Each successive government took turns to prey on the nation's wealth, by using public power, resources, good will, utilities, instrument of abuse, and personal gains (Okafor, 2005).

To remain power the leaders have perpetuated electoral corruption that includes the purchase of vote with money, promises of office or special favors, coercion, intimidation, and interference with freedom of election, sale of votes, killing and maiming of people in the name of election, and a situation

where losers' end up as the winners in elections, and votes turn up in areas where votes were not cast. Apart from the above, Nigeria manifests the prevalence of prebendalism (client patronage) and all of these have undermined national development.

European Union Election Observation Mission (2007) claimed that it witnessed many examples of fraud, including ballot box stuffing, multiple voting, intimidation of voters, alteration of official result forms, stealing of sensitive polling materials, vote buying and under-age voting. Despite assurances by INEC, polling station result forms were not displayed at polling stations or superior levels of the election administration. In a development that cast further doubt on the integrity of the results, at the time of the announcement of the result of the presidential election, some state presidential results had not been compiled or transferred to the INEC headquarters in Abuja. Apart from the above, Nigeria manifests the prevalence of prebendalism (client patronage) and all of these have undermined national development.

Similarly Tom (2011) maintained that elections in the countries are not only flawed but warped, the political parties are dominated by godfathers, money bags and ex-military leaders, and their party primaries (if ever conducted) are mostly selective, non-participatory and undemocratic, thus resulting in the leadership that is loyal to god-father and patrons, and indifference to the electorates and citizens in their style of governance. The issues of legitimacy and representative nature of the leadership in the country is reflected in their lack of accountability to the constitution, the political party and the electorate. Thus the root of corruption can be traced to the problem of leadership.

Corrupt Leadership and National Development

Corrupt and segmented leadership have contributed to making Nigeria one of the poorest countries in the world even with all its potentials and resources endowments. With high unemployment rate at an all-time high of 20.1 per cent, low life expectancy, averaging 45 years for men and women, with over 70 percent of its citizens living below the poverty line, coupled

with its worst economic indices of human development not only in sub-Saharan Africa region, but the world at large, scoring an appalling 0.511 points and ranked 158th out of 182 countries in the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Index (HDI) report of 2009, Nigeria remained one of the least developed countries in the world. In terms of perception and image in the international community, the country has not fared better either. The annual corruption perception index (CPI) report for year 2007 of the German – based Transparency International (TI), ranked Nigeria as the 147th most corrupt countries in the world out of 179 countries polled.

Former inspector General of Police, former Governors, three ministers were either removed or jailed over allegation of corruption between 2005 and 2006. Some former speakers of House of Representatives between 1999 and 2011 were either removed or jailed either for impersonation, forgery or/ and money laundry. Most of Senate presidents between 1999 and 2007 were removed on allegations of impersonation, bribery and forgery. As at November 2006, fourteen governors were under EFCC investigation. There was also Halliburton scandal involving high profile politicians both former and serving public functionaries.

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Report (2006) report ranked Nigeria 151st among 177 countries of the world in the category of 'low economic development'. Nigeria is only ahead of small and lesser-endowed countries while it is ranked in the same category with Madagascar, Haiti, Djibouti, Gambia, Eritrea, Senegal, Rwanda and Chad among others. In his explanation of Nigeria dismal performance ranking, the UNDP country representative in Nigeria, Dr. Tegegenwork Gettu stated in Abuja that although Nigeria was heavily endowed country, the report focused on the spread of a country's wealth among the people to ensure balanced development. He added that some few individuals were heavily rich but that the country's wealth did not penetrate to the majority of the people (Sowunmi 2004).

Thus The Punch (2009) could lament

It is disheartening to note that while less than one million Nigerians, comprising the Armed Forces, public and civil servants, and government machineries are steadily shown access to about eighty percent of Nigeria's gross earnings annually, other 140 million – plus citizens are made to battle for pittances. Surprisingly, the same 17,500 Nigerian Project managers and their employees turn round to dip their hands into the twenty percent wealth, grudgingly left for over 140 million Nigerians, through the instrumentality of loot and plunder.

In similar vein Achebe (2011) opined that since independence in 1960, an estimated sum of four hundred Billion Dollars (\$ 400 Billion) has been mismanaged by previous administrations in the country, which is more than the gross domestic products of Norway and Sweden combined. This fact was recently confirmed by the authoritative international news magazine-Time (2010), which chronicled global events between 2000 and 2010. The magazine reported that money leaving Africa illegally (Nigeria inclusive), increased from \$ 13.1 billion in 2000 to \$ 77.8 billion in 2010. Similarly, Global Financial Integrity estimated that over the past 40 years over 854 billion dollars have been illegally transferred out of African nations with Nigeria's estimated loss of over 240 billion dollars topping the list. The United States Foreign policy magazine published a list of failed states index (FSI), which since 2006 put Nigeria in the highest red alert classification, with FSI of 90 or more. That indicates high vulnerability to collapse. A failed state, according to the Crisis States Research Centre of the United State is "a state that can no longer perform its basic security and development functions and has no effective control over its territory and borders, the evidence is all over Nigeria, that the various indicators released by the various competent international organizations were not mere fabrications, but fact of realities on ground.

These explain why Nigeria and Nigerian have remained poor and impoverished and less developed, in spite of about thirty three solid mineral deposits and vibrant humans' resources.

While leaders at national, state, and local levels are counting their real estates in many parts of the federation and roll around in expensive flashy chauffeured cars and parade themselves as very important persons (V.I.P.) in public occasions, it is deeply appalling to observe that the country is retrogressing abysmally and the people are still in gloom.

Iyanda (2007) identified social value erosion in Nigeria as one evil that has continued to hunt national development. He maintained that people have cultivated the new order of getting rich quick syndrome as norm of their life. This has led to unprecedented pace of cases of violent robbery, theft, and disrespect for either good moral or traditional institutions. Corruption has taught many people a dirty and dangerous lesson that it does not pay to be honest, hardworking and law – abiding citizens. Corruption has made many political office holders acquire wealth and properties in and outside Nigeria. Many of them display this but Nigeria glorifies wealth not minding the source of the wealth.

Economically, Nigeria continues to sink deeper despite the resources endowed her with. Her doldrums sinking came as a result of weight corruption. Many industries including refineries that ought to be producing at maximum capacity have grounded while those surviving the corrupt heat are now operating 'well below installed capacity'.

Again foreign investors despite the current campaigns by the present administration are giving their decision a second thought as they perceive crime and corruption as major obstacles to do business in Nigeria. Likewise domestic investors have similar fears and concerns because no wise businessman /woman would think of investing in places where he/she has safety concerns. Investors are very much concerned about the safety issue. This year in February, BBC reporting President Obasanjo speaking at the Extractive Industries Transparency in Abuja said: "Corruption costs African countries an estimated 25% of its combined national income, some \$148bn a year". 'Corruption may not be as bad as genocide, but it is also a crime against humanity. Corruption is a killer of initiative and trust. It drives away foreign investment and undermine

Measures Taken by Nigerian Government to Combat Corruption

Many measures have been taken to combat corruption. In the 1999 constitution the Third Schedule, provides for the Code of Conduct Bureau, to ensure that public officers conform to the ethics of incorruptible behaviour, through the declaration of their assets before and after their holding of public offices. It also provides for the Code of Conduct Tribunals to try cases of corruption and abuse of office, or of perversion of conduct in the public service. The public officers covered by both the Bureau and the Tribunals include the President, the Vice President, Governors, Deputy Governors of States, Justices of Courts, Attorney-General and Minister of Justice, Ministers, Army Chiefs, Police Chiefs, top Civil Servants, Diplomats in Nigeria and abroad, Chairmen, members and staff of Federal, State and Local Governments, Chairmen of Boards and Corporations and other similarly placed public officers. The Constitution also provides for the establishment of Election Tribunals at all levels of elections in order to ensure a corruption – free electoral process. Furthermore, the Constitution contains in its Seventh Schedule, Oaths to be taken by the President, the Vice President, State Governors, Deputy Governors; Ministers, Commissioners and Members of National Assembly, State Assemblies and the Local Councils. The oaths enjoin the officers to discharge their duties and functions honestly and faithfully. In pursuance of corruption reduction, the National Assembly passed into law the Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Act, 2000; the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (Establishment Act) 2002; the Anti-Money Laundering Act, 2002, the Anti-Drug Enforcement Act, 2002, and the Fiscal Responsibility Act of 2005, to strengthen the previous legislations on bribery and corruption. Previous to the 1999 Constitution, the Federal Government passed into law decrees to combat Banking Fraud, Foreign Exchange Fraud and Business and other Related Frauds. The Federal Government has also put into operation, the Due Process Mechanism to reduce fraud in the award of government contracts and in spending of public funds. It has been enlisting the support of the international community and of the

International Financial Institutions, like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, in its fight against bribery and corruption. Granted these measures would have curbed all forms of corruption in the country. Government fails woefully to implement these laws effectively.

Despite all the measures taken to curtail corruption in the public sector it has continued to grow and retard the national growth and development. Corruption has continued to increase, and general and pervading poverty has continued to spread. Unemployment has increased. Infrastructural facilities have faltered. The few rich have grown richer and more corrupt, the poor continues to become poorer and corrupt, because life has increasingly become more difficult for them to sustain with their legitimate earnings. The middle class which has always been the harbinger of national development and integrity and society cleansing is confused and is diminishing daily and is not sure whether to join the thieving rich or the suffering and corrupt poor. In either case, Aluko (2008) opined the economy is the loser, because the thieving rich do not invest their loot in the productive sector of the economy as they should, and, the poor have not many places in which to work. In such a situation, the battle against corruption is a battle lost before it is begun.

The New Direction

Things that have some beginnings tend to have some ends or potentials for their ends. In other words, corruption in Nigeria had its beginning and therefore has potential for its end. Corruption was actually practiced in European countries, notably, Britain; forces were created to counter corruption in these countries. If these European countries were able to control and reduce corruption, Nigeria is also capable of reducing and controlling corruption in its public life.

There is, indeed, a need for moral politicians, that is, statesmen who act according to principles of morality, not political moralists who adapt morality to their own interests. The election process must be free and fair to allow the popular will of the people to prevail at the polls, a desperate fight is needed to combat corruption in Nigeria. To achieve this, collaborative and co-coordinated efforts are needed in the part of all Nigerians.

The spread of education should be encouraged so as to make people to understand what politics is all about. This will also help in the development of scientific approach to the problems of government and administration.

The patronizing attitude toward fraud and other forms of corruption must change. This could be done through equal treatment within the law. Any public officer who is adjudged by the court or tribunal to have stolen or embezzled public money while in the office whether in the military or civilian administration above one million naira should be shot by firing squad and the loot confiscated by the relevant government. The punishment for those who have looted for less than one million naira should range between ten years and life imprisonment depending on the amount of money involved. The loot should also be confiscated by the state.

The practice of shielding and protecting corruption perpetrators must be stopped. When an arrest is made of a corrupt officer, the identity of the officer should be made public. The names of those involved in corrupt practices should be published and gazzetted. Any public officer found to have involved in corrupt practice should be scorned and cast out. He should not be given any public appointment or put in a position of trust and responsibility.

Sanctions against corrupt leaders should be fully applied on the erring officers. In the same vein, recognition and honour should be accorded honesty, establishment of a code of practice by the government for awarding honours, chieftaincy titles, etc, is necessary. Agent must also be set to enforce this and intervene whenever this code is violated, a vigorous media campaign for moral rectitude must be embarked upon. The masses of the society ought to be taught not to offer or cover up bribes or give in to the corrupt officers should not be accepted at public functions. Corrupt officers should not be invited or allowed to occupy prominent places in public functions, it is a known fact that the community's attitude and norms aid in the concealment of corruption.

Existing anti-corrupt law and instruments ought to be carefully scrutinized to eliminate the obsolete and close up possible loopholes through which corruption can leak into the society. No

one should forget that those who engage in corruption are people with knowledge concerning the process of making laws, and reacting toward the breaking of laws. The masses must be educated to revolt against any government that is found to involve in corrupt practices. Anti-corruption revolutionary social movements and societies should be inaugurated to lead people in their revolution and serve as watchdogs against corruption. The members of the Tribunal that tries the corrupt officers should be made up of social critics who are themselves never involved in any act of corruption. If the tribunal is made up of such people the corrupt officers standing trails will be afraid to offer bribe to pervert the course of justice.

Finally, salary scale of public servants in the country should apply to head of state, governors, directors-general, commissioners, members of the National and state Assemblies and Ambassadors. Their salary should not be made special, rather, it should base on their qualifications as other public servants. That can help to eliminate unqualified people who would want to be elected for wealth accumulation. It would also check excessive rigging usually employed by the unqualified if they rely on fair means.

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