

A Critical Evaluation of Leadership and Political Corruption in Nigeria: 2007-2016.

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ABSTRACT

The disheartening rate of corruption and leadership dearth in Nigeria can no longer be ignored and celebrated. The various regimes, both that of the military and civilian have witnessed the influx of corruption in the political circle of the country. This study therefore is orchestrated by the preceding research questions: Does the attitude of political leaders encourage corruption in Nigeria? Have the anti-corruption measures of Yaradua/Jonathan been effective in curbing corruption in Nigeria? In the course of this work, the methodology used was based on secondary sources of data. The Marxian theory of post-colonial state was also used for the work. The study discovered also that the nature and character of the colonial state was diffused into the post-colonial era. In other words, the colonial administration to a large extent influenced the post-colonial governance style. However, despite the concerted efforts made by the various administrations to curtail or curb corruption, it has continued to perpetuate itself within the Nigerian polity. The study therefore recommended that the anti-corruption agencies be given autonomy or free hand to operate without any control by the presidency as that would ensure at first instance, a holistic fight against corruption.

Keywords: Corruption, Colonial Administration,

INTRODUCTION

Political leadership has contributed greatly to the overwhelming rate of corruption in Nigeria. This obviously has been a setback towards the economic and political development of the country. Interestingly, political leadership could be traced from time immemorial. The biblical Old Testament reflected this throughout most of the events. It can emanate through conquest, tyranny, subversion and finally class cultures [1]. In fact, once a man despises other man, he has crossed the threshold of corruption. Before the emergence of the colonial era, the people used various means of gratifications either to appreciate their Kings and Chiefs or seek for their advice. This might also include the pursuit of a certain appointment, favor or in seek of the throne. With the introduction of colonial administration, the mode or technique of corruption changed. This was initiated with the introduction of the indirect rule

system which implicitly was another style of corruption. During that time, the few privileged and enlightened citizens who served as intermediaries between the citizens and the colonial masters misinterpreted their messages and used that avenue to defraud the indigenes. The capitalist system introduced by the colonial masters in their bid for economic dominance offered a western political system which was alien to the people and gradually worn away the traditional political system. This system seduced the people's consciousness to the poverty around them and the need to acquire wealth, turning the country to an individualistic one and making the citizens materialistic in their bid to acquire more wealth. According to [2] this capitalist system destroyed the communal African system which prior to this time was a primitive non-capitalist one.

Corruption during the colonial time existed with the introduction of economic policies that prevented citizens from productive economic pursuit. In other words, citizens were not allowed to venture into production-oriented businesses. This gives the understanding that the European colonist to a great extent aided the introduction of corruption into the Nigeria value system. However, we cannot deny the facts that there existed some certain similarities between the pre-colonial times and the colonial state. For instance, the practice of subsistence farming and the inability to cheat ethnic boundaries/conflicts.

In 1960 when Nigeria gained independence, the Nationalist leaders inherited a country deeply divided with conflicts that predated the colonial power that has governed them by divide and rule. These features therefore became a cog in the back wheel of the country's economic growth and political development of the post-colonial state. Hence, the emergent governing class often resorts to using state power to strengthen their private weak economic base.

The civilian regime of the First Republic appeared to have been composed of the Comprador Bourgeoisie that played significant roles in the quest for independence. The governing classes as of them were involved in various acts of corruption as a tool to further their continued involvement in politics. This is evident in Coker's commission of inquiry in 1962. According to [3] the Coker's Inquiry revealed that Chief Obafemi Awolowo and other party stalwarts of the Action Group were involved in multi-million pounds transfer of public funds to the vaults of the Party. The Foster Sulton Commission of Inquiry which probed the Eastern region exposed the selfish and class interest of the nationalist leaders in this region. It equally exposed Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe's manipulations of public funds through the African Continental Bank

(ACB) and how he enriched himself and family members through these funds. Therefore, the Leaders of the post-colonial Nigeria were not free from corruption. Chinua Achebe in his response observed that "corruption has grown enormously in variety, magnitude and brazenness since the beginning of the Second Republic because it has been extravagantly fueled by budgetary abuse and political patronage on an unprecedented scale". This implies that political corruption pre-dated the era of the First, Second and even Third Republics as the Nation's external debt rose from a lowly three billion naira in 1970 to an incredulous twenty one billion naira by 1983 even though it was during this era that the country earned its highest revenue from crude oil. Therefore, politics in the modern time is highly associated with corruption and unhealthy competition. The reason is that the control of state power provides the basis for capital accumulation which directly or indirectly leads to corruption.

According to [4] the word corruption emanates from the Latin word "rumpere" which means to break' and this connotes breaking of normal or societal norms or practices. He went further to cite [5], Corruption is to make putrid, to taint, to debase, to spoil, destroy the purity of, to pervert, to bribe, to rot; it means depravity to defile, not genuine, much vitiated, dishonest and venal. Also, [6] described corruption as a phenomenon that has survived from one historical epoch to another in different form. Therefore, [7] described it as a living stone". It is clear that corruption manifests in various sectors of governance. Johnson (1998:69) sees corruption as the "AIDs of Democracy" spreading from official to official until the political system they represent collapse.

The perverseness of leadership and political corruption in Nigeria have been motivated by several reasons. One of

them is colonialism. It is evident that colonial intervention may have restricted any early influence in ethical revolution. The country as of then was stricken with poverty and ignorance. The colonial houses, clothes, flashy cars e.t.c may have exerted some sort of influence on the poor who saw the colonists as symbols of success, having possessed all these. [8] observed that "the trappings of flashy cars, houses and success of the colonialist may have influenced the poor to see colonists as symbols of success and to emulate the colonialists in different political ways". A view commonly held during the colonial days was that the colonialists were not "our" property. Thus, the destruction and looting of public property was not seen as crime against the Nigerian society. It was this view that degenerated into the more recent disregard for public goods as a collective National property [9]. Historically, corruption has been a cog in the wheel of our national progress and economic emancipation. Apart from the Corruption in the colonial era, the various military administrations witnessed different forms of corrupt practices. To say that corruption is the central reason for the military interventions is to simply prove the obvious. The discovery of Drlkejiani's misallocations of funds during Aguiyi Ironsi regime can be seen as the starting point. Many corrupt practices have been carried out by many especially the Elites in the political class. Unfortunately in Nigeria today, avarice, greed and patronage have characterized Nigeria's participatory democracy as a result of a political system that is as corrupt as corruption itself. This has generated public outcry that it has been said that in no distant time, leadership and corruption will become a national religion spreading to every organ of the government -army, police, civil service etc thereby producing a morally bankrupt society that could not find her bearing in

anything that has to do with dedication and patriotism [10].

The pertinent question today is who will save Nigeria from its rulers? The above question seems rhetorical as one who is relative with the administrative style of the country could consider the answer as far-fetched. This is because public offices in Nigeria are seen as instruments of embezzling public funds, patronage to family members, relations and friends, a special pen for huge figures for a total enrichment and relevance while the country wallows in poverty and underdevelopment. To [11], corruption covers a wide range of acts and not the simple act of giving and receiving bribes. According to him, corruption covers a wide spectrum of acts like, use of one's office for pecuniary advantage, gratification, influence peddling, insincerity in advice with the aim of gaining advantages, putting in less than a full day's work for a full day's pay; and tardiness and slovenliness.

According to [12] the greatest problem facing Nigeria is bad leadership and corruption. He argued that leadership and corruption has led to the inefficiency of government in the country; increased opportunities for organized crimes, erodes confidence in the justice of the political order, discourages the habit of hard work, dedication, honesty and discipline, adds to tax payers burden, renders patriotism nearly impossible and made nonsense of public accountability.

How can Nigeria be saved from this ugly drama? It is apparent that the past and present administrations have taken various steps to end this menace and yet no much visible change is noticed.

For instance, the Buhari and Idiagbon government of 1983-1985 introduced War against Indiscipline (WAI) which was directed at abating corruption in Nigeria. Unfortunately, the same Buhari has come up again to continue the fight against corruption in the 7th Republic. To curb corruption, the Olusegun Obasanjo

enacted an Anti-corruption law in 2001 which saw to the establishment of Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) in 2001 and Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) in 2003.

However, these institutions and practices have not been able to shield off light against corruption in Nigeria. It is pertinent to note therefore that despite all measures to eradicate corruption in Nigerian politics, it appears that corruption is in no way abating but in fact increasing all the more.

Statement of the Problem

There has been a general indignation for the alarming effect of political leadership and corruption in Nigeria. The duo basically is believed to be the Achilles heel of Nigeria's development and Africa as a whole. These problems greeted the First Republic with its ugly head (1960-1966) and necessitated its collapse. There are other problems associated with political corruption in Nigeria, they include, ghost workers syndrome, manipulation of contracts, spoilt patronage system (I.M) and many others. Hence, regardless of the efforts of the anti-corruption agencies such as ICPC, EFCC, Audit Committees, Police, Transparency International, Judiciary and Legislatures, the act has continued ad infinitum.

To cap it all, Transparency International (TI) a watchdog that monitors corruption, public accountability and related issues in public administration and government in 2001 released its corruption perception index that placed Nigeria as the second most corrupt country in the world [13]. As a result of that, Nigeria's global image has been badly damaged.

Consequently, the following problems are put forward for critical investigation:

- Does the action of Nigeria Leaders encourage corruption in Nigeria?
- Has the anti-corruption measures adopted so far been effective in

curbing corruption in Nigeria between 2007 and 2014?

Objectives of the Study

The broad objective of the study is to expose and critically examine the level of corruption and fraudulent activities associated with political leadership in Nigeria between 2007 and 2014. It also seek to investigate the link between political leadership and corruption in Nigeria.

- To examine whether the attitude of Nigeria leaders encourages corruption in Nigeria.
- To investigate whether the anti-corruption measures adopted in Nigeria have been ineffective in curbing corruption in Nigeria between 2007 and 2014.

Significance of the Study

This study has both theoretical and practical significance. Theoretically, the outcome of the study would serve as a secondary source of data to specific researchers. It would also provide to scholarly persons the necessary theory needed to analyze the link between political leaders and corruption in Nigeria.

In its practical significance, the outcome of the study would educate the Nigerian citizenry and the policy makers on the overwhelming effects of corruption on the citizens. The outcome of this research will as well unravel why the leaders have continued in the acts of corruption. It will also bring to our understanding the roles the various anti-corruption agencies have played in fighting and ending corruption in Nigeria.

This study would serve as a good policy document for government, schools, private individuals, and the general public. The recommendations given at the final stage of the work will help the Nigerian government, public and private organizations with the rules and regulations needed to checkmate corruption holistically and ensure its possible end.

Nonetheless, the study also has its own academic significance. It shall therefore serve as an academic document, in other

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Theoretical framework is developed to explain the position taken for solving an identified problem. This is aimed at giving a clue for the occurrence and persistence of phenomenon. In this study, we shall adopt the Marxian theory of the post-colonial African states.

The proponents of this theory include: Karl Marx, Ake Claude, Vladimir Lenin, Paul Barn, RaphMiliband, Andre Gundre Frank, OkwudibaNnoli, Okechukwulbeanu, among others.

The post-colonial theory assumes that the leadership in post-colonial states (particularly African states) is a reflection of colonial origins. Colonialism was particularly pervasive and all-embracing phase of imperialism, which [14] described as the highest stage of capitalism [15]. The target of the colonial policy was to keep the colonial people in a political subjugation in a way to facilitate the easy exploitation of their material and human resources and also to establish the capital mode as the dominant mode of production. In Nigeria for instance, state power was therefore aimed at maintaining the pattern of economic life.

Under colonialism, state power was used for primitive accumulation and the colonial policies were aimed not only at alienating people, but also at facilitating the transportation of the colonial resources to the metropolis.

The nature of the Nigerian state appears to have lured or forced the political leaders to accumulate capital for their self-regarding interest. Thus, Marx stated that, "it is the substructure that determines the superstructure". When the substructure is not properly taken care of, the super-structure will be affected drastically. It therefore appears that most of the leaders are corrupt and tend to use the state power for self-regarding interest

words, a reference point to anyone who decides to further a study in the areas of corruption and leadership in Nigeria.

because of the primacy of the material conditions as postulated by [16].

The post-colonial theory also argues that the nature and character of the Nigerian colonial state was carried over to the post-colonial period. Hence, instead of being neutral and regulatory, the role of the post-colonial state becomes central and decisive in the class struggle. In fact, the theory argues that what post-colonial state had after independence was a state already dragged into politics and politicized [17].

According to Cohen "the colonial state had no interest in the development of production sector in her colonies. Those who entered into the productive industries were discouraged with certain policies" Thus, when the petite bourgeoisie emerged without the productive power, they were left with the option of either developing the production sector or making use of the state power for the acquisition of wealth. The later then becomes the case, which led to wide-spread corruption in the polity.

As earlier noted by Ake, we cannot undermine the primacy of material condition particularly economic factors in the explanations of material condition of the behavior of our leaders. Every leader is interested in what to eat, how to survive and how to grapple with his economic problems. It is from this angle that the character of the neo-colonial political leadership in Nigeria can be understood. In Nigeria, the political leadership that took over power from the colonizers failed to transform the socio-economic structure of the Nigerian state and also continued to use state power to accumulate private resources.

It is important to note that the nature of a problem determines the method at which information could be gathered.

The acquisition of concrete audience in matters of leadership and political corruption especially as it relates to various administrations is very difficult. It is equally true that such issue or incidents are not presented in public libraries. Therefore, this research is largely a qualitative one and does not require sampling and sampling techniques. It entails the study of relevant publications and documents on leadership and political corruption with particular emphasis on Nigeria.

This research relied on secondary sources of data, particularly from the existing records and reports, books, newspapers, journal articles and the internet.

This study adopts qualitative descriptive method in analyzing the results of the findings. Qualitative method or techniques of data analysis is used to describe characteristics one cannot measure in numeric terms. This method is appropriate for analyzing the results of the findings due to the nature of the study.

Hypotheses

Leadership and political corruption had been a bottle neck in the development of Nigeria. Therefore, the scourge of the puzzle has motivated us to investigate the following hypotheses.

Leadership

Leadership has been defined in so many ways and at the previous chapter, we saw the views of some scholars as regards the concept. In doing justice to this phase, [18] defines a leader as "an individual appointed to a job with authority, and accountability to accomplish the goals and objectives of the society." He asserts that a leader must be a good manager as well as an individual who is able to effectively coordinate the activities of followers or a team towards pre-agreed or pre-defined goal or objectives within the limits of available resources. "A leader must be astute with both man and material. A leader must possess the ability to create in the followers the necessary enthusiasm/motivation to put

1. The action of Nigeria leaders encouraged corruption in Nigeria between 2007-2014

2. The anti-corruption measures adopted in Nigeria have been ineffective in curbing corruption in Nigeria between 2007-2014.

Scope of Studies and Limitations of the Study

The scope will cover mainly the period between 2007-2014 which are basically the administrations of Presidents Umaru Musa Yaradua and Godluck Ebere Jonathan.

However, some brief illustrations of the various regimes and administrations behind these two were employed as a way of tracing the origin and problems associated with Leadership and Political corruption in Nigeria with its effects on the administrations this work tend to examine and study.

In view of the limitations, the act of undertaking this research work in line with other curricular activities posed a great challenge and finally, financing a more robust research was also another challenge of its own.

CONCEPTUAL APPROACH

in every necessary effort to deliver on set goals.

Leadership in Nigeria: Issues and Perspectives

In his discussion on leadership, Lee Kuan Yew, the celebrated father of modern Singapore wrote in his book "From Third World to First: The Singapore Story, 1965-2000" "we need good people to have good government. However good the system of government is, bad leaders will bring harm to their people. On the other hand, I have seen several societies well governed in spite of poor systems of government, because good, strong leaders were in charge." The Nigerian society has never been well governed since independence from the British in 1960 because "good, strong leaders" have never been in charge. The Nigerian state, from the first

democratic experiment in 1960 to military regimes and back to democracy as practiced today, has been managed by leaders who are selfish and corrupt. They accumulate wealth at the expense of national development without devotion to the cause of the people. Since independence in 1960, the state has produced leaders who have blighted the lives of Nigerians who now wallow in poverty, illiteracy, hunger and unemployment. The leadership of Nigeria in every government, be it civilian or military, has criminally mismanaged the country's affairs and resources. Nigeria's political leaders. during electioneering campaigns make fantastic promises in order to win elections, but as soon as they secure the people's mandate, the people are shortchanged of the dividends of democracy. An analysis of the plethora of leaders on Nigeria's political landscape revealed selfish, mediocre, tribal leaders and opportunistic small money-minded people masquerading as leaders. From Tafawa Balewa (1960-1966) to Olusegun Obasanjo (1999-2007), the crisis of leadership remains the same.

Corruption

Defining corruption as has been observed in many fora is such a difficult thing to do as the act of corruption encompasses a whole lot. According to [19] [20] corruption is the exploitation of public position, resources and power for private gain. In their own conceptualization, [21] [22] define corruption as "the betrayal of public trust for individual or public gain. Obayeluwent further to identify corruption as "efforts to secure wealth or power through illegal means for private gain at public expense; or a misuse of power for private benefit.

Effects of Corruption

[23] posits that "corruption poses a serious development challenge. In the political realm, it undermines democracy and good governance by flouting or even subverting formal process. Corruption in elections and in legislative bodies reduces accountability and distorts representation in policy making; corruption in the judiciary compromises the rule of law;

and corruption in public administration results in the unfair and inefficient provision of services. More generally, corruption erodes the institutional capacity of government as procedures are disregarded, resources are siphoned off, and public offices are bought and sold. Thus, corruption undermines the legitimacy of government and democratic values of trust and tolerance." [24] assert that evidences abound to suggest that corruption creates major impediments to doing business in countries where it is prevalent. The negative effects of corruption on national development can be monumental, and in any corrupt regime, a nation could lose billions of dollars into the pockets of the nation's leaders,

"Corruption exacerbates poverty and disproportionately affects those of lower income because it pulls resources from the national treasuries, placing the money into the bank accounts of a few individuals who are politically powerful. This type of corruption exerts devastating effects on developing economies that desperately need the money."

Based on the above, [25] posits that "It is easier for a developed country to weather through the storms of corruption than an emerging economy to do so. This is the reason why growth cannot be expected from African countries enmeshed in corruption. Orthox economic theory teaches that lower investment rates lead to lower rates of economic growth." Corruption undermines efficiency as time and money are wasted through corrupt activities at the expense of productive activities and which altogether discourages prospective investors. This weighs on both public administration and private enterprises. Public sector efficiency becomes compromised because corruption superimposes informal practices over the proper rules and procedures of government adding direct and indirect costs to the execution of programmes. Corruption undermines human and capital development in any society or nation. Corruption also generates economic distortions in the

public sector by diverting public investment into capital projects where bribes and kickbacks are more plentiful. It also lowers compliance with construction, environmental, or other regulations, reduces the quality of government services and infrastructure, and increases budgetary pressure on government. Corruption slows down the pace of economic development through

manipulation of funds for projects; it destroys or weakens efficiency and effectiveness of public service; it detracts government from giving priority to the areas of income and social inequality, poverty, malnutrition and other areas of need. The net impact of corruption on society is negative and Nigeria overtime has been on this negative side.

A Critical Evaluation of leadership and political Corruption in Nigeria, 1960-2016

The Belewa and Nnamdi Azikiwe

Administration, 1960-1966:

Over the years, Nigeria has seen its wealth withered with little to show in living conditions of the citizens. The First Republic under the leadership of Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, the Prime Minister, and Nnamdi Azikiwe, the president was marked by widespread corruption. Government officials looted public funds with impunity. The Federal Representative and Ministers flaunted their wealth with reckless abandon. This continued till a point it appeared there were no men of good character in the political leadership of the First Republic. Politically, the thinking of the First Republic Nigerian leadership class was based on politics for material gain; making money and living well. The above stated situation among other factors provided the pretext for a group of young middle ranked officers to sack the Nigerian First Republic politicians from power through a coup d'etat on 15th January 1966 on the ground of corruption. The editorial of the Daily Times Newspaper of January 16, 1966 argued thus:

With the transfer of authority of the federal Government to the Armed Forces, we reached a turning point in our national life. The old order has changed, yielding place to a new one... For a long time, instead of setting down to minister to people's needs, the politicians were busy performing series of seven days wonders as if the

act of government was some circus show... still we groped, along as citizens watched politicians scorn the base by which they did ascend... (Daily Times, 1966).

The coup was a direct response to the corruption of the First Republic; and the popular support the military received for the coup showed that Nigerians were long expecting such a wind of change to bail them out from the claws of the politicians of that era.

Interestingly, despite the killings of some major First Republic politicians, there were widespread jublations in the country.

The Shehu Shagari Administration, 1979-1983:

The second Republic, under President Shehu Shagari, witnessed a resurgence of corruption. The Shagari administration was marked by spectacular government corruption, as the president did nothing to stop the looting of public funds by elected officials. Corruption among the political leaders was amplified due to a greater availability of funds. It was claimed that over \$16 billion in oil revenues were lost between 1979 and 1983 during the reign of President Shehu Shagari. It became quite common, for federal buildings to mysteriously go up in flames, most especially just before the onset of ordered audits of government accounts, making it impossible to discover written evidence of embezzlement and fraud [26].

President Shagari true to his nature was too weak in his administration of the country. A soft spoken and mild

mannered gentleman, Shagari was pathetic in his inability to call his ministers and political lieutenants to order to stop them from embezzling state funds.

No politician symbolized the graft and avarice under Shagari's government more than his combative Transport Minister, Alhaji Umaru Dikko, who was alleged to have mismanaged about M4 billion of public fund meant for the importation of rice. However, on 31st December 1983, General Muhammadu Buhari led a popular coup that again rescued the economy from the grip of corrupt politicians of the Second Republic. The 1983 coup was carried out with the aim of halting corruption and restoring discipline, integrity and dignity to public life. Buhari's regime promised to bring corrupt officials and their agents to book. Consequently, state governors and commissioners were arrested and brought before tribunals of inquiry.

Olusegun Obasanjo Administration, 1999-2007:

Nigeria's Fourth Republic which started in the year 1999, was transition from military to the civilian government. This period witnessed the emergence of President Olusegun Obasanjo as the civilian president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. In this period, people thought that the solution to the problem of leadership and corruption, which pervaded the military era has come to pass. However, nobody ever thought that Obasanjo will be a disappointment to the entire Nigeria. Therefore, despite the purports of the administration to fight corruption in the country, corruption appeared not just endemic taut destructively perpetuated the entire system. The political and economic system of Nigeria in the era was quite a scandal that demands adequate attention till date.

During the first four years of the Olusegun Obasanjo administration, federal ministers allegedly stole more

than N23billion from the public coffers. An audit report released by Vincent Azie, acting Auditor General of the federation, showed that the amount represented financial frauds ranging embezzlement, payments for jobs not done, over-invoicing, double-debiting, inflation of contract figures to release of money without the consent of the approving authority in ten major ministries.

Rather than cautioning the ministers whose ministries were named in the fraud or invite the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) to further investigate the veracity of the alleged fraud, Vincent Azie was hastily retired by the presidency for procedural offences [27]: [28]. What a country whose political leaders have opted to loot the public treasury with arrogance and impunity.

During Olusegun Obasanjo's administration, there were massive corrupt practices at almost all the arms of government. In his inaugural speech in May 1999, President Obasanjo promised Nigerians that his choice of Cabinet members will be guided by proven integrity and record of good performance. According to him:

I appreciate that the quality and caliber of the members of my cabinet and top appointments will send a positive or negative signal to Nigerians and the international community as to the seriousness of the administration to make solitary change... to be appointed a minister to any other office is not license to loot public funds, it is a call to national service (Sunday Times May 30, 1999).

From the above statement, it becomes clear that the executive arm of government seems not to be corrupt-free as some corrupt cases, scams, scandals which may or not have led to sacking or resigning of the official in question.

TABLE 1: \$16 BILLION SCAM IN THE POWER SECTOR

NAME OF COMPANY	NATURE OF CONTRACT AND/OR OWNER OF COMPANY	AMOUNT \$
Tasolk and Associates	IbogunTemidireOlaogun and Power Plant in Ogun State	27,096,148
Mark and Mak (Nigeria) Limited	Okpitim, Amachi power project in Ebonyi state	45,558,237
Symak Limited	Hon C. Macebuh (owner)	34,648,122
Ocsco Construction Company Limited	Mao Ohuabunwa	14,904,806
Adolfee Limited Nigeria	Senator AdolphusWabara	33,890,765
Nabeelah Limited Nigeria	Senator M Ibrahim	40,714,415
Ashalt Limited Nigeria	Hon Bashir Adamu	18,589,356
Not disclosed	Hon LawalFuntua	23,646,576
Soffi Nigeria Limited	Hon Amino Bello Masair	32,180,825

Source: [29]. Fresh Facts Newspaper, April 21-27pp 1-2

It is pertinent to note that most of the companies named above are alleged to be fictitious in nature and some of these honorable members of the National Assembly failed to execute the contracts, while others abandoned uncompleted projects and or haphazardly executed projects. This is a grand corruption at the top level of government functionaries. As the engine of the productive sector, the

A critical evaluation of leadership and political corruption in nigeria, 2007-2016 Umaru yaradua administration, 2007-2010:

President Umaru Yaradua who took over office from Olusegun Obasanjo on May, 29, 2007 in his inaugural speech gave an inspiring speech and as well raised the nation's hope and expectations. He admitted the flaws in the elections that brought him to power and promised to set up a panel to study what happened so that Nigerian can reform its electoral system. He also promised a generational shift that will herald new governance from those born after independence and that his regime will experience zero tolerance for corruption from those born after independence. President Yaradua immediately published the details of his assets-an unprecedented move in Nigeria

looting had rendered many jobless especially among artisans, while manufacturing industries have been out of production, with the resultant effect that many employees have been out of production, with the resultant effect that many employees have been retrenched due to lack of power generation.

history that has got many citizens excited and hopeful that a new dawn of openness had arrived. The assets declared however included 29 cars which were donations to his campaign organization and Umaru Yaradua claimed them personally, in what appears to be the most serious signal of retrogress, Yaradua's Attorney General and minister of Justice announced on August 6, 2007 that the ICPC and EFCC will now prosecute corruption and money laundering cases only with his permission. The public reaction to this announcement was overwhelmingly against the administration. The next day, the administration backtracked and reversed itself. This became the beginning of a series of actions taken to weaken the war against corruption. The

reversal of the war against corruption did the most damage to the credibility of Yaradua's administration with Nigerians and the International community. The systemic destruction of the EFCC by the Yaradua's administration began as soon as James Ibori former governor of Delta state (and a recruiter, ally and financier of Yaradua) was charged for money laundering and corruption at the Federal High Court in December, 2007. Therefore, as Ibori and his two wives faced similar charges in UK courts, a quick succession of events led to the extra-legal removal, demotion and dismissal of the EFCC

respected chairman-NuhuRihadn and the deployment of all the investigating EFCC trained staff by the FBI and London Metropolitan Police. In a detailed interview with PBS, Ribadu recounted his experience, concluding that "when you fight corruption, it fights back" since the firing of Ribadu, all the case files on the so called 31 corrupt governors have disappeared or declared non-existent by Farida Waziri, his successor at EFCC. The cases already in court have been withdrawn, delayed or settled in ' what many consider dodgy plea-bargains, like Igbenidion's.

TABLE 2: CREDIT FACILITIES GRANTED TO COMPANIES WITHOUT SECURITY

DATE	NAMES OF COMPANIES THAT BENEFITED FROM THE ILLEGAL DEALS	AMOUNT GRANTED
Undisclosed	Cloudy Heights Limited	N16 billion
Undisclosed	Petosan Oil and Gas Company	N75 billion
Undisclosed	Petosan Oil Development Company Limited	N6, 500, 000, 000
Undisclosed	Petosan Farms Limited	N2 billion
March 2009	Bliss-Bloss Integrated Limited	N1 5 billion
Undisclosed	Circular Global International Limited	N1 5 billion
Undisclosed	Midwestern Oil and Gas Pic	N8.1 billion
March 2008	Ibru Edesiri Onatejiroghene	N36 million
March 2008	Ibru Edesiri Onatejiroghene	8,757,947.26
April 2009	Petosan Oil and Gas Company Limited	^5 billion
Undisclosed	Petosan Property and Development Company Limited	N6,500,000,000

SOURCE: THE SOURCE, VOL. 26 (15) FEBRUARY 01, 2010, P21

The anti-corruption agency arraigned Cecilia Ibru to the court of law for illicit deals as enumerated above and another charge on allegation that borders on

illegal acquisition of properties and shares if different companies captioned "monumental corruption of the country" as illustrated below.

TABLE 3: ILLEGAL ACQUISITION OF PROPERTY

Date	Property and Location	Value
19/4/2009	4141 Chariot Way, Upper Marlboro, Maryland	\$441,790
19/4/2009	4143 Chariot Way, Upper Marlboro, Maryland	\$439,362
12/3/2009	4155 Chariot Way, Upper Marlboro, Maryland	\$452,508
14/3/2009	4145 Chariot Way, Upper Marlboro, Maryland	\$440,105
21/4/2009	4139 Chariot Way, Upper Marlboro, Maryland	\$451,629
22/07/2008	14605 Hawley Lane, Upper Maryland	\$399,999
17/05/2008	14630 Hawley Lane, Upper Marlboro, Maryland	\$460,703
28/10/2008	14721 Argos Place, Marlboro, Maryland Upper	\$457,950
26/11/2008	1419 Argos Place, Marlboro, Maryland Upper	\$451,840

ILLEGAL ACQUISITION OF SHARES

NAME OF COMPANIES	NUMBER OF SHARES IN EACH COMPANY
Oceanic Bank Plc	1,076,220,421-
First Bank of Nigeria Plc	275,795,139
Union Bank Plc	64,218,000
Zenith Bank Plc	10,280,000
United Bank for Africa Plc	93,750,000
Access Bank Plc	352,500
Fidelity Bank Plc	12,500
Guarantee Trust Bank Plc (GTB)	110,000

Source: The Source, Vol. 26(15), February 01, 2010, p. 23.

Information from EFCC charge sheet showed that the said loans were granted without adequate security against accepted practice and thereby committed an offence contrary to section 15(l)(a) of the failed Banks (Recovery of Debts and Financial malpractices in Banks Act 1994, laws of the federation of Nigeria.

Also, Chief Onyema Ugochukwu, the former People's Democratic Party governorship candidate for Abia state in April, 2007 general elections and former chairman of the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) was charged before a Federal High Court, Abuja for corrupt practices. According to Isa, Chief Ugochukwu was accused of corrupt handling of about 10.2 billion while serving as the chairman of the NDDC. The charges accused Chief Ugochukwu of inflating contract value and making false statement in respect of N9.3 billion allegedly trapped in the distressed SocieteGeneral Bank of Nigeria, inflating of a contract value for the construction of a road in Umuahi from N250,260 million to N880 million. Chief Ugochukwu was also on the second count accused of inflating contracts value for the construction of a road in Umuahia from N180 million to N462 million. In the third count, the former chairman of (NDDC) was accused of furnishing of false statement in respect of N9.3 billion claimed to have been trapped in Soceite General Bank of Nigeria, but which sum was said to have been disbursed by the former chairman of NDDC while in office. gathered that the former minister of health Prof. Grange and the deputy were also on trial for stealing over M30,000,000 from the ministry's unspent funds from the 2007 budget. Even though the minister and his deputy lost their jobs, Senator lyabo Obasanjo Bello dramatized her case out of the court and eventually went free.

Also former speaker House of Representatives, Hon. Patricia Etteh and her deputy speaker, Hon Babangida Nguroje were involved in the M628.8 million contract scandal that led to the

impeachment of the first female speaker of House of Representatives in Nigeria in 2007.

theft since the President assumed office in May 6th, 2010 [30]. There have also been reports of several top officials of Jonathan's administration accused of looting or misusing public funds; being spared of prosecution [31]. Indeed, Aminu Tambuwal, former speaker of the Federal house of representatives, an arm of Nigeria's bi-cameral legislature and of the same political party (People's Democratic Party) with president before he defected to All Progressive Congress (APC) in 2013 famously and publicly accused Jonathan of consistently displaying a "body language" that encourages corruption [32].

Mr. Tambuwal said the president's penchant for duplicating committees to investigate corruption cases, rather than directing law enforcement agencies to probe them, showed Jonathan was less committed to curbing abuse of position. By the action of setting up different committees for straight forward cases, the president's body language doesn't tend to support the fight against corruption". [33].

In another assessment from a public official which further underscores the level of corruption under Jonathan's administration, Governor Adams O shiomhole of Edo State in Jonathan's south-south geo-political zone has also lamented his surprise that no one is in jail over corruption in Nigeria. According to him, "instance of corruption practices abound, yet no one was being held answerable" [34]. The several cases of corruption acts under Jonathan further are well elaborated upon by [35] thus:

Currently in the present regime of President Godluck Jonathan, corruption appears to have been institutionalized. A whopping sum of twenty billion dollars is alleged to have been missing. The stories of both fuel and

kerosene subsidy are not anything to behold. It smears of corruption and rottenness. The aviation bullet proof saga remains unresolved. The shell Malabu story is a macabre dance. The response of the regime to corruption is to imprison those exposing corruption. The impunity in corruption extended to the punishment of those who fight corruption... [36].

The several cases highlighted by Amaechi, a governor in the South-south region where the President originated from is a summary of several controversial cases in which accusations and counter accusations of corrupt acts have dogged the Jonathan administration. The accusations against Jonathan of supporting corrupt practices is not only done by the Nigeria Indigenes as the assessment of his administration and verdicts of corrupt acts has taken an international dimension with several reports and opinions accusing the government of doing little to fight corruption in the polity.

To start with, the United States Government in March 2003 condemned the action of President Jonathan in granting presidential pardon to persons who were once convicted of corrupt acts following prosecution by the EFCC. It was observed that the National Council of States headed by the President had granted pardon to a former Governor of Jonathan's home state of Bayelsa.

Diepreiye Alamieyesigha, former head of the Bank of North, Shettima Bulama and some others. In response to this action, the U.S Mission in Nigeria expressed its disappointment at the granting of such pardons, describing it as a setback in the war on corruption [37]. Similiary, Transperancy International urged the president to rescind the pardon:

This decision undermines anti-corruption effects in Nigeria and encourages impunity. If the government is serious about uprooting public corruption, sanctions against those who betray the public trust should be strengthened, not relaxed... President Jonathan should.

show that he is committed to fighting corruption and endorse efforts of law enforcement agencies to end impunity for corrupt officials... Nigeria's EFCC has prosecuted and convicted, a number of high profile corrupt individuals since its inception in 2003, but most of C f them have escaped effective sanctions (TI, 2013).

The activities of the EFCC under the period under review led to positive changes in international Corruption Perception Index after 2004, Paris Club debt forgiveness, massive foreign financial grants and flattering commendations. This positive change after 2004 went back to its former level as illustrated below.

TABLE 4: NIGERIA'S POSITION IN TRANSPERENCY INTERNATIONAL CORRUPTION PERCEPTION INDEX

YEAR	POSITION
1999	98/99
2000	90/90
2001	90/91
2002	101/102
2003	132/133
2004	144/145
2005	152/158
2006	142/179
2007	147/180
2008	121/180
2009	130/180
2010	121/180
2012	54 th
2013	34/177
2014	15/174
2016	28/2016

Source: Transparency International Corruption Perception Index: 1999-2016

In reality however, the achievement of the EFCC under Nuhu Ribadu was far from perfect. But after his exit as EFCC boss in December, 2007, the EFCC could neither individually nor jointly with ICPC solve Nigeria's corruption problems. As a matter of fact, only few of the persons convicted through the efforts of the EFCC were actually guilty of corruption. Most were individuals engaged in cyber fraud, advance fee fraud (locally known as 419) and money laundering activities, offences that were said to be easier to investigate and prosecute, and are usually perpetrated by people with little or no political influence.

Therefore, even though a large number of top public officials, including a handful of former governors, have been charged by the EFCC for corrupt practices, only two senior public officials were convicted by the EFCC for using their positions to enrich themselves when Obasanjo left office in 2007. The two were Mr, Tafa Balogun, former head of the Nigeria Police Force, and Mr.DSP Alamieseigha, former governor of Bayelsa State, both of whom

were convicted by the EFCC for corruption and money laundering offences in 2005 and 2007 respectively.

Yaradua/Jonathan Administration

The election of President Umaru Musa Yaradua raised hopes that the war against corruption would be re-energized and strengthened. The president himself promised to take the fight against corruption to a new height, vowing to run a clean government based on the rule of law:

If the Federal Government is to take action against any person for any act of corruption which has been determined, without doubt, the government will act As it stands, I assure you that the Federal Government has zero tolerance for corruption. But also in the process, the rule of law and due process must be followed. (The Punch, 2007)

Similarly, while receiving the visiting World Bank Vice President for Africa, Mrs.

Oby Ezekwesili, the president assured the world that he will not seek to instrumentalize the anti-corruption agencies. In his words:

I have given all the institutions a free hand, I have told them I won't interfere, because I am strongly in support of the fight against corruption. No hurdle has been put on their paths. The only thing I made very clear is that they must follow the rule of law and due process. (The Punch, 2008).

But the question now is to what extent were these promises kept? How did the anti-corruption war fare under Yara'dua. The more widely held view was that the Yara'dua administration presided over a dramatic lull in the tempo of Nigeria's anti-corruption campaign. This view is voiced by many donor organizations, Nigeria Civil Society groups, including transparency in Nigeria, the local arm of the global corruption watchdog and highly placed sources in government, including some within the anti-corruption agencies.

For example, TitiOgunseye of the Civil Liberties Organization, was of the opinion that:

Events since May 2007, particularly recent events relating to the EFCC indicate that the fledging anti-corruption crusade handed over to the Yaradua administration is facing a reversal of the worst kind. The challenge before the Nigerian people is to

resist this subversion and build ownership around the anti-corruption effort. [38]

In a similar tone, one senior civil servant in the presidency described the president's frequent talk about Human Rights as a smoke screen for protecting some of the president's friends especially the former governors who are guilty of corruption.

There are at least three main reasons for this pessimistic view of Nigeria's anti-corruption campaign under the Yaradua administration. The first one was the perception that prosecutions of top public officials like the implementation of several other government policies, were stalling after Yaradua took over. It was in this light that President Yaradua was derisively nick-named Baba -go -slow by sections of the Nigerian press. This was the first reason for the negative perception of the campaign against corruption under Yaradua, but documents obtained from the offices of the EFCC and the ICPC showed that the arrest and investigation of individuals and officials suspected of corruption did not cease. The trial of officials and individuals investigated or charged to court by the anti-corruption agencies during the Obasanjo administration (notably former governors) continued.

According to statistics published by the EFCC on May, 1, 2010, the number of high profile cases being prosecuted in the courts by EFCC were only 10 in May, 1, 2008. However, two years later, the number has increased to 50. Within the same time frame, the EFCC added a total of 100 new convictions, bringing the total to 400, while also recovering some illegally acquired funds in excess to \$3.5 billion [39].

TABLE 5: NAMES ON THE EFCC LIST FOR CORRUPT PRACTICES

S/N	Names	Amount
1	Chief Bode George, Ex, chairman, Nigeria Ports Authority	M1 00 billion
2	SaminuTuraki, Ex-Gov, Jigawa State	N36 billion
3	Patrick Fernandez, Indian business man	N32 billion
4	Tom Isogholi, Mohammed Buba	M1 5 billion
5	Buba&Mike Okoli, Transcorp Plc	N7.7 billion
6	Keny Martins, Police Equipment Fund	M6 billion
7	Rasheed Lodoja, Ex-Gov of Oyo State	N 5. N5.6 billion
8	Roland Iyayi, Ex. Managing Director of FAAN	N 5.6 billion
9	Babalola Borishade, EX. -Minister of Aviation	N 5.6 billion
10	Elder George, Australian Business man	N 5.6 billion
11	Chirnaroke Nnamani, Senators Ex-Gov. Enugu State	N 5.3 billion
12	I Senator Nicholas Ugbane and 9 members of I House of Reps	N 5.2 billion

13	Orji Uzor Kalu, Ex-Gov. Abia State	M4. 7 billion
14	Nyesom Wike, Chief of Staff to River State Governor	M3.6 billion
15	Four Senior Zenith Bank Managers	N1.5 billion
16	Michael Botmang, Ex-Acting Gov. Plateau State	N636 Million
17	MolkatMutfwang and 3 others	^4250 Million
18	Femi Fani Kayode, Ex- Minister of aviation	M1 80 Million
19	Jolly Nyame, Ex-Gov of Taraba state	N43 Million
20	Boni Haruna, Ex-Gov of Adamawa	W3 Million
21	Dr. Albert Ikomi retired permanent secretary	M1 7. 5 Million
22	Dr. Yuguda Manu, Chairman Taraba St. Civil Service Commission	N10 Million
23	Iyabo Obasanjo, Senator and daughter of Ex-president Obasanjo	M10 million

24	Joshua Dariye, Ex-Gov of Plateau state	Amount not stated
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Source: Nigerian Tribune, July, 10, 2009.

Other corrupt cases charged to court among political officials include:

S/N	Names	Amount
1	Abdulahi Adamu, Ex-Gov. of Nasarawa & 18 others	₦15 billion
2	Attahiru Bafarawa, EX. Gov. Sokoto State	₦15 billion
3	Chief Onyerna Ugochukwu, Former Chairman (NDDC)	₦10.2 billion
4	Hamrnan Bello Hammed, Past Controller General of the Nig. Customs Services and 5 others	₦2.5 billion
5	Olusegun Agagu, younger brother to former Gov. Ondo State	₦25 billion
6	Chief Femi Agagu, younger brother N40 I to former Gov. Ondo State	₦ 40billion
7	Sunday Ehindero, Former IG Police	₦2.5billion
8	Former Speaker House of Rep. Dimeji Bankole	₦9 billion

Sources:(a) The Nation, Feb. 27, 2011 (b) Daily Sun, June 8, 2007 (c) Champion's Newspaper, Online Editor, June 10, 2011.

One major problem with the list that raised public concern was that in compiling the list, the EFCC had deliberately excluded the names of some well-connected people who had also been accused of embezzlement, some of which were also standing trial. One of them is James Ibori, the former governor of Delta state who was accused of stealing over N10 billion. During Ribadu's tenure, the

EFCC made desperate efforts to prosecute Mr. Ibori. These efforts came to naught under Yaradua, when Mr. Ibori was released on bail and even went on to secure one legal victory after the other against the EFCC. Few months after the emergence of President Jonathan, Mr. Ibori was declared wanted by the EFCC and subsequently arrested in Dubai.

SUMMARY

This research work tried to examine leadership and political corruption, under the Fourth Republic (2007-2014). The findings validated our hypotheses which include:

1. That the action of Nigerian leaders encouraged corruption in Nigeria between 2007-2014.
2. That the anti-corruption measures adopted in Nigeria have been ineffective in curbing corruption in Nigeria.

The Marxian Theory of the post-colonial African states was used as the theoretical framework in order to buttress the points. The data used for this study were collected from secondary sources such as textbooks, magazines, newspaper, journals, internet materials and government publications.

CONCLUSION

Arising from findings of the study, we were able to validate that the action of Nigerian leaders encourages corruption in the country. Secondly, the anti-corruption

measures adopted in Nigeria are ineffective in curbing corruption under Yar'adua/ Jonathan's administration.

RECOMMENDATIONS

This study makes the following recommendations:

1. The immunity clause given to the president, vice president, governor and deputy governor as stated in section 308

of the 1999 constitution should be expunged.

2. The anti-graft agencies should be de-politicized. The agencies should be made autonomous to enable them operate effectively.

3. Special anti-corruption court should be created for easy prosecution of criminal offences.

4. The prosecuting agencies should be well funded and equipped.

5. Government workers should be paid well and when due to avoid greed.

6. Any political leader found to be corrupt should be executed.

7. Quality and well nurtured citizens should be incorporated into the leadership class especially from the civil service.

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