



**Niger State  
Government**



**National  
Planning  
Commission**

# Minna National Discourse On Corruption

**WITH THE THEME:**

**Confronting Trends of Indiscipline,  
Corruption and Disregard for Rules  
and Regulations in Nigeria**









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**Niger State Book and Research  
Development Agency**





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# **Proceedings**

..... Compiled by: .....

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Development Agency**





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# ***Dedication***

For a corrupt-free Nigeria



# ***Acknowledgment***

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## *Foreword*

**C**ORRUPTION is a gear in which every nation is adorned: some are richly garbed with flamboyant colors that sparkle of absence of conscience and disrespect for nationalism, while others that are poorly attired, are better off with little to show for decadence in the structure of its society.

Corruption does not change and therefore it is constant and non-relative. What constitutes corruption by definition is peculiar to every society in as much as its pernicious effects stall development, allowing for the show of characteristic decadence.

It is neither conclusive nor constructive to assume that corruption is exclusive to those in leadership positions, but by implication it transcends the essential structures of the society. Where the leader is corrupt, the tendency exists that majority of the people would be corrupt, leaving little or no room for salvation. This is why emphasis is laid usually on venal leadership.

Good governance, which is the hallmark of conscientious leadership, perdures not in the total absence of venal tendencies, but in the restraint to abuse of power, mis-management of resources and in the control of personal interests at the expense of the general populace.

The decay we see in the quiddity of the Nigerian State did not start today; it is the upshoot of prolonged injustice, misappropriation of public funds, avarice and most importantly



flagrant acts of indiscipline. It has become pronounced owing to the velleity for accountability, punishment for men's err, and award for probity and selflessness.

The call for national discourse to tackle corruption is timely and will yield desired results where there is sustained effort not to relent in our quest for a better and great Nigeria. Again this affirms our postulation that 'criticism juggles leadership to sit-up, to be on its toes and not rest on its oars'. It also attests to our assertion that Nigerians should not be dedans, but rather participate in the polity by lending their daedal voices to the course for a corrupt-free society.

Furthermore, our resolve to engage the children as spectators in the discourse of topical national issues is an effective strategy of instilling in them the powerful tools of observation and dialogue as a means to problem-solving. We do this because we know that the nation's future is secured only if the children are secured. We try to leave something of guidelines in our literatures, for use to inoculate the generations on the way.

This book of proceedings, like other publications in our stable, is a referral template for a poignant future. We believe in documentation of ideas, we believe in safeguarding the future by putting on records events that would serve as pathway for future redemption.

Above all, we must, individually, rich or poor, adult or child, love Nigeria above ourselves, respect her by our regard for her laws, and keeping down our personal desires. This, I believe, will be the beginning of our greatness as a nation again!

**Dr. Mu'azu Babangida Aliyu, CON, fspsp, FNAE**  
[Talban Minna]  
Governor, Niger State



# ***Corruption: Contextual Clarifications***

by

Yahaya M.K., Hamza H. and Dzukogi B.M.

## **INTRODUCTION**

**C**orruption is a multifaceted phenomenon that has complex multiple causes and effects. Scholars, policy makers and opinion leaders tend to be confused in the process of analysis due to the complexity of the phenomenon as it takes on various forms. This has to do with the challenges associated with contradictions in the processes and procedures specified by the law in an economic or political system. In Nigeria, corruption is endemic. It is being perpetrated as if there are no rules guiding the conduct of public and private affairs. Rules and procedures are being flaunted at the low and higher echelon of the society.

Scholars identify Politics, Economics, Cultural and Individual moral problem as perspectives from which corruption is viewed. Corruption is also associated with some phrases in which it is described. These phrases include “misuse of public power”, “moral decay” and “act of bribery” involving a public servant and transfer of tangible resources for self gain among others.

Ancient philosophers like Aristotle espouse that human beings naturally pursue pleasure and detest pain. If they must live in harmony as a community, there must be law to guide the conduct of people. This means that we always look for avenue that will give



us peace of mind and this translates to internal good which is psychological. In another instance, we try to sustain physical health which is bodily good by eating good food, doing exercise and taking spices or substances that can make us agile. Thus, humans quest for security. It is law that will check excesses of people. The sense of reasoning of individuals must prevail to make the laws work. If a human being can reason well, he/she will not be involved in acts that will tarnish his/her image, thereby causing a life time of sadness that will arise from corrupt practices. Hence, Aristotle further defines the associated problems of morality in the affairs of state and the role of the leader and the led that are not mutually exclusive as one tends to influence the other in corruption situations.

In the same vein, Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527) used the term corruption to point at degeneration in public life. Looking at the republic, he observed widespread decadence and loss of good order and high level of indiscipline among the citizens. He responded to the prevalence of private interests of the wealthy and powerful over the interest of all others. Scholars used Edmund Dudley's (1462–1510) Tree of Commonwealth to interpret corruption-inclined behaviour in the state. The Tree of Commonwealth is an organic metaphor which means that the state is a tree whose 'roots' (concord, justice and peace) had to be secured and be capable of producing 'fruits' -tranquility, prosperity and dignity. The dangers to the 'health' of the 'tree' were simony, the 'beastly appetite'. There is poisonous core of the fruit of prosperity, which 'alienates the human mind from the gods and good virtues'.

### **Definition and Conceptual Precepts**

Corruption is being studied as a problem of economic, political, cultural and moral underdevelopment. In economic terms, acquiring wealth through means that are not productive are seen as



corrupt ways. In political terms, the use of power to accumulate wealth from public funds by a political office holder or transfer of such means to his/her friends or family without following due process are instances of corruption. Unfortunately, in certain societies, it is wrongly perceived that public fund is allowed to trickle down to groups. When an individual from an ethnic group gets political power, it is expected that such individual will use public fund to "raise his people" or this is their time to maximise their opportunity without minding the consequences on the society.

Development partners like Transparency International, the World Bank, United States Agency for International Development and United Kingdom Commission for Africa have carried out independent research work on the relationship between corruption and the absence of sustainable development in developing nations (UK Commission for Africa, 2005; UK Government, 2000; USAID, 2003; Transparency International, 2005a). Most works on corruption by these agencies are viewed from the challenges of development and not as a problem of social justice.

Debates on corruption are focused on the 'function and dysfunction of corruption in terms of efficiency or economic development'. Corruption is 'betrayal of public trust' and 'violation of established rules for personal gain'. It is argued that definitions given by many scholars were either too narrow or too broad to explain the concept in an explicit manner. Rawls' theory of justice stands out from the theories used to analyse the concept (Jong-Sung (2006:1). Rawls' theory of justice as reported by Jong Sung (2006) relates to the definition of corruption from the perception of justice and is particularly "substantive justice" and presents "equal liberties," "fair equality of opportunity," and the "difference principle" as its basic principles where "formal justice", especially when it connotes "impartiality and consistent



administration of laws and institutions.” An institution is a public system of rules that defines offices and substantive justice. A rule or a law can be unjust but we do not call a rule or a law corrupt. Corruption occurs when the rule or law is not regularly and fairly administered, whether the rule or law is just or not. Thus, corruption requires actions of the individuals. When we call an institution, or a society as a whole, corrupt, we mean that the rules of the institution, or the whole society, are arbitrarily and inconsistently administered. When we call an official corrupt, we mean that he or she administers rules unfairly or irregularly for his or her own interest. Thus, corruption involves the violation of laws for private gain and produces substantive injustice.

Rawls's theory explains corruption as a phenomenon in which the rule or the law is “not regularly and fairly administered” and it “requires actions of the individuals” (2000:5-6). Nigeria has suffered the scourge of corruption since independence. The military took over the reign of government at various times giving corruption as the major reason for the takeover, yet it soiled its hands in it. The return to civil rule in 1979 and 1999 did not help matters too. The present democratic dispensation has added new dimension to the issue. Now, the rules become abnormal and violation of rules and regulations is with such impunity.

According to Ojukwu and Shopeju (2010), corruption is the deviation from a set rule that is worsened in developing economies where there is no clear distinction between the public and private sectors, creating ambiguities in set rules and sanctions. Corruption is, therefore, a process, a phenomenon or systematic way of deviating from a legitimate plan made on behalf of the public in order to benefit everyone. It may involve funds, procedure, law or organisation established to carry out a task in which the process is abused to the detriment of the public but for the benefit of those in public office or their relatives and friends alone.



## **Corruption: Contending Theories**

Theories explaining corruption in political science are built on the notion that in the process of governance, breach of rules may occur, thereby giving room for corrupt acts. They explore types of regimes in a country (either authoritarian or democratic, development inclined or neopatrimonial rule), types of political institutions (and how they check themselves through the roles they play in the political system). For instance, the role played by the theory of separation of powers on the relationship among the three arms of government and the powers and limitation of the arms of government and how successful these can create framework to check excesses in procedures and processes to prevent corruption in the polity. Cultural anthropologists have studied some Third World countries in order to assess the phenomenon of corruption and they have created propositions that relate the way people view corruption in their cultures. Corruption is part of the local culture of some countries and this is visible, general and so commonplace. It includes a range of 'power abuse and illegal enrichment' in which most of those who engage in it deny their practice as an act of corruption or 'argue for its legitimacy' (Andvig et-al, 2000:63).

Related to the cultural ways of life of a people is their rules, norms and values that portray their world view about what life is and what it is not, some norms and patterns of behaviour facilitate corruption. On the other hand, it has been argued that traditional practices of a people are being tempered with because the concept of bureaucracy being operated in the modern state contradicts their belief system. There is now a new norm system that challenges their own tradition; as such, they query the new norm as biased and that it will prevent them from participating in the political system.

Scholars in different disciplines will always challenge the assumptions of others on the phenomenon under study from the



basic assumptions of their discipline and the theoretical approach they adopt in studying it. No matter the assumptions, the energy being put into the study of corruption is geared toward preventing the monster that denies the poor and the underprivileged their rights to benefit from the distributive attributes of the state in terms of resources.

### **Nature and Classes of Corruption in Nigeria**

In a paper presented at a Central Bank of Nigeria forum for the discussion of public ethics regarding finance, a former Deputy Director in the Office of the Governor of Central Bank of Nigeria classified corruption into ten (Ogunlana, 2008). They are Grand Corruption and Political Corruption. The former involves those at the top echelon of government while the latter involves elected and appointed political office holders. Also, Bureaucratic or Official Corruption and Judicial Corruption involve the breach of laid down rules in the civil or public service and the inability of judges to be fair and firm on the cases before them, respectively. Others are Moral and Petty Corruption where the former involves being amoral and refusing to adhere to ethical standards set up by the society through her laws and the latter has to do with corrupt practices that are associated with government officials at the lower cadre. In addition, Religious Corruption is when leaders of religious sects extort money from their followers or accept money that is acquired from doubtful sources from their followers, while Corruption in Aid is associated with donor countries that induce developing countries to take up giant projects that might not have impact on the generality of the people. Again, Controlled Corruption is practised by the elites; they have 'control over the processes and proceeds of corruption', while in Uncontrolled Corruption, there is no control in this situation, everything is left to fate and chance (Ogunlana, 2008).



Military interregnum and the problem of standard, clear-cut operational procedures and lack of appropriate legal and judicial process are some of the major factors responsible for the challenge of corruption in the public sector. Again, weak law enforcement mechanism and immunity bestowed on a category of public office holders along with lack of fraud prevention, and internal control system also serve as motivation for corruption. Other factors, like unfriendly working condition, have not helped matters. In addition, a high rate of unemployment, incessant retrenchment and a low level of financial literacy have also encouraged corrupt acts (Ogunlana, 2008).

### Consequences of Corruption

The consequence of corruption on the economy is enormous. The by-product includes; arbitrariness in the conduct of government officials and decadence and general indiscipline. Public officers are no longer motivated to follow rules because offenders often get away without commensurate sanctions. There is a high level of disregard for rules and regulations in the system and this gradually results in decline and system failure. Loss of revenue to corrupt officers is also a major consequence. Huge capital expected to be channelled into productive sector of the economy ends up in the private bank account of corrupt officials. Other consequences are pervasive poverty, decay in infrastructure, high incidence of drug use and attendant acts of criminality and insecurity. The endemic poverty experienced in the country is partly the consequence of corruption caused by distorted budget implementation due to corrupt practices. The existing infrastructure is seriously overstretched, and imminent collapse is envisaged if nothing is done. Acts of criminality and insecurity will prevail; and the emergence of insurgent groups may lead to civil war, thereby making the state dysfunctional (Ogunlana, 2008).



## Conclusion

This paper discussed the problem of corruption as a multifaceted phenomenon that has complex multiple causes and effects on the society. The confusion and fusion in the meaning and process of analysing the complexity of the phenomenon was briefly explained from various perspectives. This has to do with the challenges associated with contradictions in the processes and procedures specified by the law in an economic, political or cultural system. The paper posits that in Nigeria corruption is endemic. It is being perpetrated as if there are no rules guiding the conduct of the private and the public affairs. Rules and procedures are being flaunted at the lower and higher echelon of government.

## The Way Forward

Given the scourge of corruption in Nigeria and the attendant consequences on political, cultural, economic institutions and laws/procedures for administering the public and private sectors, the state has to maintain public enlightenment programmes aimed at minimising or preventing future occurrence of this problem.

Trainings in personal financial management should be conducted to empower civil servants, public office holders and the youth on how to plan their finances through self discipline that will translate to savings and investment in profitable ventures.

Finally, the submission by Professor Bolaji Akinyemi that corruption is a stumbling block to unity in Nigeria is an important observation that has to be considered by the elite if our country is to evolve into one indivisible and united nation that is ready to take its place in the league of great nations. The resolve to end corruption is a collective responsibility of all. If everyone resolves to follow the rule and not to deviate from doing the right thing, we shall all serve as mechanism for check and balances to ourselves.



## *Executive Summary*

The Lead Speaker, Professor A. Bolaji Akinyemi acknowledged that the endemic corruption ravaging Nigeria is not only multi-dimensional and multi-sectoral, but that it also has a long history traceable to the colonial rule. He noted that even when the British were here, corruption was 5%. As a multi-layered phenomenon, corruption is driven essentially at two levels which are the free-market and the value-based.

In its multi-layered nature, he linked corruption to areas and activities such as political, corporate, nepotism and cronyism, graft, kickbacks, unholy alliance, patronage and quiet corruption. The free-market driven corruption is usually about bonuses paid in the financial sector which are unconsciously high irrespective of the performance of the paying-financial institutions. In this regard, he posited that while the international standard for profit margin stipulates 10%, in Nigeria it is 30%. The value-based form of corruption according to him is about the abuse of entrusted power for private gains. It is also about efforts to secure wealth or power through illegal means, private gain at public expense or a misuse of public power for private benefits.

Given these parameters, he identified corruption as the invidious and insidious virus affecting Nigeria. He noted that between 1960 and 2012 about \$500 billion had been stolen and



freighted out of Nigeria. By this fact, Nigeria was ranked 156 out of 186 in the 2011 United Nation's Human Development Index Report. This also means that 84% of Nigerians live on less than \$2 a day. Thus, the opportunity cost of stolen wealth, like the opportunistic infections, is enormous. He concluded therefore that corruption is one of the major headaches to Nigeria's development.

He observed that since 1962 when the concept of the good of the region was replaced with the good of the individuals who made up the party in power, corruption has been on the upswing. This has led to the concept of "it is our turn to loot" as represented in the concept of rotation designed to get one's share of the national cake. The paradox he pointed out is that corruption masqueraded under the idea that you were stealing on behalf of your people.

He concluded that for the project Nigeria to work, two mindsets needed to be changed. These were, the optimism about the working of Nigeria from the South and the complacency about Nigeria working in spite of its shortcomings from the North. He then proposed a 25 year Development Plan.

In the welcome address delivered by the Chairman, Organising Committee, Prof. Muhammed Kuta Yahaya, the following key-points were highlighted: corruption has been the bedrock of degradation of the moral fabrics of our existence as a sovereign entity; law is law and must be for all for it to be effective; combating corruption is akin to fighting the scourge of HIV/AIDS; there is the need for integrity test for citizens to develop curative and preventive vaccines that will combat the endemic destruction of our national structure; the administration of the Chief Servant has shown keen interest in



discourses on topical national issues that will improve the quality of life of Nigerians which is commendable and worthy of emulation; the involvement of students in discourses is emphasized for quality future; and that the deliberations would form the formidable foundation to fully tackle corruption in Nigeria.

The Chairman of the occasion, Mallam Sanusi Lamido Sanusi, Central Bank Governor, highlighted the following points in his opening remarks; that emerging marketers like China, India, Pakistan and others were developing, why was Nigeria not developing – because of corruption; that state interventions were not working in Nigeria due to corruption; and that lack of positive result in government intervention was due to corruption and responsible for lack of productivity.

Dr. Shamsudeen Usman, Hon. Minister & Chairman, National Planning Commission, revealed that the critical areas to the problem of under-development and poverty in Nigeria were corruption, indiscipline, lack of regard for the rules and regulations, and decline in ethics and values in public and private sectors. He proffered solutions to be exemplary leadership in public, private and civil service sectors, building of independent Judiciary and Anti-corruption Institutions and national re-orientation on ethics and values.

His Eminent, the Sultan of Sokoto, Alhaji (Dr.) Muhammad Sa'ad Abubakar, represented by the Etsu Nupe, Alhaji (Dr.) Yahaya Abubakar observed in his remark that the fight against corruption was the fight for the heart and soul of Nigeria and that good governance and societal development could only be realized when concerted efforts were made to check corruption and abuse of power. He stressed that religious and traditional



leaders must bear additional responsibility as moral vanguards for this struggle, and efforts must be re-dedicated to safeguard the integrity of the anti-corruption organizations such as EFCC and ICPC by insulating them from partisan politics.

The way forward as suggested included preventing those concerned from escaping trial or to bring money for black-market appeal. Nigerians should stop the advocacy of marginalization – politicians must also be free from the struggle at occupying positions in the National Assembly, not believing in zoning for personal aides and that they should be people from same locality with the politicians. In the aspect of religion, we must be very careful on how we put our trust in people who present themselves as men of God. We must remove the emphasis placed on religious cleavage. Governance must be free of anything that has to do with belief system as too much emphasis on religion will also lead to corruption.

Prof. Sheikh Abdallah, in discussing the paper, defined corruption as 'conscious wrong doing'. He believed that corruption in Nigeria is a geometric corruption of leadership and a co-ordinated confusion. He called for infraculture which is cultural infrastructure for the rejuvenation of values.

The second discussant, Mr. Segun Adeniyi reiterated that corruption as defined by Transparency International is “the abuse of entrusted power for private gain”. He disagreed with the suggestions that “no Federal office holder should have an ADC, Press Secretary, Special Assistant or Chief of Staff from his own zone” and that “there should be a firm commitment to religious tolerance by people of different faiths occupying the posts of Governor or Deputy Governors in the states with a multi-religious complex”. He further offered that there must be



a genuine war against corrupt officers by not granting black-market pardon.

According to Dr. Hakeem Baba Ahmed, the public service in which he served and from which he retired had groomed him to speak the truth always. In this regards, he pointedly observed that the Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) was heading for the rocks, and that if Dr. Mu'azu Babangida Aliyu could salvage it, he should or else leave the ship. He noted that while contemplating the topic of this seminar, he wondered whether the present crop of leaders particularly the PDP Governors really wanted people like him to talk about corruption. Essentially, he pointed to the fact that for the fourteen years that PDP had been in power, it had destroyed the foundation of Nigeria. This is made worse by the recent pardon the President granted to the former Governor of Bayelsa State, Diepreye Alamieyeseigha. He concluded his remarks by warning that the President should not tamper with the election of 2015, for, as he puts it, "the greatest corruption is to steal votes".

Dr. Kabiru Mato noted that corruption is through the stealing of votes and that to tackle the problem of corruption would be by working on the party at the State and Federal levels.

The remark by the representative of Prof. Chidi Anselm Odinkalu, Mr. Udo Jude Ilo highlighted the disappointment from the youths and that "corruption is about Nigerians that have lost hope and that corruption is advanced by the home and society". He suggested the removal of Immunity Clause by the Governors' Forum because there is no country with unqualified immunity like the Nigerian example. He concluded that in a situation where politicians could go free with virtually any crime, the system would continue to fail in various circles of systemic corruption.



In his remark, the Chief Servant, Dr. Mu'azu Babangida Aliyu, CON, fspsp, FNAE (TALBAN MINNA), Governor of Niger State, said that Government officials were the main criminals destroying the system, that for every politician arrested for diverting public funds, the major culprit would be within the circle of government officials. He also pointed out that some political appointees became so powerful that the process of governance is grounded to a halt. According to him, a system where people arrogate so much power to themselves will plunge the economy into financial and development despondence. He also highlighted that "there are more money at the centre than the capacity to use them, hence, the inability of the federal government to implement up to 48% of budgetary provision since 1998 to date, and that if we are not able to confront corruption, we won't be able to develop". He concluded that "the problem with the polity is not all about party platform but it's all about Nigerians and their fragmented leadership elite".



# ***Corruption: A Degeneration of our Existence***

Welcome Address by  
**PROF. MUHAMMED KUTA YAHAYA**



**T**he Chief Servant, Dr. Muazu Babangida Aliyu, in the spirit of today's discourse, please permit me to stand on existing protocol as already established by the Master of Ceremony.

To me, it is a great honor to welcome you to the city of Minna, for a timely discourse on corruption, indiscipline and disregard



for rules and regulations. This national discourse could not have taken place at a better time than now in view of the daunting trends of indiscipline and total disregard for orderliness being witnessed presently in the day-to-day activities in our nation.

Corruption being the foremost recognized form of indiscipline, has always been the bedrock of the degeneration of the fabric of our existence as a sovereign entity. It is, therefore, a great pleasure to have the opportunity for Minna to host this timely platform to embark on the urgency that is needed to re-appraise the fact that law is law and must be for all for it to be effective. In view of this disturbing trend and disorder that exist in our society, we look at it as a menace akin to combatting the HIV pandemic which today in Nigeria is a scourge that everybody will want to fight. But like the HIV/AIDS, nobody wants to talk about it because we do not want to brace the reality that corruption is here with us, even those who are involved are afraid of talking about it. So, we therefore need an integrity test for our citizens so that we will be able to achieve both preventive and curative vaccines like antidotes that will combat the endemic destruction of our national structures.

The administration of the Chief Servant, Dr. Mu'azu Babangida Aliyu, has always shown keen interest on topical discussions like this to improve the quality of living of Nigerians, and this always involves even students, in particular, to create a path for the future generation to form the foundation for the growth and development of our nation.

I wish to thank, and specifically appreciate those who have honored this invitation, especially, the Lead Speaker, Prof Bolaji Akinyemi, the chairman of the occasion, the co-host of



this occasion and indeed our discussants. We regret the inability of the Sultan to be here due to some logistics problems and we appreciate that the Etsu Nupe is representing him.

At this juncture, we wish you fruitful deliberations and we hope that decisions that will come out of this deliberation will form the foundation for effective war against indiscipline, corruption and total disregard for rules and regulations in our nation. Thank you and welcome once again to Minna. May God bless you all.



# *Corruption Poses Danger to Nigeria's Economy*

Opening Remarks by  
**SANUSI LAMIDO SANUSI**



**I**t is a great honour for me to be invited by the Chief Servant to chair this occasion and I thank him, in particular, for not asking me to deliver the lecture because given some of the things that have been happening of recent, including the decision by the National Council of States to pardon a former Governor where I was present, it would have had a headline that would be a subject of another national controversy. But



since I am the chairman, my task is to guide the ceremony and hope that we can conclude this as efficiently as possible. However, the subject of corruption is one in which I would like to make a few remarks. Very often we tend to speak of corruption and its impact on economic development and I think there is something missing in this conversation which is the distinction between different types of corruption. I say this because in the last few years, we do find countries in the world especially emerging markets like China, India, Pakistan, Brazil, Russia, whose economies seem to be growing even though they do have corruption. So, one question that people keep asking is, why is corruption in the country like Nigeria so dangerous? And the answer that comes to mind is that we have to look at the different types of state interventions that are procured by corruption. Now, the example I give always is, if you built a 3000MGW of electricity and in the process of getting the license and building the plant, you bribed the officials, that is corruption but the 3000MGW you added creates power, manufacturing jobs, income and a positive impact of that integration outweighs the cause of corruption. This is why those countries have been able to grow even with corruption. Now, when you come to Nigeria, you can take examples of the interventions procured by corruption. If you bribed public officials to pay you fuel subsidy for fuel product you did not bring in, or pay you for a contract you did not perform, or turn a blind eye while you steal crude oil and sell it and not bring the money, the nature of intervention procured compounds the negative impact of corruption. So, I hope by the end of today on the talk about corruption, we should also talk about the fact that there is the need to develop a general framework for accountability of the state - where are the roads? Where are the power plants? Where are the airports? Where are the ports? That



is, the access of those positive interventions in the economy, not just the corruption, that continued to add to the difficulties and the inequalities in this system. And I do hope in the course of the discussions, these issues can be taken up. The worst type of corruption is one that is not tied to productivity. So, apart from the moral ethical questions and the legal questions, there is the fundamental economic distinction we should make.

It is my pleasure, your Excellency, to yield the floor to the Honorable Minister for National Planning and Chairman of the National Planning Commission who is the co-host of this seminar. His C.V. and his profile, I am sure, are in this document. He needs no introduction. I would only say that in 1980, Dr. Shamsuddeen Usman was on the stage and I was on the floor while he was teaching me Micro Economics in Ahmadu Bello University. So, if there is anybody in this hall who thinks Sanusi Lamido Sanusi is radical and controversial, please blame Dr. Shamsuddeen Usman.





# *Renewal of our Ethics and Values as Panacea to the Problem of Corruption*

Welcome Address by  
**Dr. SHAMSUDDEEN USMAN**



**T**he Chief Servant of Niger State, Dr Muazu Babangida Aliyu, and it is my pleasure to announce the arrival of the Chairman, Governor's forum and the Governor of Rivers State, Chief Rotimi Amaechi; the Deputy Chief Servant, the Chairman of the Occasion; and Dan Maje Kano, Alhaji Sanusi Lamido Sanusi; Prof. Bolaji Akinyemi, the Lead Presenter; their Royal Highnesses here led by the Etsu Nupe; members of the Niger State Executive Council; our distinguished panel of discussants; distinguished ladies and



gentlemen. And since Sanusi Lamido Sanusi has given himself away, as being my student, I then have to say something that exposes what he was doing as a student. I did not teach him radicalism. I taught him Micro Economics but I am happy that he is an excellent economist today and also something that was evident even then. I used to have this habit, towards the end of my lecture, I was always looking out for students who didn't seem to be paying attention and then I would fire a question at them about what I just taught. And when I was teaching, Sanusi was always fidgeting and things like that. So, I looked at him one day and asked him what I thought was a very tough question and the way he answered me, I was sure not only that he had listened to everything that I had said but he had even read some of the background materials. That's Sanusi Lamido Sanusi for you:

Nigeria remains one of the most important countries in sub-Saharan Africa in terms of its economic potential; its role as a regional economic power house; its political weight within sub-Saharan Africa and its role as one of the largest trading partners with western industrialized nations.

At this time of global economic downturn mostly in the western industrialized nations, Nigeria has maintained an encouraging economic growth rate in the past few years.

We are one of the fastest growing economies in the world and the second largest economy in sub-Saharan Africa. In the past five years, Nigeria has experienced impressive rapid GDP growth rate with an average of about 7.5%.

According to the IMF, Nigeria's global GDP ranking has improved from the No. 44 in 2009 to No. 39 (at current prices) in 2011. If we continue on this trajectory, our aspiration to be among the top 20 economies in the world by 2020 will be more achievable.



There is also growing investor confidence in our country. For example, in July 2012, the World Investment Report by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), ranked Nigeria as the No. 1 destination for Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in Africa in 2011, having received \$8.92bn during this period. Nigeria out-ranked South Africa, which attracted \$5.81bn and Ghana \$3.22bn, affirming the high level of investors' confidence in our country.



Our country's large population, predominantly youths, provides a huge labour market with multiple economic benefits, if well harnessed. While we remain one of the highest oil producers in sub-Saharan Africa, it is noteworthy that currently, majority of the country's natural resources remain untapped and, therefore, our potential for even greater economic growth remains promising. A look at the solid minerals sector alone shows it has potential to grow even bigger than the petroleum sector.



It is therefore against this backdrop of encouraging economic prospects for our country that we, Nigerians, have to ask some critical questions, among which are the following;

- If the economic indicators show that our country is so wealthy, then how come that we have so many people that are poor in our environment?
- If our economy is so endowed, why are we still unable to provide adequate social amenities and public facilities for our people?
- If our resources are so abundant, how do we explain that majority of our infrastructure is either archaic, dilapidated or dysfunctional?
- Why have we not been able to translate our economic fortunes into adequate social and economic benefits for the majority of the Nigerian people?
- Why is there a disconnect between economic growth and poverty reduction?

While the answers to these questions may vary, four critical areas that can be identified as contributing factors are; corruption, indiscipline, lack of regard for the rule of law and decline in ethics and values in both the public and private sectors.

Until these issues are tackled in earnest, our economic potentials will remain stunted, our ability to adequately respond to the needs of our people will remain undetermined and our position as a leading African nation will be threatened.

If Nigeria is to truly become the great nation, that it is naturally endowed to be, as government and as a people, we must tackle corruption, confront indiscipline and disregard for the rule of law, while renewing the place of ethics and values in our country. Until we are able to do this, we will remain unable to maximize



our economic potentials and will be much slower in achieving our goal of becoming one of the top 20 economies in the world by the year 2020.

So the question remains, how do we address these issues? Let me just propose three ways in which we begin to turn the tide:

### **Exemplary Leadership in the Public, Private and Civil Society Sectors**

There is a saying that 'a fish rots from the head downwards'. In the same vein, healing can also come from the head. In other words, change must come from the top for it to trickle down and spread across the nation. I am pleased and proud to state here that Mr. President and the Vice President have shown exemplary leadership in the public sector by the following measures that have been taken. First, ensuring the independence and strengthening of the judiciary, because like we say, the judiciary is a critical element of this fight, so, not interfering with the judiciary and strengthening them is a very important point; empowering the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corrupt Practices (ICPC), and other related commissions. Since this administration came on board, there has never been a situation where the President or Vice President calls any of the chairmen of these commissions and say go and arrest so and so or go and release so and so. They have been given the freedom and the independence and the resources to do their work as they should. Ensuring due process in the award of contracts and public procurement;

Another thing which I will come back to which was touched by the CBN Governor is enthrone a regime of accountability, in particular, through monitoring and evaluation, which is one of the key functions that the agency that I head (which is the National Planning Commission) is championing and putting





into practice, whereby every Minister is required to account for his performance periodically. Right now, this is going on, right from January at every meeting of council, at least two Ministers, based on an agreed format, will get up and give the report of their performance based on certain key performance indicators that have been pre-agreed and based on the performance contract that they have signed with Mr. President, indirectly and directly with the Nigerian people.

Another element is increasing the resources of the police and other crime fighting agencies and, most importantly, propounding a zero tolerance culture for corruption in government.

Another saying is that 'it takes two to tango'. In this regard, for corruption to take place, there must be two willing parties: the 'bribe giver' and the 'bribe taker'. In the private sector, leaders also have to ensure that their companies resist and desist from the tendency to offer bribes. If the private sector is able to reach an anti corruption compact, and all refuse to pay bribes, even if



there is demand but there is no supply, the market for corruption in Nigeria will crash and it will no longer have a place in our economic, social and political discourse.

The same applies to leaders in Civil Societies. If the heads of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), community based organizations (CBOs), trade unions, the media, academia and religious institutions are united in promoting and propounding anti-corruption messages to their followers, corruption will have no place in our society.

I remember the last meeting of the Honorary International Investors Council held in London, one of the agreements was that the private sector in Nigeria also needed to come together, companies needed to begin to adhere to a declaration that our company will not be associated with corruption and some kind of certifications done by the private sector. Because, that is the supply side and simple economics says you have to address both the demand and the supply at the same time.

In summary, we will require exemplary leadership in the public sector, in the private sector and in the civil society for us to have the critical mass to push back against those that seek to make this country a corrupt nation. We, as a people, must establish a new national compact against corruption in our country.

### **Building of Independent Judiciary and Anti-Corruption Institutions**

No law is respected unless it is enforced. In other words, without enforcement, laws are reduced to mere statements. The building of a strong and independent judiciary and anti-corruption institutions remain critical in the fight against corruption. This means that we have to strengthen these institutions with resources, skills, capacities, tools, systems and procedures that are strong enough to make them effective.



## **National Re-Orientation on Ethics and Values**

The values that underpin our societies are often mirrored in our politics and our economic activities. In the past few decades, Nigeria has witnessed a decline in respect for professional and personal ethics and values both in the public and private sectors. This has been mirrored in many of the corruption scandals that have besieged both the public officials and private individuals in recent times. This is also mirrored in the quality of both public and private service delivery and consequently, the quality of life of Nigerians.

We, as a people, in all spheres, will have to work together to re-introduce the right professional ethics and social values in our country. In this regard, the role of government agencies such as the National Orientation Agency and the Ministry of Information must work together to send the message to the Nigerian people that tolerance for corrupt practices, public indiscipline and disregard for rules and regulations will no longer be condoned. Indeed, we must publicly recognize, celebrate and reward people and entities to ensure the highest standard of ethics and values in their activities. In other words, we must punish those who break the law, celebrate those who keep it and provide incentives for others to follow in the same direction. This will require a joint effort across all sections of our society for this to be possible.

In conclusion, I would like to point out that corruption and indiscipline remain the Achilles' heel of Nigeria's development process. They prevent us from being able to translate our economic gains into social profits for our people. They stop us from leaving a befitting economic and moral legacy for posterity and weaken the economic and political foundations on which this country was built.



The administration of President Goodluck Jonathan has vowed, and is working hard, to tackle corruption in our country. Government cannot do it alone. It will take the efforts and the commitment of all Nigerians to remove this hindrance to our true greatness and unleash the huge economic potential of our people and our country.

While the government commits itself to doing the very best possible to ensure that the right policies, procedures, systems and process are in place, we must be reminded that tackling corruption and strengthening ethics and values in Nigeria are a collective responsibility, and our duty to this country, to posterity and to the future we want to build. It is up to us all to individually and collectively resist and defeat the scourge of corruption if we are to unleash the true greatness of our nation. Let me say this that averagely, the human being is very open to temptation. There have been experiments with hidden cameras where you come to a street where there is nobody on the street and put some money and just allow people to come and pass, the hidden camera is looking at it. Very, very few people resist the temptation to see this money and not take it. So, what is important is removing the cause of corruption and that is, in fact, the fight against corruption. This government is focussing on building standard institutions but also removing the cause of corruption. The most important part of that also is that there must be a system of accountability so that when you commit corruption or any illegality, there is a strong policing system that detects you and a strong judicial system that disciplines you. Those two are also very critical.

Like the Governor of the Central Bank said in many of these other countries, " it is not that you don't have corruption but the fact that the chances of you being caught are very, very high and the certainty that if you are caught no matter who you are, even



if you are the President of that country, the system will deal with you". Those are really the things that stop corruption ultimately, that check corruption. So your Excellencies, distinguished ladies and gentlemen, I thank you very much for your attention.

### **The Chairman's Response:**

The Honourable Minister spoke on the need for the private sector to exclude corruption itself because it takes two to tango. He spoke on the need to have a strong and vibrant civil society to develop a new national compact and to have consequence management where we reward those who comply with the law and punish those who break the law. Ladies and gentlemen, we are having a slight adjustment to our agenda. Just before the presentation by the Lead Speaker, we have the Chairman of the Governor's forum who has to leave early, so the Governor of Rivers State, his Excellency Governor Rotimi Amaechi will address the gathering.

As you all know, the Right Honourable Amaechi is very uncontroversial.





# *Wealth Redistribution as Solution to Corruption in Nigeria*

Address by  
**GOVERNOR ROTIMI AMAECHI**



**Y**our Excellencies, your majesty, the Lead Speaker and the discussants, distinguished ladies and gentlemen. I don't know what to say. You know, if you were at the last Peace Foundation Workshop or Seminar that we had, I had said enough about corruption, didn't I do that? Didn't I? So I would just say to you that I stand by my last speech. And for the



interest of rich men like CBN Governor who is here, I will repeat a bit of what I said there. What I said is that the resources of the country belongs to all of us and that when few men like you and I and all those of us on this side of the table kidnap the resources, why would you be angry with the man who would kidnap you on the road? This is what I said that day. I said, so when you go to the national resources and you kidnap it, the poor men would pick up their guns, wait for you on the road, put the gun on your head; if you bring the money, they won't shoot you. What they are doing is called in Economics-REDISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH. One more thing, I would repeat and sit down because I don't want to repeat myself all over the country. I have spoken and spoken and I am tired of speaking. But I will repeat one other thing I said that day: I said that if we the elites, the ruling class, want to be able to walk freely without having to have individual policing and have community policing where police is for everybody not Governor who, when he is moving he has 300 policemen or 500 policemen going with him, then we must be able to allow these people participate in the sharing of resources. There are so many ways; one of them is



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democratization of corruption. I won't explain what democratization of corruption is. God bless you. Thank you all.

### **The Chairman's Response:**

Rotimi Amaechi, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, I would not summarize the speech of Amaechi. The reason is that if I summarize your speech, the headlines would say that I was the one who said those things. So, that there is no confusion as to who said what. I am going to leave the journalists to write that down. Ladies and gentlemen, we are here to listen to the presentation of the paper by one of Nigeria's leading intellectuals, public servant and diplomat, Prof. Bolaji Akinyemi. Prof Akinyemi is somebody that has been right out there in the public space at least since the 1970's when he was appointed the Director General of the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs as a leading political scientist and foreign policies specialist, later served the country in many capacities as a Diplomat and a Minister and has continued to engage in public discourse as a public intellectual and elder statesman. Without taking too much time reading the very long and rich C.V. of the man that needs no introduction, may I invite Prof. Akinyemi to deliver his paper.





# Minna National Discourse On Corruption

WITH THE THEME:

Confronting Trends of Indiscipline,  
Corruption and Disregard for Rules  
and Regulations in Nigeria

## Lead Speaker



MINNA NATIONAL DISCOURSE ON CORRUPTION



# **CORRUPTION: DANGER TO NATIONAL UNITY**

BY

**Professor A. Bolaji Akinyemi,**

B.A., M.A., M.A.L.D., D.PHIL (Oxon.), CFR, FNIA.

Professor of International Relations and  
Diplomacy and Former Minister of Foreign Affairs

**W**hen I received the letter of invitation from His Excellency, the Chief Servant of Niger State, Dr. Mu'azu Babangida Aliyu, to this One-Day National Seminar on Corruption, with the theme "Confronting Trends of Indiscipline, Corruption and Disregard for Rules and Regulations in Nigeria", I knew that I had to carve out a title which while doing justice to the general theme would have a focused nuance to address the dangers which corruption pose to the very existence of this country. Hence the title **"CORRUPTION: DANGERS TO NATIONAL UNITY"**

I assume that there is general agreement that Nigeria is afflicted with the corruption virus in its most invidious and insidious variety, or else we would not be here. Yet, I am not sure that we actually appreciate what constitutes corruption. In other words, what is corruption? Most people would probably answer: bribery. Yet bribery is only one of the several ingredients of corruption. In his lecture at the Metropolitan Club on March 5, 2013, the Governor of the Central Bank, Sanusi Lamido Sanusi, identified



subsidy payments, bunkering, kickback in contract awards, as some of the other ingredients of corruption. In dealing with the definition of corruption, problems will arise over whether one adopts a free-market definition or a value-driven definition. Let me illustrate: there is a present controversy over bonuses paid to high profile bank executives and stock brokers. Two issues have been raised: Firstly, are the bonuses paid in this sector unconsciously high or not irrespective of the performance of the financial institutions. Secondly, should bonuses be paid to those working at institutions which have been bailed out by public funds? Let me use another illustration, the international standard for profit is 10%. Here in Nigeria, I understand that it is 30% in order to take care of the take-care-ables. Is it corruption to charge the 30% even though nobody is going to be taken care of? In approving 30% as the benchmark for profit, is government itself condoning corruption?

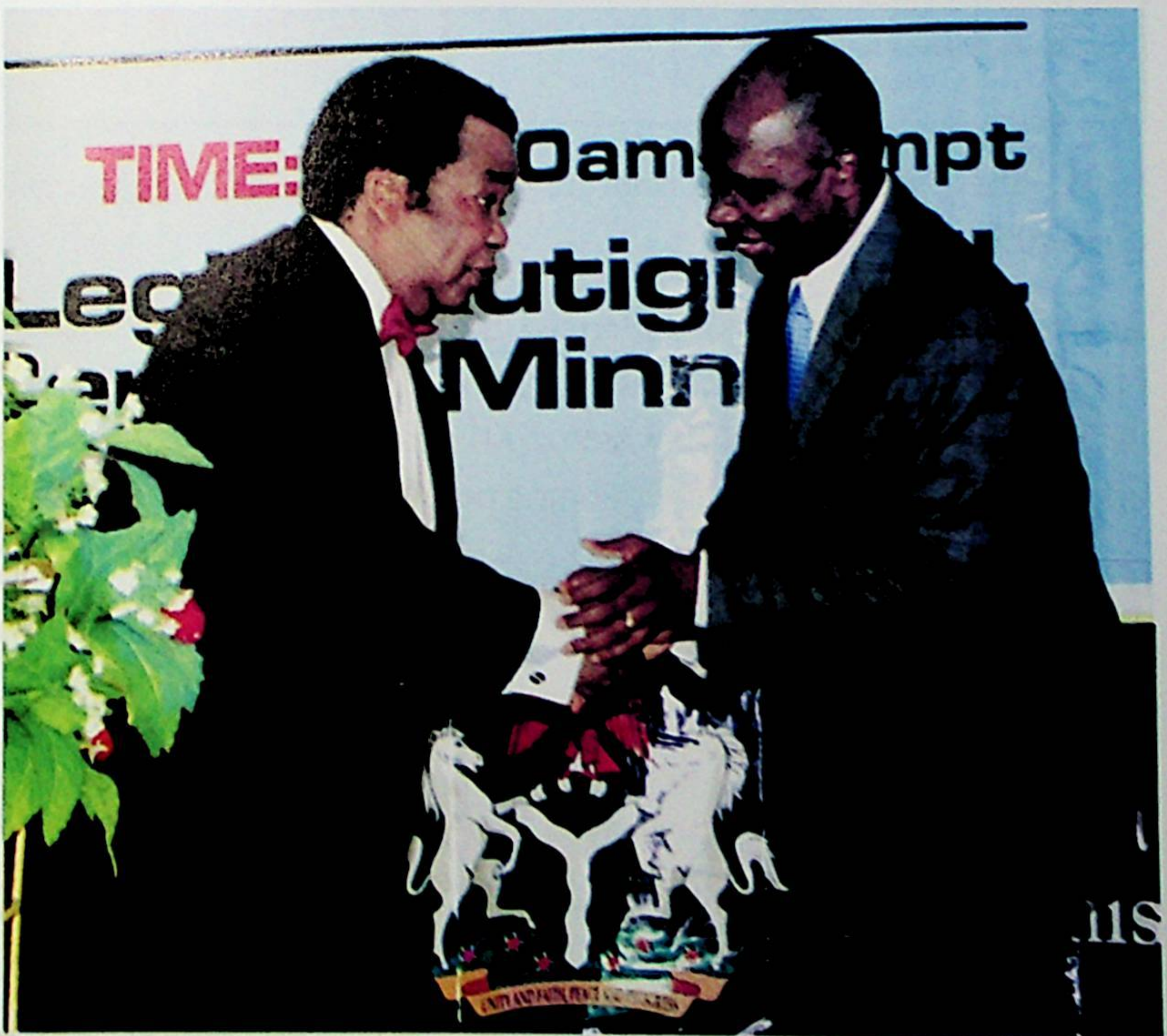
Transparency International has given a generic definition of corruption as “the abuse of entrusted power for private gain”. Seymour Lipset and Gabriel Lenz (Samuel Huntington, eds., 2000) defines corruption as efforts to secure wealth or power through illegal means, private gain at public expense; or a misuse of public power for private benefit.

The definition is the easiest part of it. Corruption has been broken down into three main components. The first is Political Corruption which most political scientists, including Inge Amundsen from the Chr. Michelsen Institute, described as “any transaction between private and public sector actors through which collective goods are illegitimately converted into private-regarding pay off.” It is the use of legislated powers by government officials for illegitimate private gain and “not only leads to the mis-allocation of resources but also affects the manner in which decisions are made.” There are different forms



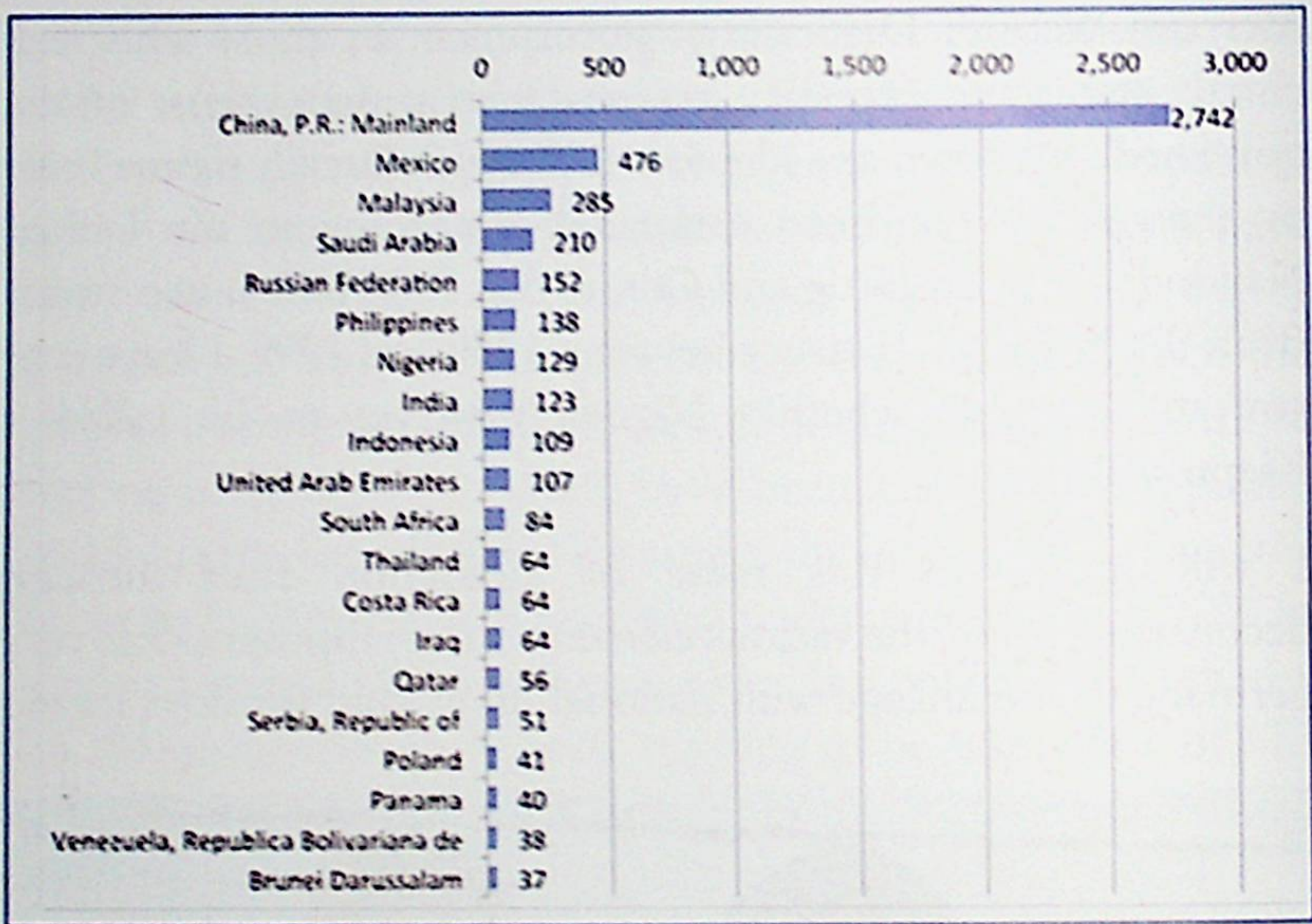
of corruption and they include bribery, extortion, cronyism, nepotism, patronage, graft and embezzlement. According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, “government by those who seek chiefly status and excessive personal gain at the expense of the governed” is known as a kleptocracy” which literally means “rule by thieves.” It has been estimated (according to the United Nations Office on Drug and Crime) that \$400 billion was stolen from the Nigerian Treasury between 1960 and 1999. I leave it to you to conclude whether Nigeria deserves to be called a Kleptocracy or not.

I will return to this issue of definition later through deconstruction of the various elements of corruption as it is very germane to the linkage with national unity. But, for now, let me





**Chart 7. Top 20 Countries' Cumulative Illicit Flows,  
Nominal HMN+GER Non-normalized, 2001-2010  
(in billions of U.S. dollars)**



make the issue more concrete by pointing to figures on corruption in Nigeria.

According to The Global Financial Integrity, in the chart above, Nigeria ranks no 7 among the top 20 countries with the highest illicit financial out flows between 2001 and 2010. The total illicit financial out flow from Nigeria being put at \$129 billion.

If you disaggregate the \$129 billion in terms of annual out flow, the figures are interesting:

- |    |      |                |
|----|------|----------------|
| 1. | 2001 | \$0.91billion  |
| 2. | 2002 | \$.....        |
| 3. | 2003 | \$.....        |
| 4. | 2004 | \$1.70billion  |
| 5. | 2005 | \$17.83billion |
| 6. | 2006 | \$19.14billion |



7.	2007	\$19.30billion
8.	2008	\$24.18billion
9.	2009	\$26.33billion
10.	2010	\$19.65billion

The same organization, **GLOBAL FINANCIAL INTEGRITY** in its 2010 report had these figures as constituting illicit Financial Outflows from Nigeria:

*	1970	\$2.2million
*	1971	\$3.8million
*	1972	\$2.7million
*	1973	\$4.4million
*	1974	\$10.5million
*	1975	\$12.5
*	1976	\$43.7million
*	1977	\$2.4billion
*	1978	\$573.4million
*	1979	\$55.4million
*	1980	\$2.8billion
*	1981	\$1.6billion
*	1982	\$35.6million
*	1983	\$2.3billion
*	1984	\$165.8million
*	1985	\$3.6billion
*	1986	\$4.9billion
*	1987	\$7.5billion
*	1988	\$1.3billion
*	1989	\$2.8billion
*	1990	\$7.2billion
*	1991	\$3billion
*	1992	\$2.4billion
*	1993	\$1.7billion



* 1994	\$1.9billion
* 1995	\$10.8million
* 1996	\$5.3million
* 1997	\$2.7million
* 1998	\$16.9million
* 1999	\$2billion
* 2000	\$6.3billion
* 2001	\$5.5billion
* 2002	\$5.1billion
* 2003	\$9.8billion
* 2004	\$15billion
* 2005	\$19billion
* 2006	\$23billion
* 2007	\$35billion
* 2008	\$52billion

I will not attempt a reconciliation of these figures. The reason for the disparity in figures has to do with the different parameters adopted to calculate what constitutes the illicit outflows. According to Global Financial Integrity itself, "The report presents four different methodologies for estimating illicit financial flows from developing countries, including the methodology used in Global Financial Integrity's previous research, and encourages scholars and experts to weigh in which best estimates illicit financial flows. All analysis unless otherwise noted refers to the GER+HMR method, which represents a highly conservative estimate for illicit financial outflows. Under the previous GFI methodology, the developing world lost US\$1.138 trillion in 2010, a 26% increase over 2009."

While the figures matter, two significant inferences, more significant than the actual figures, are that the illicit transfer of funds has always been there even though the figures may vary, presumably depending on the amount of funds available.



**IKEM BADA ANMED**  
**Idi Anselm Odinkalu**

**Benue States**  
**Members of Diplomatic Corps**





Secondly, this illicit activity spans the lifetime of all administrations including those of corrective regimes. Therefore, it smacks of hypocrisy for former Presidents and Heads of State to continue with their sanctimonious anti-corruption sermons, as if their administrations were clean.

Another caveat I should issue at this point is that, as Raymond W. Baker, Director of the Global Financial Integrity puts it: "This estimate is regarded as conservative, since it addresses only one form of trade mispricing, does not include the mispricing of services, and does not encompass the proceeds of smuggling. Adjusting the estimate...to take into account some of the components of illicit flows not covered, it is not unreasonable to estimate total illicit outflows...across the 39 years at some \$436 billion". Mr Baker was speaking in 2007.

In the same November 2007, Mr. Antonio Maria Costa, the Executive Director of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, in a speech delivered in Abuja at the 6th National Seminar on Economic Crimes said, "By some estimates, close to \$400billion was stolen in Nigeria between 1960 and 1999...If you were to put 400 billion dollar bills in a row, you could make a path from here to the moon and back, not once but 75 times... think of the millions of vaccinations that could have been bought; the thousands of kilometers of roads that could have been paved; the hundreds of schools, hospitals and training centres that could have been built; and the water treatment facilities that could have been modernized with this money. The 'opportunity cost' of stolen wealth is enormous. Think of how different Nigeria would look today"

Now, let me attempt a non-scientific experiment. If in 2007, a United Nations official estimated stolen funds at \$400billion as of 1999, the then Speaker of the House of Representatives, Dimeji Bankole, announced that between 2005 and 2010, ₦3trillion



(\$20billion) had gone missing, which means an average of \$4billion a year, if you now factor in the subsidy scam, the police pension scam and the Maina pension scam, we may be closer to \$500billion as of 2012, a figure that includes leakages from state budgets.

To reinforce the corruption image of Nigeria, let me turn our attention to the Corruption Perception Index issued annually by Transparency International. In 2008, we were ranked 121 out of 180 scoring a total of 27%. In 2009, we ranked 130 out of 180 scoring a total of 25%. In 2010, we were ranked 134 out of 178 with a score of 24%; in 2011 we were ranked 143 out of 183, with a score of 24% and in 2012, we were ranked 139 out of 174 with a score of 27%.

Let me introduce another set of indices from the Human Development Reports. The United Nations Development Programme which produces this Report groups countries into four categories, namely, Very High Human Development, High Human Development, Medium Human Development and Low Human Development. Nigeria has always been ranked in the Low Human Development except for one year, when we were the last in Medium Human Development, and that was in 2009. If we take a cursory look at the Reports spanning 2007-2011, it makes for depressing reading.

In 2007-2008, Nigeria was ranked 158 out of 177 nations; in 2009, we were ranked 158 out of 182; in 2010, we were ranked 142 out of 187 and in 2011 we were ranked 156 out of 187. By coincidence, the 2013 Report is being launched today in Mexico city. Not that there is anything to look forward to.

Now I will return to this issue of the definition of Corruption. The legal definition which I am adopting is that given by the Council of Europe. I have already dealt with this issue in my 2010



Arewa Consultative Forum Lecture and I am simply going to quote what I said on that occasion:

*Article 3 of the Civil Law Convention on Corruption of the Council of Europe defines Corruption as "requesting, offering, giving or accepting, directly or indirectly, a bribe or any other undue advantage or prospect there of, which distorts the proper performance of any duty or behavior required of the recipient of the bribe, the undue advantage of the prospect thereof."*

*If we deconstruct the word, corruption, not as a mere academic exercise but in an attempt to shed light on its constituent elements, we will arrive at some very enlightening even if at times curious information. Obviously, bribery is the most common form of corruption. In article 2 of the Criminal Law Convention on corruption of the Council of Europe, bribery is defined as "the promising, offering or giving by any person, directly or indirectly, of any undue advantage (to any public official), for himself or herself or for anyone else, for him or her to act or refrain from acting in the exercise of his or her functions".*

*The second element is called TRADING IN INFLUENCE. According to United Nations Convention Against Corruption this is 'the promise, offering or giving to a public official, directly or indirectly, of any undue advantage in order that the public official abuse his or her real or supposed influence with a view to obtaining from an administration or public authority of the State Party an undue advantage.' This is a controversial issue. One thing is clear, if I approach my uncle to please speak to a Minister on my behalf, this is not corruption because no offer of money of any other benefit is involved. Where things get tricky, is in the case of lobbyists or consultants whether political, economic or legal. It is my view that consultants or lobbyists should not be regarded as being involved in corruption as long as they are not working as fronts for office holders or they are not offering kickbacks to office holders that they are seeking to influence.*

*A third element of corruption is called GRAFT which is defined as something of large value to an official outside of his official pay. The emphasis is on the value. In most cultures in the world, it is a sign of good breeding to take*



something of a token value along when visiting. Into this class will fall, a calabash of kolanut, a bottle of wine, a Christmas hamper and a Ramadan goat. Outside that norm will be a Ghana-must-go bag full of millions of cash or a parcel of land which must qualify as graft. For example in the United States, any gift to the President valued at more than \$200.00 goes to the state and not directly to the President. On leaving office, the President is allowed to buy them back at the current market value. Another example of graft is where an official, knowing government development plan in a new area, quickly acquires the land before the announcement at a pittance and sells the land after the announcement at a huge gain to himself. There is no other name but graft to describe the Tin Can Island scandal involving a former Head of State, Presidential Mansions and Libraries involving former Presidents, Foundations and Centres involving a lot of prominent Office holders. All these are in reference to Nigeria.

Another element (and its inclusion is bound to be controversial) is PATRONAGE where incompetent persons, as a payment for supporting the government of the day, are selected for government employment before more credible ones. I don't agree with this but I have included it because it is in the literature on corruption. If this definition were to stand, every government in the world will be found guilty of corruption. But I can understand the reasoning behind its inclusion especially if you are looking at the linkage between corruption and development. If an incompetent person is put in charge of a government parastatal involving road construction or port or airport development, the lack of competence can lead to either shoddy work or inflated contract sums or both.

The next element is termed NEPOTISM AND CRONYISM. This is quite significant and let me quote from the Wikipedia encyclopedia in full. 'Favouring relatives (nepotism) or personal friends (cronyism) of an official is a form of illegitimate private gain. This may be combined with bribery, for example demanding that a business should employ a relative of an official controlling regulations affecting the business. The most extreme example is when the entire state is inherited, as in North Korea or Syria. (Here, I may



add Togo, Gabon, and Congo where sons have succeeded fathers and of Libya and Egypt where the rumours are rife that such succession plans are in the making). A milder form of cronyism is an "old boy network", in which appointees to official positions are selected only from a closed and exclusive social network – such as the alumni of particular universities – instead of appointing the most competent candidate. Seeking to harm enemies becomes corruption when official powers are illegitimately used as means to this end. For example, trumped-up charges are often brought up against journalists or writers who bring up politically sensitive issues, such as a politician's acceptance of bribes. In the Indian political system, leadership of national and regional parties are passed from generation to generation creating a system in which a family holds the centre of power, burning examples are most of the Dravidian parties of south India and the largest party in India – (the Indian Congress Party)."

I have quoted the encyclopedia in extenso because it throws an interesting light on happenings in Nigeria from 1999 up to now. Ambassadorial appointments were made from political families, Governors' wives became Senators', Ministers wives became senators, godfathers ensured the selection of their sons and daughters as Senators; political opponents were hounded by all sorts of probes and other shenanigans. I am sure that if not for our rotational policies, the failure of the third term project might have resulted in son or daughter succeeding father.

Let me at this stage add the cankerworm of TRIBALISM as a specie of nepotism. No better way to illustrate my point than by this quotation from the new Primate of the Anglican Church of Nigeria, the Most Reverend Nicholas Okoh, who incidentally is a retired Lt. Colonel of the Nigerian army. He said "If you grab everything and run to your tribe, no matter how bad you have been, they would say you are an illustrious son, you are a great man of the tribe. They would then accuse others of persecuting you.. We can't develop this way..." (The Guardian, Sunday April 4, 2010, p1)

Another element of corruption is ELECTORAL AND VOTER FRAUD which has been defined simply as "illegal interference with the



process of an election". It takes several forms including, but not limited to, illegal voter registration, intimidation at the polls and improper vote counting.

Another element is sheer and outright EMBEZZLEMENT which can be defined as theft of government funds or property. It can be extended to include the use of government resources for private purposes. An elementary example from Nigerian experience is the presence of government vehicles in market, religious or social places whether during the week days or weekends.

KICKBACKS are another element of corruption and can be defined as "an official's share of misappropriated funds allocated from his or her organization to an organization involved in corrupt bidding." This needs no further elucidation except to add that even in a situation where a professional such as a doctor or pharmacist promotes drug from a pharmaceutical company or an official recommends a law firm in exchange for monetary or other considerations also qualifies to be called a kickback.

Quoting the Encyclopedia Americana, 1999, Victor Dike defines another specie of corruption as "disguised payment in the form of gifts, legal fees, employment, favours to relatives, social influence, or any relationship that sacrifices the public interest and welfare, with or without the implied payment of money..." I am particularly fascinated by the inclusion of legal fees as part of the mechanism of corruption. This is an area least scrutinized in this country. Some years back, eye brows were raised at the fees paid a famous lawyer for some job. The eye lids were quietly lowered as the legal profession is a cult that does not like its veil being lifted. I would like to add to this category the spurious awards by all kinds of organizations, including the media. These awards are paid for to organizations whose existence depend solely to make these awards. Can you imagine the Nobel Committee selling its awards? If the Nigerian government were to ban civil and public servants and governmental organizations from taking part in those charades, the whole exercise would fizzle out.

Another specie of corruption has been termed the UNHOLLY ALLIANCE. This is best illustrated by the farewell address of President Ike Eisenhower, delivered to the American people on 17th January 1961 when he said "This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a



large arms industry is new in the American experience... We recognize the imperative need for this development. Yet we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications... In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist." If this is extrapolated to Nigeria, obviously, we don't have a military-industrial complex. But we do have a petrochemical complex or what in Nigeria lexicon is called cabal that has a monopoly for importation of refined petroleum products, kerosene, diesel, and other allied products who have a vested interest in refineries not working and petroleum price policies. We have a generator-importing cabal which is interested in PHCN not working, a sugar and cement cabal which drive prices up and not down. If the United States as mighty as it is could be warned to be on its guard about business controlling its government, what should we say to Nigeria where a situation has been reached where a handful of billionaires control more money than the annual military budget. Just as we have the mosquito to thank for sparing Nigeria the fate of white colonial settlers, we may have that old bogey, tribalism, to thank for our own billionaire class not having the cohesion yet to decide who governs Nigeria.

The final element is INVOLVEMENT IN ORGANISED CRIME. There are governments in South America where one can talk about narcocracy which is governments of drug-peddlers for drug-peddlers and by drug-peddlers. There are two countries in ECOWAS that can also be called narco-countries. There is evidence of oil bunkerrers, weapons merchants and drug traffickers pumping money into elections in Nigeria.

In March 2010, the World Bank introduced a newspecie of corruption, called QUIET CORRUPTION which means people not receiving services for which the public officials have been paid to deliver. Teachers not turning up in class to teach, doctors and nurses not turning up in hospital to attend to patients and public servants not "being on seat" are examples of quiet corruption. Its impact is even more devastating because it impacts more on the poor who have no alternative. It reminds me of the offence of silent rudeness in my old school, Igbobi College, to which there was no defense.



*The second component has been called CORPORATE CORRUPTION which is defined as “the abuse of power by corporate managers against shareholders or consumers.” Need I say anymore. The Sanusi Banking Tsunami has said it all.*

*The third component has been defined simply as “bribery in politics, business or sport (including match fixing).”*

*If we now apply these corruption parameters to Nigeria, the facts are mind boggling.*

Now, why have I laid so much emphasis on this extensive definition of corruption? A lot of it goes to strengthen my case that in fact corruption in Nigeria has been fuelled not only by the lack of national unity but more importantly by the lack of faith in the survival of Nigeria as a united nation.

Let us back-track into history. When did the rain of corruption start to fall on our heads? Yes, there was corruption even when the British were here. But in the first few years after independence, the corruption level was 5% (according to P.C. Asiodu) and it was not personalized corruption. A dedicated group within a political party was usually mandated to collect 5% from already successful contractors. The money collected went into the purse of the party. No attempt was made to influence the due process of the civil servants. Compare this to what is happening now. A more practical illustration came from the book by Dr. Abel Guobadia, REFLECTIONS OF A NIGERIAN ELECTORAL UMPIRE. When he was still a student at the University College, Ibadan, he taught during his holidays at Ilesa Grammar School. He was such a successful teacher that upon graduation, he was offered a permanent job with a newly built bungalow, right next to the Principal's house. Everybody agreed that it was a done deal. However, there was a little problem. He had used a Western Regional scholarship and he had signed a bond to serve in a



government school, and Ilesa Grammar School was a government-assisted school. Now, that should not pose any problem. The Principal of the school belonged to the same party as the governing party; he was a personal friend of the Minister of Education and they had been classmates in the college. So everybody expected that the fine line between a government school and a government-assisted school would be blurred. Imagine the consternation when the official reply came from the Ministry! A government-assisted school is not the same as a government school. The answer was No.

At that time, the political elite in power in each region believed in the existence and survival of the region, developing the region, respecting the rules and the system and ensuring that the region derived maximum benefits from the resources of government. Of course, in addition, each political party in power in each region believed it was there for keeps. No rotation, no term limitation. In other words, there was stability of expectation and leadership. This explained why there was no six-monthly cabinet reshuffle.

Of course, these sentiments were not extended to Nigeria as a whole. And it really did not matter as the Federation was regionally based. Developments could gallop along in the regions and in an Adam Smith's paradigmatic conception, Nigeria also galloped along. But that project called Nigeria did not command the same affection, the same attachment and the same loyalty as the regions except perhaps from the Eastern political elite, and the minority elite who saw Nigeria as a protecting shield against persecution and oppression by the majorities.

All these changed in 1962 when the Northern and Eastern controlled Federal Government ill-advisedly declared a state of emergency in the old Western Region, overthrew the government and eventually installed a minority government there. From then on, the political value system in the Western Region changed.



What mattered was the party members, and rules would be waived for them. Since the minority government knew it was rejected by a hostile region, the concept of the good of the region was replaced with the good of the individuals who made up the party. That was the beginning of the real corruption conundrum in Nigeria.

Maybe the virus would have been limited to the Western Region, but the 1966 coup, the installation of the military regime and the civil war saw a massive restructuring and re-ordering of the Federal landscape. Federalism was retained in name but for all intents and purposes, Nigeria became a unitary state. However, the loyalty, fidelity and emotional attachment to the regions were never transferred to project Nigeria. Even though the regions were abolished and states created in their place, for our psychological comfort zone, we recreated the regions in Arewa, Afenifere, Ohaneze and other groups.

What I am saying is that no one has governed Nigeria who actually believed in project Nigeria, who actually believed that there is a future for a country called Nigeria. And that explains why the concept of “it is our turn to loot” put more elegantly as the concept of rotation, while manifesting in cronyism and nepotism, was not designed to develop Nigeria but to get one's share of the national cake.

No better way to illustrate my point than by repeating this quotation from the new Primate of the Anglican Church of Nigeria, the Most Reverend Nicholas Okoh, who incidentally is a retired Lt. Colonel of the Nigerian army. He said “If you grab everything and run to your tribe, no matter how bad you have been, they would say you are an illustrious son, you are a great man of the tribe. They would then accuse others of persecuting you.. We can't develop this way...” ( The Guardian, Sunday April 4, 2010, p1)



It did not matter. You were not stealing from anything you, or anyone, believed in. The paradox is that the whole corruption exercise masqueraded under the idea that you were stealing on behalf of your people, while in fact the corruption left your people and everyone except those doing the stealing impoverished.

According to the 2011 Human Development Report, already cited, Nigeria is ranked at no. 156 out of 186, no. 1 being the best and 186 being the worst. Life expectancy is 52 years, only 39% of births is attended to by skilled health personnel (compared to 69% in Swaziland, and 95% in Botswana). Population in severe poverty is 34% while it is only 11.4% in Ghana and 1% in Egypt. And from the chart on the next page, you will notice that 84% of Nigerians live on less than \$2 a day.

This chart in fact strengthens the case I am making about the lack of faith in the Nigerian project because of the 10 worst cases of illicit financial outflows in 2012, Nigeria has the worst case of penury. In the case of the other countries, enough is left behind to attenuate poverty, while in the case of Nigeria, what is left to steal is the people themselves.

In my Akure lecture, I had argued that the danger to democracy is not from the military but from the poverty-driven youths who have given up on Nigeria because Nigeria had given up on them. Medical scientists know the syndrome of opportunistic infections where a little sore unattended can lead to gangrene which can lead to amputation. In my own discipline, we also have a similar syndrome called the law of unintended consequences, where events unplanned and unintended invariably result from actions taken. The Kikuyu have a proverb: "No one learns how to fall into a ditch. Take the first step off the edge and all other steps will follow".

It is my submission that the cumulative effect of corruption, manifesting in crass poverty, may make the prophesy about the



**Table F. Changes in Cumulative Non-Normalized Illicit Outflow Rankings in Nominal Terms**

Rank	2011 Update (CED+GER)	Population Under US\$2 per Day (%)	2012 Update (HMAN+GER)	Population Under US\$2 per Day (%)
1	China, Mainland	29.79 (2008)	China, Mainland	29.79 (2008)
2	Mexico	5.19 (2008)	Mexico	5.19 (2008)
3	Russian Federation	0.05 (2009)	Malaysia	2.27 (2009)
4	Saudi Arabia	.	Saudi Arabia	.
5	Malaysia	2.27 (2009)	Russian Federation	0.05 (2009)
6	Kuwait	21.69 (2009)	Philippines	41.53 (2009)
7	United Arab Emirates	.	Nigeria	84.49 (2010)
8	Venezuela, Rep. Bol. de	12.91 (2006)	India	68.72 (2010)
9	Qatar	.	Indonesia	46.12 (2010)
10	Poland	0.2 (2009)	United Arab Emirates	.

1/ "2011 Update" refers to the report, *Illicit Financial Flows from Developing Countries Over the Decade Ending 2009*. Global Financial Integrity, December 2011. "2012 Update" refers to the report *Illicit Financial Flows from Developing Countries: 2001-2010*. Global Financial Integrity, December 2012.

2/ Source, GFI staff estimates and World Bank Development Indicators database. Years are in parentheses and represent the latest period for which data was available.



break-up of Nigeria, a reality. The Niger-Delta militancy, the Boko Haram insurgency and the wave of kidnappings for ransom, wave of armed robbery and assassinations are manifestations of disenchantment with society. I have seen poverty and environmental degradation all over the country, whether in Bayelsa, Rivers, Abia, Enugu, Maiduguri, Ajegunle. Nigeria is littered with villages and urban centres with horrific evidence of poverty. When on to this is grafted the fears and grievances of the major nationality groups that make up Nigeria, then the explosion may be just an accident waiting to happen. It may not be intended. But then accidents are seldom not intended but they do happen, nonetheless.

## THE WAY FORWARD

The time is long past when we must address the fears and grievances of Nigerian nationalities. The North has this fear of being dominated and that the domination may exacerbate the economic and educational gap between the North and the South. The South-East, the South-West and the South-South are all crying marginalization and they feel that the sacrifices they have made in the implementation of the principles of Federal Character have not been appreciated.

We must get together, and together develop a new mindset about Nigeria to make project Nigeria a success. We must do away with two competing mindsets. There is the mindset which is prevalent in the South that project Nigeria has been a failure and we must allow it to break up into some constituent units. There is a mindset which is very prevalent in the North that the rest of Nigeria has no choice but to accept Nigeria as it is. Both of these mindsets are self-defeating and negative and must be rejected. The Nigerian project needs urgent fundamental restructuring and that



restructuring must be based on a grand consensus among the elite.

Before I go into details, let me make one thing absolutely clear. I am a firm believer in the concept of federalism and federalism must go hand in hand with the concept of federal character. Federal character and merit are not antagonistic handmaidens.





The North that has produced men like Professors Iya Abubakar, Ishaya Audu, Jibrin Aminu, Ibrahim Gambari, Adamu Baikie, just to mention a few, and seasoned civil servants like the late Shehu Musa (Makaman Bida), cannot be said to be lacking in men of merit. Fifty years after the establishment of Ahmadu Bello University, I doubt whether there is any corner of the North that will be lacking in men of merit. Therefore the North should even feel insulted to be accused of being incapable of filling its own quota on merit.

It is only when appointments and promotions are made without merit that mediocrity reigns supreme.

I therefore propose a 25 year development plan based on the following:

- **Genuine War Against Corruption.** There must be no bail for those charged with corruption, no appeal to high courts during the trial and life imprisonment with forfeiture of all assets stolen. The onus should be on the accused to prove he or she acquired the assets legitimately.
- There must be a conscious constitutional and public policy effort to grant all Nigerians a feeling of belonging and inclusiveness. Perception is often stronger than reality. There is no justification for the North-East and South-West zones to have been excluded from the top twelve posts at the federal level, just as there is no justification for the two National Assembly sub-committees co-ordinating the Constitutional Amendments process to have been headed by two chairmen from the same zone in the country.



- No federal office holder should have an ADC, Press Secretary, Special Assistants or Chief of Staff from his own zone.
- In each State Assembly, 10% of the seats should be reserved for non-indigenes.
- In each state cabinet, at least two cabinet posts must be reserved for non-indigenes.
- Federal Ministries should be graded in terms of strategic importance and appointment of Ministers should be such that all zones are represented in each grade.
- There should be a war on poverty such that by the end of that 25 year period, those below the poverty level will be less than 1%
- Using the yardstick in the Human Development Report, Nigeria should aim for an annual increase by ten to fifteen positions and aim to be in the High Development Category within five years. This will necessitate more funds in the education, power and health sectors.
- There should be adoption of policies designed to generate massive employment.
- There should be a firm commitment to religious tolerance. Nothing will emphasize this more than people of different faiths occupying the posts of Governor and Deputy Governor in states with a multi-religious complex.

This 25 year plan can only emerge from a National Conference where the elite from all over the country driven by the fact that if



they don't hang together, they will hang separately, will bury suspicion and age-old fears and grievances to save themselves and the nation.

Mr Chairman Sir, Chief Servant, I have never addressed a greater audience in my life than the one that has gathered here in Minna. I feel honoured, thank you.

### **The Chairman's Response:**

Our Lead Speaker, Professor, thank you for the compliment. For someone who was ambassador to the United Nations and who has addressed the United Nations to say this is the greatest audience he has addressed is a great compliment. Thank you. Ladies and gentlemen, I will not go into trying to summarise Professor Akinyemi's lecture. He has covered the ground from his bits on corruption, its links to patronage, nepotism and cronyism, so the links between that and what he sees as the bases for the lack of national unity, and going over the history of various governments and showing that no government is immune from corruption and putting to question the entire Nigerian Project. I'm sure, there are a number of discussants that would have taken note of comments made and a number of them might respond to different aspects of the presentation but before we go to the discussants, I plead your indulgence to give honour to whom honour is due and invite a very short intervention from His Eminence the Sultan of Sokoto, Alhaji Sa'ad Abubakar III, who on his behalf, is represented by His Highness, the Etsu Nupe.



# ***Corruption: The Fight for the Heart and Soul of Nigeria***

His Royal Highness

**Alh. (Dr.) Yahaya Abubakar, CFR**

Etsu Nupe and Chairman, Niger State Council of Traditional Rulers



**A** huzubillahi Minashadanirajim, Bismillahi Rahmanirrahim. The Chief Servant Sir, the Executive Governor of Niger State, your Excellency, the Executive Governor of Rivers State, the distinguished Chairman of the occasion, the distinguished Guest Speaker of this occasion, the Honourable Minister here with us, distinguished personalities on the high table, your Royal Highnesses, distinguished Ambassadors, guests, ladies and



gentlemen, Assalamualaikum Warahmattullah. With gratitude to the Almighty Allah, we thank you honestly for this opportunity to be gathered here this afternoon on this very important conference tagged Minna National Discourse on Corruption. First and foremost, I want to tender the apologies of his Eminence, the Sultan of Sokoto who actually had plans to be here. About three days ago, he informed me about his coming to Minna to attend this occasion.

And up to today, we were communicating with him. He was at the airport waiting for aircraft to come and convey him from Sokoto to Minna but, unfortunately, the aircraft didn't come at the time it was expected; hence he was not able to make it to this occasion. He actually apologised and asked me to extend his apology to the Chief Servant and the Honourable Minister for not being here physically. However, because of the trend of high technology, he was able to send me the short remarks that he was supposed to present here this afternoon. And I was able to bring it up and I will read through it for the benefit of this gathering.

His Eminence observed that the fight against corruption is the fight for the heart and soul of Nigeria and for our survival as a nation imbued with hope and purpose. Understandably, corruption helps to undermine our moral integrity and worth. That also creates harm to the very basis of our social, economic and political development and the realization of our national goals. The containment of corruption in Nigeria is, therefore, a necessary and essential step in our quest for greatness. He further said that the success of our pre-colonial politics in this country, especially the Sokoto Caliphate, was predicated on the firm belief that good governance and societal development could only be realised when concerted efforts are made to check corruption and abuse of power. Sultan Mohammed Bello of





blessed memory, one of the founders of the Sokoto Caliphate was emphatic in urging his followers to make a clear distinction between public property and private possessions and to safeguard the former as a divine trust only to be spent according to stipulated rules and regulations.

Sultan Mohammed Bello III was reported to have maintained two lamps in his house; one for his public activities and the other for his private activities. Sheikh Abdallah bn Fodio, in his discourse on public officials in Nigeria also asked the ruler to rebuke any official



who fails in his duty, dismiss those who transgressed and replace any one against whom complaint have been made. Most importantly, Sheikh Abdallah urges more strongly that any official who is found over and above what he earns from his work, the ruler should confiscate and restore it to the treasury. If he is doubtful about the source of the wealth, he shall confiscate half of it from the employee. On the collection of bribes and gifts, Sheikh Abdallah's condemnation cannot be more emphatic. Another thing agreed upon as being illegal is the collection of bribes on behalf of the ruler or other officials like judges and public employees. Therefore, it is very illegal to accept gifts from the common people for such action is the door leading to all types of calamities.

When a gift finds its way to the man in authority, justice and goodness will find its way out of him, and what he purchases with that money is nothing more than a place for him in hell fire. I wish to make a special call to leaders at all strata of our society to accord the fight against corruption a special attention because it is so urgently deserved. I would also like to emphasize that religious







and traditional leaders bear additional responsibility as the moral vanguard of this struggle. We must appreciate the fundamental precept that God is pure and will not accept anything that is impure. It is therefore, important for us to resist the temptation of turning our religious and traditional institutions into laundries for the purification of ill-gotten wealth.

We must seek to revitalise the moral and spiritual energies of our people and drive them towards building the ethical foundation of our nation. We must also seek for all that is good and decent for the transformation of our respective communities and for the overall development of the country. We must rededicate our effort of safeguarding the EFCC, ICPC and ensuring that they discharge their mandate to the full extent of the laws establishing them. We must, above all, protect them from political interference. The fight against corruption is a strategic national agenda. It is, therefore, important for us to insulate EFCC and similar agencies from partisan politics.

This is the short message from his Eminence the Sultan of Sokoto to this gathering. However, from my own stand, I just



want to commend the effort of the Chief Servant and the National Planning Commission for organizing this occasion whereby group of people are gathered here to listen to a very cancerous situation confronting this country, which is corruption. But, very importantly, indiscipline is the bedrock of corruption. To hinder discipline, chances are that corruption will continue to grow and continue to grow and continue to grow. So we must pray Almighty Allah to instil in us all discipline, that is self-discipline, collective discipline to obey rules and regulations within our country, so that we may live better in this country and beyond. Once again, we thank you all and His Eminence appreciates the gathering and also commends and prays to Almighty Allah that whatever we may discuss will be beneficial to us all, especially Niger State and Nigeria in general. Thank you and God bless you all.

### **The Chairman's Response:**

Thank you, your Royal Highness, Etsu Nupe and we extend through you our gratitude and appreciation to His Eminence, the Sultan for the speech. We will now go straight to the discussants. We are running out of time. I will like, if possible, to give each of them seven minutes. I can see Hakeem and Segun nodding and the two Professors are shaking their heads. I hope we can keep to our seven minutes; we will go in the order of Prof Sheikh Abdallah, may be the order in which you are seated, so we start with Prof Sheik Abdallah.

I learnt this term recently that if you are an immediate past Minister, you are an Ex-Minister, then if there are few Ministers, you are a former Minister, then a few years down the line, you become a one-time Minister after about twenty years like Prof Akinyemi, who used to be in government. We have our Ex-Minister of Agriculture, Prof Sheikh Abdallah.





# **Minna National Discourse On Corruption**

**WITH THE THEME:**

**Confronting Trends of Indiscipline,  
Corruption and Disregard for Rules  
and Regulations in Nigeria**

## ***Discussants***





**Professor Sheikh Abdallah**  
Former Minister of Agriculture



# Minna National Discourse On Corruption

**WASH FOR YOUR**  
Confronting Trends of Indiscipline, Corruption and Disregard for Rules and Regulations in Nigeria



**Mr. Segun Adeniyi**  
Chairman, Editorial Board  
THISDAY Newspapers



**Dr. Hakeem Baba-Ahmed, OON**  
Executive Vice Chairman  
Qura Mandate Consulting



**Dr. Kabiru Mato**  
Director, Institute for Anti-Corruption  
Studies University of Abuja



**Prof. Chidi Anselm Odinkalu**  
Head, Africa Programme of the Open  
Society Justice Initiative



# ***"Creating Infraculture to say No to Corruption"***

PROF. SHEIKH ABDALLAH



**T**he Chairman, Governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria, our very own distinguished Mallam Sanusi Lamido Sanusi. Because of time I have written down something here in recognition of your kind of involvement but the joke in Hausa says, 'Yaro da gari abokin tafiyar Manya', that most of the time the energy found in discussion comes from the fact that naira is the dominator. So anytime you talk, it is very important.



Because of time, I will quickly move from that. Let me recognise the Chief Servant of Niger State, the Chairman, the Northern States Governors' Forum and my Lords-spiritual and temporal, Your Royal Highness, the Etsù Nupe, Bagadozhi, Alhaji Dr. Yahaya Abubakar and other Royal Highnesses present. I'm highly honoured to be asked to talk here. I want to admit that I, as an individual, am corrupt because all Nigerians are corrupt. So I have a basis for this. In 2010 while we were doing Vision 2010, all of us with Imams and Bishops in one room including Tam David West, we all concluded that as Nigerians we are all corrupt. So I have known that this is the truth.

The Chairman, I'm going to summarise that the previous delinquency in service really led to some of the growth that the Chairman and even the Honourable Minister were talking about. The growth which we could not see because of high-intended consequences. I want to be short and sharp because of the seven minutes. I will just gloss over certain things. The first one is that I want to accept, and I want to endorse completely what the Lead Speaker said but to differ a little with him in one or two areas and I hope I will remember that one area that I want to differ with him on; it is in the area of merit. There are also a lot of discussions there that I could raise. But let me remember, in fact, if in the end I am not able to talk about it. The other point I want to talk about is why do we even go into definitions of indiscipline, disregard for rules and regulations? The answer is simply put, corruption is equal to indiscipline and equal to the issue of disregard. So therefore full stop. By my submission to all the corporate definitions, I have to jump to the conclusion that, one simple definition that I want all of us to memorize is that corruption is simply, conscious wrong doing. Simple. The other things will just be doing paraphrasing but conscious wrong doing is corruption.



I want to talk on those areas that I'll just jump over like this issue of the problem of zone of influence like the Office of the Governor, Office of the Permanent Secretary, the Office of Mr. President. How, as a group, did they add value to the issue of fighting corruption? They tend to be the centre of gravity, unless something is done in terms of remuneration and who gets to those areas of zone of influence or centre of gravity; we will just be wasting our time talking about what to do with corruption. I think our argument is what is the trend? The trend is very simple itself. The trend is geometric, the growth in corruption is geometric, and the quantum numbers submitted by the leader whether in billions or in millions is simply indicative of the trend. But what that term means as we have seen, is that we now run an economy that is managed by co-ordinated confusion.

Quite a number of things are out of control. So what we find in this country is, if you use the words of those in physics that is in baroscopic effect. If you know *manzari* that we roll, you know in those days when we rolled the *manzari* it turns and bends so the farther, the time spent with a jarescopic go around the country that is having so many faces and it bends, we never know when we will collapse. I ask later whether, indeed, we have got a capable state. The answer is very simple. Nigeria is not a capable state. There are a number of other things that will go into it, as I read, I just go over them quickly, but the submission by even the Minister and Lead Speaker is indicative of the fact of those things I said. A Swiss Manager was accused of bottle-neck and he said his experience with bottles is that you find that the bottle neck or necks is always on the top. The guys in Biology say that fish starts to rot from the head. Because of the type of leadership we find ourselves in, a card of quagmire, that leadership becomes enigmatic. Just one minute, the chair, I know the difficulty of rushing through. I wanted to talk about what



happened in terms of U.B.E., U.P.E., N.B.E.B based on the two issues raised earlier by the Minister, as well as the Speaker because of the issue of corruption. I will quit in a moment. I said it is not a matter of infrastructure; it is not a matter of numbers. Until we come to face it, there is the need for change of insight. What I'm calling for is infraculture not infrastructure, but infraculture. And that infraculture is the re-arrangement of our sight to say no to corruption and once we can have that, we can move forward.

There is much noise about the issue because in the illustration of the issue of power payment, the illustration by the speaker about merit and the indicative of the power citing Ahmadu Bello University, that "no way we can say we don't have people that will fill positions by merit". Merit is misunderstood. Operationally, merit is within the context of the various geopolitical zones. It is not a matter of narrowing down the number from one to zero and have a take. But which state has the right to compete and produce the best, that is merit.

### **The Chairman's Response:**

Ladies and gentlemen, I reserve my comments until the end of the discussions. We will now have Mr. Segun Adeniyi. He is the Chairman Editorial Board of Thisday Newspaper. He was Special Assistant Communication to the late President Umaru Musa Yar'adua.



## *Playing Religion as Contributory Factor to Corruption*

MR. SEGUN ADENIYI



**Y**our Excellency, the Chief Servant of Niger State. Your Royal Highness, the Etsu Nupe, Kubeygidi. That's to tell you that I spent one of the best years of my life in Niger State as a Youth Corp member. I taught at the then Zungeru College of Advanced Studies, now Niger State Polytechnic. Then we lived at Wushishi.

I think I can take the permission of the Chairman to dispense with the protocol. But I want to specially recognize Prof. Bolaji Akinyemi. He has remained a role model for many of us



because he went to government and came back without being battered or bruised. Some of us thought we could take the gamble. Unfortunately, I went into government as a spokesman to the President and I came out as the spokesman to the cabal.

I have read the paper. I read it last night and this morning on my way here, I read it too. There are several things that I agreed with in the paper. But there are also many things that I disagreed with in the paper. Because I have just seven minutes I am going to talk about what I disagreed with in the paper. Let us begin with the definition. The one I agreed with of all the definitions is the definition of corruption by the Transparency International which defines corruption as the abuse of entrusted power for private gain. That for me is the real definition of corruption. But you dwell more on political corruption without talking about corruption that manifests in the administrative area. For instance, I know many of us here have driving licenses, I don't know how many of us actually did the test before obtaining the driver's license that we hold. I know many of us travel to South Africa and we have our yellow card, I don't know how many who take immunization.

Because I have seven minutes, I will now go to the issues, the way forward that you prescribed. Number one: genuine war against corruption. I am reading it. There must be no bail for those charged with corruption. No appeal to High Court during the trial and life imprisonment with forfeiture of all assets stolen. The onus should be on the accused to prove he or she acquired the asset legitimately. I bet you, I disagree. This is not only an invasion of the rule of law in Nigeria, it will not work. And I will tell you why. For the big shots, the fat cats, they will play the meaner card. They will collude with security agencies and flee the country so they will escape trial. Those of



them that will be unfortunate to get tried and convicted will get Black Market pardon.

Number two: There must be conscious constitutional and public policy effort to grant all Nigerians the feelings of belonging and inclusiveness. Perception is almost stronger than reality. There is no justification for the North East and the South West zone to have been excluded from the top twelve posts at the federal level. I consider this as an antithesis of what Professor was actually preaching because what that means in essence is, it is our turn to eat. And I will give you why. Today, the feeling is that the Yoruba people are marginalized. The President believes that he will come back, the Senate President believes that he will come back. Unfortunately, they did not capture the voters in Abeokuta South Federal Constituency. Now, because Bankole did not return, the equation became disjointed. With the ACN winning majority of the seats in the South-West, it became impossible to vote in somebody from the South-West as Speaker. And because Bankole did not come today, there is so much noise that the Yoruba people are marginalized. Now that the Prof had used my missile today and I want to use it.

and I want to read the quote....

*" I personally do not see what the millions of ordinary people in Yoruba land are missing because a member of their ethnic group is in none of this so called key position to eat on their behalf. A Yoruba man occupied the most important office in the land between 1999 and 2007, did that reduce the level of unemployment and abject poverty in the region ?*

Now there is another thing I disagree with; Prof said and I quote:



*"No federal office holder should have an ADC, Press Secretary, Special Assistant, and Chief of Staff from his own zone."*

I believe these are personal staff and they are based on two key issues competency and trust; and the second one is very important. If I were in the public service, I would pick an ADC I can trust even if he comes from my village. I would pick a Chief of Staff I can trust, it doesn't matter if he comes from my village. The point is that, is the person competent, can he do the job and can I trust him.? That for me are the issues. Personal staff for public office holders, I don't believe in zoning for them. Prof. said again in each Assembly, 10% of the seats should be reserved for non-indigenes. Now, who are the non-indigenes and how could such be determined. You are going to create another cartel of jobbers because it is impracticable. How would such Constituency be determined. If we are talking like the State Assembly, for instance, you want 10% for the non-indigenes. If you have 20 constituencies in Niger State, so which constituency will you decree that the non-indigenes should come from? because it's going to be by election. So how do you determine who the voter will want?

The last one is about religion and I want to end on a sober note. I mean we play too much religion in Nigeria and it's actually one of the factors that is contributing to corruption. I will give a very practical example by way of closing. I take religion seriously as a Christian myself. Chief Ojo Maduekwe when he was a Minister of Art and Culture in 1999, he told me a very interesting story. After he was appointed, one Pastor came to pray for him. After the prayers, he said the Pastor told him, 'look, God told me that you will buy a car for me'. So I now asked Chief Maduekwe, how did you handle it? He said yes, he



told the Pastor that I am happy that you are hearing from God but did God also tell you where I was going to get the money from?

Thank you very much.

### **The Chairman's Response:**

Thank you Segun. I think one point that keep coming out very clearly is that all the people that say they are representing, they are actually representing themselves when they are in there.

Dr. Hakeem Baba Ahmed: former Permanent Secretary, prolific writer.



# *The Biggest Corruption is in the Electoral Process*

DR. HAKEEM BABA AHMED



**T**he Chief Servant, I noticed that the Governor of Rivers State has gone. I wish he were here. Your Excellencies, my icon the lead speaker, the lecturer. I have only seven minutes so let me just go straight to the point. I think that Professor Akinyemi as usual has presented an excellent paper and all I can say, sir, is that we will use the kind of material you have presented here to teach, for those of us who have gone back to the classrooms, so that the younger Nigerians can still



see that your generation that benefited from a Nigeria that worked still want to see it work again.

Chief Servant can I thank you for this opportunity to come back to Minna and clear out a slight misunderstanding that happened in Abuja. Many people did not know how you and I were puzzled about the way I spoke to you when we met at the Sir Ahmadu Bello Memorial lecture. They didn't know how far you and I went and they didn't understand that I knew you would understand what I was saying, and you knew I would speak the way I did, because we went through a public service that allowed us to speak the truth. We are still doing that. I'm retired, now you are a Governor, so I'll speak truth to you because you are in power. I wish the Governor of Rivers State were still here because you are the two most powerful Governors in Nigeria. I am not too sure whether the people should be clapping because I feel sorry for you, Chief Servant, because I understand that you are going through some difficulties and travails. Well, let me say this to you as a friend if what is causing you a problem is that you have chosen to tread the path of honesty, sincerity and commitment to the Nigerian course, please don't change. If it has nothing to do with your personal ambition, if it's the Talba that we used to know, please don't change. If the Governor of Rivers State were here I'd say the same thing to him. Your party, the PDP is heading for the rocks, and it is going to sink with Nigeria. If you can salvage it, salvage it. If you can't salvage it, leave that ship; there are other ships around.

When leaders assemble people like us and say come and talk about corruption, you have to ask yourself, are these people serious and sincere? Do they really want us to talk about corruption? Especially PDP Governors. But because I know the Chief Servant and I know he wouldn't call people like these and get involved in public relations, I knew he was serious. Sir, your



party, PDP since 1999 has destroyed Nigeria, has destroyed the foundations of Nigeria. And now, two days ago the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria put the icing on the cake. He granted state pardon to the only Governor who was convicted of a crime, who confessed to a crime; who stole billions of naira and on his own confession sent to jail! The President granted him state pardon on personal grounds. Now, in the name of what? And on that list they even included the name of late Shehu Musa Yaradua, a man who has died –who Allah *subhanahu wata'ala* might have granted pardon already.

And this party which now has Governors, people who still believe that Nigeria can be salvaged, despising its own Governors, chasing them left, right and centre, chasing everybody. People ask us, are you not afraid? This government has found new power, they will chase everybody. Yes, we are afraid, I am afraid to speak, I am afraid to criticize but I am more afraid of Allah, and if our leaders will not be afraid of Allah, they will not be afraid of our sensibilities and civilities. We are not afraid of you, do your worst because impunity, the kind of things that leaders do because they have power, they think they can do anything and go away with it. That is what has brought the nation to its knees. You will not grant pardon to insurgents even though their fathers and mothers and grandparents said grant them amnesty we will deal with it, but you would grant pardon to a criminal who has been convicted.

Now, I have seven minutes so let me wind up whatever this administration does, there is one thing they must never try to do. Don't tamper with the election of 2015. Don't tamper with the election of 2015! The way they are going, they think they can get away with anything in this country but there is one thing they cannot get away with. But, if you do that and Nigerians



recognize that they cannot change the government even if that is there, only God knows what will happen. The biggest corruption is in the electoral process. and I'm not too sure that what they have done in the last few weeks will not also attempt to steal the election in 2015. I pray to Allah that we don't see this. Thank you.

### **The Chairman's Response:**

The Chief Servant is like a man who invited a guest to come and eat lunch in his house without asking him what the lunch time conversation will be. But I suppose this is democracy and it is good that everybody should have a right to express his views, and there will be other comments on this. Again, I do not want to summarize what Hakeem has said and I do not want to express any view on it. Gentlemen of the Press, his name is Dr. Hakeem Baba-Ahmed, not Mallam Sanusi Lamido Sanusi, for tomorrow's headlines.

But thank you Hakeem, honest and straight forward as usual. We will now have Mr. Udo Jude Ilo and he's the Nigeria Country Officer for Open Society Initiative standing in for our friend, Chidi Odin Kalu.



## ***Bad Leadership and Bad Orientation Fertilize Corruption***

MR. UDO JUDE ILO



**G**ood afternoon, ladies and gentlemen, and permit me to stand on existing protocol. It is really very discouraging to speak after Hakeem Baba. So let me start by apologizing if I'm going to an anticlimax.

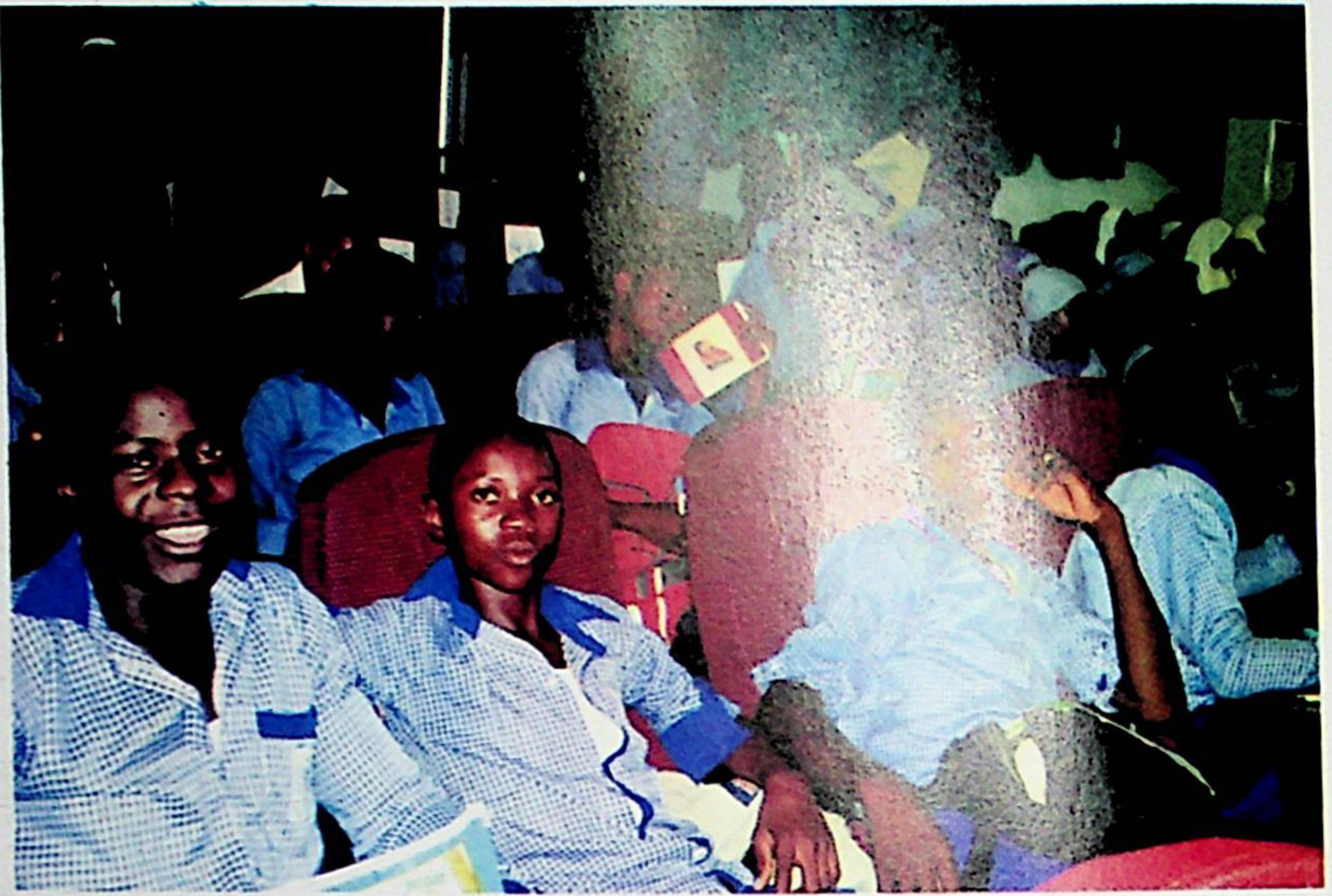
I want to, on behalf of Professor Chidi Odin Kalu, apologize for his absence. I'm actually representing him. I've looked at the table, looked at the other table and I know I don't really have any business sitting up here. And so Chidi is unavoidably absent and I'll try to do justice to what I believe he will want to speak on today.





I'm also taking it upon myself to speak for another constituency. I turned 35 years in December and so I believe I can speak for the youths. And in speaking for the youths, the first thing I'll say is that with every amount of respect and every sense of responsibility, we talk about corruption in numbers. I want to talk about corruption in human counts – in bodies. In March last year, a very hardworking woman by the name of Chioma who was the bread winner of her family and who was taking care of her old mother, got pregnant after five years of childlessness. On a Wednesday, she took ill and went to one of the General Hospitals in Abuja where, unfortunately, the doctor who was supposed to be on call that night was absent. And that is indiscipline. By 8pm, Chioma was hemorrhaging in a manner that was so scaring that they began to pile up clothes under her to soak the blood. They needed to do a test to be sure of exactly what the problem was and they said the chemicals were not in the laboratory. By 10pm, there was no bed where she could be laid on to be attended to and she was discharged. Twenty four hours later, Chioma lost consciousness, half hour after that, she



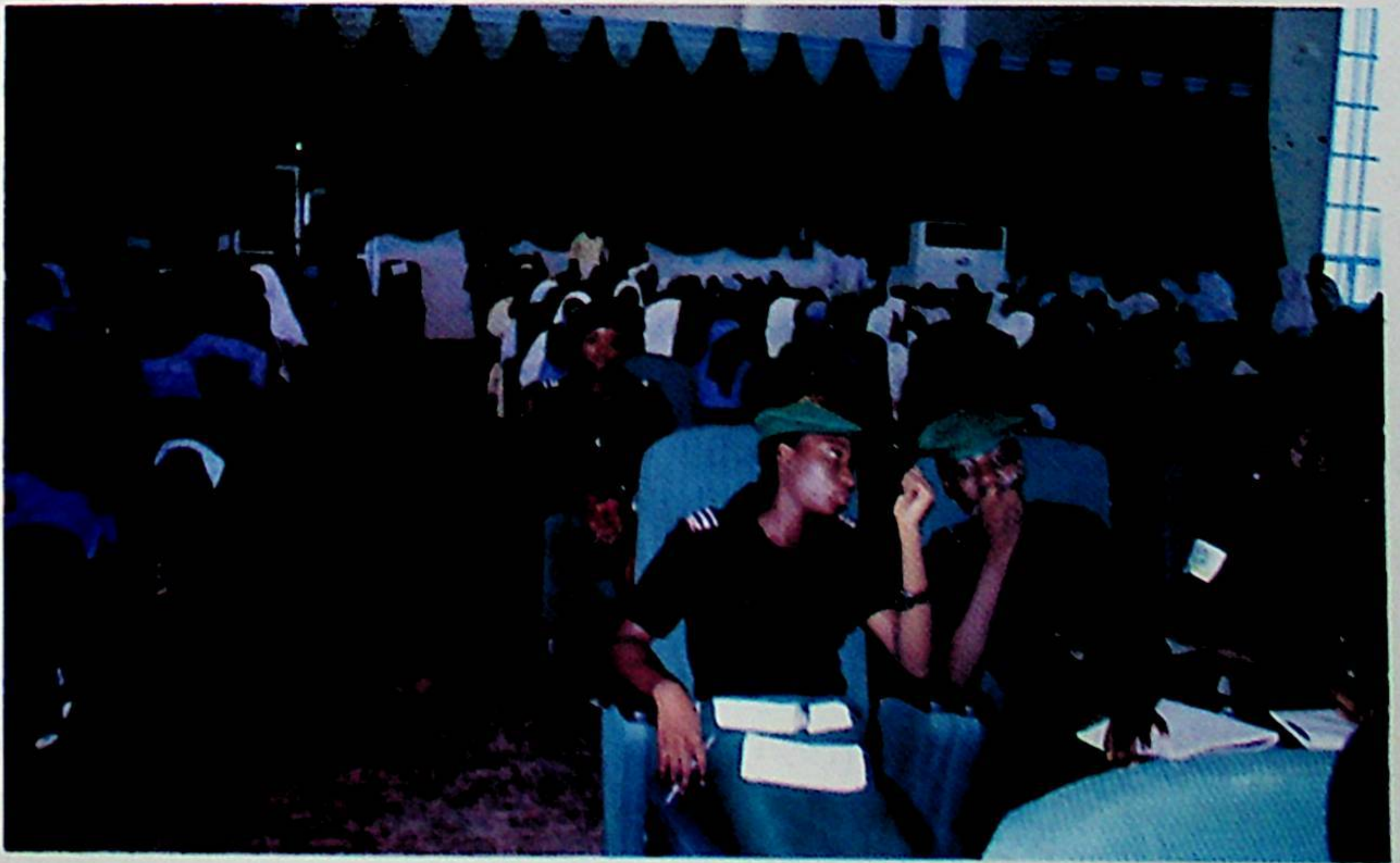


died. Whenever I tell her story, it pains me because she paid her tax. She was a hardworking Nigerian. She did everything right but her country, just like it has failed generations of her and her people, failed her. Till today, nobody has been held accountable for her death. And so corruption for me is not about the numbers. It's about those little boys I saw on the road begging, not sure of what they are going to eat today. It's about the 70% of Nigerian youths who are graduates from universities and are not sure of getting a job in their lifetime. It's about the old women in my village in Enugu State who come to me to ask for N1000 so they can go to the hospital. It's about Nigerians who have lost hope.

And so I want you to talk to me about the fact that we are losing hope in this country, and why is it that corruption is so endemic? Two things: bad leadership and bad orientation. And I'll tell you about bad orientation. In 1983 when I was five years and was going to my sister's university, I ate banana which was a treat in those days. And I wound down the glass of the car and



attempted to throw it out and my father told me don't you dare. That was a lesson for me and I can't recall since 1983 if I ever threw anything out of a car window. You get this kind of training at home and then you come into the university, you come into the system and you realize that if you are not corrupt, it's almost near impossible to succeed. And so, some people didn't have a father who told them not to throw something out the window. Some others had fathers who had to go and pay bribe for them to get into the university. They had fathers who had to pay people to take exams for them. They had fathers who stacked one billion or one million in the bedroom without explaining to their children where the money came from. That is the youth you are producing and that is why Niger Delta will be in flame, Boko Haram will not go away, kidnapping will not go away, because the supply line is constantly enriched. 20 people repent, 50 people are corrupted, you cannot stop corruption that way and so you have to provide reorientation and you cannot provide reorientation if you do not provide leadership and it kills me to face people who are not Nigerians, who listen to the news when they say they just granted an international felon a pardon. This is





a man as we speak who has an international warrant on his head for jumping bail in the United Kingdom, the Nigerian government grants him bail and you tell me you are fighting corruption. It is not sometimes about what you do, but it is about how people perceive what you do. And so for us to fight corruption we have to provide leadership. For us to provide leadership we have to build institutions, institutions that are capable of making me go to jail and capable of making the CBN Governor go to jail. There has to be no special treatment for anybody. And for you to build that institution you have to subject yourself to that same institution. So it's not about building it; you have to make yourself subject to it. And so the servant leader, let me make a point. The Governors' Forum should please go back and review the immunity clause for executives in Nigeria. In no country do you see leaders have unqualified immunity, meaning you can do whatever you want and nobody can question you. And so when we are able to do that, when we can hold leaders accountable and then we can look at the youth and tell them you should not be corrupt and they will take us serious.

I rest my case.

### **The Chairman's Response:**

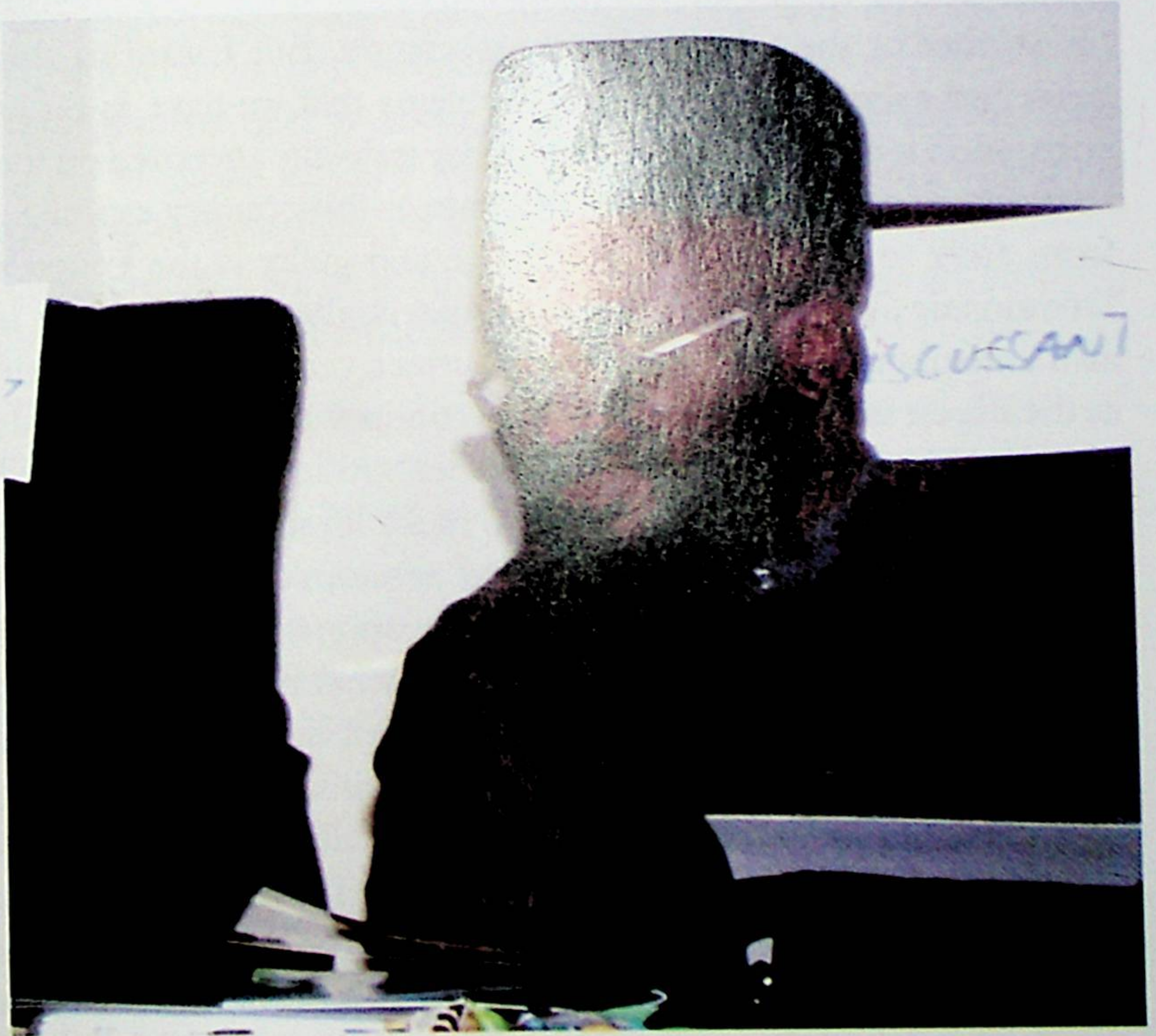
I think one thing is beginning to emerge which is the theme of the need for consequence and consequence management. And the frustration of people who feel that the fight against corruption will come to nothing if those convicted are let off the hook.

Now, before I get tempted to make further comments on that particular subject, having succeeded so far in keeping my mouth shut and avoiding controversy, I will invite Dr. Kabiru Mato.



# *Corruption is Anchored on the Structure of Nigerian Politics*

DR. KABIRU MATO



**M**embers of the high table, distinguished ladies and gentlemen. I think the paper by Professor Akinyemi is as usual breath-taking. It has covered virtually every aspect of corruption. Therefore, our job as discussants has been made so easy. But, let me make haste for the very few minutes that I



have to fill in certain things that I find as blank spaces. In any case, they may simply be an extension of some of the issues that Prof. Akinyemi has raised in greater details in his paper. I am concerned about corruption but my elder brother, Dr. Hakeem Baba Ahmed, apparently has dragged the carpet from under my feet by seriously bouncing on the political structure of the People's Democratic Party, the PDP. By way of introduction, I am not a member of any of the registered Nigerian political parties so that when I speak against one of them I am not misconstrued as speaking on behalf of another or the other political association. But I want to also think and submit that the major problems that we have as far as corruption is concerned in Nigeria today is deeply anchored on the structure of the politics that we operate in this country especially from 1999 to date. And very culpable and guilty is the People's Democratic Party of which, unfortunately, the Chief Servant is also a member. The party, in the last fourteen years has prided itself as the largest in Africa but has failed to conduct one simple free, fair and credible election to fill the vacancies within its ranks. What I am saying here is that we have paid so much lip service to the issue of corruption considering it within the economic dimension. The Marxists will always tell you that the economy is the base and politics, society and everything constitute what is called the super structure. But, in the case of corruption in Nigeria, the political dimension constitutes the base and economic aspect. In my view, that it is being perpetrated is largely as a result of our inability to recruit effective and efficient leadership and do it the way it is supposed to be done. There's a gap between leaders and the people, especially at the center. If you take, for example, the recent attempt by the PDP to start what they call the PDP Governors' Forum about fourteen years after. In Nigeria, that action in itself constitutes a major angle of corruption because it was not very intended in the first place. It was simply brought up by the Presidency as a check on those Governors that are seen as very powerful and therefore would deal decisively with the presidential



ambition of Goodluck Jonathan in 2015. I am not worried if Nigerians decide that they will vote for Goodluck Jonathan again. That's their business. But, the fact of the matter is that the way and manner that the whole episode is being conducted in my view speaks volume about the nature of unpreparedness of the ruling class especially at the center to play politics and democracy the way they ought to be played. For many years you have never elected the chairman of your party. The last one was the conscription of Bamanga Tukur who every Nigerian knew was rejected by his constituency in the North-Eastern part of this country. But when they came to meet in Abuja, we woke up in the morning - because some of us go to sleep with our two eyes closed when they are meeting because hardly will anything good that is people-oriented come out of it. So we went to sleep and we woke up in the morning and we heard that Bamanga was indeed elected. Good for you.

The last one. You have been meeting, the members of Board of Trustees have been meeting day in day out wanting to elect the Chairman of the Board of Trustees since the resignation of the former President, Olusegun Obasanjo. All of a sudden we saw Governors coming out of the meeting with the President, Vice President and party leadership and then two things emerged. One is PDP Governors' Forum and the other is the introduction of the new Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the PDP, Eighty-year-old Tony Anenih, the 'Fixer-General' of the federation. May be because he wants to fix the 2015 elections. Dr. Hakeem has sounded the note of warning, which I am sure will be better respected, listened to and understood as genuine by Nigerians on the need... I mean we saw what happened in Kenya recently despite the apprehension, all the hues and cries, the machination of, you know, the International Criminal Court of Law and so on and so forth. We saw how they conducted their elections. We saw how the result was eventually released. We expect that nothing short of that will also come out of Nigeria.



So my submission on this, Mr. Chairman, distinguished ladies and gentlemen, is that the PDP has succeeded in the total destruction of the political foundation that this republic was built upon. You'll continue to remain there. But then my prayer again and my warning, especially to the Chief Servant and most of your Governors, is that if you allow the center of power as is currently operating within the 36 states of the federation to be subsumed under the rock in Aso, then you are finished and the rest of us that are under you are also finished. I prefer a situation where the center of power revolves around the 36 States of the federation and the center in Abuja to simply have a party chairman who was never elected; he had never faced any congress, coming out and arrogantly, at over 70, telling us what he desires to tell us. In my view again, that is the manifestation of corruption. You have a chance, sir. Try as much as possible to continue with that cross that you have carried. Tell the truth. If you tell the truth, the truth shall set you free. That is what the Bible says.

Thank you.

### **The Chairman's Response:**

Thank you very much. When Dr. Kabiru Mato begins to quote the Bible, we know that we have views, multiple views.

We're going to have a very short intervention of the Chief Servant and the Chief Host, His Excellency, Governor Mu'azu Babangida. But we have a list of contributors who will speak after him for two minutes. These are Prof. Ishaq Oloyode, Mr. Dino Melaye, Mallam Shehu Sani and Comrade Isah Aremu; (he used to be my comrade before he joined the elite, when we were in the university, he used to be in the Students Union, but he has left us now).

But before His Excellency, out of diplomatic courtesy we invite a two-minute intervention from the Pakistani Ambassador to Nigeria who would like to make a few remarks.





# **Minna National Discourse On Corruption**

**WITH THE THEME**

**Confronting Trends of Indiscipline,  
Corruption and Disregard for Rules  
and Regulations in Nigeria**

## ***Eminent Contributors***



*To End Corruption is to Create  
Awareness and Good Governance*

MUHAMMAD ASHRAF SALEEM  
PAKISTANI AMBASSADOR TO NIGERIA



**Y**our Royal Highnesses, Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, Asslamu Alaikum. I do not find myself competent enough to talk before this august gathering on this important topic. I will just submit to you experiences that we had in Pakistan.

In Pakistan, if somebody has been following the development string, Pakistan's High Judiciary has held the highest officials to



account. And they have been able to cut the corruption to a great level. Similarly, I believe developing countries have got this problem of corruption. And all the speakers whom I was able to listen to, I think they were eminently speaking on this important topic. They brought up some of the issues that need to be attended to. And very gratefully I got enlightened from this forum, particularly the elders who spoke from here. I am sure this particular session today will be able to create a lot of awareness and this is the way forward, in fact, of achieving good governance. We should not be despaired, whatever we hear from here and there. But basically, it's the awareness which matters, and then the struggle; continuous struggle to achieve good governance.

I appreciate and I thank you very much; your Excellency, for affording me this opportunity. Thank you very much. Assalamu Alaikum.

### **The Chairman's Response:**

Very quickly I will start with Professor Ishaq Oloyode. And please, in the following order: after Professor Oloyode, we'll have Mr. Dino Melaye; we'll have Mallam Shehu Sani; we'll have Mallam Isah Aremu, and we'll wrap up. Please, two minutes, maximum.



*The Root of Corruption is the  
Sacrifice of Truth*

PROFESSOR IS-HAQ OLOYODE



**T**hank you very much, Mr. Chairman. The first point I want to make is that it appears to me that at the foundation, at the root of corruption is the sacrifice of truth. What I mean is that in Nigeria today, you cannot identify truth as being distinct from falsehood. If you talk about arresting whoever is corrupt, who does the arrest? Are you sure that somebody who is being vilified as a thief is not actually a



saint? It appears to me that the sacrifice or elimination of the line of demarcation between truth and falsehood in Nigeria is very dangerous.

The second point; security of integrity. In Islamic Law, security of integrity is so important but you find out today in Nigeria that anybody can fall victim, anybody can join any group either through the media, through government manipulations, anybody can be made a devil. And you'll then turn round and say perception is as good or as bad as reality.

Number three: I believe the traditional rulers as custodians of our traditions should not be asking for roles in this corrupt society; rather, they should ask for protection. I believe that most of them because they can be removed by powers that be, are no longer the custodians of our ethics and ethos.

Number four: I believe that everybody should resolve to clean his own corner and if we do so, the nature of corruption in Nigeria is so gigantic that I don't think any normal human being will want to face it squarely. But if everyone of us is determined to clean his own corner, I believe Nigeria will be better for it.

Sir, thank you very much.

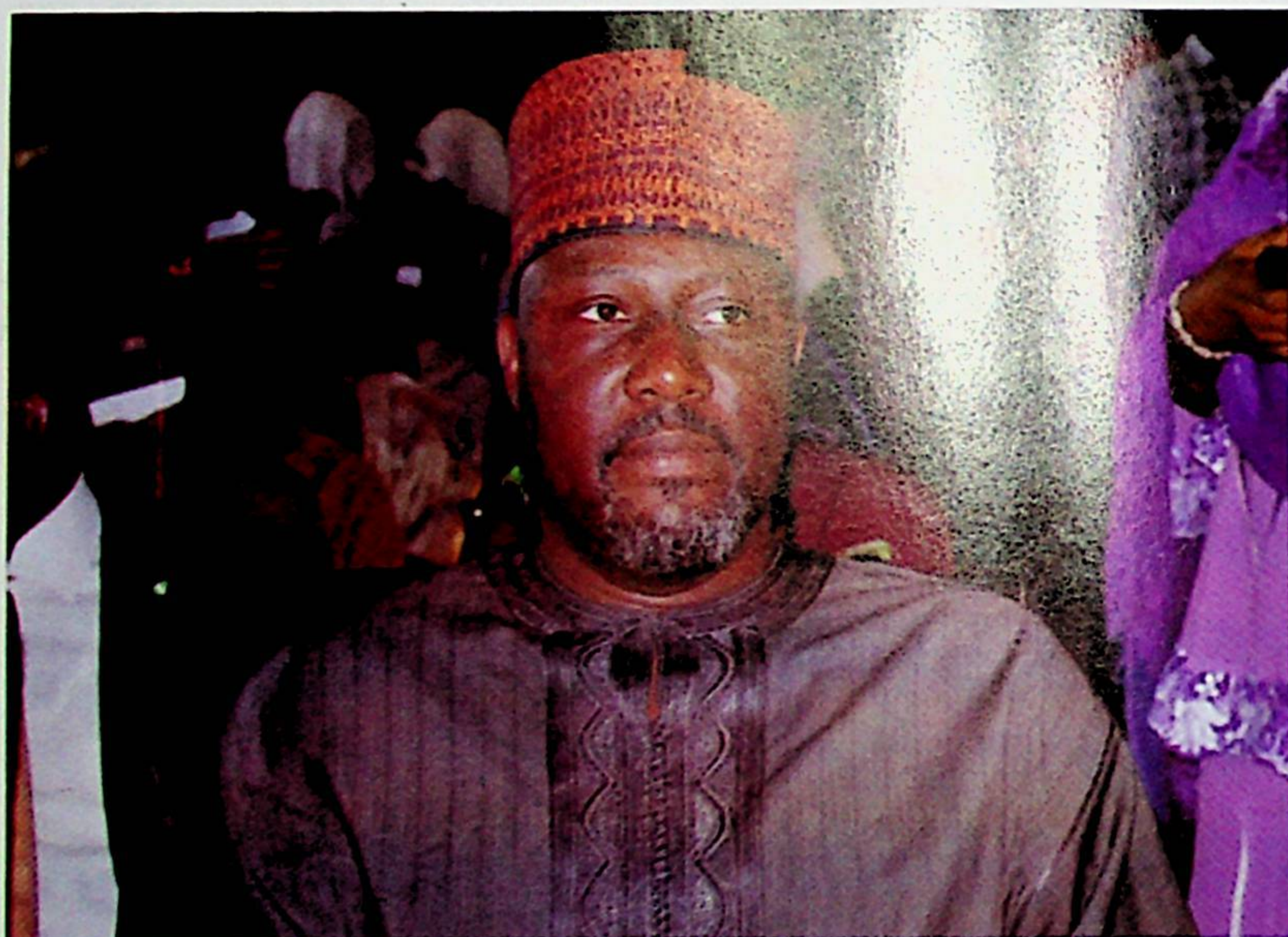
### **The Chairman's Response:**

Thank you Professor Oloyode and you kept your two minutes. Our dear friend now, Dino Melaye.



## *Government's Activities Massage Corruption*

MR. DINO MELAYE



**T**he Chief Servant of Niger State, the Chairman of this very important occasion, I will say I rest on existing protocol.

I want to start by appreciating the Chief Servant for having the courage and gut to organize a seminar like this on corruption. It takes a lot of courage and I say congratulations.

Nigeria is not only sick but equally suffers from what I call a dreadful congenital abnormality. We must agree that democracy is government of the people, by the people and for the people.



Never ever will it be government of the greedy, by the greedy and for the greedy. We are talking about corruption here today. Corruption as I speak has graduated from the stealing of billions to the stealing of trillions.

We have individuals that have been indicted but are still serving. This is the first time in the history of this country that we are having a Minister of Petroleum without a Minister of State. During Obasanjo, that ministry had four Ministers; Minister of Petroleum, Minister of State Petroleum, Minister of Petroleum Energy, Minister of Petroleum Gas. Today, there's no Minister of State, there's no Special Adviser, there's no Special Assistant.

I want to say that it's very wonderful that the Governor had courage to organize this, many Governors cannot. The Presidency cannot organize a sitting or discourse on corruption. But enough of talk shops, enough of paper presentations, enough of discussions like this. We should graduate from talking to action. Nigerians must come out of their cocoons. No white man, no Obama, will deliver us. We have to deliver ourselves. Nigerians must come out and ensure that in an unjust society, silence is a crime. The truth of the matter is that the only weapon we have today is to resist mis-governance by protesting vehemently. Mubarak as powerful as he was for 30-something years, the decision of the people, the resolve of the people took him out of power. And if Nigerians will not come out, and come together and believe that our problem is domestic, it has to be domestically tackled - Nigerians must arise! The power of change is now.

Governments have demonstrated enough that they massage corruption, they romance corruption, they fertilize corruption, they promote corruption and they sponsor corruption.



### **The Chairman's Response:**

Thank you, Mr. Dino Melaye, thank you, thank you. We'll now invite Mallam Shehu Sani to come and make one comment please. A very brief comment, Mallam Shehu Sani.



# *Solution to Corruption is to End a Corrupt Government*

MALLAM SHEHU SANI



**D**istinguished members of the high table, all protocols observed. I have listened to the presentations of all the speakers here. We have heard the academic side of corruption, the civil service explanations of corruption, the journalistic definitions of corruption, the royal explanations to what corruption is. We have heard all sides of corruption. But what is clear is this, we must call a spade a spade.



We have seen how in many countries, a few weeks ago in Italy, the former Prime Minister was jailed. Some months ago in Israel, a Minister was jailed. We are here with a President that claims to be fighting corruption. He has used the name of Shehu Musa Yar'adua to pardon a convict. I was in the same cell with Shehu Musa Yar'adua and I'm speaking on behalf of him that that pardon is a fraud. If Mr. President is interested in pardoning, why couldn't he have pardoned Al-Mustapha who is in prison? He needs it more than Shehu Musa Yar'adua. And let me be very clear on this. We are not concerned about any pact but we are making it very clear. We need a change. We need a fundamental change in Nigeria. You cannot talk about corruption. You cannot pray about corruption. You cannot always murmur and complain about corruption. The solution to corruption is bringing to an end a corrupt government.

Thank you very much.

### **The Chairman's Response:**

My former comrade, Isah Aremu. You know Comrade Isah Aremu and we used to be student comrades in A.B.U. but he has since left us and joined the elite.



## *Replace Corruption Agenda with Development Agenda*

COMRADE ISSA AREMU



**Y**our Excellencies, let me congratulate the Chief Host through the Ex-comrade, Governor Sanusi Lamido. The Governor of CBN, through you let me formally thank the Chief Servant for hosting this platform. And I say so because I am also sharing from your success. Most people don't know that Governor Muazu Babangida was the first Secretary of the Nigeria Labour Congress in Niger State. The first Secretary of the State Council of Nigeria Labour Congress. Although I'm not sure Chief Servant is still living on minimum



wage. Looking at your size alone, I know that you are living on anything but minimum wage. But there is no doubt that you are drawing from the maximum experience you gathered in the labour movement - ability to call a spade a spade, ability to speak the truth. And I want to commend you for having the courage to create this platform. It shows your labour background that you are not afraid even when your party is being contested at this platform.

The second quick point I want to raise and I think it came from the opening remarks of Sanusi Lamido and I think that point should not be lost on us. He emphasized that what is so terrible about corruption is that it is not tied down to productivity, it's not tied to production. And for me, the policy implication is that I think we should start thinking beyond the corruption discourse, the corruption paradigm. I think it's time for us to replace Corruption Agenda with Development Agenda. I say this because Sanusi knows that two of us were students of Economics under the tutorship of Dr. Shamsudeen. And I know that through my tenure as a student of Economics in A.B.U nobody taught us what was the definition of corruption or poverty. But when we talk about Gross National Product, we talk about income distribution. We were taught about growth and development. I think we need to bring back development to our discourse. It is extremely very important. The reason why the 3000 megawatts is not done is that there is no perception to put development on the agenda. So I want to suggest that next year, this forum should change the discourse on corruption from the narrative form to that of development. We want to hear the story about developmental financing, like the good job the CBN is doing. Because the essence of governance is not about catching thieves. You know after catching all the thieves, we have to ask ourselves, have we provided the food, have we provided the light and have we provided the water?



Now the last one is that all the key contributors here have done well but they are also men of yester-years. They've also been part of government. And in particular, please, a special round of applause for Professor Akinyemi for a very good delivered paper. I know the jobs you've done, the activism you brought to foreign policy. You know, your role in the Chadian crisis and others are well acknowledged. But I also know that you are part of the same government, from your lecture, because I got the figures you gave us that by 1984 the level of Capital Illicit Financial Outflow of this country was about \$1.5million dollars. Just a year after the government you served the thing jumped to \$3.6billion dollars. In fact as at 1987 which was the peak of that government, the transfer was as high as \$7.6billion dollars. The question I want to ask is that for us to make a change in Nigeria, we should not be talking as if we are from outer space. Since you were part of this government, it would have been nice to hear from you how your government tried to stop corruption in the 80s or promote it as the case may be.

On the last note, I think it is extremely important for me to say this, that we can't make progress if we also don't say what we've done when we're in government. As for Sanusi, the Governor of CBN, my Ex-comrade, I'm at a loss how to address you; whether as the *Dan majen Kano* or the CBN Governor. I'm talking about rules and regulations. I do not know what the code of engagement is because when I see you, I feel like coming to greet you as the *Dan maje*, but actually we are dealing with the CBN Governor. But I trust there should be rule of engagement. I would like to see you more formal in formal occasions, on a working day rather than looking like somebody who's from the palace.

Thank you.





MINNA NATIONAL DISCOURSE ON CORRUPTION



# ***Corruption at Family Level Transcends to Institutions***

Speech of

The Chief Servant

Dr. Mu'azu Babangida Aliyu, CON  
at The Minna National Discourse on Corruption

**M**y good friend and brother who daily I join in prayers. When somebody brought me a newspaper and said that the Governor of the Central Bank is not interested in second tenure at the Central Bank, I said don't worry I know why and we are in prayers.

The Honourable Minister of National Planning who is here in double capacity also as representative of the Chairman of National Economic Council, the Vice President, Dr. Shamsudden, as you have heard has always been an excellent, honest man right from his student days to his lecturer days. You know an honest man by the product he has produced, and if Dr. Shamsuddeen produced the Governor of Central Bank who by all trappings of family and authority would have been the most conservative person but going through Dr. Shamsuddeen, has become one of the most radical people in Nigerian politics. The Etsu Nupe representing the Sultan. We deeply regret the logistic problem that prevented the Sultan from being here but as you have heard from his presentation you cannot have anything better than that. So we thank you, Etsu Nupe. The discussants,



sorry for the timing. I know you would have said more and I have learnt one thing now, we will make sure that whenever we have discussants in future, we will not have some people together at the same time. For Dr. Hakeem, many of you who do not know we had the opportunity to be at one time probably the youngest Permanent Secretaries ever appointed, not only that we are probably the ones who paid more attention to details and to rules and regulations and therefore felt every time very free to raise issues at any given time and at any occasion. I recall on many occasions when we went for meetings in the Villa where people felt that no sooner we came out from that meeting than we would have been dismissed because of the positions we took, but, believe me, people were very happy that at least within their midst there were those who could still call a spade a spade regardless of the consequences of the situation.

Permanent Secretaries and Secretaries to the State Governments are really the drivers of the government. I have always said to my Commissioners that if a Minister steals two million, go and find out that the Permanent Secretary must have stolen four million, because there is no way a Minister or Commissioner can dip his hand and take money, he has to go through the system, the process, and there is no way you will run away from the Permanent Secretary being the Accounting Officer or from the Secretary to the Government who is the Co-ordinator of Governance either in the state or in the federal system. But nowadays, we have allowed personal officers; the Chief of Staff is a personal officer to the Governor or the President but because, probably of proximity and the ability to make sure that those who may tell the Governor the truth are not seen because the Chief of Staff controls the protocol and whoever is coming to either the Villa or the Government House, now Chiefs of Staff have become almost much stronger in many cases than even their



bosses. We have many examples to cite, Ministers who want to see their bosses and Commissioners became afraid of Chief of Staff. That is not right and I am raising this particular issue because of the representatives of Governors here; Kano State represented by the Honorable Commissioner, Special Duties, Benue State, represented by Dr. David Salihu, SSG, Kogi State by Professor Olagbenro Jegede, if you remember Professor Jegede established the Hong Kong Open University before coming back to establish the one in Nigeria. So I don't expect him to be afraid of anybody. I don't expect him to feel that, that job is the only way he can eat and that he can always look at his Governor and tell him the truth of the situation. Yes, the decision will be the Governor's but I tell you we must not be afraid that if we advise appropriately and the decision has not been taken that we can walk away. If a Governor knows that his officers will be willing to throw files at him, believe me, he will be very conscious and very careful and listen to the people that he works with. Abia State is represented by a Professor. I don't know why they all sent Professors. Maybe because they thought it is a talk shop, but this particular talk shop, and Katsina State by Barrister Ibrahim Dantsoho, the Attorney General, Kwara State was supposed to have sent Gold but I haven't seen him here yet. This particular talk came about because as Governors, members of the Economic Council, we discovered that for the six years that we have been members, all our discussions have not been able to bear the kind of fruit needed. If you look at the constitution, the National Economic Council is established to really discuss the economy of the country because the economy of the country is one. If it is corrupt from the center, it means it is corrupt up to the local government. If the center has become too big to even manage the resources at hand and we know the reasons, because of the military history. There was one time when it was unitary and so the center was controlling everything and today the center





controls 52.8% of what is accrued to the federation while the state and local government where we are talking of General Hospitals, where the people are sharing the remaining forty something percent and Hakeem is here as a former Permanent Secretary and the two of us really held key positions with a lot of money. So we know the amount of wastage that are there because there is so much money than the capacity to use that money. If you review our budget from 1999 to date, you will discover that none has implemented up to 45% and that is a law, a budget is a law and nobody has been punished for not implementing the law. In budget, even the biro that you are going to use was captured and if it is not there nobody can even come to you to say approve this amount of money for this expenditure. But we never pay attention anymore to such details. So we thought that we should have a special session on indiscipline, corruption and disregard to rules and regulations because we saw it as the basis that whatever economic policy you have, whatever political agreement you have, whatever developmental aspirations you have, if you are not able to confront these variables, you are wasting your time





and that is why we say instead of coming to talk like we used to, we needed something that we will be talking to and I am very happy that all of us are very frank. But believe me, I don't know because we used to talk, we used to share information, when Hakeem dumped P.D.P and went to another party, I am not too sure. Hakeem, I am still a loyal member of the P.D.P but I know that like you said talking to power, since I am still in government and he is resting before he comes back, that he can talk the way he did. But let me set certain things very clear. P.D.P having been in power since 1999, it is obvious that people will find more faults with it but can you show me a party that by what it is doing, it could have done better than what P.D.P is doing today? If you say you are not controlling the center what about the parties that are controlling the states. Let us see from what they are doing at the state level, that it could have been any different. Show me any party which by the ideals enunciated of electing the national chairman that has done any better than what the P.D.P has done. Any party that has the chairman you will find out that there is one



hovering person that is the leader of the party, who is actually the chairman, so please the problems are neither the PDP's, the problems are with us Nigerians and we must dissect them. We have agreement, agreement if you have two wives, they have the days of their own food and the days they should come to your room, how many of us are buying this 'ci muyi' to go to another room and not buying to the other room? That is corruption at the family level, and if things have gone that bad, if the family cannot be honest, it means that there are no institutions that can be honest and it is important we keep talking so that people appreciate. Don't be holier than thou. I was very happy when the Professor said we are all corrupt, because one way or the other you overlook your own. So we must continue to talk about corruption, indiscipline and disregard for rules and regulation. Yesterday an intelligence report came to me that fifteen officers of the College of Education Minna had been found to have established a syndicate of illegal admission and this has been on a continuous basis, but the most interesting part is that one of the key officers of mine, when they came to discuss with me they said that okay let's treat this administratively so that we do not disgrace ourselves. I said no, the way to fight corruption is by bringing it out and shaming those we are able to catch, so that others will now be afraid to do such a thing, like we say in Hausa '*Barawon da ba a kama ba sunan shi Mamman, barawon da aka kama barawo*'. So we must do it that way, because to say that if we punish those people openly that the world will say this is it, no, it means we go back to College of Education, for me, to screen all those who are there now and discover those who are there by fake admission and then start all over again and it is important that we do that. Mr. Chairman, fuel subsidy, so many people do not understand until today and see fuel subsidy still as an element of corruption, why, because till today you go to fuel station you don't get it at the subsidized rate. But we are still paying people money in the name



of fuel subsidy, so why don't you give me a coupon; I go and register my vehicles or if you want to treat me only as an individual I give them my coupon rather than you paying somebody who along the line will not get the fuel at the price you are saying and everyday you are deducting my money to pay for fuel subsidy. I think we need to look at that very well. We need to look at all the figures because if by 1960 to 1999 that was the amount, that was when people didn't know much. From 1999 to date, the figures are very staggering.

We were discussing, the three of us; the Chairman and the Minister of National Planning, we say the inflow annually of direct investment is N8billion but outflow of people carrying money legally by declaring N12million, when you net it out what does that mean? It means there was still non-direct investment and it is not helping. We have to find a way, and somebody gave an extreme position which I am not supporting. He said let us democratize corruption by bringing it openly so that we are able to level up, that is extreme. But that means every policy that we have we must review them properly. On the political scene, I am happy with some of the positions, I don't see them as condemnation of P.D.P, no, I see them as somebody who is holding something and is being told to make it better or it will fall down. That is what I see happening. So anybody who is talking about P.D.P, talking about negative things we must look at that as problems that we must confront. We have issues that we must correct and that a promise or an understanding or an agreement made in secret has the same moral strength as the one made in public, many people have been asking, you are not reacting. I said all the people who are writing were not there in secret agreement or understanding so why should I react?

I said what I knew, somebody even said that is political illiteracy, I said if to be truthful is to be illiterate, I remain so. I thank you very





much for coming.

### **The Chairman's Response:**

This is the communiqué prepared by the secretariat that reflects the conversation and the speeches of the paper presenter, discussants and contributors and now you are all witnesses. If tomorrow's press has the headline that the CBN Governor..., I am just the Chairman. I know the Press loves me but this time I have too many witnesses for the Press. We are going to ask the Secretary to the State Government to very briefly give a vote of thanks and then we have the closing prayers. I do apologize to everyone and particularly to the Royal Highnesses for dragging this beyond time. We would try to wrap this very quickly.



**Abubakar Aliyu**  
Secretary, LOC

**T**he Minna Discourse on Corruption is a gathering of people from all walks of life, to make sure that we access our development so that we can plan for the future.

**Gen. Idris Bello Danbazu, rtd.**  
Commissioner for Special Duties, Kano State.

**I**f you remember, His Excellency the Chief Servant, in his remarks pointed out the fact that, corruption is not just about Government alone, it is also about its presence in our homes.

**Prof. Olugbemi Jegede**  
SSG, Kogi State

**A**ny meaningful leader should identify with the need to fight corruption. In Kogi State, one of the core values of the incumbent administration is Zero Tolerance for corruption. I can only see this as a very humble beginning in what we need to do about corruption.

**H.E., Dr. Shem Nuhu Zagbayi**  
Frm. Deputy Governor, Niger State

**C**orruption and indiscipline have permeated every aspect of our lives. Even our business life and unfortunately, the searchlights are always on politicians and Government, whereas we do not bother to look at other places.



## **Hajiya Hassana Adamu**

Commissioner, Gender Affairs, Niger State

**F**or us as mothers, we have great roles to play when it comes to the issue of corruption. We need to train our children, right from the homes to be good citizens and good ambassadors of this country. Any child, who grows up without that initial training from the home, is likely to grow up to be a child who will always violate rules and regulations.

## **Blessed Joseph Atokolo**

Student, Zarumai Model School, Minna

**I**f I am given the opportunity as I am going back to my school now, I am going to give a talk to my fellow students, I am going to give them a hint on what I have learnt today, I will enlighten them more on how to eradicate corruption from this country.

## **Constance Felix**

Student, Government Girls' Secondary School, Old Airport, Minna

**I**t is now left to us as students to go back to our various schools and inculcate what we have learnt from this conference and help to eradicate corruption in this country. We should start from the grassroots that is, the primary and secondary schools.



## *Communique*

**A**fter exhaustive discussions, detailed analysis of data and situations from diverse perspectives, the seminar made the following observations and similarly proffered suggestions for a way forward:

- \* That corruption is the invidious and insidious virus afflicting Nigeria and is the bane of its development and unity;
- \* That corruption became deeply entrenched in Nigeria's polity since 1962 when the concept of the good of the region was replaced with the good of the individuals who made up the party in power;
- \* That when individuals think that they are stealing on behalf of their people, they invariably ended up leaving their people and everyone impoverished;
- \* That between 1960 and 2012 about \$500 billion has been stolen and freighted out of Nigeria thereby contributing to the low ranking of Nigeria as the 156 out of 186 on the 2011 United Nation's Human Development Index Report;
- \* That corruption in Nigeria has fuelled lack of faith in the survival of Nigeria as a united nation;
- \* That corruption, indiscipline, disregard for rule of law and decline in ethics in the public service as well as the private sector and the civil society are responsible for the lack of growth and endemic poverty in Nigeria.

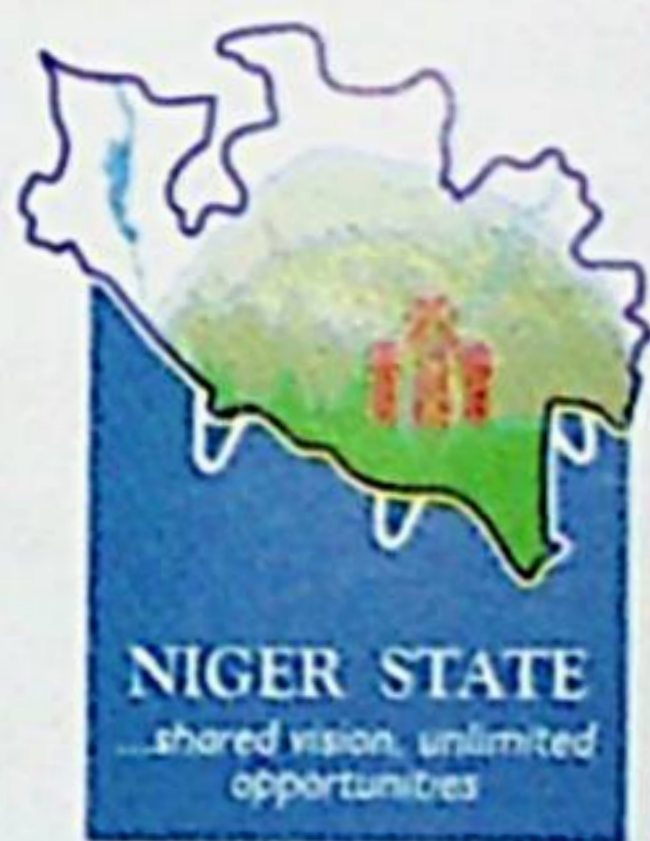


## The Way Forward

The seminar found that the way forward for Nigeria are:

- \* Exemplary leadership, independence of the Judiciary, strengthening of the capacities of anti-corruption institutions as well as the re-orientation of values and ethics;
- \* The jettisoning of the pessimistic perception about the working of Project Nigeria from the South of Nigeria as well as the complacency about Project Nigeria working despite its shortcoming from the North of Nigeria;
- \* An adoption of a 25 year development plan broadly set out by the lead paper presenter;
- \* Strict application of penalties for those found guilty of corruption and fearless adherence to rule of law;
- \* Integration should be treated as a national project where people should see themselves and be accepted wherever they are as Nigerians;
- \* That merit must be accorded its pride of place in our national life;
- \* That no bail or fraudulent State pardon should be granted to corrupt people but sincere clemency could apply;
- \* Fighting corruption is to be addressed sincerely; and
- \* Truth should be the guiding principle in political and public life.





# **Minna National Discourse On Corruption**

**WITH THE THEME:**

**Confronting Trends of Indiscipline,  
Corruption and Disregard for Rules  
and Regulations in Nigeria**

***Fight Against Corruption:  
A Collective  
Responsibility***



## ***Fight Against Corruption: A Collective Responsibility***

**T**he Minna National Discourse on Corruption was an affirmation that the menace of corruption could be tackled and defeated with concerted effort. One giant step towards the actualization of this is by first recognising its threatening presence amongst the various sectors of the economy. It would be recalled that the Chief Servant in his remarks at the discourse highlighted that corruption is everywhere. Therefore, talking about its adverse effects on the social, cultural and political economy of a nation is one of the various ways of tackling the epidemic. However, it must be stressed that to win the war against corruption all hands must be on the deck to fight it. Suffice to say that there are various ways by which the nation can accelerate the defeat of corruption.

For example, parents must begin to enforce discipline in the family since no child or man is an island. It is natural that thorough bred boys and girls will grow into productive and respectable men and women. They should be taught at home to develop positive attitudes and imbibe the right values that will have positive impact on the larger society. The family is a nurturing ground, and it is only wise that corrective measures should take off at the family level.

The school system must be structured in a way to promote and encourage discipline among students and teachers. Both teachers and students must imbibe positive attitudes that will foster orderliness and respect for the constituted authority. If a student



who comes to school late is disciplined and the teacher who fails to attend classes is rebuffed accordingly, it will serve as deterrent to others. To achieve this, schools must adopt stringent rules and regulations that will encourage and uphold discipline among students and staff. True nationalism and patriotism must be encouraged through the teaching of important national symbols such as the National Anthem, the Coat of Arm, the National Flag and all they stand for. To grow an active economy, children in their formative years should be urged to imbibe the values that will mould them into better and honest future leaders.

Other institutions such as the judiciary should ensure obedience to the laws of the land without complacent actions which can have dire consequences for the larger society. Since a failed judiciary will mean a total breakdown of law and order in the society which may drive the nation to anarchy, it is therefore, pertinent for those at the helms of the affairs in the judiciary to proclaim fair-play and justice. The judiciary must encourage the larger society to be honest and to have respect for the rule of law as enshrined in the constitution.

There is no gain-saying the fact that traditional rulers are key stakeholders in the fight against corruption. Their closeness to the masses accentuates their importance and significance because they wield great influence and powers. These powers must be channelled towards inculcating in their followers the values of discipline and obedience to the constituted authority. Traditional rulers must, therefore, devise means of enlightening their people on the effects of corruption. They must not only lead through exemplary actions but must encourage their subjects to emulate honesty and impartial dealings with other people.

Like the traditional rulers, the religious leaders also wield a great deal of influence on their people who seek spiritual help. They should equally encourage and preach diligence and practise same.



They must show and ensure that their followers play according to the rules of positive existence. They must educate and enlighten their followers on the need to be upright and honest and use the gospel to promote good virtues as contained in the Holy books.

Perhaps it is now a cliché that the fundamental responsibility of a leader is to protect lives and property of its citizenry. Leaders must be courteous and humble in the way they handle issues among the people. They must ensure that the school system and other significant segments of the society are properly structured to promote honesty and diligence. Government must be determined to fight corruption since it controls the central power. Her actions and inactions will go a long way to influence the people's perception of the fight against corruption. The concept of servant leadership should be employed by leaders as a sure way of gaining the confidence of the people in their fight against corruption.

The Legislature as law making body must enact laws that will benefit the masses and encourage development. They must make laws that will tackle the menace of corruption and pave the path to an honest and corrupt free society. Legislators must perform their oversight functions to ensure compliance with the established rules and regulations. They must checkmate and advise the Executives on how to take appropriate decisions that have positive effects on the populace. If these segments of the society will all put their hands on deck, the fight against corruption will no longer be a dream but a visible reality. Finally, it suffices to say that the fight against corruption is a collective endeavour that involves all and sundry. As the Sultan of Sokoto would say, "it is the fight for the soul and heart of Nigeria". Therefore, the fight against corruption is a collective responsibility.



# *Sincerity of Intent and Extra Vision, Way to Surmount Corruption*

Closing Remarks by the Secretary to the  
Government of Niger State

Hon. Saidu Ndako Kpaki



**T**he Chief Servant, sir, the Honorable Minister, National Planning Commission, please, I wish to beg to observe the existing protocol. It is an honor and privilege for the state to have hosted this all important event which has been graced by the honored presence of dignitaries from across the



country. The esteemed presence of the Royal Fathers here, Governors and the caliber of discussants underscores the zeal we all have to rid the country of the corruption virus that has for years inhibited our development and advancement as a people. With sincerity of intent and extraversion, we shall surmount all these problems, *Insha Allah*. It is appropriate to give gratitude to Almighty Allah for a successful day in our lives as a nation; may God give us the will and wherewithal to change the nation for better. On behalf of the State Government, I will like to sincerely thank the Chairman of the occasion, the Governor of the Central Bank, the distinguished Guest of Honor ably represented by the Etsu Nupe and the Key Speaker here, Professor Bolaji Akinyemi, our Special Guest, the Governor of Rivers State; we sincerely thank you and also our honorable discussants; Professor Sheikh Ahmed Abdullahi, Dr. Hakeem Baba Ahmed and the representative of Professor Chidi Anselm, Segun Adeniyi and Professor Kabir Mato, we thank you very much. I wish to also express our profound gratitude to our Royal Guest, the Etsu Nupe and other representatives of all emirs here. Gratitude is incomplete without a mention of the effort and courage of our Host, the Chief Servant of Niger State, Dr. Muazu Babangida Aliyu, CON, Talban Minna, Sodangin Nupe. The Co-Host, Honorable Minister and the Deputy Chairman, National Planning Commission, Dr. Shamsuddeen Usman, our Royal Host, the Etsu Nupe and the Chairman, Niger State Council of traditional rulers, Alhaji Dr. Yahaya Abubakar CFR. We thank our invited guests, corps members that are here present, women, social groups, teachers, students and some very important civil society members here, for being part of this memorable occasion in the history of our drive towards an incorruptible country.

Thank you and God bless.





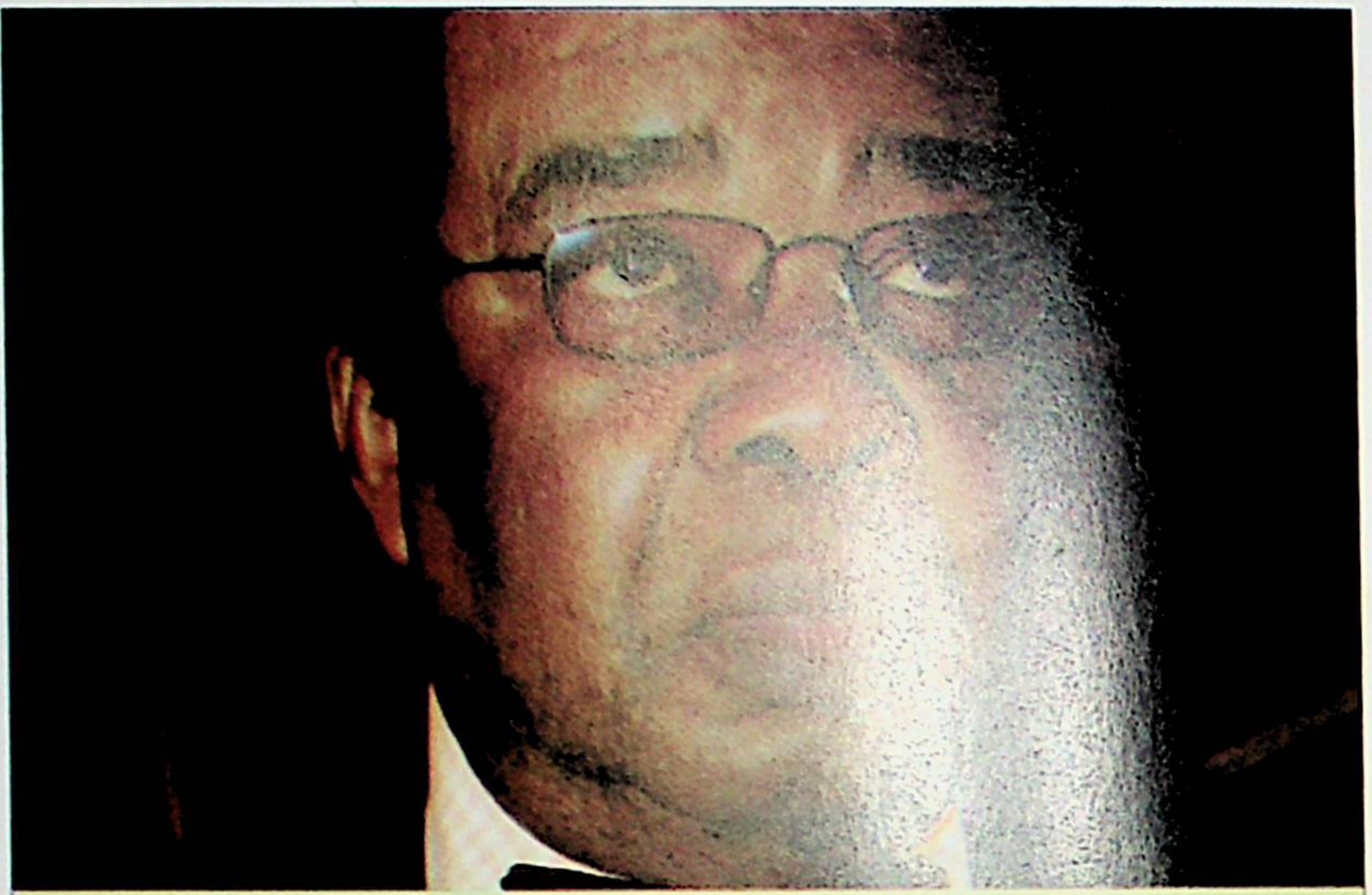
# **Minna National Discourse On Corruption**

**WITH THE THEME:**

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## ***Citations***





**Prof. Bolaji Akinyemi**

*Former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Chairman,  
Presidential Think Tank*

**P**rofessor Bolaji Akinyemi, born on January 4, 1942, was educated at Igbobi College, Yaba Lagos and Christ's School, Ado Ekiti. His brilliance and the penchant for knowledge culminated in his study at Temple University, Philadelphia for his BA Degree in 1964, and Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy for his MA Degree in International Affairs in 1965 and MA Degree in Law and Diplomacy in 1966. He transferred to Trinity College, Oxford University, England from where he obtained Doctorate of Philosophy in 1969.

He joined the University of Ibadan and taught for 5 years before being appointed as the Director-General of the Nigerian Institute for International Affairs (NIIA) in 1975 by the Head of State, General Murtala Muhammad. At the age of 33, he led the institute for 8 years during which he was to impact on the positive image of the Nigerian entity through his initiative of the Concept of Dialogue.



A mensch, he believes that dialogue, more than any form of expression, is the best attainable tool for dispute and conflict resolution. This has informed the various discourses between Nigeria and other nations with the aim to broaden the base of foreign policy consultation. These dialogues, to mention but a few, included Nigeria-United States Dialogue (1978), Nigeria-Soviet Dialogue (1978), Nigeria-Chinese Dialogue (1979), Nigeria-Scandinavian Dialogue (1980) and Nigeria-Brazilian Dialogue (1980).

While at the institute, he was a Visiting Professor at the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva (1977); Visiting Professor at the Diplomacy Training Programme of the University of Nairobi, Kenya; and Regent's Lecturer at the University of California, Los Angeles (1979). He joined the University of Lagos as a Professor in 1983 and was also a Visiting Overseas Scholar at the St. John's College, Cambridge (1984).

In 1985, Prof. Akinyemi was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs by the Head of State, General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida. The hallmarks of his achievement included negotiating the cease-fire in the Chad-Libyan conflict and the Mali-Burkina Faso war.

He served as head of the Nigerian delegation or deputy to such missions as United Nations Annual General Assembly, Commonwealth Summit, Organisation of African Unity Heads of States and Government Summit, and Non-Aligned Foreign Ministers Conference.

He conceived the idea of 'Concert of Medium Powers' that sought to bring together medium powers for the purpose of using their collective bargaining power to mediate disputes within international system. His lasting legacy includes the *Technical Aid Corps (ACP) Scheme* which is a foreign policy tool



that complements direct financial aid from Nigeria to ACP countries through skills exchange towards strengthening international understanding and cooperation.

Although dovish, his radical views and beliefs about political life and issues distinguished him as one of the most revered Ministers of Foreign Affairs.

Prof. Akinyemi is a member of several reputable national and international organizations. A fellow of the Center for International Studies, University of Cambridge, England and a life member of Clare Hall, University of Cambridge, England, Professor Akinyemi was honored by the Nigerian Government with the prestigious title of **Commander of the Federal Republic (CFR)**.

He is a prolific author with thirteen books, monographs and over forty articles published in both national and international academic journals.

An astute scholar, a colossus of knowledge, Prof. Akinyemi is a man who not only talks the talk, but also walks the walk, as he is a hero of diplomacy, leaving behind imprescriptible mark in the academia and socio-political spheres. He was to be limned by the former Head of State, Ibrahim Babangida, as 'an enduring factor in Nigeria's foreign policy'.

A chieftain of the National Democratic Coalition (NADECO), he was involved in the vanguard against the annulment of June 12 election results, fighting for democracy and true federalism. He was honored with two books by his colleagues: *Perspectives on Nigeria's National and External Relations: Essays in Honor of Prof. A. Bolaji Akinyemi* and *Nigeria and the World: A. Bolaji Akinyemi Revisited*.





**Prof. Sheikh Abdallah**  
*Former Minister of Agriculture*

**P**rofessor **Sheikh Abdallah** was born on 15<sup>th</sup> March, 1948 at Bida, Niger State. He earned a B.Sc. in Business Administration from Ahmadu Bello University (ABU), Zaria in 1974, and an MBA from Syracuse University, USA in 1977.

Professor Abdallah spent most of his working career at ABU in the Human Resources and Management Development Area, and in 1990 was awarded a PhD by the university. He was the Director-General at the Administrative Staff College of Nigeria (ASCON) in Badagry from 2003 to 2008, an institution that trains students in Public Administration. In August 2008, he was appointed to the Abuja City University Steering Committee.



He was appointed Chairperson of the African Management Development Institutes' Network.

As Minister of Agriculture, Professor Abdallah faced huge challenges in a sector that employs 70% of Nigerians. This erudite scholar performed excellently during his tenure as Minister of Agriculture, earning much applause at home and abroad.





## **Olusegun Adeniyi**

*Chairman, Editorial Board THISDAY Newspapers*

**A** 1989 BSc holder in International Relations from Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, a Masters Degree in International Law and Diplomacy (MILD) from the University of Lagos in 1997, Olusegun Adeniyi began his journalism career as a Staff Reporter with The Guardian Newspapers in December 1990.

In April 1992, he left The Guardian to join the now rested African Concord magazine as a Senior Staff Writer and in September of the same year, he was appointed the magazine's Abuja Bureau Chief with accreditation to cover the State House.

In June 1995, Adeniyi crossed over to the Sunday Concord newspaper within the late Bashorun M.K.O. Abiola's then



media empire as Assistant Editor. Two years later in 1997, he became Deputy Editor, a position he held until he joined THISDAY newspaper in January 1999 as Deputy Editor also for the Sunday Newspaper. A year later in 2000, he became the substantive Editor of the Saturday newspaper.

Adeniyi was later to become Editor of the Sunday THISDAY and in August 2005, he was appointed the Editor of THISDAY title. On May 30, 2007, he was tapped by the late President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua to be his Special Adviser on Media and Publicity, a position he occupied until Yar'Adua died on May 5, 2010.

Winner of the Jakande Prize for Political Reporter of the Year in the 1992 edition of the Nigeria Media Merit Award (NMMA), Adeniyi was a Fellow at the Weatherhead Centre for International Affairs, Harvard University where he spent the 2010/2011 academic session. He conducted his research on the factors that shape incumbent presidential elections in Africa.

Adeniyi is the author of five books: The Last 100 Days of Abacha; Abiola's Travails; Fortress on Quicksand; POLITRICKS: National Assembly Under Military Dictatorship and Power, Politics and Death: A front-row account of Nigeria under the late President Yar'Adua.

Fellow of the Nigeria Leadership Initiative (NLI), Adeniyi is a founding member of the National Stakeholder Working Group of the Nigeria Extractive Transparency Initiative (NETI). He is currently Chairman of the Editorial Board of THISDAY newspaper where he writes a weekly column, The Verdict: According to Olusegun Adeniyi.

It is noteworthy that Adeniyi did his NYSC in Niger State between 1989 and 1990 at the then Zungeru College of Arts and Science (ZUCAS) now Niger State Polytechnic.





**Dr. Hakeem Baba-Ahmed, OON**

*Yariman Jama'a*

**D**r. Hakeem Baba-Ahmed, O.O.N (Yariman Jamaa) is a columnist with Daily Trust Newspaper and the Executive Vice Chairman, Qura Mandate Consulting, Kaduna.

He was born in Zaria on the 11<sup>th</sup> of September 1955. He started his civil service career in 1978 with Usman Dan Fodio University, Sokoto as Lecturer I, after bagging a bachelors degree in Political Science in 1977 from Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. He later moved to London School of Economics, University of London for his second degree, Msc.



Politics in 1979. Seven years later, he was confirmed Doctor of Philosophy (D. Phils. Politics) in 1986 at the University of Sussex, Falmer, Briton, UK.

As a distinguished intellectual, Dr. Hakeem Baba-Ahmed has held several positions. He is a man whose philosophical offerings to the political sanity of the country cannot be over emphasized and this explains the numerous responsibilities he was saddled with during his service years.

From 1987 – 1992, he was the Permanent Secretary (Political, Cabinet and Security) Governor's Office, Kaduna State;

He was Director, National Council on Inter-Governmental Relations, The Presidency, Office of the Secretary to the Government of the Federation, Abuja 1992 -1994; also doubled as the Secretary, National Committee on Inventory of Community-Based Infrastructural Facilities, The Presidency, Abuja, 1992- 1994.

In 1994, he was made Special Adviser on parastatals to the Governor of Kaduna State (On secondment from the Presidency), a position he held till 1995.

As soon as his sojourn service in Kaduna was fulfilled, Dr. Hakeem moved back to the State House as the Director (Resource), Office of the Principal Secretary to the Head of State, State House, Abuja, between 1995 and 1996.

Home came calling again in 1996 when he was called upon to serve as the Secretary to the State Government (SSG), Kaduna State (On Special Release from Presidency), a position he diligently held between 1996 and 1998.

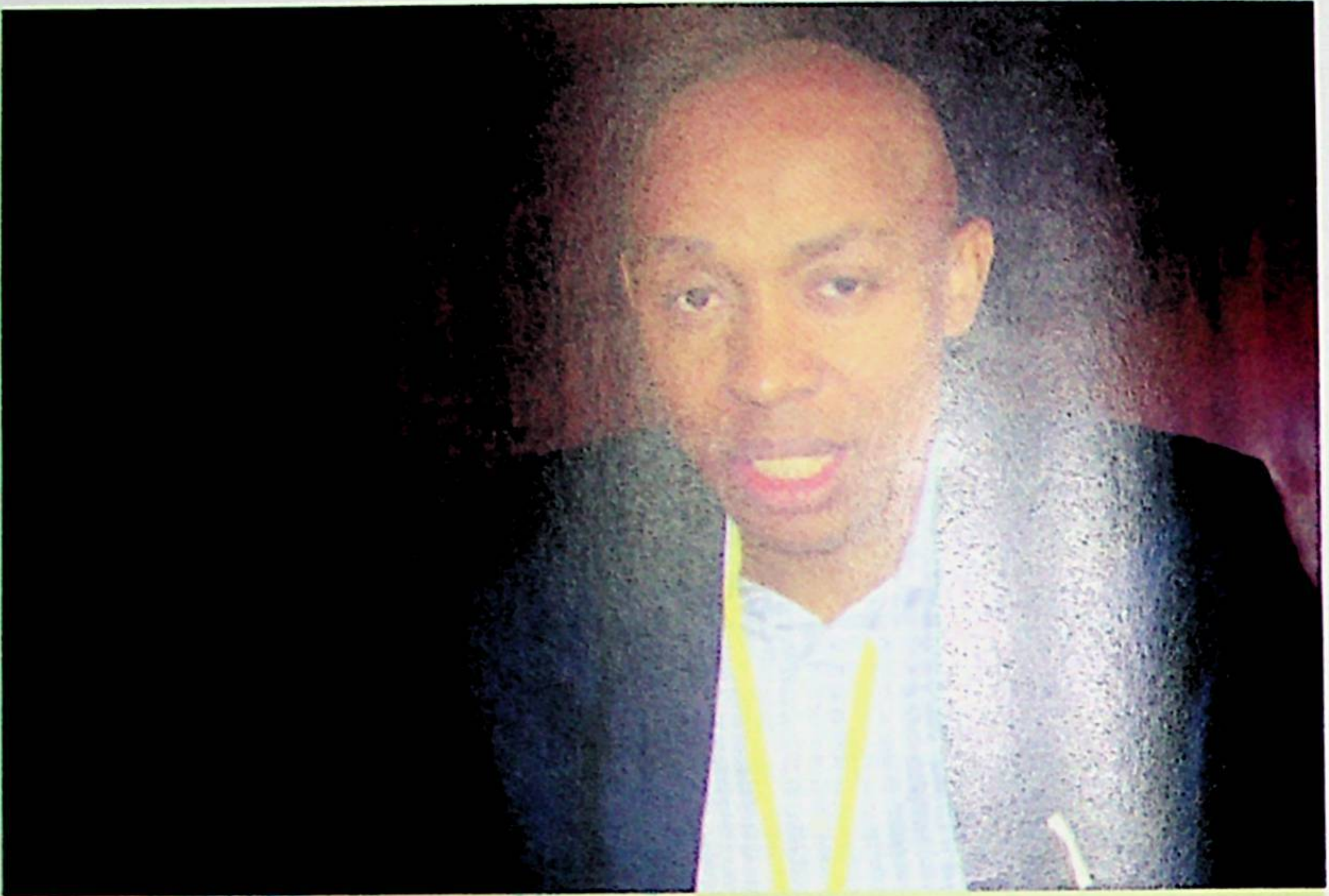
Between 1998 and 1999, he was the Director, Joint Services Department, Ministry of Defence, Lagos, and later the Permanent Secretary, Federal Civil Service, a position he held for ten (10) years, from 1999 to 2009.



During his years as the Permanent Secretary, Federal Civil Service, he was assigned other duties in recognition of his unrelenting and uncompromising nature of service delivery. During this period, he worked with various ministries. Amongst such Ministries were: the Ministry of Commerce between June 1999 and August 2001; Federal Ministry of Works, between August 2004 and November 2006; and Ministry of Foreign Affairs, between July 2006 and September 2008. Notably amongst these duties was his function as the Secretary, Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) from 2002 to 2004.

Presently, Dr. Hakeem Baba-Ahmed is the Executive Chairman, D.I.T.V/Alheri Radio, Kaduna.





**Prof. Chidi Anselm Odinkalu**

*Head, Africa Programme of the Open Society Justice Initiative*

**D**escribed by a leading African Newsweekly as “a leading member of the new generation of African legal minds” and by Oxford University's Ike Okonta as “one of Africa's leading Human Rights lawyers”, **Chidi Anselm Odinkalu** heads the Africa Programme of the Open Society Justice Initiative and has been nominated to Chair the Council of Nigeria's National Human Rights Commission.

Admitted to the Nigerian Bar in November 1988, Odinkalu received his Ph.D. in Law from the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE); his Masters Degree in Law from the University of Lagos and first degree in Law from the then Imo State University.

Following the annulment of the June 12 1993 presidential elections in Nigeria, Odinkalu, a principal mover in the Civil Society responded to the annulment as the then Legal Director



of the Civil Liberties Organisation (CLO), was exiled to the United Kingdom where he pioneered the Africa and Middle East Programme of the International Centre for the Legal Protection of Human Rights, INTERIGHTS.

The author of four books and over 60 other scholarly articles, Odinkalu is widely known as an authority on International law, including Human Rights, International Institutional Law and International Economic Laws affecting African countries. He is a visiting Professor of Law at the International Criminal Law Centre at the Open University of Tanzania, and was formerly Jeremiah Smith Jr. visiting Professor of Law at the Harvard Law School in Cambridge Massachusetts and Brandeis International Fellow at the International Centre for Ethics, Justice and Public Life at the Brandeis University in Waltham, Massachusetts.

Among his other affiliations, Odinkalu founded the Coalition for an Effective African Court on Human and Peoples Rights based in Arusha, Tanzania. He is a member of the Boards of Directors of the Fund for Global Human Rights in Washington D.C.; the International Council on Human Rights Policy in Geneva; and the International Refugee Rights Initiative (IRRI) in New York and a Trustee of the International African Institute (IAI) of the University of London. He is also a member of the Human Rights Advisory Council of the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs in New York. Odinkalu is also Co-Chairperson of the Darfur Consortium, a campaign coalition comprising over 400 African and International Civil Society Organisations in support of the people of Darfur in Western Sudan and Co-Chairperson of the Citizenship Rights in Africa Initiative, (CRAI) based in Kampala, Uganda.

Between 2004-2006, Odinkalu led the Campaign Against Impunity (CAI) to press for accountability by former Liberian President, Charles Taylor. The campaign was ultimately



vindicated with the transfer of Mr. Taylor to the custody of the UN-supported Special Tribunal for Sierra Leone in April, 2006. He is also a leader of the FoI Coalition whose efforts were recently crowned with the enactment of Nigeria's Freedom of Information Act in May, 2011.

A member of the Executive Committee of the Nigerian Bar Association, Odinkalu was also the Co-ordinator of its practice section on Public Interest and Development Law (SPIDEL) from 2006-2010.





**Dr. Kabiru Muh'd Mato**

*Director, Institute for Anti-Corruption Studies, University of Abuja*

**D**r. Kabiru Muhammad Mato was born on 26<sup>th</sup> June, 1962. An indigene of Kaduna State, he graduated from the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria in 1986, 1989 and 2000 with B.sc, M.sc and PhD all in political science respectively. A Political Economy and Development Studies expert, he is the Director, Institute for Anti-Corruption Studies, University of Abuja. Prior to his current position, he had served as the Director, Institute of Legislative Studies, from 2009 to 2011, Head of Department, Political Science and International Relations, 2006 to 2009, Senior Lecturer, Department of Political Science 2005 to 2006, Lecturer 1, Department of Political Science 2003 to 2005.

Dr. Muhammad Kabiru Mato also served with renowned organizations in various executive capacities such as the Assistant Director (Administration), National Board for Community Banks, 1997 to 2003 and Programme Officer,



Peoples Bank of Nigeria, 1989 to 1991. He has written and contributed to several publications and journals such as Legislating for Democracy (2004); Issues in Nigeria's Political and Economic Development; the Journal of Political Studies, Vol 1; International Affairs Quarterly, Vol 1; Journal of Development Studies, Vol 2; and Journal of Legislative Studies, Vol 1.

Dr. Mato has participated in several seminars and conferences in Nigeria and abroad such as the International Visitors Leadership Programme in the United States, July 2005, Doha Forum for Democracy and Development, Doha, Qatar 2007, and National Conference of State Legislatures, Philadelphia, USA, July 2009. Dr. Mato has also been a member of several integral committees such as Senate Committee on Review of University Security, 2005, Senate Committee on Students Unrest, 2006. Dr. Kabiru Muhammad Mato is a distinguished Scholar and Political Analyst of reputable standing.



# Repertoires

## ABDULLAHI ISMAILA

**H**e holds a Bachelor of Arts Degree and Masters Degree in Literature, Masters Degree in International Affairs and Diplomacy and Post Graduate Diploma in Education from Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. He teaches Literature in the Department of English and Linguistics, Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida University, Lapai, Niger State. A member of Project Implementation Committee of Project YES, he is the author of *Ellipsis, Demons and other Poems, A Harvest of Hatred, The Wicked Brother* among others. He is also a co-author of *Abubakar Gimba: Perspectives on His Writings and Philosophy, The Spider and other Stories, and Traditional Institutions and Dr. M.B. Aliyu's Government*. He co-edited *Pyramids, Shadows, Sustaining Creative Writing in Nigeria, The Unique Madmen and other Stories* and *Dance-steps of Dawn*. He has served as the chairman of Creative Writers' Club (ABU) and Association of Nigerian Authors (ANA), Niger State branch, and as National Secretary of Association of Nigerian Authors.

## KAMAR HAMZA

**H**e was the chairman of the Niger State branch of the Association of Nigerian Authors and Artistic Director of Tarbiyya Children Theatre, Minna. He has B.Sc Degree in Political Science (Abuja) and M.Sc. Degree in Political Science (ABU). He is a prolific writer whose works have been published in Newspapers, Journals and Anthologies. Among his published works are, *Best Book of Rhymes* and *Rhino and Other Rhymes*. He co-edited *The Unique Madmen and Other Stories* and *Breaking the Bud*. He is one of the co-founders of the Centurial Cultural Collaborations, School of Poetry Acts and Drums and, *The Fourth Order*. Most of his works are a reflection of the ideas that gave rise to the literary movement.



## MR. TUNJI OLADIRAN

**M**r. Tunji Oladiran was a Director in the Niger State Ministry of Education before his re-deployment to Niger State Book and Research Development Agency (NSBREDA) as Director, Book Development and Editorial Services. He holds a B.A. Degree in English (Ilorin), M.Ed in English (Ilorin) and taught the subject for over 30 years. He teaches undergraduate students of ABU Zaria (COE Campus) as Part Time lecturer. Mr. Tunji's creative ingenuity propels his writing on topical issues already published in various national newspapers and magazines. He was a columnist for *National Echo* and *Rural Forum* magazines. He has participated in many academic and professionally-organised seminars, conferences and workshops. He has presented papers in different forms. His published works include *Pathways to Success in English* (1996), *Window to Success in English Language* (2005), *Walking Naked and Other Poems* (2007) and *Making Power State Powerful* (in print).

## NMA HASSAN MUHAMMAD

**H**e has a B.Tech Degree in Estate Management, Professional Diploma in Mass Communication, and Certificate in Computer Engineering. He is the current Vice chairman of the Association of Nigerian Authors, Niger State branch. His awards include Gombe State NYSC Merit Award (2002), Northern Nigeria Writers' Summit (NNWS) Merit Award (2008), Corpers' Welfare Association (CWA) Merit Award and Winner of the CWA Billiri Chess Contest (2002). He was shortlisted for ANA/Funtime Prize (2008). He is currently with Niger State Book and Research Development Agency as the Facility Manager. He has had poems, stories and articles published in journals, newspapers and magazines. He is a prolific author with *Biribiri Saves US* as his first published children story.

Others are:

## USMAN ABUBAKAR

## ISRAEL EGBIJE



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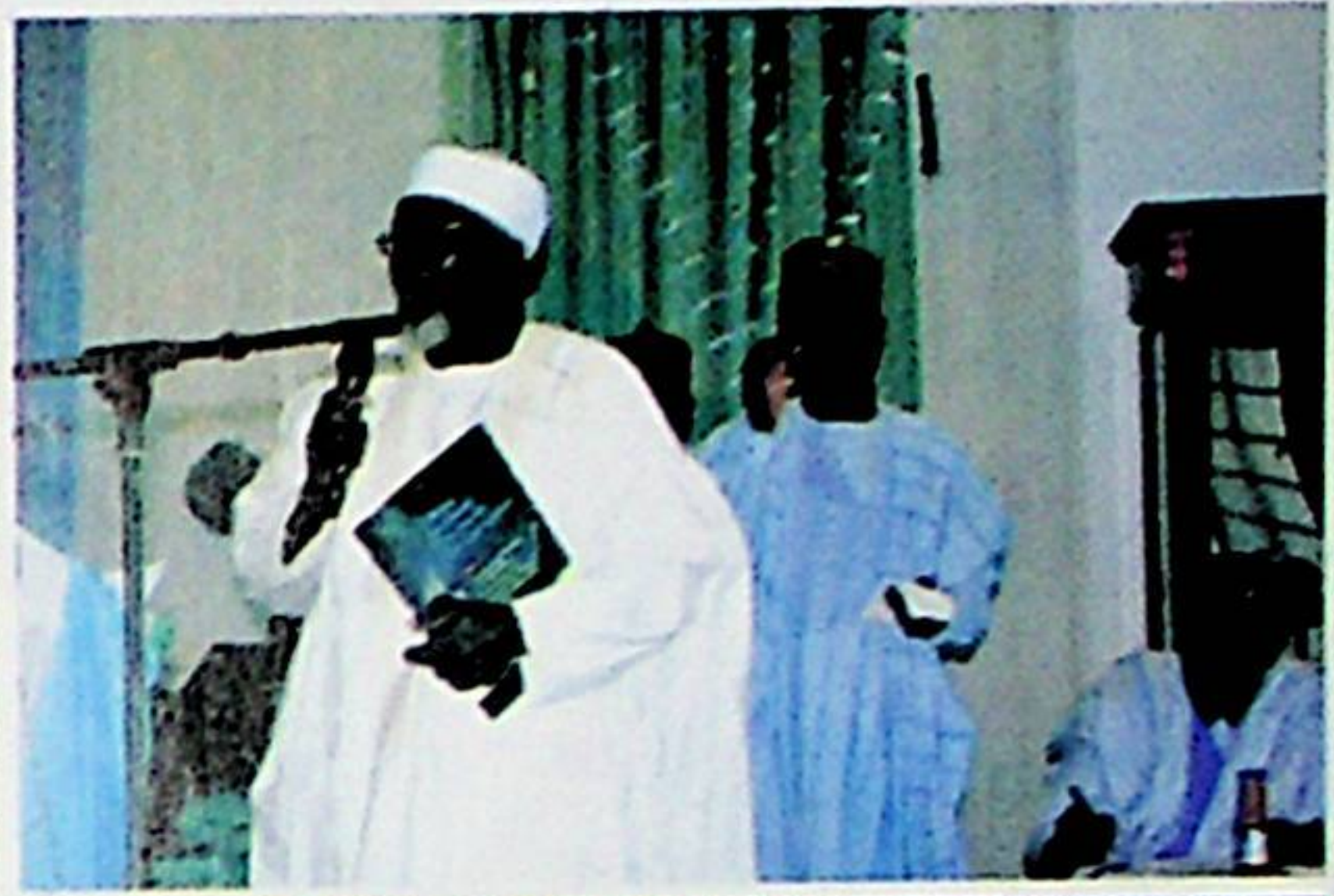


# *Dignitaries at the Minna National Discourse on Corruption*



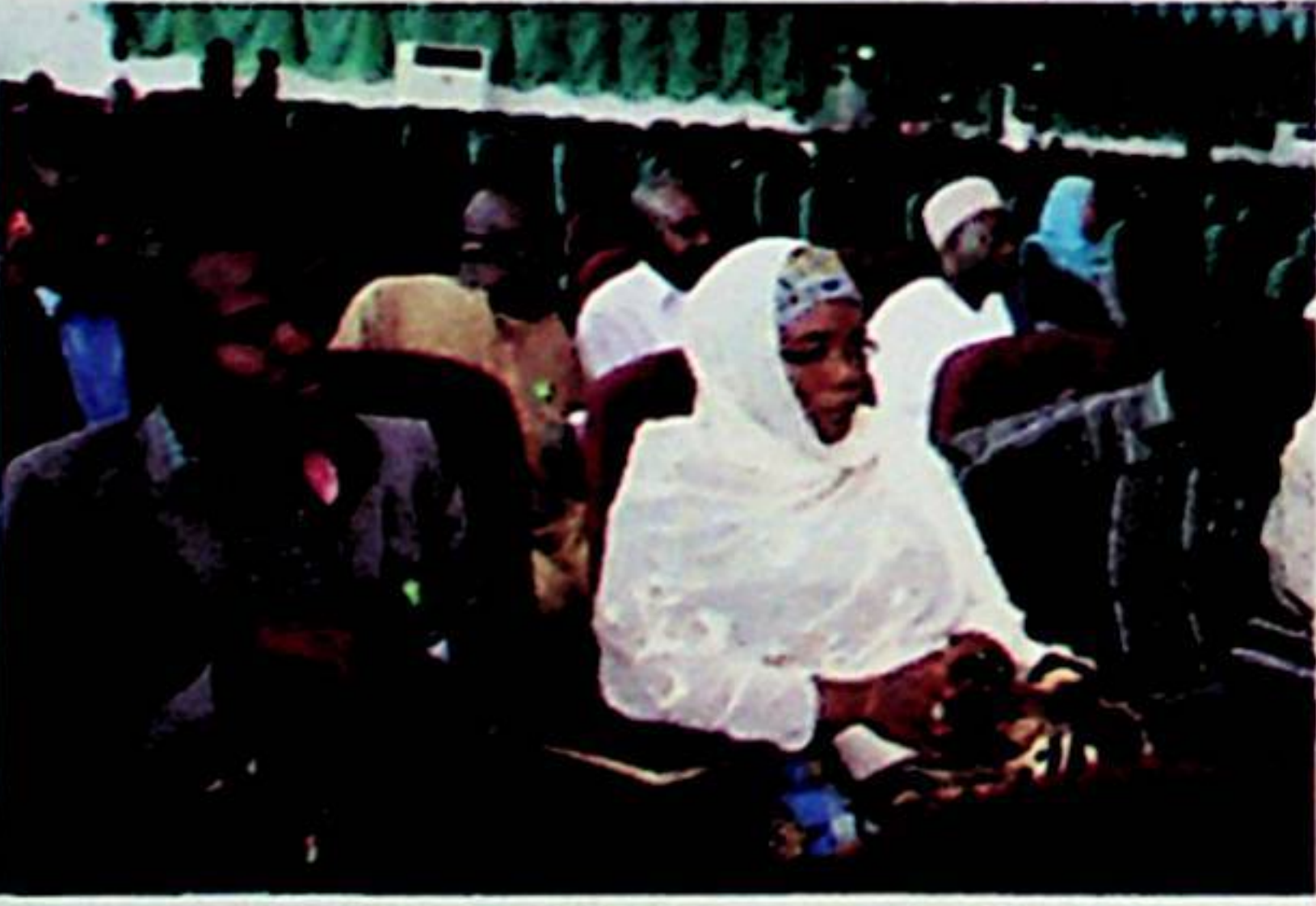
MINNA NATIONAL DISCOURSE ON CORRUPTION





Confronting Trends of Indiscipline, Corruption and Disregard for Rules and Regulations in Nigeria





MINNA NATIONAL DISCOURSE ON CORRUPTION



## LIST OF DIGNITARIES PRESENT AT THE MINNA DISCOURSE ON CORRUPTION

- \* HM Dr. Shamsudeen Usman,
- \* Professor Bolaji Akinyemi,
- \* Mallam Sanusi Lamido Sanusi,
- \* His Eminence the Sultan of Sokoto, Alhaji Sa'ad Abubakar,
- \* His Excellency, Rt. Hon. Chibuke Amaechi
- \* HRH. Estu Nupe Brig. Gen. Yahaya Abubakar
- \* HRH. Estu Lapai, Abubakar Bago III
- \* HRH. Alhaji Umar Faruk, Emir of Daura
- \* HRH. Sarkin Sudan Kontogora
- \* HRH Alhaji Umar Farouk Bahago, Emir of Minna
- \* HRH Alhaji Salihu Tanko, Emir of Kagara
- \* REPRESENTATIVES OF  
Governor of Kogi State  
Governor of Benue State  
Governor of Kano State  
Governor of Kwara State  
Governor of Katsina State  
Governor of Abia State
- \* His Excellency, Amb. Isreal & wife to Nigeria
- \* His Excellency, Amb. of Netherlands to Nigeria
- \* His Excellency, Amb. of Pakistan to Nigeria
- \* Lead Speaker, Prof. Bolaji Akinyemi
- \* Discussant Prof. Chidi Anselm Odinkalu
- \* Discussant, Dr. Hakeem Baba Ahmed
- \* Discussant, Prof. Kabir Mato
- \* Discussant, Prof. Sheik Abdullah
- \* Discussant, Mr. Segun Adeniyi
- \* Prof. Ishaq Oloyede
- \* Hon. Dino Melaye
- \* Cmrd. Issa Aremu
- \* Col. Habibu Shuiabu Rtd.
- \* Hon. Speaker, Niger State House of Assembly
- \* The Chairman, People's Democratic Party (PDP) Niger State



# ATTENDANCE AT THE MINNA NATIONAL DISCOURSE ON CORRUPTION

National Youth Service Corps

## LIST OF SCHOOLS

- Federal University of Technology, Minna.
- Niger State College of Education, Minna.
- Hilltop Model School, Minna.
- Federal Government College, Minna.
- Day Secondary School, Maitumbi.
- Government Secondary School, Minna.
- Day Secondary School, Tunga.
- Police Secondary School, Minna.
- Zarumai Model School, Minna.
- Army Day Secondary School, Minna.
- Day Secondary School, Maikunkele.
- River Basin Staff School, Tudun Fulani, Minna.
- Ahmadu Bahago Secondary School, Minna.
- Government Girls' Secondary School, Old Airport, Minna.
- Government Technical College, Chanchaga, Minna.
- Girls' Day Secondary School, Bosso Road, Minna.
- Government Secondary School, Bosso Road, Minna.
- Niger State School for the Handicap, Minna.
- Federal Staff School, Minna.
- FEMA Schools, Minna.
- NECO Staff School, Minna.



MINNA  
NATIONAL DISCOURSE ON CORRUPTION

ATTENDANCE LIST

SSA  
~~COMMISSIONERS~~

S/N	NAME	ORGANIZATION	SIGN/DATE
1	Etsu Umaru	SSA Bk. Value	08056372875
2	Fatusa Mohid Bello	SSA Girl Child	0802205383
3	Hajia Amma Umar	S.A. ...	08052601572
4	Herua Keechazi	S.A. ...	08035883112
5	Abdulkali A. Ibrahim	SSA Inv. ...	...
6	Umaru MAAFA	...	Um'
7	M. A. BRATHI M	SSA (Transport)	...
8	Mrs Blessing Okpara	SA Water ...	0806526650
9	Hajia Hadiza Usman	under community	08188068059
10	James A. Kwasa		
11	Hon. Yunusa Tades	SA ...	08082140322
12	Dankwa M. Sallau	SSA ...	08034524557
13	Comrade Mohammed Yahya	SSA Youth	08035404322
14	Amur Bello	SSA ...	08075705149
15	...	SA ...	081624444
16	Imaife Sulaiman Ebo	SSA - ...	...
17	Hon. Mahmud Shels	SSA ...	08031557112
18	Mrs Akali M. E. Aishetu	SSA HV/AOS	14/3/13
19	Nura Hashim	S.A. KAPS	0708188864
20	Muhammad Ishaq	min of ...	...
21	Jumma Ahmadu	SSA LGA	...



MINNA  
NATIONAL DISCOURSE ON CORRUPTION

ATTENDANCE LIST

SSA  
COMMISSIONERS

S/N	NAME	ORGANIZATION	SIGN/DATE
01	Abdul M. W	MAC	AS / 14/03/13
02	Abubakar M. Wushishi	Transport/Aviation	[Signature] /
03	Capt MA MASHUWA	SSA EDU	[Signature] 14/03/13
04	Abu Yusuf Abubakar	SA chieftana	[Signature] 14/03/2013
05	ADAMU SARDI BELLO	SSA SRE/MFA	[Signature] 14/03/13
06	Bawa Musa	SA in discourse	[Signature] 14/03/13
07	SANIYA MUHAMMAD	SA Mobilization	SW
08	HEMAN MUSTAPHA	SSA MOB	[Signature] 14/3/2013
09	Dalhatu Danyan	SA	[Signature]
10	Enrice Bahago	SA	[Signature]
11	Fati Bala Haka	SA	[Signature]
12	Aminu Sulaima	PA	[Signature]
13	Abdullahi M. Pant	SA	Aminu
13	Atton Umar Musa Mudi	SA S/CS	[Signature]
14	Abdullahi Ibrahim J.	SA	[Signature]
15	Abu Aminu Ibrahim	SSA HDV	[Signature]
16	Awara Abubakar	SSA	[Signature]
18	John J. Jagala	SSA to CM	[Signature]
19	NATHANIEL S. BABA	SSA to SSG	[Signature]
20	JAMES BAWA	SSA to SSG	[Signature]
21	Mohammed A. Mohammed	SA Student Affairs	[Signature]



MINNA  
NATIONAL DISCOURSE ON CORRUPTION

SSA  
~~COMMISSIONERS~~  
ATTENDANCE LIST

S/N	NAME	ORGANIZATION	SIGN/DATE
22	Manning / Obeg	SA Jaf	
33	Magut Bawa	SSA Women	Del.
34	Nasir A. Musa	SS. Political	<del>AMM</del>
35	Umar Shuaib	SSA Political	<del>Umar</del>
36	Mu'd James / Mu'd	Religious	<del>Mu'd</del>
37	Usman Adamu Bako	Political	U-3
38	Mohammed Ndagu	SSA Admin	<del>Mohammed</del>
39	Ibrahim Yahya Pa	SS Intl. Affairs	<del>Ibrahim</del>
40	Dr. Sulaiman	PN Mob.	<del>Dr. Sulaiman</del>
41	Aisha Ibrahim	MOCs	Aisha
42	HADIZA MAIKAUD	SSA - Gov. Hon	H. Kudu
43	ZAKARI MARAFI	SUP/PHC. Pankola	<del>Zakari</del>
44	LADAN SAIDU ALHADI	SA P/M/Ministry	<del>Ladan</del>
45	Hadiza Ibrahim	SA W/Mobil.	H
46	Muhammad Ali	SA	<del>Muhammad</del>
47	Yahaya Sheshi	Project Ministry	<del>Yahaya</del>
48	Nasir. Mabd (Lanya)	SA Political Mob.	<del>Nasir</del>
49	Suleiman I. M.	SSA / PM	<del>Suleiman</del>
50	Musa AbulKachi	SA / PM	<del>Musa</del>
51	AbdulKachi Gaje	SSA / G/Sec	<del>AbdulKachi</del>
52	Umar B. Bafaye	political Member	<del>Umar</del>







MINNA  
NATIONAL DISCOURSE ON CORRUPTION  
~~NATION~~ FEDERAL ESTABLISHMENTS  
ATTENDANCE LIST - ~~DIRECTORS~~

S/N	NAME	ORGANIZATION	SIGN/DATE
1	ISRA BAWA	NHRC - ABUJA	
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3	DANLUNA SALLAM	FIRC Minn	
4	Kabiru Elayo	NHRC, Minn	
5	Hanna Usman	✓ ✓	
6	ISA A A	CBN Abuja	
7	Wajiri M-A	CBN Abuja	
8	A-O. Adache	NSC, Minn	
9	Usman P.M.	MUSEUM	
10	OMIKA OKUTERA	FIRS, MINN	
11	Baukiy Musa	National mass literacy	

MINNA  
NATIONAL DISCOURSE ON CORRUPTION  
ATTENDANCE LIST - ~~COMMITTEES~~

S/N	NAME	ORGANIZATION	SIGN/DATE
1	Ahmed Abubakar	LGSC	
2	Hon. Christiana Abali	CSDA Board	
3	Ajayi Latai Mamudi	NSCEPA	
4	Ibrahim Uba Hassan	NSUBES	
5	Peter Jiyi		
	Mohammed Sa'idi		

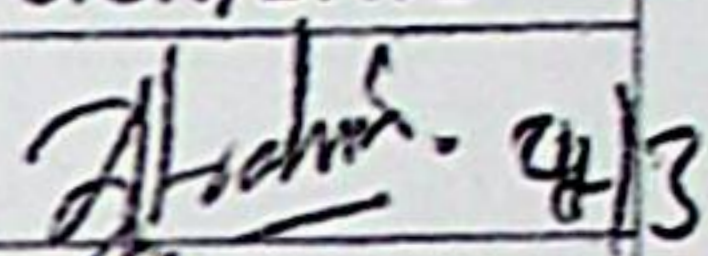

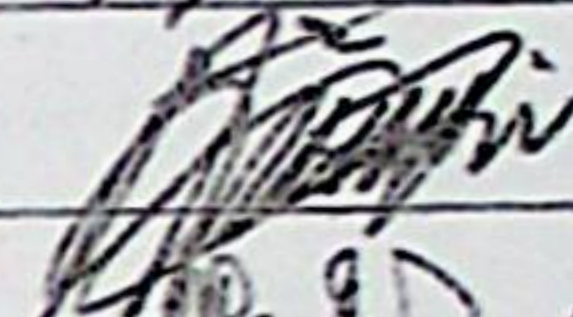
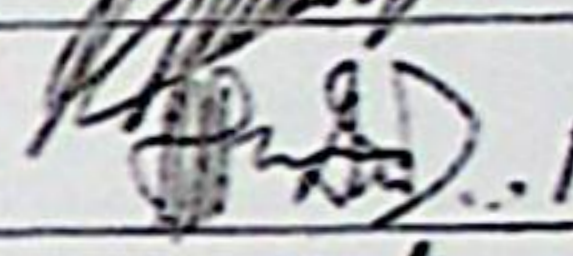
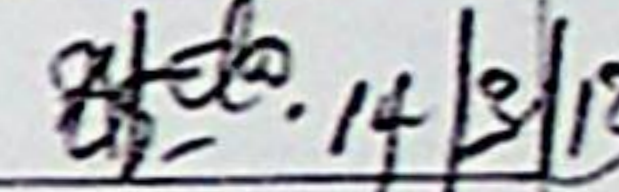
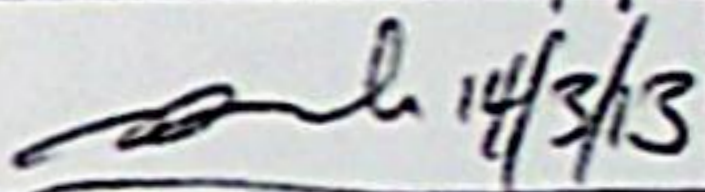
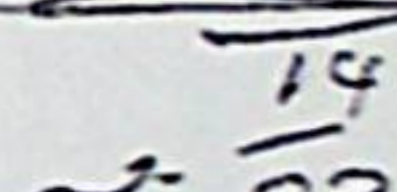
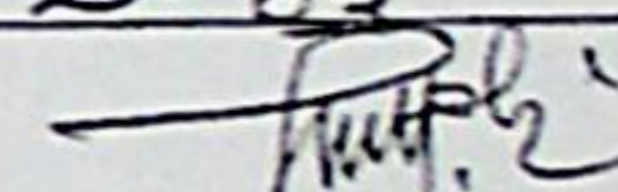
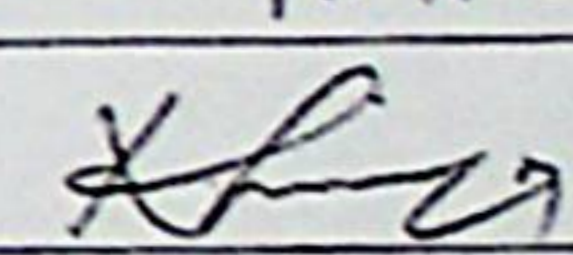
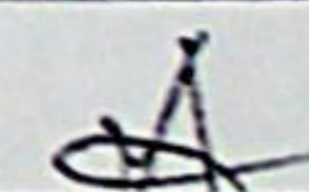

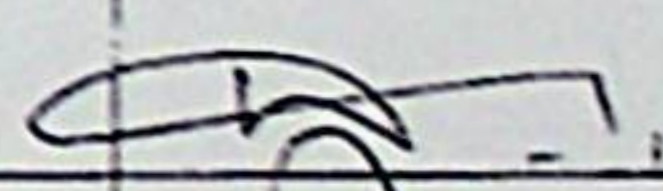
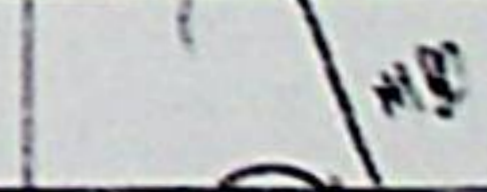

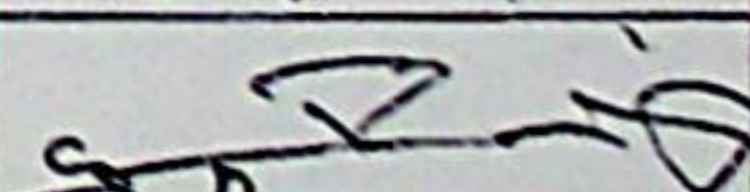
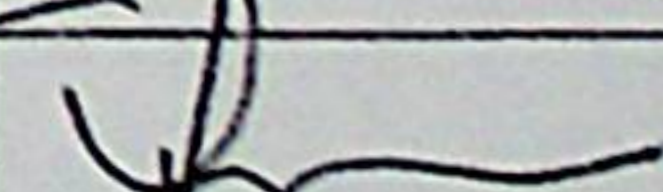
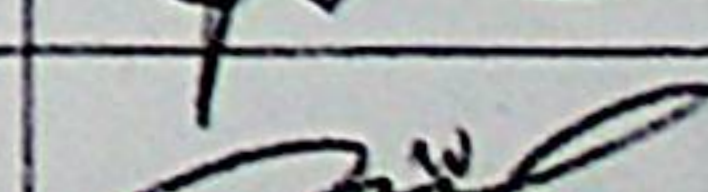
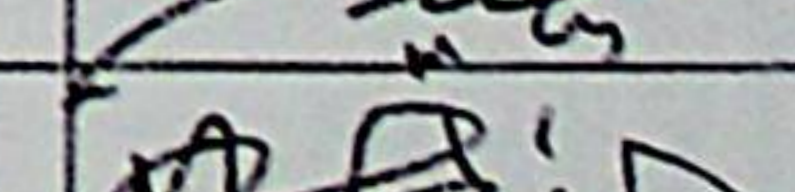
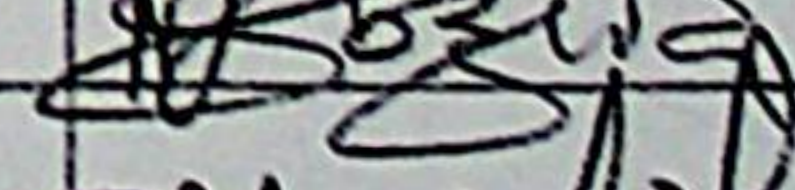
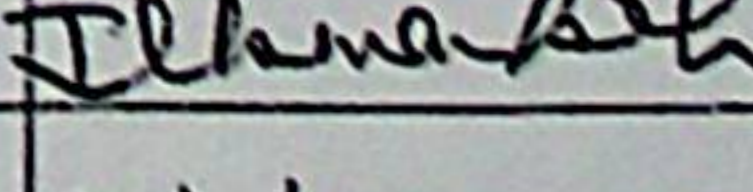
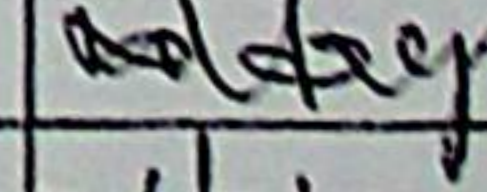






**MINNA**  
**NATIONAL DISCOURSE ON CORRUPTION**

**ATTENDANCE LIST - DIRECTORS**

S/N	NAME	ORGANIZATION	SIGN/DATE
1.	Jadan Ibrahim	Law Ref Com.	 14/3/13
2	Thomas S. Gimba	Min. of Lga	
3	AMINAT A. MUSTHFA	NPM C	
4	Musa Zango Manan	MARD	 14/3/13
5	UMAR A. SADA	Min. of Agriculture	 14/3/13
6	IBRAHIM NMADU	RAMP II	 14/3/13
7.	A.K. Zanis	NSPC	 14/3/13
8	IBRIS MSH'D KADIR	OTOS (PSO)	
9	HUSSAINI M. AHMED	REVENUE BOARD	
10	AITAFIRU BAIKO	✓ ✓ ✓	
11	ABDULLAH SUBAMAN	MURS	
12	DR M.B. USMAN	SMOH	
13	DR ABULLAH U. USMAN	SMOH	
14	Yunana Gagare	SAME	
15	SULE H. KUNIN	✓	
16.	YUSUF MDAKO	✓	
17	Engr Ahmed Talco Musa	M.O.W.O.D	
18	MUHAMMAD SABA YKAPI	MORGER	
19	Idris Usman Isah	MMMR	
20	Maryam Ndageye	MSANIE	
21	HARUNA FIDALU	✓	



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NATIONAL DISCOURSE ON CORRUPTION

ATTENDANCE LIST

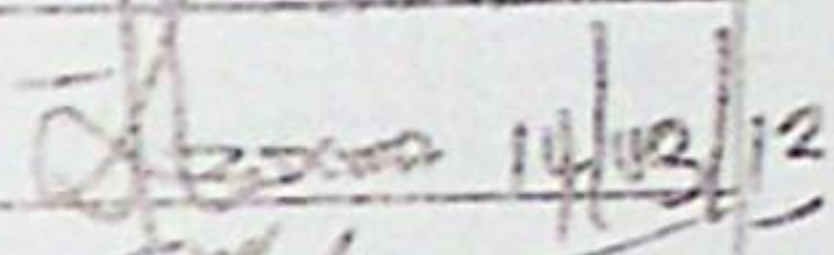

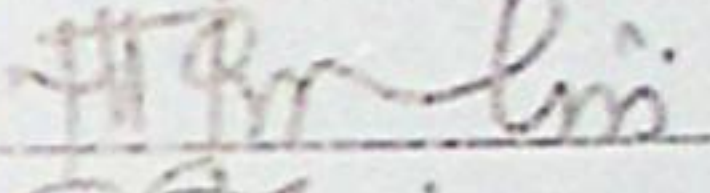

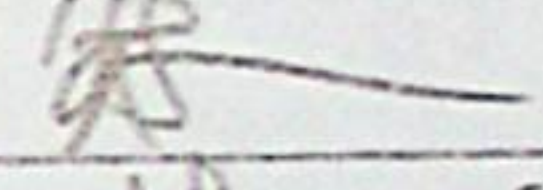


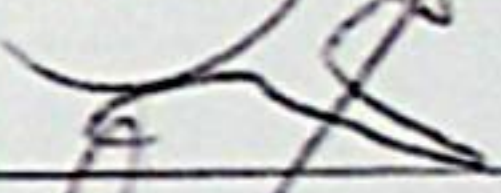
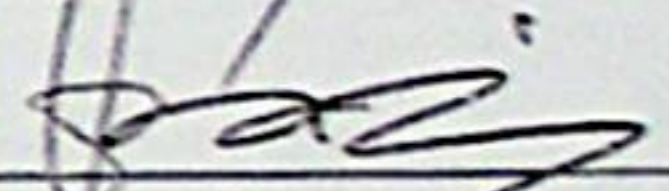
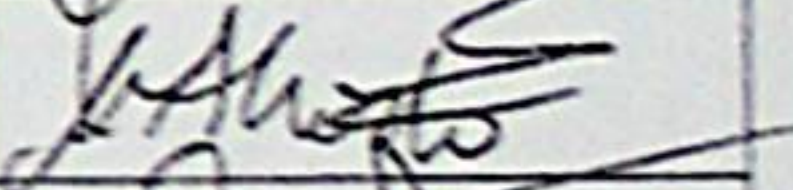



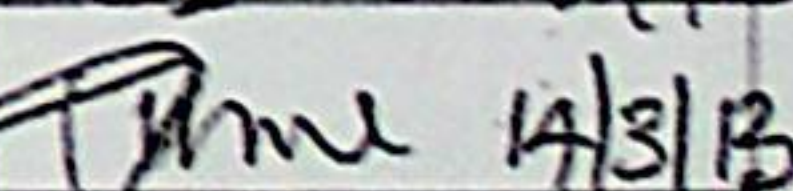
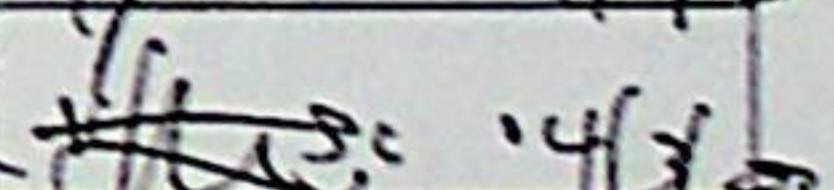
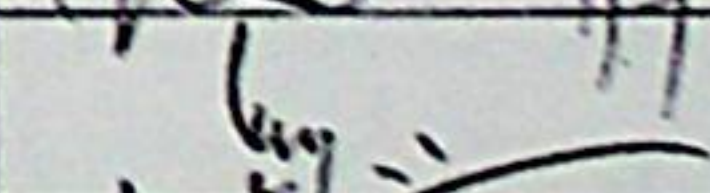
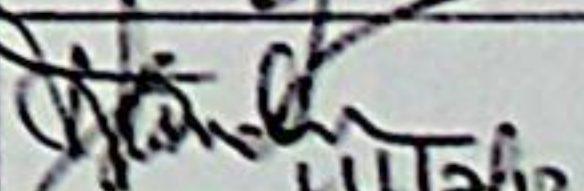
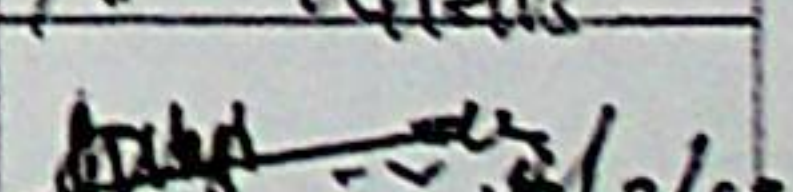
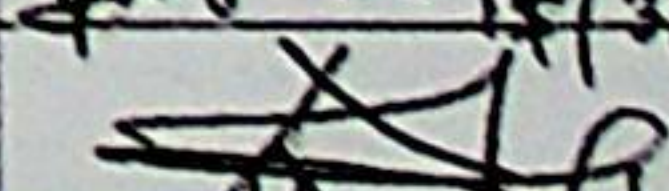

~~SECRET~~  
DIRECTORS

S/N	NAME	ORGANIZATION	SIGN/DATE
1	Adnan D. RIM	MCS/DOMA	[Signature]
2	Talib H. Malami	ER.C Mms	[Signature]
3	Babalola Bello Mustapha	MICC MX	[Signature]
4	Amos Njiru	S.S.A. MX	[Signature]
5	Elizabeth A. Jonathan	NANERS	[Signature]
6	Moh. T. Ahmed	NSC/MA	[Signature]
7	Isaiah P. Fred	Min of Sports	[Signature]
8	Abdulrahman M. Saba	MLFD	[Signature]
9	Usman Aliyu Gbeseke	Min. Mining & Minerals	[Signature]
10	Baba Sheshe	Min. of Sport	[Signature]
11	MU. ISAH SARICE	JUDICIARY	[Signature]
12	Tibairi Muli Enagi	Judiciary	[Signature]
13	Ahmad Gana Mubid	S.C.A	[Signature]
14	Umar M. Jays	MLAH	[Signature] 14/3/13.
15	Mohd Kabir Ahmad	NSIEC	[Signature]
16	Kolli GDM/NG/NSC	NSSTSB MX	[Signature]
17	MOSES A. JAMES	DPES NSSTSB MX	[Signature]
18	Pampha Garara	Other news MAX	[Signature]
19	Musa H. Galo	MBOW/ID	[Signature]
20	Eng. Isah, M.L.	✓ ✓	[Signature]
21	Rtdr Dahir Contehi Mshah	✓ ✓	[Signature]



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NATIONAL DISCOURSE ON CORRUPTION

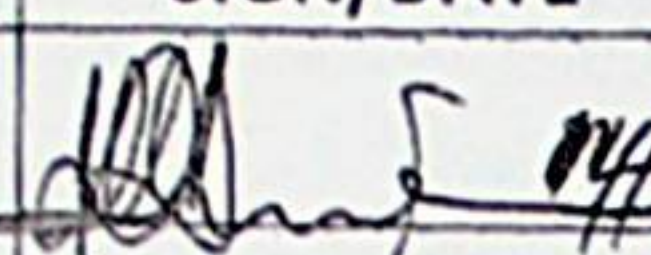
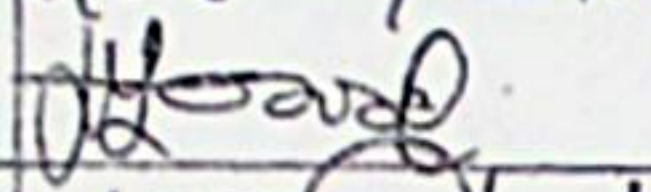

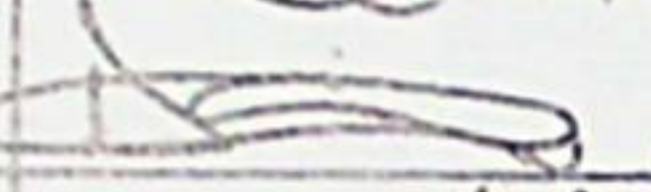
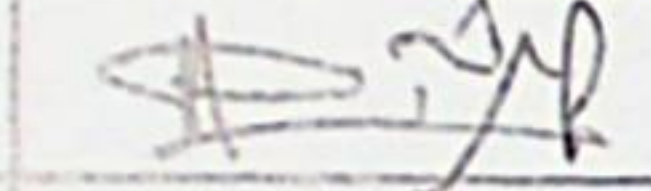
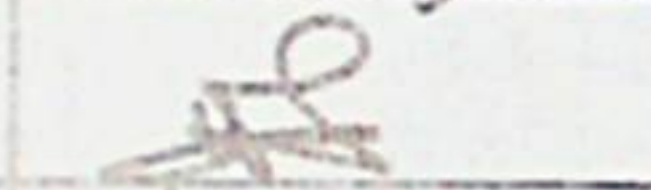


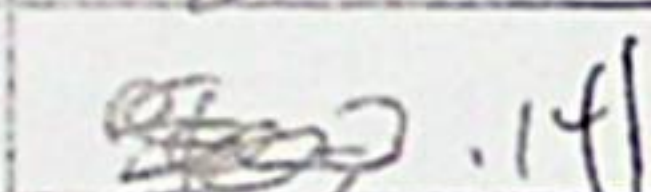
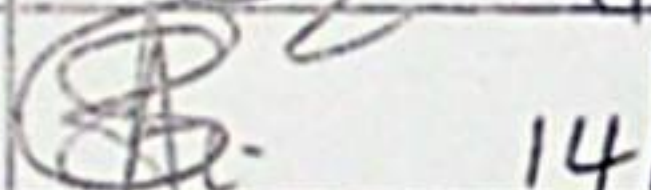
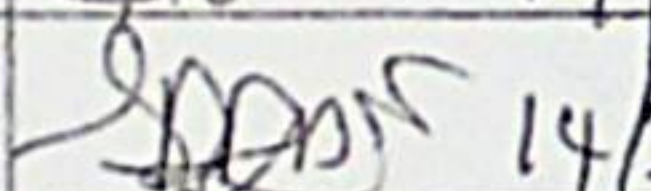
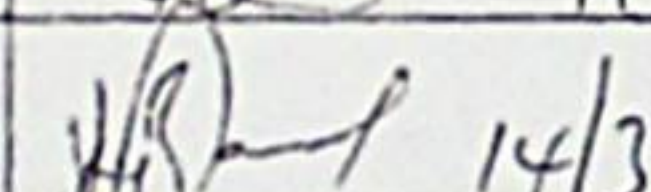
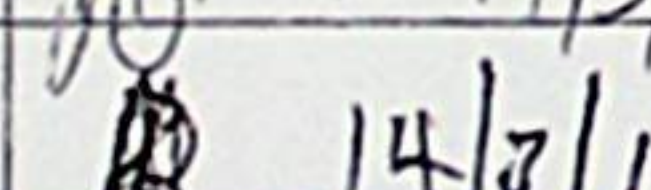
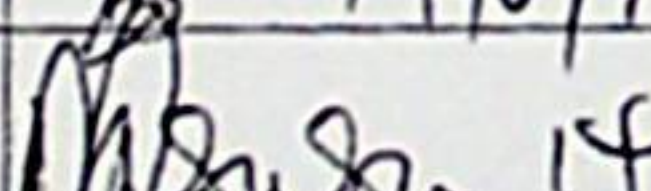
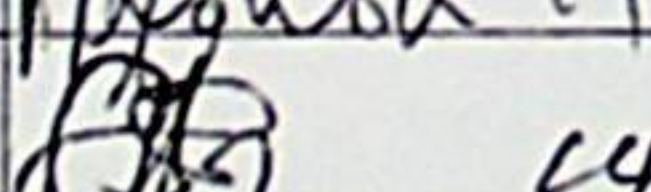
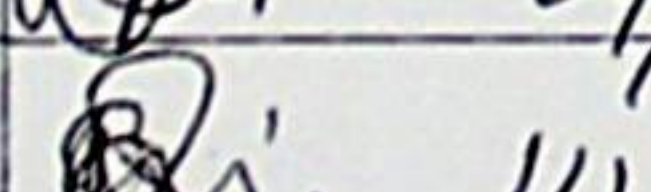
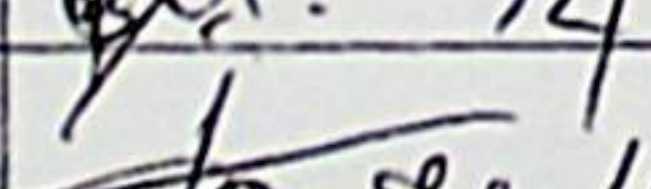


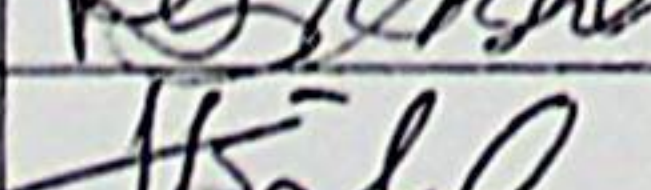
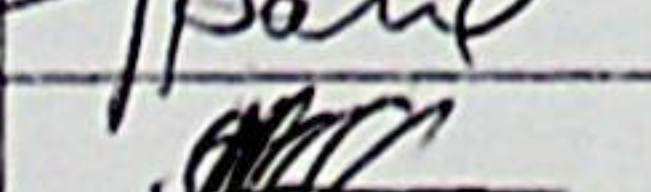
ATTENDANCE LIST - DIRECTORS

S/N	NAME	ORGANIZATION	SIGN/DATE
22	Dr Joseph Kolu James	SMOHT & HS	 14/12/12
23	ALLYU M. DADA	D/GOV. OFFICE	
24	Ibrahim U. Shafiqi	NSUDS	
25	Pada Saleh Kati	MTC	
26	Tamar Andrew	v v	
27	Mohammed Bala U.	DPSD	
28	Sheikh Musa Ibrahim	MRA & PE	
29	Mal. Faruk Bawa	MKG	
30	Dr. Muhi'd Jimi Yusuf	MITS	
31	Usman A. Kodo	Information	
32	Pharm. Faruq Aliyu	DPS	
33	Jamilu Mohammed	All Services	
34	TPL Kaitum Dauda	MLXH	 14/13/1
35	BLDR MOH'D KUDU TIFIN	MIN OF WORKS	 14/3/13
36	HASSAN H. MUHAMMAD	ASSER. Min	 14/3/13
37	M.H. ABULMUMINI M. MA'AMU	MOE	
38	Fatima T. Daudu	MOE	 14/12/13
39	Barbale Anthony	FRDI	 14/3/13
40	Arc. Kudu Aliyu	Min. of Works	
41	ISAAC A. JUNA	MO-EDUC	



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**ATTENDANCE LIST - DIRECTORS**

S/N	NAME	ORGANIZATION	SIGN/DATE
01	Umar D. Sulaiman	NAMDA	 14/03/13
02	Abubakar Jyis	Ministry of Agric	
3	Nathaniel Tsado V.	Planning Comm	 14/3/13
4	Dan Azumi musc	Scholarship	
5	Aliyu M. M.	Min. of Inf.	
6	WDO JUDE ILO	OSI WA	
7	Al-Hassan Ibrahim M.	Tourism/Culture	
8	Moh'd N. Nasir	NSPPB	
9	Eng. Abubakar S. Babu	WAMDA	 14/3/13
10	Sarah A. Gana	NSPWC	 14/3/13
11	Saba A. Abuyi	MICC	 14/3/13
12	Usman M. Dalau	NSPC	 14/3/13
13	Bello & Muhammad	MICC	 14/3/13
14	Mulid A. Shamsa	NSPC	 14/3/13
15	Ibrahim Abayi Shelu	Namda	 14/03/13
16	ISA A KOLD	MICC	 14/03/13
17	Musa A. Wabli	NSPPB	 14/03/13
18	Uthman Umar	MICC	 14/3/13
19	Jamus M. Kwame	LGSC	
20	Ibrahim A. Salib	LGSC	
21	EMMA HAGA-IA	LGSC	



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**NATIONAL DISCOURSE ON CORRUPTION**

ATTENDANCE LIST

CHAIRMAN &  
SPECIAL ADVISERS

S/N	NAME	ORGANIZATION	SIGN/DATE
1	Abdullahi Yemang	SHARORO LG	[Signature] 14/3/13
2	Danjuma Bajebard	MUANYAL LG	[Signature]
3	Zaka J. Asanwa	Munyasa LG	[Signature]
4	ALIYU M. HALIDU	AGWYRA	[Signature]
5	Mohammed SALLY PISA	RORGU	[Signature]
7	Moh'd Babanna	Kateha	[Signature]
8	Musa A. Fessa	Lovan	[Signature]
9	Nasiru Bawa Shambo	Rijau	[Signature]
10	U. S. H. Mstoph	Bida	[Signature] 14/3/13
11	ADAMU J. SOFADE	MORWA	[Signature] 14/3/13
12	ABDULLAH S. KWATU	PAIKORO	[Signature] 14/3/13
13	Adamm Gani	Cusuma	[Signature]
14	Muhu Gomma	Chanchaga	[Signature]
15	M. I. A. P. P. P.	Gin Gura	[Signature]
16	Garda Abubakar	Washishi	[Signature]
17	Hau Danledi Danmalla	Maniga	[Signature]



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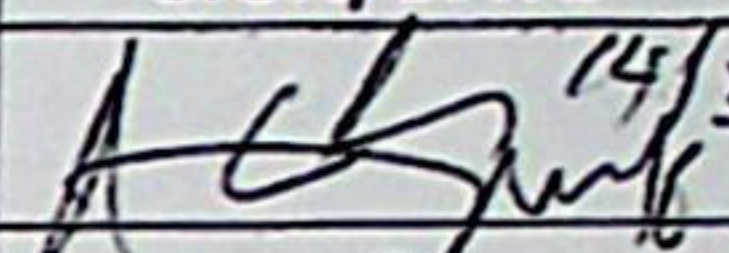
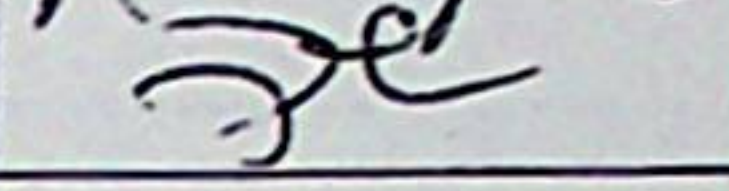
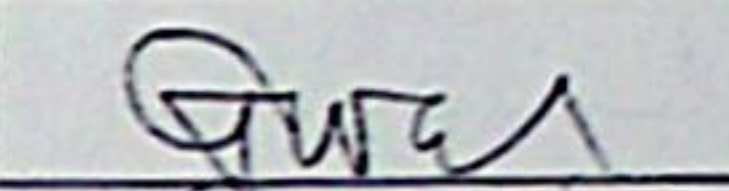
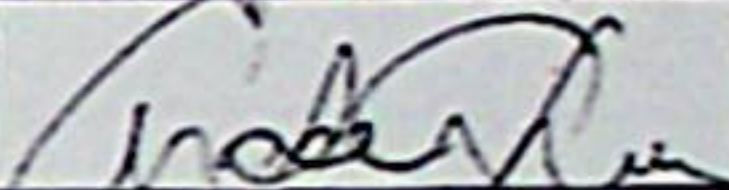
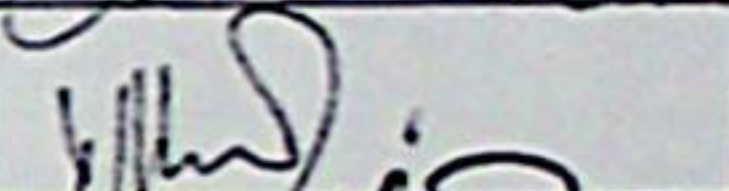
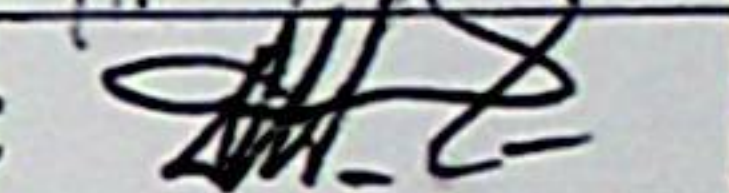
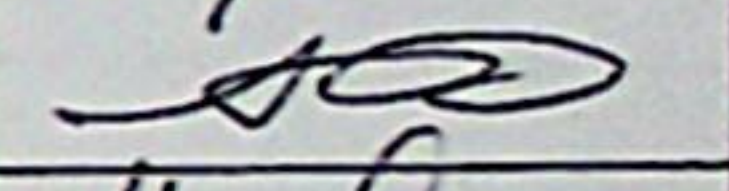
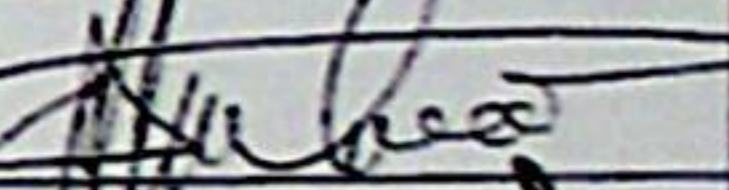
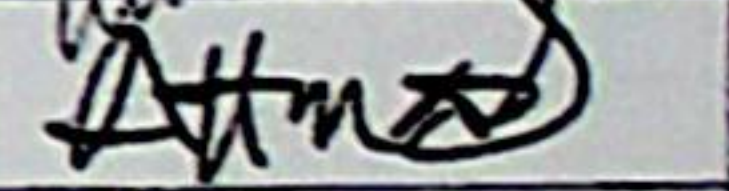
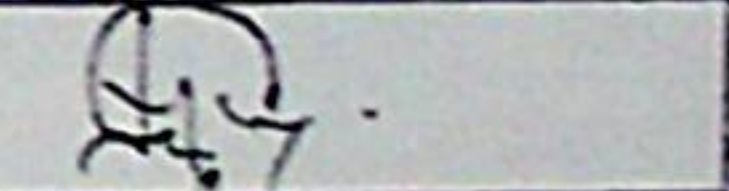
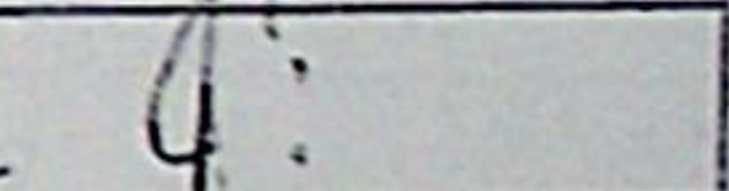
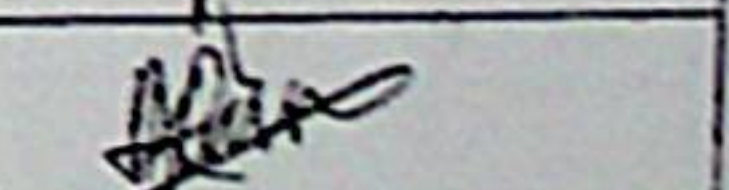

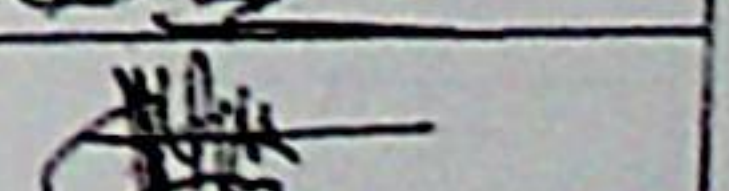

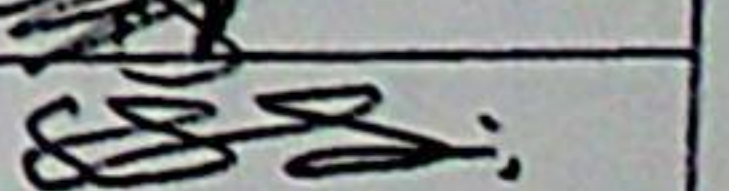
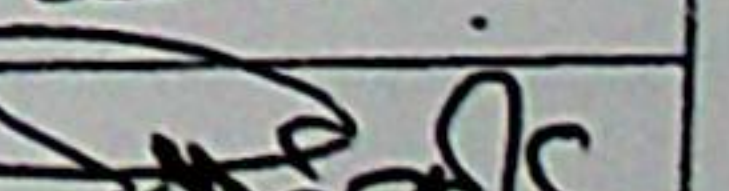
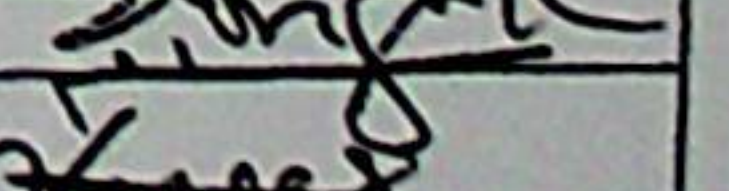

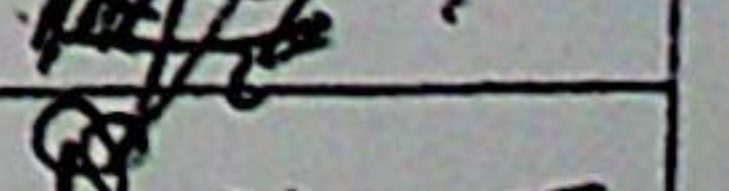
**ATTENDANCE LIST - SPECIAL ADVISERS**

S/N	NAME	ORGANIZATION	SIGN/DATE
01	SABIQ ABDULCATH	AG - SON (GOV'S OFFICE)	SA [Signature] 14/2/13
02	Saidu S. Takuma	E.S. - WAP	[Signature]
03	Umaru Ragoob	So C. Mob.	[Signature]
4	Hon Zambir Santrini	SA Security	[Signature]
5	Hon. Tala M El-Takus	SSA Pol. Mob.	[Signature]
6	Fatima Abubalcaw	W. Mob.	[Signature]
7	Hon Tibni Tfuasha	S. S. A. Agric	[Signature]
8	Mohd Idnisu	S. A. HOA	[Signature]
9	Abdullehi Asch Paiko	D-G Comm Mst. chft	[Signature] 14/3/13
10	Jaya Victoris J.	SA Tuds	[Signature]
11	Jummai, M. Agwasi	Fiscal-R. Comm.	[Signature]
12	Hon. V. B. RAFFAN	S. A. CIA	[Signature]
13	Muh. Kwotr Abdullahi	SA Agric	[Signature]
14	Hon Haruna Guppen	SA Econic.	[Signature]
15	BENUA: YAHAYA	DR, BENSON BARRA	[Signature]
16	Musa Babatu Idris	NG Advn & Moli	[Signature]
17	Dr Jacob Kolo	NEPAD	[Signature]
18	Comrade Ym. Lada	LABOUR RELATIONS	[Signature]
19	A. A. TANKO	MLG	[Signature]
20	Abdullahi Salomon	NG Political	[Signature]
21	Bar H. IBRAHIM, OON	Chairman, LGSC	[Signature]



**MINNA**  
**NATIONAL DISCOURSE ON CORRUPTION**

ATTENDANCE LIST - SPECIAL ADVISERS

S/N	NAME	ORGANIZATION	SIGN/DATE
22	Mr. Abdul Husain	NI GIS	 14/3
23	Nurth Musa, MSc	SA (Education)	
24	Hay Kaka J. Wali	SAADH - Girl Child Edu	
25	ASABE A. AHMED	SA INV. & HOUSING	
26	Mohammed Bayo Uris	SA - F.R.C	
27	Eng. Mammah Mub.	Exec. Comm NSPWC	
28	M. J. JIKANTO	DCI	5/1/20
29	Amin S. Kwaga	D.G. P	
30	Adama A. Muhammad	Special Adv. Lands	
31	Gen. Abdullah A. Ahmad	DG Security	
32	DR. J. K. SABA	SA Health	
33	Hm UT Mohammed	Exc. Comm FRC	
34	Katamba Liman	Director CCB MA	
35	Mahmud shabo	S.A Youth	
36	Mhd Ali Yakubu	ACF	
37	JUSTICE BALS EX/ATT	Judiciary	
40	Hm Nasir Musa	S-A P...	
41	L. K. MAMSOUD	PRIVATE	
42	All Umoy Thibodu	S.A 2 para	
43	John Janidanni	Ex-Director	
44	Evang. Louis Mgbemena	S-A Inter-Comm.	







**MINNA**  
**NATIONAL DISCOURSE ON CORRUPTION**

**ATTENDANCE LIST - PERM. SEC.**

S/N	NAME	ORGANIZATION	SIGN/DATE
1	ALH HAS ALMI	Mm Service/Tech SA GU	[Signature] 14/03/2013
2	Idoma Anoyemi	Inter Comm Relations	[Signature]
3	Mr D-O-PUTA	CSA/SECURITY	[Signature]
4	Dr (Mrs) Muhammad H-N.	Invest. Commore & Corp	[Signature]
5	Baba Kutaji Marugu	MD (NANDA)	[Signature]
6	Mohammed Bala Ido	Mining & Minres.	[Signature]
7	Arc. Ramatu T. Suleiman	PS works	[Signature]
8	ALH. MUSA HARISSA	P/SEC OFFIC	[Signature]
9	DR CHINDO IBRAHIM B.	MOTHAITS (PS)	[Signature]
10	Usman A. Liman	NSBS (SG)	[Signature]
11	Haj. Asmau Bala	Population Census	[Signature]
12	ISAAC N. KORO	Water Res.	[Signature]
13	Eng. A. A. Maji	Gen NSMB	[Signature]
14	Juleiman Sahin	SCA MX	[Signature]
15	Muhammad Abdour	State and Com	[Signature]
16	Haji Bilal T. Ndame	NSSE Board	[Signature]



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**NATIONAL DISCOURSE ON CORRUPTION**

**ATTENDANCE LIST - PERM. SEC.**

S/N	NAME	ORGANIZATION	SIGN/DATE
1	Rabi Dikko Muhamad	NSPWC	Rabi 14/3/13
2	Rabi H. Yahaya/Mr	NSWC	Rabi 14/03/13
3	Shehu Ahmed	ESACON	Shehu
4	N. U. Wali	Min of Justice	N. U. Wali
5	Umaru Yazid	Civil Service Comm	Umaru
6	Tamale John	Bank Musky	Tamale
7	Maimuna G. Abdullahi	CSC	Maimuna
8	Engr SHARU, MOHAMMED	Niger State Electricity	Sharu 14/3/13
9	Muhammed Aliyu Madugu	Min. of Land Affairs	Aliyu 14/3/13
10	Muhammed F. Kola	LGSC	Muhammed 14/3/13
	Born Aliyu - Mch	SEC NISRAL	Born 14/3/13
12	Zakari Aboubakar	PS Agnc	Zakari 14/3
13	Abdulbaki M. Kogoro	NIGHA	Abdulbaki 14/3
14	Princess Kadet Tisa	N/S Gender	Princess
15	Frank Umar SANI	NIGROMA	Frank
16	Dr I.M.S Tiffan	HEP MGT Board	Dr Tiffan
17	Aliyu Ali		Aliyu



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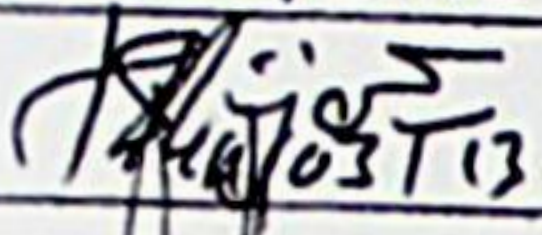


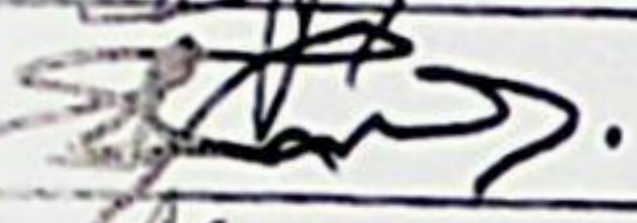
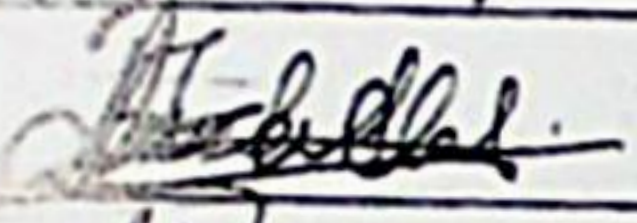
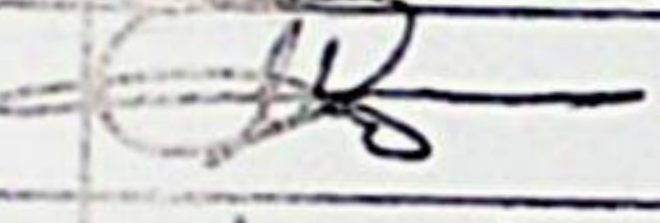
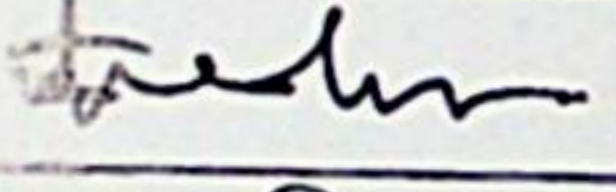
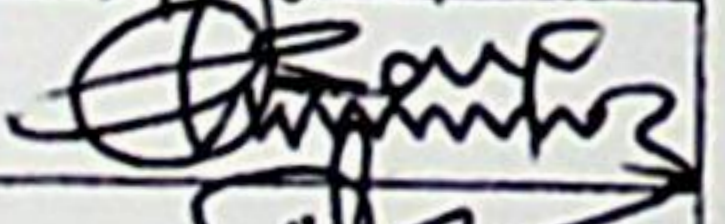

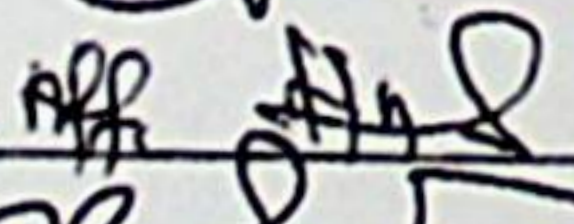
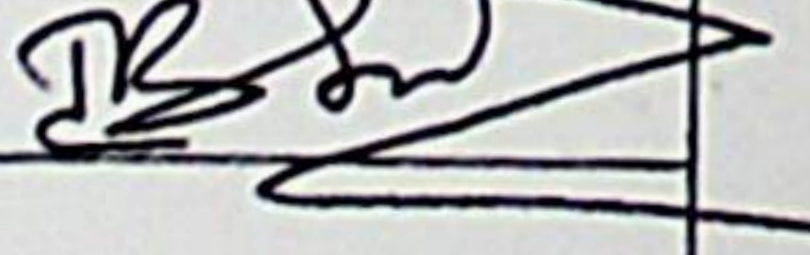
S/N	NAME	ORGANIZATION	SIGN/DATE
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2	M. M. Aliyu	MA/CO NISAKTA	
3	Seun O. Ugwuoke	SPARC SPM	
4	Dr. AROH, A. I.	Govt House cumc	
5	TPL ABDOU S. PANTI	DM NUDB	
6	ADAMU UMAR, mni	SSG'S Office, NX	
7	Abdulhaki U. Lepai	DG MAC	
8	B. M. Dzukweji	DG NSBREDA	
9	Hon. Adams Lwaju	Perm. FRC	
10.	James D. CHIDAWA	PS/TE	
11	Yabagi Ali. Sule	PS (OHOS)	
12	Mohid Z. Bawa	PS (HR) OHOS	
13	DR ISA. M. KOLU	PS Ec. Aff SSGO	
14	Engr Abubakar Yusuf	PS OHOS	
15	Dr. Mahmud N. Muhammad	PS, Education	
16	Justin Nagaji	Local Govt Serv. Com	
17	Salama D. D (mni)	MTIC	
18	AAUWA M. LEMU	INFORMATION	
19	Moh'd B. Mustafa	LG SC	
20	Moh'd Maude Lepai, mni	N S LAB	
21.	DR. R. W. SABA	PS MLFD	



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2	Dr. P. S. SARKI	MOLEH	
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4	Gen. Susan A. (Mrs)	Tourism & C	
5	David C. Shashere	Sports	
6	Hassan L. Abdullahu	Investment	
7	Eng. Harbaki Gaba Jibred	Mining	
8	DR. M. BASHAR Nuttu	TERTIARY Educ.	
9	Ahmed I. Mohamed	Agriculture & Dev	Ahmed I. Mohamed
10	Haj Habiza L. Abdullam	Water Res	Haj Habiza L. Abdullam 14/03
11	Shehu Baruna	R. A & P. L	15 14/3/13
12	M. K. Nushishi	Youth Dev	14/03/13
13	Muazu B. MOHID	Workce of ID	
14	Eng. Subeiman Abdullahi	Board of Int. Rev.	
15	Haj Hassan Adamu	Hon. Com Secy	
16	Dr. Ibrahim B. Sulaymani	H/Comm. Health	



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