A comparative analysis of corruption in Jonathan and Buhari's Civilian Regimes

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Abstract

The crux of this paper is to compare the corruption indices between the Jonathan civilian administration and Buhari's civilian administration. Nigeria corruption has emanated from historical, economic, political, geographical, cultural and social factors. The study observed that Nigeria has consistently remained on the negative corruption perception index, regionally and internationally, the country, in the past decades has been "ornamented with high grades among the league of corrupt nations by transparency international and other watchdog organizations. There exist unresolved approach in the policies of past and present governments to fight and minimize corruption both in the public and private sectors. The fact remains that section 15 (5) of the extent constitution of 1960 mandated the Head of state to abolish all corrupt practices and abuse of powers, while the 1999 constitution on Nigeria as amended, in section 23 itemized "national ethics" that are antithetical to corruption and section 88 and 89 empowered the national assembly to expose corruption, inefficiency and waste in government through probe and investigation. Both the constitution of PDP in the time of Jonathan administration and the APC constitution in item number 4 takes clear position on strict enforcement of anti-corruption laws. The objective of this paper, is to compare the corruption cases in Jonathan civilian administration with that of Buhari's civilian administration, who promised and vow to combat corruption in Nigeria no matter whose ox is gored-if it's a reality or an illusion. This study is descriptive in nature and adopted the secondary data which have qualitative baseline orientation. The objective of this paper is to compare the corruption between the Jonathan civilian administration and Buhari's civilian administration This paper adopted the Marxian Political Economy theory as its theoretical framework and make adequate recommendations towards ensuring minimizing corruption in the body politics of Nigeria.

Keywords: Comparative, Corruption of Jonathan and Buhari's Civilian Regimes.

Introduction:

Britain, being our colonial master, could therefore be roundly accused of being the originator and precursor of corruption in Nigeria. The colonizers did not only instituted corruption in Nigeria, they also created a distorted political process which has led to the various problems the country is facing today. The corruption problem in Nigeria from 2010-2015 during President Goodluck Jonathan administration prompted President Muhammandu Buhari to vow to combat corruption in Nigeria no matter whose ox is gored. The Nigerian believed that the "national ethics" as indicated in section 23 of the 1999 constitution of the federal republic of Nigeria as amended deals with discipline, integrity, dignity of labour, characteristics that are antithetical to corruption and which, if imbibed and practices by Nigerians, high and low, private and public will check corruption and restore the nation to path of greatness could have been one of the legal framework among others. The Nigerian constitution of 1999, section 88 and 89 that empowered the national assembly to expose corruption, inefficiency and waste in government through probe and investigations are not followed. In Nigeria, corruption thrive literally in all ramification of human endeavours, with the most perpetrated over the years by elected officials and highly positioned citizens in government. while it is obvious that no nation is entirely free of corruption, the incidence of corruption is on the rise, especially in the developing countries. Enweremadu, (2012, pp. 88-90)

Conceptualization of corruption:

In the context of this paper, corruption is seen as a dishonest act or criminal activity that is done by an individual or group of persons or organization, in a bid to benefit or abuse a system with powers within the person's disposal. The problem of corruption has been described as a global challenge. Though some of the World have considered a firm stance against the challenge, many African countries and Nigeria in particular are still grapping to tackle the act. According to Azelama, (2012, pp 56-60) corruption is any action or omission enacted by a member of an organization, which is against the rules, regulations, norms and ethics of the organization or the institution, and the purpose is to meet the selfish end of the member at the detriment of the organization. The World Bank (World Bank Independent Evaluation Group, 2016) defines corruption as "the abuse of office for private gain". Public office is abused for private gain when an official accepts, solicits, or extorts a bribe.

The above implies that corruption could be defined as a patronage, manipulation, favoritism in the award of contract, procurement scam, tribalism and nepotism in recruitment, appointment and promotion, unfair punishment / sanctions for public officials. Many ordinary people also pay bribes to public servants in order to secure

employment, gain school admission for their children, or to quickly obtain a service that is being provided slowly. Some public officials falsely increased the cost of building projects and pocket the difference. In the course of their regular duties, many professionals such as administrators, lecturers, accountants, architects, bankers, doctors, insurers, lawyers, manufacturers and pharmacists engage in illegal practices that cost the nation billions of naira while enriching themselves. .

Corruption is an affliction of humanity, not the specialty of any people or nation. It takes many form and is a universal cancer. According to Dimkpa, (2011, p. 33), corruption is difficult to define as a result of its complex nature. But despite the complexities some definition of corruption is still acceptable. Corruption is the use of public office for private gain (Ajodo-Adebanjoko & Okorie, 2014). It is refers to any bahavoiur that deviates from the norm or socially unacceptable. There are different types of corruption each with its characteristics. Some of the types of corruption include " grand corruption, political corruption, economic corruption religious corruption, moral corruption, professional corruption, organized corruption and working-class corruption". Corruption may also take the form of cronyism, bribery, favouritism, patronage, extortion, influence peddling, fraud, misappropriation, squandermenia and embezzlement.

The causes of corruption in Nigeria include; greed, the social environment, ostentatious living, societal and family pressure, get-rich-quickly syndrome, poor reward system, inadequate motivation the immunity clause in the Nigerian 1999 constitution as amended and clumsy handling of corruption cases in Nigeria among others. Ajodo-Adebanjoko & Okorie, (2014, p.78).

Theoretical Framework:
This theory was propounded by Karl Marx, the theories relate to the variables you want to study and pointing out how such models form the back-bone on which your study should be anchored. Nwankwo, (2013, p.45)

Theoretical foundation means a device for adopting or applying the summations, postulations and principles of a research problem.

This study adopted the Marxian Political Economy as its theoretical framework. The political economy is a unique subject of study in the social sciences, it both a subject of study and a method of study. As a subject of study, it is treated as a systematic body of knowledge of the growth and development of modes of production. It is the Marxian political economy of study, Ihonvbere, (2001, pp. 1-23)

The Marxian political economy in methodological sense, which is the major interest here, is a framework for organizing concepts, theories to explain, analyze and predict the interplay of forces, which determine not only the nature of the present social realities, but also their future manifestations and directions. The theory sees the present social realities, but also their future manifestations and directions. It also sees the present social realities as in a state of motion, and in constant tensions and contradictions. These contradictions define and redefine the pattern of social relation of production, political culture and laws of society as well as the consciousness of its constituent's parts.

The main thrust of the Marxian political economy approach is that it is the economy (substructure) that determines the non-economic (superstructure) political aspect of society, Ake, (1981, p.1). Alke outline the methodological implication of the political approach for the researcher when he argued that:

> "He must pay particular attention to the economic structure of the economic structure of the society and indeed use it as a point of departure for studying other aspects of society".

Arguing further as if to underline its holistic and comprehensive character in the explanation and analysis of social phenomena, he stated that:

> "Once we understand what the material assets and constraints of a society are, how society produces good to meet its materials needs how the goods are distributed and what type of social relations arise from organization of production we have come a long way to understand the culture of that society, its laws, its religions system, its political system and even its mode of thought".

Following the above, the study assumes that the social forms of production in Nigeria is distribution system is skewed heavily against corruption in the two regimes in Nigeria.

Causes of Corruption in Nigeria:

Bagshaw, (2014, pp. 97-100) identifies the following as the causes of corruption in Nigeria:

a) **Inherent Flaws in the structure of the Nigerian Economy**: Due to the federal government browbeat fiscal centralization policy, loopholes are often created to effect misappropriation of funds;

b) **Immunity of public officials**: Some government officials are immune from prosecution while in office. For example most governors divert monies meant for public expenditure;
c) **Bad procurement practices**: This creates room for inflated contracts and diversion of fund meant for capital expenditure;
d) **Secrecy in government offices**: Lack of information to the public on activities of public offices leads to financial misappropriation as most of the government transactions are executed in secrecy;
e) **Absence of functional government system**: Supervising agencies and periodic auditing of government accounts are usually circumvented and falsified;
f) **Over concentration of resources**: The over centralization of resources at the centre and the culture of unregulated informed economy are also among the causes of corruption in Nigeria; and
g) **Low public sector remunerations**: The salaries of most servants in Nigeria are so low and small they cannot afford to live above board. This makes them to look for any opportunity to enrich themselve as they believe that "where you work is where you chop".

Anti-Corruption Commissions in Nigeria:

Notable among the anti-corruption agencies are the Independent Corruption Practices Commission (ICPC) and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC). Others agencies previously instituted to fight corruption included the Judicial Commissions of Enquiry, The Code of Conduct Bureau, The Public Complaints Commission, Mass Mobilization for Social Justice and Economic Recovery (MAMSER), War Against Indiscipline Council (WAIC) and the Independent Advocacy Project (IAP) known as the Good Governance Group. Akambi, (2014, p.66)

Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC):

The (EFCC) was established through an act of the National Assembly in December, 2002, but begun operation in April, 2003 when its board was inaugurated. Its responsibility specifically included the investigation of all financial crimes such as advance fee fraud known as 419; money fraud; counterfeiting illegal cash transfer; fraudulent diversion of funds; contract scam; forgery of financial instrument and insurance of dud cheques. Other responsibilities of the EFCC were coordination and enforcement of all economic and financial crimes laws; adoption of measures to identify, freeze, confiscate and seize proceeds derived from terrorist activities, economic and financial crimes related offense or the properties and values corresponding to such proceeds, determination of the extent of financial loss and such other losses by government, private individuals or organizations

collaboration with government bodies within and outside Nigeria which carry out its functions wholly or in part analogues with those of the commission. It is also empowered to effects the following laws:

a) Money laundering acts 1995;
b) The advance fee fraud and other related offences act 1995;
c) The failed Bank recovery of debts and financial malpractices in Banks act 1994 as amended;
d) The Bank and other financial institutions act as amended; and any other law or regulation related to economic and financial crimes, (EFCC Act 2002).

Independent Corruption Practices Commission (ICPC).

The ICPC was instituted to combat the crime of corruption and preside over by Justice Mustapha Akambi (rtd) in 2002 (ICPC Acts, 2002). Its main objectives was to enforce policies that would be geared towards controlling corrupt behaviour. The notable offences covered by the Acts establishing the ICPC include gratification by an official; corrupt offers to public officers and corrupt demands by persons in public offices, fraudulent acquisition of property and receipt of property, counseling offences relating to the corruption, power to investigate reports of bribery transactions and information etc. it is disheartening to note here that finance is the stumbling block to execute these strategies of combing corruption in Nigeria. While lamenting over the inability of his commission (ICPC) to meet the expectation of the public, Akambi, its chairman states that his organizati0on has only been able to investigate 608 of the 1,270 petitions it had received over the past years due to lack of funds. Out of the 608, only 34 cases had been brought to court.

Analysis of Jonathan and Buhari's Corruption Reality

According to Campuswaka (2015), Buhari administration started by arresting Col Dasuki (rtd) the then National Security Adviser of President Jonathan who was as at 1983 a young Nigeria Army Colonel that arrested the then General Buhari when Buhari's government as Military Head of State was overthrown on Dec 1983 by General Babaginda. Dasuki's accomplices that are of the opposition party, People's Democratic Party (PDP) and those in the military were arrested and charged to court by Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) over the massive scam in weapons and defence procurements that led to the misuse of three trillion naira defence budget since 2011 under the guise of fighting the notorious Boko Haram menace.

The NNPC investigation where the former minister of petroleum Mrs Diezani Alison-Madueke was asked to give holistic account of her stewardship while in office could have

been one of the reasons why President Buhari vowed to combat corruption in Nigeria no matter whose ox is gored.

Corruption in Jonathan civilian administration:

Jonathan's administration appears not to pay attention to corruption and its scandalous manifestations. His quest and ambition for second term in office beclouded his sense of judgment and totally bamboozled his political will from fighting corruption to cementing loyalists in all regions of the country through dubious transactions. Between May 6th 2010 when Jonathan stood in for late Yar'adua and 2012 over ₦5, trillion of government funds were stolen (Emeka, 2017)

According to the Nuhu Ribadu led Petroleum task force report, Nigeria lost over 250,000 barrels of crude oil daily at the cost of $6.3 billion (₦1.2 trillion) yearly. This put the total amount lost through oil theft in the two years of Jonathan government at over $12.6 billion (₦2 trillion). In July, 2012, the House of Representatives Committee on environment discovered a tree seedling fraud worth ₦2 billion awarded by Ecological fund office. In the Nigerian telecommunication sector, the 450MHz frequency which was valued at $50 million was allegedly sold for less than $6 million (a difference of $44million or ₦6.9 billion) by Nigerian communication commission. Corruption in Nigeria in 2012 by KPMG, a global audit and financial advisory firm classified Nigeria as the highest fraud cases in Africa. (Otunuga, 2018). Despite the evident to proof the scandalous cases of embezzlements, misappropriation and diversion of public fund another N255 million was allocated for purchase of two bulletproof BMW cars by the Aviation Minister Ms Stella Oduah.

Under jonathan's watch, Alhaji Maina misappropriated N195 billion pension funds which he claimed to have recovered from pension thieves. The NNPC also collaborated with the independent petroleum marketers to fraudulently sell kerosene to Nigerians at ₦170-₦250 when it was subsidized by the government to be sold for ₦40-₦50. According to the former Central Bank Governor Lamido Sanusi, over $100 million was lost through this way every month. More so, the Nigerian Parliament report has disclosed that $6 billion has been defrauded from the fuel subsidy fund between 2013 t0 2015.

Under Jonathan administration, $2.2 billion was illegally withdrawn from excess crude oil accounts of which $1 billion was supposedly approved by him to fund his reelection campaign without the knowledge of the National Economic Council made up of all State Governors the President and his Vice. NEITI discovered $11.6 billion was missing from

Nigeria LNG Company Dividend payment, 60 million barrels of oil valued at $13.7 billion allegedly stolen under the watch of the national oil giant.

Summary of corruption in Jonathan's administration:
(1) The $2.2 billion USD illegal withdrawal from Excess Crude Oil Account according to (www.punchng.com) of which $1 billion USD supposedly approved by the then President Jonathan to fund his re-election campaign without the knowledge of National Economic Council.

(2) The investigation of the discovered $11.6 billion USD (NLNG) dividend payments that is missing according to NEITI, Izeze (2015).

(3) The non-remittance of $11.63 billion USD paid to NNPC on crude swaps due to subsidy and domestic crude allocation that was not remitted to the federation account from 2005 to 2012, Izeze (2015).

(4) The stealing of sixty million barrels of oil valued at $13.7 billion USD under the watch of NNPC from 2009 to 2012, Izeze (2014).

(5) The invasions of tax by Oil Prospecting Licenses (OPL) and Oil Mining Licenses (0ML), DailySun (2016).

(6) Diversion of 60% 0f $1 billion USD foreign loan obtained by the Federal Ministry of Finance from the Chinese, Izeze (2015).

(7) Diversion and mismanagement of $2.2 million USD meant for vaccination of children, Siteadmin (2014).

(8) Diversion of N1.9 billion Nigeria naira being payment for Ebola fight, Abiodun (2015). Federal Ministry of Finance hurried payment of $2.2 million USD to Federal Ministry of Health contractor in disputed invoices, Punch (2015).

(9) NIMASA fraud that the investigation is ongoing (www.punch,com). (9) The NDDC scam of N27 billion Nigeria naira contract award, Premium Times (8th August 2015).

(10) The Police Service Commission scam investigation of N150million Nigerian Naira, Premium Times (2015).

(11) The security contracts of the militants on oil and gas pipeline, Africa Oil and Gas Report (2016).

(12) The alleged down payment of N50 billion Nigeria naira for the N1 trillion fine slammed on MTN by the Nigerian Communications Commission (NCC) for a breach of the nations laws on Subscriber Identification Module (SIM) registration which was allegedly diverted by government agencies involved, Daily Sun (2016).

Corruption in Buhari civilian administration:

The Buhari's anti-corruption war have accused him of not being sincere and holistic in the fight against corruption as virtually all the people and corporate organizations investigated are all of the opposition party – PDP, and his perceived enemies. Worse off, to them, none of the cases so far investigated and charged to court has been clinically concluded. This school of thought is also of the opinion that President Buhari has no moral pedigree to fight corruption because he, Buhari is corrupt:

In 2016, the Senate ad-hoc committee on "mounting humanitarian crisis in the North East" led by Senator Shehu Sani indicted the then Secretary to the government of the federation Babachir Lawal involved in N200 million contract scandal for the clearing of "invasive plant species" in Yobe State by Rholavision Nigeria Limited; a company he owns (Otunuga, 2018)

In 2016 the chief of staff of the federation, took N500 million bribe from MTN to help it slash the $5 billion fine slammed against it for violation of Nigeria telecommunications regulations bothering on national security. MTN fired the staff involved in the bribery scandal. But Abba Kyari was left intact in his position as chief of staff. (Otunuga, 2018)

Abdulrasheed Maina was the head of the task force on pension reforms during the Jonathan led administration but fled Nigeria in 2015 after claims that he embezzled two billion naira ($5.6 million, 4.8 million euros). Despite the fact that Interpol arrest warrant was issued, he still managed to return to Nigeria, where he was said to have enjoyed protection from the Buhari government, Maina had been fired from his position by Jonathan's administration and was put under investigation for corrupt practices but was reinstated and given double promotion by Buhari administration. According to the Senate through its committee on public accounts, 85 government parastatals under the present government under the leadership of Muhammadu Buhari are yet to submit their audit reports since the inception of this government. (Otunuga, 2018).

Summary of Buhari's corruption:

(1) Buhari as Minister of Petroleum: Two Hundred and Eighty Billion United Statesof America Dollar ($2.8b) Oil Money was unaccounted for in 1977 under the watch of Buhari as the Petroleum Minister that led to the then Military Head of State Lt. Gen Obasanjo to set up a "crude oil sales tribunal" to investigate the operations of the then Nigeria National Oil Company (NNOC) now known as Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC). The tribunal found out that in three years, the then NNOC has failed to collect its equity share of oil produced by Shell, Mobil and Gulf, which amount to $2.8b USD (www.thecable.nigerianmonitor.com).

(2) Buhari as Military Head of State: The story of the fifty three (53) suitcases "filled with cash" that his Aide-de-Camp (ADC) then Major Mustapha Jokolo and his soldiers forcefully passed through Muritala Mohammed Airport (MMA) Lagos without security check after Gen Buhari as the Military Head of State announced a change of Nigeria currency and gave an order that all luggage entering or leaving the country borders, seaports and airports should be searched tensure no currency was being smuggled. However, there seemed to be one rule for all and another for a privileged few as the 53 suitcases forcefully passed through without security checking. According to Atiku Abubakar, Nigeria's Fourth Republic Vice President and the Controller of Customs as at the time of this incident at MMA Lagos, "he was pressurized by Buhari's government to deny that the smuggling didn't take place, but he refused and told the truth" (therainbowonline.net).

(3) Buhari as Petroleum Trust Fund Chairman (PTF): Mismanagement of Twenty Five Billion Seven Hundred and Fifty Eight Million Five Hundred and Thirty two Thousand Four Hundred and Forty Eight Naira (N25,758,532.448). On July 7th 1999, the then President Obasanjo instituted Petroleum (Special) Trust Fund Interim Report and the report revealed that the committee had advised President Obasanjo to set up a high powered judicial panel to recover the huge public fund and to take necessary action against any officer, consultant or contractor such as the Afri-Project Consortium (APC), a company contracted by the Petroleum Trust Fund (PTF) as management and project consultant that the report indicted that the sum of N25,758,532.448 was mismanaged when Buhari was the Chairman (www.naij.com).

(4) Buhari's Certificate Forgery: Nwokocha-Ahaaiwe, an Abuja legal practitioner has charged President Buhari to court for an alleged certificate forgery. He alleged that President Buhari is unqualified to aspire to the office of the President of Federal Republic of Nigeria because President Buhari did not sit for Cambridge West African School

Certificate (WASC) in 1961 as claimed. However, President Buhari's hiring of the services of twenty three best Senior Advocates of Nigeria (SAN) on this certificate forgery allegation is a proof according to his critics on this subject that indeed, President Buhari has no Cambridge West African School Certificate (WASC) as he claimed thus, has no morality to fight corruption (www.post-nigeria.com).

(5) President Buhari Harboring Corrupt Ministers in His Cabinet: The Lagos State chapter of People's Democratic Party (PDP) has faulted the claims by President Buhari that his Ministers are not corrupt. According to the party, President Buhari was obviously shielding some of his corrupt Ministers because of their financial contributions to his election. They accused President Buhari of pretending to be corruption-free, stating that he should make himself available for live question and answer if indeed he was very confident none of his Ministers are corrupt (www.informationng.com). The corruption crisis rocking Buhari's ruling party, All Progressives Congress (APC) in recent time seems to be proving Buhari's anti-corruption war critics right.

(6) The Party's National Leader, Senator Bola Ahmed Tinibu's accusation that the National Party Chairman, Chief John Oyegun is corrupt and Oyegun's hitting back at Tinubu, describing his allegation of corruption as personally insulting, reckless and baseless according to This Day (2016) points to the illusion concept of this subject as none has been invited or interrogated as at the time of writing this paper.

(7) The confessional statement made by Hon Abdulmumin of APC, Former Chairman of Appropriation Committee representing the people of Kiru-Bebeji Federal Constituency of Kano State in a press conference after being relieved of his position by his colleagues, stated categorically how the "House of Representative is a den of systemic corruption", Punch (2016). To further proof this, Hon Abdulmumin listed in the first release how they shared Nigeria money. He confessed in the following order starting with him:

(1) Hon Abdulmumini Jubrin got N650 million

(2) Speaker Yakubu Dogara got N1.5 billion

(3) His Deputy Yusuf Lasun got N800 million

(4) House Majority Leader Femi Gbajabiamila got N1.2 billion

(5) Deputy Majority Leader Buba Jubrin got N1.2 billion

(6) House Whip Alhassan Ado Doguwa got N1.2 billion

(7) Deputy House Whip got N700 million

(8) House Minority Leader Leo Ogor got N1.2 billion

(9) Deputy Minority Leader Onyema got N800 million

(10) Minority Whip got N700 million

(11) Deputy Minority Whip N700 million, and he concluded by saying that he has documents to back up all these.

This neo overt concept of President Buhari's ruling party-APC bigwigs accusations of each other on corruption in recent time and yet no invitation or arrest has been made by the anti-graft agencies, indeed, shows that Buhari's anti-corruption war is one rule for all and another for the privileged few. However, it is apt at this time to note the Ekpeye ethnic nationality's saying of the Niger Delta Region that "if it smells like a fish and looks like a fish, it is possibly a fish". Thus, this brings us to the questions being asked covertly and overtly by Nigerians, if President Buhari is sincere in his fight against corruption or if the fight against corruption is a vendetta or reality?

Effort of Jonathan Anti-Corruption policies in Nigeria:
Jonathan oversee some reforms, such as the introduction of biometric identity cards, which help reduce electoral fraud, and the implementation of the Treasury Single Account. However, Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's administration appears to have paid no attention to corruption and its scandalous manifestations.

His quest and ambition for second term in office beclouded his sense of judgment and totally bamboozled his political will from fighting corruption to cementing loyalists in all regions of the country through dubious transactions. He was known to have pampered corruption and had once vindicated his cronies by stating that "stealing is not corruption" (Agbiboa, 2012).

Effort of Buhari Anti-Corruption policies in Nigeria:
After his victory at the pools Buhari inaugurated a presidential advisory committee against corruption in August 11th 2015 to advice his administration on how to reform the Nigeria's criminal justice system, and steps needed to fight corruption. This committee is (and is

still) headed by Professor Itse Sagay, a prominent professor of law and a civil rights activist (Desta, 2018). With a novel advisory body like this, Nigerians expected new strategies, techniques and legislations which will not just tackle the manifestations of corruption but deter further exhibition of such traits which according to our framework, is inherent in every man.

However, the Buhari's anti-corruption fight tends to rather place more emphasis on fighting the manifestations of corruption, thereby negating the root and the victor of this germ. Just like his predecessor, the modus operandi of his anti-corruption war is to arrest suspected looters with any of its intelligence agencies, employed the antics of its anti-graft agencies for general probing and investigation, and charge all the suspect to court for prosecution (Emeka, 2017). Buhari has slightly deviated from his predecessors by placing utmost priorities on recovering looted public funds and even generating more funds through compromised court judgment and bail charges, while the much-anticipated fight against corruption is negated.

Though Buhari has displayed the political will to combat corruption, his objective and intention appears to be misguided. Recovering stolen funds from corrupt public officials is not a fight against corruption but rather a fight against the manifestations of corruption. This can only culminate in public officials adopting more stringent measures aimed at covering their tracts while they keep on raping the country dry. In fact, Buhari's strategy can only encourage more manifestations of corruption as politicians will continue to loot public treasury hoping to go scot free if they are not caught or return part of such funds if they are caught. In other words, the reward overwhelmingly outweighs the punishment (Emeka, 2017).

Challenges facing Jonathan and Buhari anti-corruption war in Nigeria:

Atelhe and Agada (2017, pp. 89-94) pointed out that the greatest challenges for anti-corruption commission in Africa is centered on political interference due to lack of political leaders and officers to fight corruption. The challenges which plague anti-corruption institutions in Nigeria include the lack of adequate funding, political interference and judicial bottlenecks.

In this regard, Atelhe and Aganda (2017) postulated that anti-graft agencies are also ill-equipped to combat corruption in the country due to the absence of autonomy, unequal treatment, institutional factors, lack of judicial power, inadequate database and lack of political will towards the fight against corruption (Fabayo, Posu, and Obisanya, 2018). The fact is that they are good in publishing the name of corrupt individuals instead of

punishing them. The anti-corruption institutions are simply inefficient in carrying out their responsibilities.

These anti-graft agencies were unable to persecute an adequate number of top public officials. This is the main deterrence to campaign against corrupt practices in Nigeria. It demonstrate that there are exceptions or untouchable among Nigeria citizens that the long hands of the law cannot get to or capture (Fabayo, Posu, and Obisanya, 2018).

Conclusion

Jonathan administration pampered corruption but do not go after the corrupt leaders under his government. While Buhari administration was serious with his anti-corruption war after eight months of his administration but afterward his administration was bequeathed with high level of corruption.

President Buhari's fight against corruption in Nigeria should not be a mere rhetoric as corruption is a cankerworm that has eating deep into the fabrics of the Nigerian society and endemic, ravaging the nation's economy. The causes of corruption are from various institutional and political factors stemming from the flowed structure and monopoly of the economy by the federal government.

Its effects on the nations socio-political and economic development are numerous and devastating. It has damaged the image of the country abroad to the extent that Nigeria is tagged as one of the most corrupt countries in the world. This has discouraged foreign investors and caused inflation and the depreciation of our currency.

On a final note, the fight against corruption in Nigeria by the Buhari administration is being encouraging indeed; but it be holistic and transparent, not targeting only a section of the country, a particular political party members and or his passive enemies if he wants Nigerians to believe and have faith in his war against corruption.

Recommendations

a) The war against corruption should be holistic and transparent. Nigeria requires good and virtuous leaders who are men of proven integrity. Leaders who are disciplined, honest and trustworthy.

b) The agencies of the anti-graft should ensure the immediate prosecution of people who are involved in corrupt practices. There should be no sacred cows and prosecution should not be on "one rule for all and another for the privileged few".

c) The government should fund the agencies adequately so that they can carry out the processes of prosecuting culprits without hindrances.

d) The income of every public official should be thoroughly scrutinized by the code of conduct Bureau before and after office to avoid falsification of claims.

e) There should be a special court for prosecuting people involved in corruption charges. This will reduce the cumbersome and delayed processes of the conventional court.

f) Capital punishment should be clearly spelt out for offenders as it is obtained in other developed countries. Possibly death or life imprisonment should be meted as in the case of China and most Asian countries.

g) The anti-graft staffs and the Nigerian police officers should be trained and equipped to carry out investigations without compromise.

h) The public servants should be well remunerated and motivated with improved staff welfare packages to have job satisfaction.

i) The Federal Government should endeavour to create employment opportunities to reduce the rate of unemployment and crime in the society.

j) The Federal Government should jail past corrupt leaders to serve as deterrence to others. This will infuse fear in the system and reduce the act and science of corruption in Nigerian government and politics.

k) The government should fund the agencies properly and adequately so that they can carry our and perform the processes of prosecuting culprits without hindrances.

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