**Corruption in Nigeria**

1. **Introduction to Nigerian Corruption**
   * The legacy of colonialism and the idealism of independent Nigeria
   * Ethno-religious schisms undermine trust, perhaps rightfully so. Mutual suspicion begets a culture of fear. Mutual antagonism begets opportunism.
   * In 2000, suffused with euphoria, 84 percent of Nigerians said they were satisfied with the state of their new democracy, according to the Afrobarometer public opinion survey. Today less than 20% percent of Nigerians are satisfied with their democracy.
   * According to TI, Nigeria is among the most corrupt nations in the world.
   * Police and military officers are underpaid (if paid at all)
   * Nowhere is Nigeria’s democracy in deeper trouble than at the **state and local levels**, where the most bruising contests for power take place in a bloody, winner-take-all system.
   * “Greedy politicians are literally killing their own people by stealing the money for health care, for schools, for clean water, for everything the state should provide its people,” said Sola Adeyeye, a member of Nigeria’s National Assembly
   * Governors get funds each month that represents their state’s cut of Nigerian oil, and have almost no one to answer to for how they spend that money.
     + Many governors steal with impunity
     + Buy loyalty of legislatures
     + Build patron-client networks
     + Buy elections
     + A wave of impeachments left statehouses in disarray and sparked violence
     + In 2006-2007, 30 of Nigeria’s 36 governors were under federal investigation for corruption, 6 were impeached!
2. **Institutions Matter…But Institutions Alone?**

* **Economic and Financial Crimes Commission** (EFCC) est. in 2003 to combat corruption, fraud, money laundering, and other economic crimes.
  + Mission to “rid Nigeria of Economic and Financial Crimes and to effectively coordinate the domestic effort of the global fight against money laundering and terrorists financing’’
  + Internet fraud
  + Police forces
  + Usually more effective at local level prosecutions; most elite offices, such as governors and the president, carry immunity from prosecution
  + President Obasanjo used the EFCC to divide and conquer his enemies. Later heads of state have tried to do the same.
* **Independent National Electoral Commission** (INEC)
  + Ballot stuffing, intimidation, fraud, phantom voting booths, etc.
  + In 1999 and 2003, even Obasanjo’s ally Jimmy Carter could not endorse his victories.
  + 2005-2010 INEC Chairman Maurice Iwu claimed the INEC was being guided by the Presidency and the People’s Democratic Party (PDP). Charged with corruption, he was removed from office by PDPD President Goodluck Jonathan in 2010.
  + INEC publicly extracted $2 billion from the family of the deceased former leader Sani Abachi

1. **The Strange Case of Ekiti**
   * Incumbent - Ayo Fayose: Governor of SW state of Ekiti 2003-2006
   * Challenger - Kayode Fayemi: Doctorate in War Studies from King's College London. Currently Director of the Centre for Democracy & Development, Fellow of the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies. Ran for governor of Ekiti in 2007. Funded in part by George Soros. Lost. Won in 2010.
   * “Since you continue to oppose Governor Fayose, we shall kill you” signed, “THE FAYOSE M SQUAD”
   * Candidate Fayemi tried to brush off the threat but six weeks later, another candidate for governor, a [World Bank](http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/organizations/w/world_bank/index.html?inline=nyt-org) consultant, was bludgeoned to death in his bed.
   * “This is democracy at work in Nigeria…Murder and money, violence and fraud…Money is the language of Nigerian politics. As much as you want to get away from that, you also have to be mindful of those short-term things you must do.” – Fayemi
   * EFCC removed Fayose from office for diverting $100,000 to a personal account in the US and ordering dozens of murders…21 June 2014 he won the governorship again.
2. **The Atiku Abubakar Case**
   * Those facing charges of corruption are barred from running for office. Section 137 of INEC states: “A person shall not be qualified for election to the office of President if he has been indicted for embezzlement or fraud by a Judicial Commission of Inquiry or an Administrative Panel of Inquiry…”
   * Atiku Abubakar , Obasanjo’s VP from 1999-2007 stood accused by the **INEC**
   * In return, INEC members faced numerous death threats
   * Then Obasanjo put in a bid to run for a third term. Abubakar asked the Senate to investigate 127 impeachable offenses by Obasanjo, including the use of "phony accounts" for the president's political activities funded by the state oil company.
   * “The onslaught by the Federal Government is not just against Atiku or the AC, but against all Nigerians as the ultimate goal of this PDP administration is either a stalemated election or no election at all…They know **what INEC has done is illegal**; they know we will challenge the action in court, and that indeed we are willing to go all the way to the Supreme Court…But here is the end game for these enemies of democracy and purveyors of anarchy: **When the court finally rules, they will plead there is no time to print 40 million ballot papers** hence elections cannot hold…**Obasanjo will then hide under constitutional provisions** to declare a state of emergency, dissolve the National Assembly, sack all state governors and clampdown on them, as well as all anti-third-term lawmakers. He would then have realized his life-long dream of elongating his tenure and becoming a maximum ruler, with all the powers of coercion at his disposal…**Our battle, therefore, is against crack dictatorship, bondage and the obsession of one man, who thinks he was born to rule** hence he is the only one allowed to rule, and who is ready to bring the house crashing on his head just to realize his goal of unbridled dictatorship.” (Action Congress Secretary, Alhaji Lai Mohammed)
   * Just days before the 2007 election Abubakar was cleared by the Supreme Court and allowed to run. His name was not on most ballots. Having gained only 7% of the vote, he came in third, losing to Yar’Adua.

**Nigeria is the fulcrum on which West Africa balances…**