

# The comparative analysis of the Issues of Corruption and Insecurity: with special reference to Nigeria and India

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The issues of corruption and national security have generated substantial interests particularly regarding its meanings, nature and dimensions. Yet the two issues have remained major challenges in the political economy of contemporary Nigeria. To this extent, this paper merely asks two questions. First, what do we mean when we say corruption and national security? Is there a single meaning or are there multiple meanings? Second, how has the reality of corruption and national security interacted and thereby impacted the political economy of Nigeria as well as India? Is there any relationship between corruption and national security and does the former pose any threat to the latter?

What is corruption? Three scholars have managed to summarise the various definitions of corruption. In a bid to explain corruption, Heildenheimer, Johnston and LeVine (1989) identified three definitions of corruption namely: the public-office centred, the market-centred and the public interest centred definitions. For the trio, the public-office centred perception views corruption as an act of misuse of public office for personal gains while market-centred definitions situate the act of corruption in terms of its being an extra-legal act used by individuals or groups to influence actions of bureaucracy. The public-interest-centred definition views corruption mainly as a damager of public interest in which case the very act of corruption negatively impact public interest.

## I. Difference Types Of Corruption

Beyond the foregoing however, numerous types of corruption have been identified. Among these are supportive corruption, transactional corruption, extortive corruption, political corruption, defensive corruption, invasive corruption, nepotistic corruption, autogenic corruption, personal and institutional corruption, traditional and modern corruption, local, national or international corruption, representational corruption, grand and petty corruption

## II. The Nature And Characteristics Of Corruption

Some studies have taken a *holistic* (broader) approach in the discussion of corruption by dividing it into many forms and sub-divisions. These are:

- i) Political Corruption (*grand*);
- ii) Bureaucratic Corruption (*petty*); and
- iii) Electoral Corruption.

Political corruption takes place at the highest levels of political authority. It occurs when the politicians and political decision-makers, who are entitled to formulate, establish and implement the laws in the name of the people, are themselves corrupt. It also takes place when policy formulation and legislation is tailored to benefit politicians and legislators. Political corruption is sometimes seen as similar to corruption of greed as it affects the manner in which decisions are made, as it manipulates political institutions, rules of procedure, and distorts the institutions of government

Bureaucratic corruption occurs in the public administration or the implementation end of politics. This kind of corruption has been branded low level and street level. It is the kind of corruption the citizens encounter daily at places like the hospitals, schools, local licensing offices, police, taxing offices and on and on. Bureaucratic petty corruption, which is seen as similar to corruption of need, occurs when one obtains a business from the public sector through inappropriate procedure

Electoral corruption includes purchase of votes with money, promises of office or special favours, coercion, intimidation, and interference with freedom of election [Nigeria is a good example where this practice is common. Votes are bought, people are killed or maimed in the name of election, losers end up as the winners in elections, and votes turn up in areas where votes were not cast]. Corruption in office involves sales of legislative votes, administrative, or judicial decision, or governmental appointment. 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, is usually considered corrupt

### **III. Different Thoughts Of Corruption**

On his part, a Nigerian scholar, **Bamgbose** identified three schools of thought on the conceptualisation of corruption. First is the moralist school, which argues that corruption must be viewed from a good and bad prism. The second is the structural-functionalist school which holds that rather than view corruption as good or bad it should be understood and engaged in terms of the role it plays in the functioning of the system- does it grease the wheels or sands the wheels of development in a society? The third is the radical school which is based on the works of Karl Marx and postulates that corruption is simply as a feature of capitalism which in itself dictates competition that eventually breeds fraud, waste and abuse.

Beyond the foregoing however, numerous types of corruption have been identified. Among these are supportive corruption, transactional corruption, extortive corruption, political corruption, defensive corruption, invasive corruption, nepotistic corruption, autogenic corruption, personal and institutional corruption, traditional and modern corruption, local, national or international corruption, representational corruption, grand and petty corruption.

Having said this, what then is national security? To be secured is to be protected from certain possible risks. A hungry man may view security in terms of the ability to provide food just as a blind person could view the ability to see as security. Similarly, just as an unemployed person might view a secured employment as security, a rich man might view a high fence as well as armed body guards as his security. A very religious person could simply consider closeness to God as the source of security just as other people could consider local deities or graven images as the source of their own security and protection from harm.

National security on the other hand, has been defined as the ability of states to ward off all forms of threat to the survival and sustenance of a State and its people as well as the ability of a state to protect its legitimate interests with all measures including war. It is also defined as any measure aimed at balancing all instruments of foreign policy particularly in terms of arms, diplomacy, information, economics, and other measures of foreign and domestic policy.

Broadly speaking however, there are two positions on national security that speak to state security and human security. The traditional conceptualization has been statist to an extent that security is considered in terms of the level of protection of a State in largely military sense. Thus, during the Cold War, both the US and USSR viewed their security mainly in terms of their sophistication in armaments and it is this perception that had informed the arms race. The rising cost and dangers of nuclear warfare between the two powers had in turn led to the development of such initiatives and concepts such as the attendant Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT I and II), Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD), Balance of Terror (BOT) and Balance of Power (BOP). This militarist/ statist conceptualization of national security thus pride itself in the preservation of the State: territorial integrity and sovereignty.

To protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhances human freedoms and human fulfilment. Human means protecting fundamental freedom- freedoms that are essence of life. It means protecting people from critical (severe) and pervasive (widespread) threats and situations.

However, beyond the foregoing conceptual and theoretical issues, what is happening to corruption and national security in Nigeria as well as India? To what extent do they interact and reinforce one another? More specifically, how does corruption impact on national security? In this paper I have tried to discuss.

### **IV. Interrelation Of Corruption And Insecurity**

The relationship between corruption and national security is causal in a number of ways. While some have attempted to argue that corruption is not necessarily de-developmental or anti-development, in the long term, none of the functionalist proponents of corruption would say corruption is developmental. Corruption among other things reduces foreign direct investment (FDI) as international businesses who operate under global good business practices would try to avoid such markets. Second, corruption encourages violence in the sense that those that benefit from the process would do all they could to sustain their hold on political power. This sit-tight syndrome would mean that politics becomes a do-or-die affair. With this, all other bad governance feature would materialise providing the grounds for political instability which could easily take an ethnic dimension.

Apart from the attendant political instability which may also be characterized by politically motivated killings, corruption also generates unemployment. Funds that ordinarily should have been used to create employment are being siphoned and kept by infinitesimal group of individuals who lodge the same funds in foreign banks, generating employment in foreign countries. The youths and the employable are therefore cheated and their future either mortgaged or encumbered. While some are frustrated and manage to live within the sphere that they have created for themselves, others embrace crime and criminality as represented by armed robbery, cultism, prostitution and stealing by false pretence among other vices while a sizeable percentage are also indoctrinated to embrace extremism and terrorism.

## **V. National Security Costs Of Mega Corruption In India**

India confronts several pressing national security challenges. But only one of them political corruption possess an existential threat to the Indian state, which in reality has degenerated into a republic of mega scandals. The pervasive misuse of public office for private gain is an evil eating into the vitals of the state, sapping India's strength. When important decisions, forms arms procurement to policy challenges, are often tainted by corrupt considerations, it is inevitable that national security will be compromised.

India's situation is best explained by an ancient proverb, "A fish rots from the head down" when the head is putrid, the body politic cannot be healthy. And when those at the helm remain wedded to grant corruption, clerks or traffic police cannot be singled out for taking small bribes. In fact, it is self-perpetuating cycle of corruption at all government levels- federal, state and local.

Today, a self-advertised "incredible India" has no articulated national security strategy or a defined defence policy, or declared counter terrorism doctrine, yet it is the world's large country dependent on other powers to meet basic defence needs. India has allowed itself to become a money-spinning dumping ground for weapons it can do without, Instead of seeking to build a first-rate military with strategic reach and an independent deterrent.

As a result, India has emerged as the world's top arm importer in the past decade, even as its capacity to decisively with a war erodes.

The defence of India indeed has a turned into unending scandals. Even indictments by the C.A.G. have made little difference to the manner arms continue to be procured from overseas. Such imports, often without transparency or open bidding are a major source of political corruption

As in the other national security challenges, the principal causes of rampant corruption are leadership deficit and governance deficit. The only way corruption can be contained is through integrity of leadership; improved governance; measure to ensure fiscal transparency; strengthened anti-bribery enforcement; government accountability; and active public involvement. The independence of investigative agencies is a prerequisite to developing an anticorruption culture in politics and business.

With the corruption, nepotism cronyism now endemic, Indian politics has become the safe, fast track to wealth. India freed itself from British colonialism only to come into the grip of an indigenous political class ruling the country on colonial style- principles and still functioning from colonial era structures. It may take a second war of independence for India to gain to true freedom from exploitation and pillage.

## **VI. Corruption In Nigeria- A Challenge In Sustainable Development**

Corruption is the one of fundamental threats to economic and political development as well as national security of any nation. Therefore the challenges of corruption remain a major divesting issue facing India and Nigeria

Since the return of the country to civil rule on May29, 1999, the Nigerian government has taken a number of measures to address the problems of corruption and bad governance in the country. These measures include public service reforms, establishment of anti-corruption enforcement agencies and the on-going sanitization of the financial services.

Despite the success attained by these measures, the situation remains unacceptable as corruption continues to permeate and pervade every facet of national life in Nigeria

Corruption in Nigeria is an endemic with cultural phenomena. Also, the Nigerian society is bedevilled with corrupt practices such that once a person is appointed int any political office, the expectation from his people will be so high. Therefore, the people he/she represents are ready to teach him/her how to steal. Hence corruption in Nigeria knows no bound irrespective of tribes/ cultural affiliations.

## **VII. Issues Problems And Perspectives**

The nature of corruption in Nigeria cannot be isolated from the nature of the Nigerian State. This assertion is true in a number of ways but essentially in the sense that the challenge has not been in terms of unavailability of anti-corruption institutions. However, the dangerous dimension of corruption for national security particularly with respect to its humanist conception had forced some observers to request for the "Chinese treatment" for corrupt public officers in Nigeria. It is no longer news that corruption denies the masses of Nigeria of the needed funds to improve education, healthcare, infrastructure and other social amenities. Thus, the impact of corruption on development is obvious. But rather than just state this, I would briefly use two examples to support my point.

First is the Niger Delta. Why does the region that generates Nigeria's foreign exchange remain poor? The answer to this question is more than one as it speaks to certain State policies and the nature of the federal system.

Second is the poverty-thesis of the Boko Haram which speaks loudest in terms of its self-professed quest for the "cleansing" of the Nigerian State. While accepting the various explanations for the emergence of

the group, it is pertinent to stress that the issue of Boko Haram is political just as it is economic. Particularly from the instrumental point of view, violence which is often made easy when there is large scale poverty has been adopted by the Boko Haram ideologues to show their distaste for the happenings in the country. Even as their methodology remains condemnable and to say the least wicked, the point must be made that its foot soldiers are mainly from the poorest of the poor. With wide spread poverty in the North, it becomes easy for unscrupulous politicians and religious fundamentalists to hijack the army of unemployed youths and employ them for the most unholy of all human endeavours.

The Nigeria State is in a very dangerous situation. These dangers are huge and could multiply. At this juncture, though the role of corruption cannot be isolated from the events in the Niger Delta and the Northern Boko Haram crisis, with reference to the threat to national security, I sadly foresee a number of future threats if things do not change from the present situation. I see these as the “next round” of threats to national security. Of these threats, I shall discuss following.

- The first danger is represented by the Boko Haram crisis and the unintentional socialization process that it is inculcating. Now, the average watcher of the political economy of Nigeria would be forced to believe that violence is the only language that the managers of the State listen to.
- The second danger is the rising number of unemployed. The simple implication of this scenario is that even when the current Boko Harams are eliminated through amnesty or through force, there remains another millions of potential Boko Harams who are willing ready and able to be recruited by the highest bidder. The truth is that the unemployment figures by the National Bureau for Statistics remains a dangerous one to the extent that even countries that witnessed the Arab Awakening did not have such high level of unemployment. We should therefore be weary of the argument that says that deprivation breeds violence and lawlessness.
- The third danger is located in terms of the presence of ethnic militias. These ethnic militias not only provide certain services that are ordinarily the responsibility of government such as security, they have in a way formed a protection block for the respective group that they represent.

### **VIII. Anti-Corruption Effort In Nigeria**

The menace of corruption and the lack of effectiveness of the existing institution to fight corruption prior to 1999 led to the establishment of ICPC(2000) and EFCC (2004) Acts and the money laundering (Prohibition) Act 2004. These Acts made comprehensive provisions to prohibit the laundering of the proceeds of a crime an illegal act, provide appropriate penalties and expands the interpretation of financial institution, it also provides scope of supervision of regulatory authorities on corrupt activities among other.

The establishment of these institutions has contributed the significantly in combating those activities to the extent that the scorecard assessing both the ICPC and the EFCC as at 2006/2007 revealed as the follows table showing effort by anti- graft commissions at combating corruption in Nigeria

#### ***Short coming of the Nigerian Anti- Graft Commission***

The short coming in the efforts of curbing corruption had been prevalent. The record of success at various levels of government including states and local government had been short of expectations, considering the proportions of funds the country lost to swindles, contact scams and money laundering.

The Acts establishing the Anti- corruption Agencies (ACAS) had been weak and ineffective. The agencies had been poorly funded and there were evidences of lack of political will by the crusaders to actualize an objective anti-corruption campaign apart from this, the fight has been sided, vindictive, biased, one sided meretricious/false attractive.

The EFCC has not done anything about ₦ 84 billion. That was missing at the Nigerian Ports authority (NPA).

The anti-corruption agencies (ACAS) were unable to perform their noble duties, even when the National Assembly held public hearing into Allegations of corruption that they fail to pass progressive legislations that could help track offenders including freedom of information.

### **IX. Anti-Corruption Effort In India**

The Central Vigilance Commission though created in 1964, became an independent statutory body only in 2003 by an Act of parliament based on a judgement of the supreme court. Its mandate is to oversee the vigilance administration and to advise and assist the executive in matters relating to corruption. It investigates cases of corruption arising out of complaints or detection by vigilance wings in the various departments and recommends punishment wherever required. It is then for the executive to punish the individual official.

Anti-corruption efforts were so far focussed only on enforcement wherein it was assumed that strict enforcement of anti-corruption laws and punishing the corrupt public servants will have a serious deterrent

effect. This approach has not been effective because of the cumbersome process involved in punishing the errant and the deterrent effect is lost due to delay and dilution of punishment.

Therefore having realised the shortcoming of an enforcement focussed strategy, the Central Vigilance Commission is now proposing to lay greater emphasis on prevention and education and generation of awareness among the people as a more effective and sustainable means of fighting corruption. We plan to develop a sound preventive vigilance framework which would enable organisations to assess the risk of corruption and take steps to correct the policies, procedures and systems and strengthen their internal controls to eliminate the scope for corruption in the first place.

One of the preventive strategies successfully deployed by the CVC is the leveraging of technology to combat corruption, by persuading organisations to adopt IT and automate the activities and process vulnerable to corruption. The results of this exercise have been encouraging and our efforts been internationally recognised.

An important requirement for the success of anti-corruption efforts is that it should be participative i.e. involve all the stakeholders and establish coordination among all agencies fighting corruption. These elements have been lacking so far.

### **X. Role Of Private Sector In Fighting Corruption:**

Anti-corruption efforts in India have been largely focussed on the Public Sector which is called the “demand side” in the parlance of corruption economics. The private sector which forms the “supply side”, which actually pays the bribes, has been largely ignored. The supply side theories often put the onus of fighting corruption on the private sector. It states that firms pay bribes primarily for overcoming their shortcomings in terms of - poor quality of their product/service, high price of their product or to create a market for their goods which otherwise are not in demand. Thus they pay bribe to stay in competition despite these handicaps or to avoid true and fair competition. Corruption is the anti-thesis of a free, fair, competitive and efficient market, as it distorts the objectivity, transparency and fair play in the market. It may therefore be argued that business entities are obliged to maintain integrity in order to maintain the efficiency and sanctity of the market. It would be self-destructive to distort the very market on which they are dependent for their existence. Therefore the theory X of corruption economics advocates that given an opportunity and if the fears of the private sector are allayed, they will at all cost stand up against corruption. It is this thinking that has given rise to instruments like Code of Conduct and Integrity Pact through which we try to involve the private sector in fighting corruption.

International efforts have equally focused on tackling the “supply side” of corruption and most of the countries have either formulated their own Foreign Corrupt Practices Act or are signatories to Anti-Bribery Conventions. Therefore international pressure is building up on countries to formulate laws and take action against the private business in their countries who attempt to bribe foreign governments to obtain contracts. This is aimed at achieving fair play and competitiveness in international business. International economic and financial organisations are strongly pursuing this. As Indian companies are becoming globally competitive, we may sooner or later have to address these concerns.

### **XI. The Role Of Press/Media**

Having said all this, it must be stressed that while there are numerous anti-corruption agencies such as the Police, the EFCC, ICPC, the Code of Conduct Bureau (In Nigeria) and CBI, CVC (In India), the judiciary, the men of the Fourth Estate (the Press) remain key stakeholders and actors.

The media is an acronym that stands for Setting agenda, Pedagogy, Investigative journalism, Developmental journalism, Ethics, and Remuneration. Rather than view media as compartmentalized suggestions, it is in reality an interrelated and interconnected framework whose relevance should ONLY be appreciated when they are collectively engaged in a systematic manner.

**First, the Press must continue to set and sustain the agenda for anti-corruption in any country.** The Press must make/keep anti-corruption an eternal responsibility. In fact, bearing in mind that corruption is a major hindrance to development; specialized desk could be created in the news rooms. While a few journalists have covered and written columns on corruption and anti-corruption in Nigeria, the idea of an Anti-corruption Desk is still alien in most Press Houses. In India most of the media houses are in hands of big Industrialists and politicians so they are not working fairly for anti-corruption movement. Media is the fourth pillar of the democracy so he should play a big role for anti-corruption movement

**Second is pedagogy.** For students of social change, the usefulness and essence of training and education cannot be overestimated. One of the major challenges of education as a tool for development in Africa and Nigeria in particular is that apart from issues of funding and brain-drain, there is a disconnect between realities on ground and what our children and folks are taught in schools. The result is that a graduate of Electrical Engineering goes out to pay an electrician to do his electrical jobs at home? A First Class Electrical Engineer may even be employed by a bank to be a “Banking Executive or civil services..”

Nigerian education therefore responds more to foreign legacies (some of which are not even relevant in the home institutions) than domestic realities. The import of this is that we teach things that are sometimes useless to the Nigerian society. The disciplines of Mass Communication and Journalism are not different. With the deadly presence and impact of corruption in Nigeria, the mass communication curriculum should be expanded to include courses on corruption, national security and the role of the media in contemporary Nigeria. Perhaps one of the reasons why we don't have that now is that corruption is not yet perceived to be a serious problem by the intellectual gatekeepers of the Mass Communications discipline in Nigeria! Journalism teaching must reflect the realities of the Nigerian State and Society.

**Third is Investigative journalism.** Investigative journalism is not new to Nigerian journalists. How did we know about the Toronto case? How did we learn of some of the most daring corrupt practices in the country? These were achieved through investigative journalism by some distinguished journalists. But the Nigerian journalist can do more. If media pays her duties for anti corruption movement no corrupt people would be praised ever by media. Media should disclose all bad things of corrupt politicians.

**The fourth role is Developmental journalism.** The Press must understand that they are stakeholders in this fight against corruption. The validity of this is buttressed by the very fact that the journalist plies the same road as everyone, goes to the same market as everyone, needs power like everyone, are sometimes involved in accidents on the bad roads as everyone, send their children to school like everybody and so on. The Nigerian journalist is just as Nigerian as he is a journalist. In this sense, the Press must see itself as a partner of the people not the government in the course of development. It is this that should re-enforce the aforementioned need to set the agenda, improve its syllabus and investigate.

**Fifth is Ethics.** All what I have been talking about bothers on the issue of ethics. The Nigerian journalist must resist the urge to be sucked-in. "Brown envelope," "skeske," and other incentives from interested parties should be resisted. Journalism is not a profession for corrupt individuals. Reporting while not being sensational should be factual and ethical.

**Finally, the sixth is Remuneration.**

The Nigerian journalist may be some of the worst paid in the world today. Some media houses, in spite of paying very low wages, still owe their journalists for months. This is evil. I repeat, this is evil. Monies that are gotten from advertising and other supplement revenues must be used to make life better for journalists and their families. Some media houses don't even insure their workers. The NUJ in this regard have a role to play.

Why will a journalist rely on politicians and some corrupt bankers to live a normal life? This must change and it is hoped that Nigerian journalists would be re-energized to play their historical and contemporary role in the fight against corruption and in making the Nigerian Project a success.

## **XII. Conclusion**

As discussed above it is concluded that corruption is the root causes of all type of problems whether it is related with development or with insecurity. Now days corruption has been completely dissolved in political systems of those countries. It is very difficult to reduce corruption from administrative system and it is also eternal truth that a country can never be developed until or unless corruption would not be reduced.

Corruption cuts across faiths, religious denomination and political systems and affects both young and old men and women alike. Corruption is found in democratic and dictatorial politics; feudal, capitalists and socialists economies. Hindu, Muslims, Buddhists and Christians cultures are equally bedevilled by corruption.

Many laws are already on the book to fight corruption in Nigeria (including those crafted by the international organizations). But what is important now, as *Peter Eigen*, chairman of the *watchdog* group, *Transparency International* has noted, is the political will to fight corruption at home countries. And as *Robert McNamara* remarked at the end of the *Second Global Forum on Fighting Corruption and Safeguarding Integrity* at *The Hague* May 31, 2001, every country has to determine its own priorities on the war against corruption. But each society should focus on concrete actions that can yield measurable results, and publicly report whether results are being achieved.

In India there are also many laws against corruption but those laws are not sufficient to punish the corrupt people.

Besides this, there is not any independent investigating agency who could investigate about the corrupt people of the government. There are CBI and CVC like agencies of investigation. CBI is completely dependent on government. He has to report to home ministry. Here CBI can never dare to investigate of government ministers. CVC is facing the problem of lack of employee and powers. Without strong anti-corruption bill corruption can never be ended. Since last four year some social activists have been demanding strong anti-corruption bill but government is not accepting.

In both countries transparency in political party fund is also needed for reducing the corruption. It can be done only and only when there will be good people in government in any country.

Finally it can be said corruption may be reduced by

1. Strong anti-corruption bill
2. Transparency in political party funds
3. Good leadership

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