



THE SECURITY IMPLICATIONS OF CORRUPTION ON DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE IN AFRICA: THE IMPERATIVE OF ANTI-CORRUPTION CRUSADE

Sabo Okonu¹

Department of Political Science
University of Nigeria, Nsukka
Email: sabo.okonu@unn.edu.ng

Ugochuku Christian Obieke School
of General Studies

University of Nigeria, Nsukka
Email: ugochukwu.obieke@unn.edu.ng
08023202753

Orkuma Anyoko-Shaba

Department of Political Science
University of Nigeria, Nsukka
Email: orkuma.anyoko-shaba@unn.edu.ng
08069680993

Ogbuka Chukudi Vincent

School of General Studies
University of Nigeria, Nsukka
Email: chukwudi.ogbuka@unn.edu.ng
08030880943

Abstract

There is no doubt that the prevalence of corruption and its impact on security has eaten deep like an endemic epidemic into the fabric of the African society. It has been recognised as a major destabilizing obstacle to socio-economic development and a threat to security of African states that perpetually kept African states in a vicious cycles of violence by funding terrorists groups and criminal network like Al-shaba and Boko Haram, Its solution lies in the collective action of critical global institutions against corruption. This can be achieved by effectively utilizing a joint synergy with the decisive United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC) and Africa union convention on Prevention and Combating Corruption which has now become the reference point for anti-corruption crusade globally. Despite the establishment of anti-corruption agencies, corruption has remained endemic. The paper interrogates the security implications and concludes that formulating stringent laws that curtail and punish corrupt official; is the bane on corruption among other recommendations.

¹ **Address of Corresponding Author:** Sabo Okonu, Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Nigeria, Nsukka. Email: sabo.okonu@unn.edu.ng; Tel: 08032898061, 08111122056



Keywords: Corruption; Democratic; Governance; And Security;

Abstrait

Il ne fait aucun doute que la prévalence de la corruption et son impact sur la sécurité ont profondément rongé comme une épidémie endémique le tissu de la société africaine. Il a été reconnu comme un obstacle déstabilisateur majeur au développement socio-économique et une menace pour la sécurité des États africains qui ont perpétuellement maintenu les États africains dans un cercle vicieux de violence en finançant des groupes terroristes et des réseaux criminels comme Al-shaba et Boko Haram, sa solution réside dans l'action collective des institutions mondiales critiques contre la corruption. Ceci peut être réalisé en utilisant efficacement une synergie conjointe avec la Convention décisive des Nations Unies contre la corruption (CNUCC) et la convention de l'Union africaine sur la prévention et la lutte contre la corruption, qui est maintenant devenue le point de référence pour la croisade anticorruption à l'échelle mondiale. Malgré la création d'agences de lutte contre la corruption, la corruption est restée endémique. L'article interroge les implications en matière de sécurité et conclut que la formulation de lois strictes qui restreignent et punissent les fonctionnaires corrompus ; est le fléau de la corruption parmi d'autres recommandations.

Mots-clés : Corruption, Démocratique, Gouvernance, et sécurité.

Introduction

Policies aimed at strengthening the institution of governance and tackling corruption have flourished in Africa to address the security implications created by protracted conflict and political instability in the region. These waves emerge and are increasingly becoming catalysts for meaningful security architecture and economy stability of the continent. Although several indices such as Transparency International and World Bank index show that there has been steady progress in containing the vice of corruption in some African states, cynics still argue that progress has been modest and slow at best or that they have failed in reducing venality in the public sector.

There are multiple factors militating against anti-corruption crusade. These include, but are not limited to; the lack of governance accountability; the persistence international vested interests and competition not only over endow natural resources, but over profitable market access in emerging economies in Africa; the opaque and inefficient public finance management mechanism; the growing and pernicious effect of capital flight and illicit financial outflows; gross impunity and lack of punishment weakened by the efficiency of legal enforcement of existing or modifying regulation to anti-corruption crusade; relative lack of independence of judiciaries; and legislative versus executive clashes in the campaign in combating corruption in Africa.

This paper assess the effort in preventing and combating corruption in Africa with very different governance, macroeconomic, socio-political and institutional characteristics that will enhance the security architecture of the continent. The raison d'être was to carry out the security implications of corruption which will examine the rationale underlying the successes and failures of agencies devoted to the prevention and combating of corruption, with the aim ultimately being to establish ways and means of strengthening anti-corruption crusade and thereby enhancing the security of the Africa continent (UNCAC).



Conceptual framework: Security: Corruption: Democratic: Governance:

Security: is a feeling of freedom from physical, mental and social harm or anxiety arises from the institutions of the family, school, work place, voluntary associations and arms of government such as the executive, legislature, judiciary and institutions of the state like police, court, bureaucracy, armed forces etc. The term security has two-fold meaning: one is the conventional perspective that put the defense and power in emphasising the centrality of state at the heart of discourse and policy accompanied with huge military institutions; the second is the non-conventional perspective that focus on the enduring economic welfare emphasising on the human security against hunger, famine, shelter, poverty, unemployment, epidemic etc. The greatest threat to Africa's security arises from the actions of corrupt elites and its citizens who through their conduct and beliefs mortgaged the precise integrity of the continent and exposed the bulk of the vulnerable citizens to unwarranted suppression, subjugation, alienation, anxiety, deprivation and anarchy resulting into youth restiveness, insurgency, and convoluted ethno-religious and political turmoil. The problems of Africa security is seen in the serious conflicts that plagued the continent in the independence era and emergence of new nations. Evidence of this is seen in the persistent political, religious, ethnic and socioeconomic crises rocking the continent as a direct result of myopic and unviable idea of security nurture by corruption for decades. Gambo (2008),

Sha (2000) argues that corruption is the illegal, unethical and unauthorised exploitative behaviours of office holder for personal aggrandizement involving bribery, kickback, payoff accompanied by graft, misappropriation of public funds, lopsided allocation of resources through nepotism, blatant hypocrisy, avarice, profligacy and bias administration and that the pattern of corruption can be said to exist whenever a power-holder who is charged with doing certain things, i.e., who is responsible functionary or officer holder, is by monetary or other rewards not legally provided for or induced to take actions which favour others and thereby does damage the public and its interests which establishes a weak foundation for the functioning of democracy and good governance. For the purpose of this paper, corruption involves the misuse of power by those who hold it—people who, in their official position, exploit the power with which they are entrusted by seeking private gain. The private gain obtained by corrupt public officials, who have been entrusted with guiding and implementing public policy and service, is at the expense of both the common good and of those who don't —cheat the system.

Kofi Anna, former Secretary General of the United Nation, put the cost of corruption succinctly in his Foreword to the 2004 United Nations Convention Against Corruption. Calling corruption an —insidious plague that has a wide range of corrosive effects on societies. he added that it diverts funds intended for development, undermines the ability of governments to provide basic services, feeds inequalities and injustice and discourage foreign aid or investment. As African states struggle to maintain stability in the face of a growing insurgency from the ethnic and religious terrorism, one of the biggest factors that will determine its success is whether its citizens believe that supporting the government will improve their lives more than opposing it.

Democracy: Modern form of democracy is a system of government whereby the power to govern a state does not come from the barrel of the gun or coercive force but by qualified citizens through a popular free, fair, credible and peaceful competitive elections by registered



political parties to periodically elect their office holders and representatives on a platform of a clear-cut, issues-based and accountable manifestos within the ambit of the legal framework hinges on respect for the rule of law of the country by all (high and the lowly place). Democracy focused on the continuous political communications between the leader and the people with the aim of creating trust and confidence amongst them, legitimates power rest with the people, who create authority and power is accountable to the people whom it serves.

According to the United Nations Development (UNDP) in its 1997 policy paper; governance is the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all level. This involves the mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests (UNSTT, 2012). In the same vein, the World Bank in 1993 conceived governance as the method through which power is exercised for development of a country's political, economic and social resource for development. The crises of governance in developing countries prompted another view of governance by the World Bank in 2003, as the traditions and institutions by which authority is exercised. This includes: the process by which governments are selected, monitored and replaced; the capacity of government to effectively formulate and implement wide-ranging policy; and harmonious interaction with citizens and the state institutions delivering an acceptable range of economic and social outcomes.

The causes of corruption

There are different views expressed by renowned international relations scholars under numerous headings but we will briefly pinpoint some of the major causes. First, we have identified weak institutions as a major cause of corruption. Corruption has a high propensity to thrive when legal and political institutions are weak and government policies generate economic rent which produces even stronger individuals. These —stronger individuals undermine the efficient running and effective work of the institutions to protect their interest and a loss of organizational purpose also may demoralize staff. According to the World Bank Report; —the normal motivation of public sector employees to work productively may be undermined by many factors, including low and declining civil service salaries and promotion unconnected to performance. (World Bank Report 2017).

The legal framework and rules guiding the criminal justice system come next. Corruption is condemned by all countries but there are hardly any appropriate sanctions and punishments especially those serving in the government of the day except those with dissenting opinion (e.g empirical evidence in the case of Mohammed Abacha N446 billion case and N 195 billion Maina Pension scam have suffered inconclusive setback for years). OSIWA (2016) postulates that the character and evolution of corruption in post-colonial states is rooted in colonialism. The authoritarian structures of the colonial state encouraged accumulation without responsibly. This favoured co-option of corrupt behaviour as part of Nigeria in the fight against corruption was the Coker Commission of Enquiry of 1962. The Coker Commission was to investigate Chief Awolowo and some leading members of his political party charged with corruption and diversion of fund into private use. Other earliest effort to tackle corruption can be found in two principal pieces of legislation on criminal law in Nigeria, the 1990 Criminal and 1963 Penal Code which were applied in the southern and northern part of Nigeria respectively. A review



of the two codes shown a serious attempt by the Nigerian state to arrest corruption. Despite these legislative efforts, corruption still persists. OSIWA (2016).

Under Criminal Codes, offences relating to corruption and abuse of office in the public can be found in sections 98-116. Section 98 has two subsections, while subsection (1) punishes abuse of official duty generally; subsection (2) penalizes corruption by any person employed in the public service. In either case, the accused person is liable, if found guilty to be sentenced to a minimum term of seven years imprisonment. Under the Penal Code, the relevant provisions on corruption can be found in sections 115-122 of the code. The provisions of the code on corruption are more lucid, wider and less technical than the Criminal Code provisions.

Under section 115 the offences of gratification by public servants is created and violators are liable to a term of imprisonment ranging from seven to fourteen years. Section 116 punishes any person who receives gratification in order to influence any public servant to do or forbear to do any official act, or in the exercise of his official functions to show favour or disfavor to any person. Section 117 deals with the abetment by a public servant of the offence mentioned in section 116. Whoever offers or gives or agrees to give any gratification whatsoever, whether pecuniary or otherwise in the circumstances and for any purpose mentioned in section 115 and 116 shall be punished with imprisonment which may extend to three years or with a fine or with both.

In Nigeria for instance, the government innovative idea leading to the formation of the EFCC in the advent of democratic dispensation in 1999, recognizing and in an effort to check made this ugly trend, not only with the need to have a strong formal rules, but also enacted various other laws such as The Money Laundering Act, the Advance Free Fraud Related Offences Act and the Failed Banks (Recovery of Debts) and Financial Malpractices in Banks Act and several other appropriate legal frameworks to control corruption and strengthen the legal and economic institutions including the criminal justice system. The Act also made the EFCC the designated Financial Intelligence Unit (FIU) in Nigeria, which is charged with the responsibility of co-coordinating the various institutions involved in the fight against money laundering and enforcement of all laws dealing with economic and financial crimes in Nigeria.

Another cause of corruption is public perception. Corruption is supported when some/few societal culture promotes it. African corruption with people who in all ramifications send their children to school abroad and live in mansions and do everything on the basis of money corruptly acquired by pampering them with chieftaincy title, electing them into public offices, giving of awards, ordaining corrupt public officials and sometimes celebrating thanksgiving services with corrupt ex-convicts (in the case of Ibori) who have just finished their prison terms. Researcher's field work (2017)

Consequences of Corruption in Africa

First, corruption promotes poverty particularly when resources meant for provision infrastructural development are taken and stashed in a foreign account, the people are denied employment and decent living and the resultant outcome is abject poverty.

Second, is that corruption creates the condition for political instability. This is because unrestricted corruption makes the state an unlimited allocator of wealth to individuals and groups with murderous consciences who steal on an industrial scale and can do everything on earth to resist or prevent such.



Third, corruption contributes to the blanket criminalisation of Africans, especially the youths. With its capacity to generate poverty and instability, the youth have been systematically hijacked for selfish ends by unscrupulous politicians and ideologues. Some of those that were not 'hijacked' have found interest in advanced fee fraud popularly referred to as Yahoo-yahoo or 419 in local parlance.

Fourth, corruption promotes the existence of underground/illegal economy. The possibility of bribes infiltrating the security systems have made it easy for underground economies in counterfeit, adulterated and substandard products, especially drugs.

Fifth frequent use of substandard materials and violation of building regulations have led to several buildings collapsing and killing innocent occupiers have become a recurrent decimal in Nigeria while large scale oil spills with environmental catastrophic effects have continued in some part of the country.

Sixth, corruption poses a serious development challenge. In the political realm, it undermines democracy and good governance by subverting formal processes and rule of law. Corruption in elections leads to rigging, vote buying, deliberate cancelation of valid vote cast, ballot box snatching, reject standard reform based on electronic voting processes by internet server, thuggery, outright declaration and in legislative bodies reduces accountability and fair representation in policy making.

The challenges posed by corruption

Corruption is a major challenge to sustainable democracy and development in Africa. It leads to the erosion of human rights and respect for constitutional authority, it also hinders programmes put in place to alleviate conflict and increase human security. It is evident that corruption has also contributed to African state fragility and failure, sustaining instability and the eruption of civil wars over resources in a number of African countries like Sudan, South Sudan, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Libya, South Africa, Somalia, DRC, Nigeria etc. Collins (2011).

Thus, according to the UNDP Anti-Corruption Practice argued succinctly, that corruption undermines the rule of law and leads to the violation of human rights by fostering an anti-democratic environment characterized by uncertainty, unpredictability, declining moral values and disrespect for constituted authorities and institutions, UNDP (2004). For almost two decades now, African Union as part of its core mandate to reduce protracted violent conflict, and other sub-regional organizations such as ECOWAS, SADC have undertaken as part of their Africa Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) on democratic principle to improve governance and combat corruption as a core requirement to achieve the goals of African in the 21st century. On the basis of these requirements, African countries now work with a range of institutions globally to make anti-corruption one of its imperatives in improving the democratic governance for an enduring decent and better living conditions of African citizens, especially the poor.

The security implications of corruption on Africans

Corruption does not only contribute to armed conflicts in African states; but lead to and sustain violent conflict, in the context of repressive regimes that are degenerating under local or international shocks and pressures for transformation. Corruption could fuel war when, in the absence of a legitimate political regime, certain social groups are favoured in the allocation of



resources, thus fuelling grievances among marginalized groups as a direct result of alienation and total neglect by government. Abada, (2013). Instances of these abound in the conflicts in Liberia, South Sudan, Nigeria, Libya DRC and Sierra Leone providing a glaring evidence for the linkages between the criminalization of politics and economic accumulation. There are many indicators or measure used to assess African corruption. One of them is the affluent unexplained wealth and living habit of the public African officials compared to their declared income. As a result, more opportunities are presented for diversion of funds.

Implications of corruption on economic growth.

Corruption hampers development and thus raises the level of poverty in any economy that finds itself entrenched in corrupt tradition. This is because; high level of morals and discipline is a sine-qua-non for the overall development of the country. Corruption impedes and retard economic growth and also erodes the already established economic value systems in Africa. Achebe (2013) argued that corruption has permeated the African society and anyone who can say that corruption in Africa has not yet become alarming is either a fool, a crook or else does not live in this continent.

Corruption reflected and bear many label such as; bribery, fraudulent acts, embezzlement of funds and property (public and/or private), ball of stiffing and election rigging, money laundering, examination malpractices in public and private schools are some of the corrupt practices perpetrated by crude accumulation in Africa which have contributed to the decaying and moribund state of our infrastructure and cultural values in Africa. These by extension have further exacerbated social odds in Africa states ranges from; lack of public infrastructures for easy economic and business activities, increased level of poverty in the state despite the enormous natural and human resources to deprivation, alienation, neglect and less respect for fundamental and —inalienable human rights, and so on.

Prevalent of corruption in Africa

Corruption is very prevalent in African states and because of its diverse forms; it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to measure. Transparency International has published an annual Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) that ranks the countries of the African states according to —the degree to which corruption is perceived to exist among public African officials and politicians. It measures how corruption affects African people where they live, such as how much they might have paid in bribes over a given period, for example. The latest CPI in 2011 draws on 13 different polls and surveys 10 independent institutions. African countries with the lowest scores- or the perceived highest levels of corruption- included Botswana (6.1); Mauritius (5.1); Rwanda (5.0); Namibia (4.4); South Africa (4.1); Ghana (3.9); Sudan (1.6); Somalia (1.0). Transparency International (2011) posits that —Fragile, unstable African states that are ravage by war and ongoing conflict linger at the bottom of the index showing that African countries which are perceived to have the highest levels of public-sector corruption are also those plagued by protracted conflicts, which have torn apart their governance infrastructure. Indeed, some of the top African states on the list of Failed State's Index constitute same as those on the CPI, such as Botswana, Mauritius, Rwanda, Namibia, South Africa, Ghana, Nigeria etc.



Creation and sustaining of ACAs in Africa: A chronic institutionalisation process About 58% of the African citizens feel that it has increased significantly, leading them to perceive the anti-corruption agencies in the fight as a ‘lost cause’ CPI (2011). However, the initiatives taken by African states with a view to reform the economy in the governance of the state in the continent and adopting legislative frameworks to curtail corruption are often out of line with the requirements of the international commitments subscribed to by countries, particularly the United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC) and Africa union convention on Prevention and Combating Corruption and the Jakarta prerequisites. Standard are established and institutions are created to curtail corruption, and are continuously reformed or modernised. Yet corruption persists.

These weaknesses according to the open society initiative for West Africa OSIWA (2016) have a historical origin that requires us to take account of the history of underdevelopment in Africa in the analysis of anti-corruption policies. African countries are linked to the colonial legacy and the nature of our societies. Africa colonisation disrupted traditional sources of authority without managing to establish anything close to a modern state that could survive after independence. In Africa, Europeans created a system of minimal administration that was structured under ‘indirect rule’. In so doing, ‘they failed to provide post-independence African states with durable political institutions and laid the foundation for fragile and subsequent state weakness and failure as witness in most part of Africa.

Challenges faced by Anti-corruption Agencies in African States

In an environment bedeviled by convoluted disorder like Africa, it is very difficult to put into practice even the modest changes. Many of the policy prescriptions for rooting out corruption and establishing good governance in African states are merely ideals for many African states that are in the throes of conflict, or emerging from it. These fragile states, some of them nascent or struggling democracies, may face many hurdles in attaining anything close by a sustainable development. Even if there is not outright violence being committed by economic or political gladiators, there may be vast number of refugees, little (if any) government infrastructure, limited access to basic services and scarce resources with which to build a failed state and little foreign assistance

There are many reasons why it is difficult to bring about a sustainable development in a region or continent that has been ravaged by conflict. While corruption is not the only benchmark related to fragility of a state, many of those involved in anti-corruption work are increasingly recognizing that corruption can be a major factor in preventing sustainable development from emerging. It may not only keep conflict cycles going by enriching the political gladiators, godfathers or individuals who are responsible for the conflict in the first place, but it can also prevent economic and social stability because corruption networks (by benefitting some at the expense of others) strengthen inequalities and divisions in society.

—Corrupt networks themselves can reinforce the very divisions along lines of ethnicity, religion or class which feed the conflict cycle. If corruption is not addressed by all means possible, it will negatively hamper the achievement of durable democracy and solution for a lasting positive peace remains a mirage. As those involved in strengthening fragile African states work at the challenging task of building good governance and anti-corruption forces by



promoting participation, accountability, transparency, rule of law, and other such important components of what we believe contribute to a stable and just society.

Structure for preventing corruption in Africa

—Good governance principles can make it more difficult for corruption to take root in African states. Of many requirements of good governance, some key components are participation, accountability, transparency and rule of law. It is the combination of the principles of reform and credible, peaceful, free and fair electoral system that can help stem corruption and build a stable society in Africa. In a system where rule of law prevails, citizens have an equal standing under the law. More open and representative governing systems that allow for a high level of civic participation typified by a vibrant opposition, APRM and formidable civil society organizations that can publicly reveal the abuses of corrupt African officials and jeopardize their political futures. A strong African civil society in the civic, educational, trade, labor, charitable, media, religious, recreational, cultural and advocacy groups fields can protect individuals and groups against repressive government and influence government behavior, protecting the marginalized downtrodden and furthering the interest of the governed. Elections provide an important method of public participation in governance and give legitimacy to a government chosen by the people.

Transparency governance exists when African citizens have a very clear idea of what their government is doing and how they are spending their (Oil, Diamond, Gold Silver) resources and tax money. With transparency, decisions made by the African government are known and the implementations of the decisions abide by rules and regulations that are freely available and understandable to those who are affected by the decisions and even the public. Such openness does go a long way to minimize corruption as well as instilling legitimacy and making a society less vulnerable to destabilization. Media as the fourth estate of the realm after the executive, legislature and judiciary is a critical factor in achieving transparency and accountability in Africa via ‘free press’ and ‘independent media’. A free press and independent media in Africa, devoid of government control and interference, can access information for the public and investigate acts of corruption and reports on the actions of government, thus helping to ensure greater transparency and accountability in African states.

Rule of law: Rule of law can be seen as a necessary constitutional doctrine which emphasizes the supremacy of the law over all subjects and the people in the society. Most African policy makers agreed that having —rule of law tradition is one of the most effective ways to keep corruption in Africa in check. African state can operate under many different forms of governance, from autocracy to democracy and remain stable and free of internal violence, but having widespread respect for rule of law in place ensures that all persons and institutions, public and private, including the state itself, are accountable to laws that are publicly announced, equally enforced and independently adjudicated and consistent with international human rights norms and standards. .

Professionalizing the civil service: When African civil servants are poorly remunerated and overworked in some African countries, they may be particularly prone to corruption by taking bribes. In these cases, improving wages, working conditions and merit-based promotions may eliminate the need to engage in corruption, not to mention attracting more qualified personnel.



While the African institution has long called for civil service reform in African countries, implementation of some measures of the reform taken in the past often remains hard to in practice because the capacity for recruitment, training and reform of public administration is absent. At the same time, the African government may not have the political will or resources to pay African civil servants sufficient salaries and wages that would help eliminate their financial dependence on bribery. For instance, Nigeria government is currently finding it hard to implement the already approved minimum wages with constant threat of strike by the labour unions over consequential salary adjustment.

Legal reforms: To name just a few that an African state can implement to reduce corruption in Africa, these ranges: recruitment and promotion of judges should be by merit and well paid to enhance their optima performance in discharging their constitutional responsibility of interpreting the law of the land, reform court proceeding from the manual system to computerized system and guarantee judicial independent.

Separation of power: The principle of separation of power emphasizes that the powers of government should be divided among the three separate arms or organs of government such that the legislature is concern with the law making, the executive with the administrative and implementation of the law while the judiciary major in the interpretation of the law and punishment of the offenders. Ensuring that any one branch of African government does not exert excessive power and that the branches can check the power of the others helps to keep corruption in check.

Recommendation/ Conclusion

As corruption has eaten deep into the fibred of the African nations, no government aiming at having tenure of good governance will take it with levity. Even though, there are many ways of eradicating corruption, five essential methods are expected to be put in place to achieve efficient and effective fight against corruption.

- (1) Adequate funding and empowerment of the Anti-corruption agencies to work out a holistic modern intelligent means of curtailing corruption;
- (2) Formulating stringent laws and programmes that curtail and punish corrupt official;
- (3) Compelling Africans leaders to take a holistic and multidimensional approach on the security sector reform and the security of the continent and its citizens;
- (4) Reducing unemployment, poverty, and inequality as well as, upgrading the remuneration and timely payment of civil servants' wages in line with the international bench mark and practice;
- (5) There should be legal immunity of anti-corruption staff from prosecution in the cause of discharging their duties in office.
- (6) There is urgent need for effective coordination with international development partners on anti-corruption support to state and non-state actors in Africa particularly in Nigeria. Lacks of support from different donor agencies have yielded little or no result in the pat. So, donor



agencies must insist and also work out modalities with the ACAs on how to achieve this with maximum result.

In conclusion, ultimately, Africans must be able to reform their institutions and governing institutions should provide the security and services that people need. When corruption is rampant, there can be no enduring trust and security and services also suffer. Corruption tends to be endemic and most detrimental in African states that are transitioning from one form of governance to another or fragile from violent conflict. And, trying to root it out too abruptly may lead to more violence and instability. Then again, if corruption is allowed to fester in those African societies, strong and effective governance can be difficult to establish and social and economic development will be hindered. With respect to the implications of corruption on sustainable development, security and peace, African scholars wrestle with making difficult choices on when and where to tolerate corruption. As African countries in transition struggle with stability, the ties among corruption, conflict and sustainable development and peace have come into focus.

References

- Abada, I. M. (2013). Leadership, corruption and governance in Nigeria (1999-2013). *University of Nigeria Journal of Political Economy*; 6(1&2), 16-39.
- Adebajo, A & Rashid, I. (2004, ed). *West Africa's security challenges: Building peace in a troubled region*. Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc.
- Adedeji, A. (1999). *Comprehending and mastering African conflicts: The search for sustainable Peace and good governance*. London & New York: Zed Books Ltd.
- Akindele, R. A. (1987). *Conflict theory, conflict behaviour and conflict control in the international System: A Theoretical Survey and Analysis*. Vol 13 No: 1. Pp. 1-15 Ibadan, Vantage pub Ltd.
- Amin, S. (1974). Accumulation on a world scale: A critique of the theory of underdevelopment: New York monthly review.
- Buzan, B. (1983). *People, State and Fear: The national security problem in International Relations*. University of Warwick Wheatsheat Book limited.
- Craig, A. S. (1999). *contemporary security and strategy*: Homphire and London: Macmillan press limited.
- Cheyenne S., & Kirby R. (2009). Lilies that fester: Seeds of corruption and peace building. *New Routes: A Journal of Peace Research and Action*, 3 (4), 34-67.
- Church, C. (2007). *Thought piece: Peace building and corruption: How may they collide? The nexus: Corruption, conflict & peace building colloquium*. Boston: The Fletcher School, Tuft University.
- Collins, O. (2011). *Civil War and Revolution in the Sudan: Essays on the Sudan, Southern Sudan, and Darfur, 1962-2004*. Tsehai Publishers and Distributors.
- Daniel, J. S. (2009). *The paradoxes of popular participation in corruption in Nigeria*. Corruption, global security and world order. World Peace Foundation and American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Cambridge.
- Dung, P.S. (2000). Democracy and Corruption Strange bed follow. *University of Jos journal of political science*, 2(3), 79-91



- Feryaz, O & Matthew S. (2017). Oil-Fueled Insurgencies: Lootable Wealth and Political Order in Syria, Iraq, and Nigeria'. Retrieved on April 12, 2017 from <https://doi.org/10.1093/jogss/ogw027>
- Laakso, (eds). (n. d) Challenges to the Nation-State in Africa. Upsalla: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies.
- MA. Fishman, R., & Edward M. (2008). *Economic gangsters: Corruption, violence and the poverty of nations*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press. Fund for Peace. (2006). The effect of the Kimberley process on governance, corruption, & conflict. Washington DC: Fund for Peace Fund for Peace. (2010). Retrieved February 6, 2010 from
- Gambo, A.N. (2008): *Conflict in the Niger Delta and national security in Nigeria*: Jos mono expression Ltd
- Global Integrity. (2019, February) Retrieved February 8, 2019 from <http://www.globalintegrity.org/> Global Corruption Report, (2010, February), Retrieved February 8, 2010 from <http://www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0921295.html>.
- McNanara, R.S. (1968): *The essence of security: Reflection in office*. New York Harper and Row.
- International Crisis Group. (2006). *Escaping the conflict trap: Promotion good governance in Congo*. Brussels: International Crisis Group.
- United Nations and Social Council(2006). Definitions of basic concepts and terminologies in governance and public administration: Committee of Expert on Public Administration; Fifth session, New United Nations (2005). Resolution adopted by the General Assembly. 2005 World Summit Outcome Sixtieth Session. <http://publicadministration.un.org/egovkb/portals/.../un/2005.../Complete.survey.pdf> York, Agenda 5