

## **Anti-Corruption War in Nigeria: An Assessment of Buhari's Administration, 2015 - 2018.**

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### ***Abstract***

Ordinarily, the claim that the Mohammadu Buhari led Administration of the Federal Republic of Nigeria is synonymous with Anti Corruption is not out of place. This stems from the fact that even during electioneering campaign period, anti corruption was his major campaign slogan and it has continued since his eventual assumption of office on the 29<sup>th</sup> May 2015. The task of this study is to find out how far this administration has gone in achieving her pet project or otherwise. Against this backdrop, two research questions served as directional guide: are there more credible and observable effectiveness of the fight against corruption. Does the regime maintain a zero tolerance for corruption? The study employed extractive corruption theory while Ex-post facto research design was used. The data were generated through secondary sources and qualitative method of data analysis was employed. Conclusively, this study accepts that there are more credible and observable effectiveness of the fight against corruption and reveals that the regime did not maintain zero tolerance for corruption. The study therefore recommends that there should be improved coordination and cooperation among state institutions involved in the fight against corruption and the regime should be non-partisan in its fight against corruption.

*Key words: Administration, Anti-Corruption, Buhari, Economic Corruption and War*

### **Introduction**

Modern Corruption in True sense of it was alien to traditional African societies in general and Nigeria in particular. Some Scholars were of the opinion that colonial rule in Africa and Nigeria in particular gave room for the origin of corruption.

Barnes and Tsuwa(2011:2009) noted, the traditional Nigeria society was in the weberian sense patriarchal in nature. Family positions were well established and known with its corresponding authority. The elders had absolute power

and thus were feared and respected as representatives of ancestors. Ownership was more communal and family unity and fraternity promoted peaceful coexistence. This was however changed with the coming of the colonial masters thereby marking the origin of corruption in Nigeria.

It is worth mentioning that colonial rule in Nigeria was not in the interest of the colonized rather the colonizer, it created conditions favourable to them. With the attainment of independence, the post independence leadership still towed the exploitative nature of the colonial states suppressing the yearning and aspirations of the people. This in itself paved way for the people to devise other means of livelihood including illegal ways, thereby creating a more favourable ground for the growth of corruption.

The pervasiveness of corruption in Nigeria has become a common thing. Transparency International (Barnes and Tsuwa, 2011:202) has declared the country over the years. Adeyem (1991:1) argued for a very long time, corruption has become a canker worm, reaching the dimensions of an epidemic. Fadaka (2002:11) states that the incidence of corruptions, as we all know is ubiquitous in Nigeria and has increased exponentially since independence. The Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (2000) website states that:

Corruption is profound situated and complex in Nigeria. It is inescapable to such an extent that both the public and private sectors are influenced. Corruption presently penetrates each part of Nigerian life, particularly in the transactions of government at different levels. Corruption is a steady subject of discussion, everyone discusses it, and everyone gives off an impression of being included.

Alemika (2004:2) in his words stated:

Corruption in the nation appears to have procured invulnerability against different political and legitimate measures focused on its control. The issue is smothering economic developments, disintegrating public bureaucratic adequacy, enlarging imbalance, and sabotaging the production of chances and conveyance of social administrations for the residents, particularly the individuals who are socially, financially and politically distraught.

In view of these, successive administrations; 1999-2015 have had a running battle with the hydra headed monster, although it has been alleged not to have made any significant enroot. It has been argued that prior to the advent of the Muhammadu Buhari's Administration, the problem of corruption continued to fester and its control was largely half-hearted and utterly ineffective. Following from this, Muhammadu Buhari during electioneering campaign showed his commitment and determination to fighting corruption. At Chatham house in London February, Muhammadu Buhari pronounced that " whenever elected president of Nigeria, he would organize the battle against corruption, just as insecurity and joblessness.

Even with lessening incomes, a great spot to begin the repositioning of Nigeria's economy is to quickly handle two ills that have expanded under the current administration "waste and debasement" Mr. Buhari said. Also, in doing this, I will, whenever elected, lead

the route with the power of individual model. To God be the glory, he won and was successfully inaugurated on 29<sup>th</sup> May, 2015. Against this backdrop, this paper sought to examine the Buhari's anti-graft war so far, with focus on economic and financial corruption.

### **Statement of Problem**

Aside from his vows to end uprising, make employments, re-establish the decreasing economy and by and large develop new Nigeria, one other expound campaign guarantee of General Muhammadu Buhari, at that point presidential up-and-comer of All Progressive Congress, APC, over and over made was to get rid of corruption from the shores of Nigeria. In any case, there is by all accounts a gooney bird on his neck (The Vanguard, 2015, March 3). The opposition and even some civil society organizations have alleged that not much seems to be happening to prove that anti-corruption is on course.

Currently, there has been an outcry by the major opposition party (PDP) that All Progressive Congress, APC, led Federal Government under the watch of president Muhammadu Buhari is not serious in fighting corruption rather is only out there to witch hunt opposition and muzzle the opposition through trump-up charges, media trials, orchestrated probes and arrest of its members. Against this background, the study is guided by the following questions: Are there more credible and observable effectiveness of the fight against corruption? Does the regime maintain a zero tolerance for corruption?

### **Objectives of the Study**

The main objective is to examine the Buhari's anti-graft war. Whereas the specific objectives include:

1. To determine whether there are more credible and observable effectiveness of the fight against corruption within the period under review and
2. To ascertain whether the Buhari's administration maintained zero tolerance for corruption within the period under study.

### **Hypotheses**

1. There are more credible and observable effectiveness of the fight against corruption within the period under review.
2. The Buhari's administration maintained zero tolerance for corruption within the period under study.

**Concept Clarification:** Several attempts have been made by scholars to capture the meaning and nature of corruption. Sorkaa (1999) says, corruption exists when an individual illegally or illicitly puts personal interest above those of the people and the ideals he or she pledges to serve. Nye (1998:86) said that, corruption is a kind of behaviour, which deviates from the formal duties of a public role because of private regarding pecuniary or status gains. Odekunle, (cited in Barnes and Tsuwa, 2011) defines corruption as:

In famous seeing, any of coming up next is corruption, soliciting or taking from charge, blessing, or favor in return for the presentation of such an authentic errand;

the invasion of check of the exhibition such an undertaking or the exhibition of an ill-conceived task, accumulating, conspiracy, value fixing, carrying move fixing, political decision fixing, illicit capture or provocation and terrorizing, misuse or abuse of office powers, and benefits, out of line and vile obtaining of riches, fraud of any sort, redirection of public fund and so on.

Economic and Financial Crime Commission that deals with economic issue in Ngwakwe (2009) defines corruption from economic perspective as follows:

The non-violent criminal and illicit activity committed with objectives of earning wealth illegally either individually or in a group or organized manner thereby violating existing legislation governing the economic activities of government and its administration.

Corruption is a disease, a cancer that eats into the cultural, political and economic fabric of the society and destroys the functioning of vital organs (Inge, Amundsen, 1999). From the foregoing corruptions is not only an aberration and misnomer to societal norms and values but also subordination of public interest to private interest, in utter neglect of the law and order.

**Administration:** Numerous researchers from alternate points of view have conceptualized this. As per Obasi (2007), administration is a legitimately planned procedure for the accomplishment of group targets. Legitimate, in light of the fact that there must be some type of lawful or social parameters showing the auxiliary and other relationship of people occupied with administration. With respect to Edem, (2006) organization includes arranging exercises, which focus on the satisfaction of the objectives of a specific association or institution.

### **Taxonomy of Corruption**

Different classification and categorization of corruption abound. In Nigeria for instance, there are five main types of corruption herein discussed among others. They are political corruption, economic and financial corruption, bureaucratic corruption, judiciary corruption and moral corruption.

**Political Corruption:** Political corruption takes place at the high level of political system. Political corruption occurs when political decision makers use the political powers, status and wealth. (Inge, 1999). Political corruption is manifest in the areas of election and succession rigging, and the manipulation of people and institutions in order to retain power and position. Barnes and Tsuwa (2011:206) noted, political positions are scarce and benefits accruing to them are very high, hence the fierce competition for such offices are carried out with more extra-legal means, in most cases the end justifies the means. But Nye, (1967) rightly put it;

Political corruption can, therefore, be said to include; acts of election rigging, the appointment of unqualified personnel to government offices and the granting of political favours based on merit would not have been possible.

**Economic and Financial Corruption:** Economic corruption seems to be the most noticeable form of corruption. This is so, because the business class and of course people generally bid for economic favour without bothering about the methods and means through which they get the favour, in as much as they maximize their gains. It is a common knowledge that, businessmen dislike obstacles, so they apply any available means to change the course of regulations and bureaucracy to hasten the procedures for applications, vouchers, bills and payments. Barnes and Tsuwa (2011:207) observed, apart from the business group, the level of poverty in the society is also giving full backing to corruption in the society. Many public office holders believe that “their take home pay cannot take them home” as a result, they need to survive on the extra-ordinary sources. Most of these sources are illegal and corrupt.

**Bureaucratic Corruption:** Bureaucratic corruption is corruption in the public administration, at the implementation end of politics (Inge, 1999). This type of corruption involves lobbying of government officials (Bureaucrats) who are in charge of formulation and implementation of both economic and political policies of the government. This is common sight in the areas of the acquisition of foreign exchange, import licenses, industrial establishment, license on petroleum transactions, award of contracts, certification of completed jobs, avoidance of tax etc. Agude, (cited in Barnes and Tsuwa, 2011) noted that many situations exist in which people may press bribe on officials, thus tempting them away from the path of probity. He went further to say, in some cases, official expect to be bribed for almost everything they do and that, worst still, they still use their enormous powers to delay thereby, forcing people to bribe them.

**Judicial Corruption:** Allegations of corruption are rife against Law enforcement agencies and the courts, both indigenous and modern. Judicial corruption plays on the relative position of the buyers in the social structure and the use of wealth to secure police attention, bails and court ruling favours. The manipulation of bye-law, constitution, court injunctions, and the neglect of judicial procedures by the powerful is a fundamental form of judicial corruption (Barnes and Tsuwa, 2011:208).

**Moral Corruption:** As per Barnes and Tsuwa (2011:208), the craving for employment, the desire to show riches through the securing of ladies, the colorful exhibit of individual materialistic belonging amidst wretched penury, the abuse of man by man, mistreatment of the frail by the incredible, all these and numerous others add up to moral debasement.

Aside from the above mentioned, there are different classifications of defilement. Obasanjo, (referred to in Afolab, 2007) listed the different types of debasement to incorporate expense extortion (known as 419), cash clothing, capricious and deceitful exchange practices, misappropriation or redirection of assets, kick backs, under and over invoicing, pay off, bogus presentations, maltreatment of office and assortment of unlawful tolls. To Agbaje (2004), different types of debasement are the intentional refusal to pronounce one's advantages on the supposition and lapse of public office and obviously utilizing one's

authentic status to forestall the organization of equity which is normal by the administrators (over a wide span of time) of various limits in Nigeria.

### **The Buhari Administration's Efforts on Fight Against Corruption**

The debate on the regime's anti graft war has divided the society into two groups. There are two basic schools of thought, the Buharist and Anti-Buharist. First the Buharists are of the opinion that the administration's fight against corruption is on course. Straightaway, it is true that Buhari is fantastically committed and determined in fighting corruption and his administration can be credited with direct and consequential efforts and achievements (Odekunle, 2016). Many Nigerians also believe, Mr. Buhari's presence or "body language" alone has changed the game (Ezeamalu, 2015). The president's "leadership contagious" arising from his antecedents and image, pronouncements and certain administrative measures, has served to constitute a certain dosage of psycho-social deterrence against actual and potential corruption against many public officers (Odekunle, 2016).

The second school, Social critics (Anti- Buharist) argued that in all intent and purposes the actions and inactions of the Buhari's led federal government have raised questions of its ability and determination to fight corruption. They said the counter corruption position of the government has been a greater amount of "clamor making than activity". That General Buhari may not be kidding about battling corruption taking into account the promptly accessible proof. To begin with, is that General Buhari himself can't protect himself as honest for the explanation of assuming control over a fairly chosen government in 1983. Two, for having the option to challenge presidential races at four distinct occasions, it would take just a super-rich individual. He was minister of oil and facilitator of Petroleum Trust Fund. In these limits, he amassed riches, so he would not over rate himself as being ethical.

Mr. Gani said corruption authorities, including previous governors, ministers and Vice Presidents, are yet connecting with the president. In the event that he was not kidding about battling corruption, a few people would have fled this nation, yet they are open to, moving alongside the president's company (Ezeamalu, 2016). This paper's point of departure is that the administration's anti graft crusade is like a two faced god, neither here nor there, full of double standard We are yet to be convinced on the true stand of the government. The Buhari's apologists proudly highlighted the financial recoveries but switched off on the witch hunting and muzzling of opposition as well as non-prosecution of alleged corrupt and looters in the ruling party.

### **Theoretical Framework**

This study adopted extractive corruption theory as its framework of analysis. The main assumption of the theory is that the state is the stronger part in the state-society relationship. That is, the corrupted (the state or some state operators) benefits the most from corruption and the corrupter is pretty much an inactive actor. Essentially, the ruling elite is the strongest force in society; this elite or class utilizes the state contraption as its instrument to extract based on the operation of authoritarian polities in general, and on the experience of the new-patrimonial states specifically.

Once more, the theory posits that the ruling class uses and abuses the power of the state fundamentally to safeguard their very own corporate interests, at the inconvenience of



the masses. They use brutality, power and persuasions to command respect. They may utilize modern institutional plans like for example presidentialism, overwhelming multi-single-party framework (like the Nigerian ruling party), and the cooption of opponents so as to limit participation and power sharing (Government of National Unity in Nigeria). They may utilize press censorship and electoral cheats, set up unjust laws and disrespect the laws they have made themselves, and utilize human rights violation like political surveillance and terrorizing, detainment and torment, in economic terms, corruption, specifically political corruption, is just one of the numerous methods of economic accumulation and private appropriation applied by dictator rulers.

### **Application of theory**

Applying this hypothesis to our investigation, we contend that officeholders can use various techniques to maintain power, of which many are amazingly real while others are illegal and corrupt. The corruption use of political force for power safeguarding and extension may show up as buying political help through bias, clientelism, co-option, patronage politics and vote buying. It additionally fuses the circulation of money related and material advantages and the control of different oversight and control institutions, making "pollution conditions". This implied some Nigerian politicians might be increasingly excited about having an enemy of corruption campaign that reveals the offenses of their harbingers than one which roots out corruption in the current government.

### **The Method of Research**

The study adopted the ex-post-facto (afterward) research design. Kerlinger (1977) characterized the ex-post-facto plan as a type of spellbinding examination in which a free factor has just happened and in which an agent begins with the perception of ward variable, at that point considers the autonomous variable everything considered for its conceivable relationship to, or impact on the needy factors. The decision of ex-post-facto configuration comes from the way that it is a precise observational examination wherein the free factor can't in any capacity be controlled or controlled given that the circumstance of the study already exist or has already taken place. Ex-post-facto research was used in generating data in the journey so far.

Data were sourced from secondary sources. These were collected through books, journal articles, official publications, newspapers, magazines, seminar papers and internet materials. To analyze the data generated, the technique generally referred to as content analysis was employed. Thus, we relied heavily (but not exclusively) on this analytical technique to evaluate the data generated in the course of this study.

**Hypothesis 1:** There are more credible and observable effectiveness of the fight against corruption within the period under review.

President Buhari and his vice, Prof. Yemi Osinbajo exhibited their commitment to battle corruption on assumption of office; they announced their assets before the code of conduct Bureau (The Guardian, 2016, May 20). In reality, he announced his assets, the extent that showing others how it's done goes, numerous Nigerians accepted by proclaiming his

assets publicly within his couple of weeks in office, Mr. Buhari would have established the pace for his war against corruption (Ezeamalu, 2015).

The President Buhari's administration is fantastically committed and determined in fighting corruption. The administration initiated the whistle blower policy. This is a step in right direction of fighting corruption. It has actually helped in the Recovery of reasonable sums of money stacked or hidden in various places in the country. The administration quickly adopted some financial management institutions, systems and processes of the previous regime such as the Integrated Payroll and Personnel Information System (IPPIS) and Government Integrated Financial Management Information System (GIFMIS). These helped the federal government fight corruption and financial mismanagement.

The administration ordered for the enforcement of Treasury Single Account. The early reinstatement/enforcement of the treasury single account, (TSA), to stifle corruption in MDAs by blocking that corrupt avenue, reduction of a number of federal ministries to reduce cost of governance by ensuring proper coordination of duties and reducing avenue for corruption, recovery of assets, increased public awareness of the enormity and deleterious effects of corruption perpetuated by government and public officials and other individuals and even a certain observable restraints on the part of the judiciary in granting "useless" injunctions and justice destructive adjournments (Odekunle, 2017).

Also, it ordered the enforcement of payment and salaries of National Assembly members to be done through TSA. Furthermore, the administration ordered for enforcement of Bank Verification Number in the banking industry. The effective implementation of Banks verification number (BVN) has hindered multiple running of account both private and public officials thereby checkmating the fraud perpetrated by them. Another welcomed development, in the administration's efforts towards the fight against corruption was the executive order that secured travel ban on well over fifty high profile Nigerians alleged to have looted the public treasury.

In August 2015, the president initiated a presidential advisory panel against corruption to advise his government on the most proficient method to change Nigeria's criminal equity framework, and steps expected to battle corruption. Additionally, in support of the administration's endeavours, US \$5million Anti-corruption and criminal justice reform finance was set up by the Ford foundation, MacArthur foundation and Open society foundation to help the work of the panel (Ezeamalu, 2016).

Immediately Buhari's administration came on board in 2015, it redirected the battle against corruption under Ibrahim Magu and the beat has changed to a higher speed (Premium times, 2018, April 6). It has done creditably well in tracing and recovery of looted assets. "EFCC Monetary recoveries from May 2015 to October 20, 2017" were in overabundance of N738.9 billion which is comparable to over \$2.9 billion. This does exclude monetary standards like Durham, CRA and British pounds. In this year (2017) alone, the commission recovered looted resources running into a few a large number of US dollars and billions in Naira (Thisday, 2017 November 9).

Moreover, in 2018 alone, EFCC has made sure about 89 feelings. In this manner far, EFCC has made sure about 486 judgements from November 2015 until date. EFCC has gotten assets in various monetary standards thus far, has recouped more than N 500 billion. The recuperations implied for the Federal Government are appropriately dispatched to its



record while recuperations for people and private organizations are similarly paid to them as per the law. It was likewise seen that EFCC was making giant walks as it identifies with the indictment of prominent cases. For example, without precedent for Nigeria, a Senior Advocate of Nigeria was sentenced for a situation arraigned by the EFCC ([www.informationing.com](http://www.informationing.com), 17 may, 2018).The recent conviction of the former governors of Taraba and Plateau states, Rev. Jolly Nyame and Joshua Dyarie are steps in right direction. The authors are therefore, calling for the sustenance of such and also to extend same to other political office holders.

**Table1. Breakdown of Looted EFCC Recovered in 2017**

S/No	Items	Amount
1	Foreign currency Dirham 443,400 & South	\$98.2M, £294,851 African Rand 70500.
2	Diezani’s for feature	₦32M & \$5M
3	Legico phaza Lagos	₦ 449M
4	Osborne Towers Ikoyi	\$ 43M
5	Petroleum marketers	₦ 329B
6	Banks withholding tax	₦ 27.7B
7	Nigerian Ports Authority	£ 6.6 M
8	Amcon	₦ 1.1 B
9	Subsidy fraud	₦ 4 B

Source: Compiled from secondary data.

To avoid re-looting of the recovered monies Mr President personally authorised the issuance of guidelines on channelling of the looted funds. He specifically directed that all recovered funds be kept in special asset recovery account in the CBN (<https://www.vanguardngr.com-FG> clears air on whereabouts of recovered looted funds).

As a feature of Buhari's anti corruption war, he left on a few outside outing to enroll worldwide joint efforts and backing. Buhari has visited nations like; the United Kingdom, Germany, United States of America, France among others to quick tracks the repatriation of plundered fund from the nation. The shuttle diplomacy paid off, eyewitnesses anyway noticed that Buhari-led administration has since inception seen astounding worldwide help and commitment in the region of preparing and co-ordinated efforts through the nation's enemy of defilement establishment (The Guardian, 2016 May 20).

No doubt, tremendous progress has been made in re-energizing and repositioning the national anti-corruption organizations, such as the EFCC and ICPC, such that, not just newspaper stories, but rather numerous convictions and assets recovery is taking place regularly. Indeed cash recovery within the last one year as declared (Lawal,2016).Following from above, it will be safe to validate and /or accept the hypothesis which states that there are more credible and observable effectiveness of the fight against corruption by the Buhari led government.

**Hypothesis 2:** The Buhari's administration maintained zero tolerance for corruption within the period under study.

The success so far recorded in the area of the anti-corruption war in financial dealings seems limited to national government agencies at the moment (Lawal, 2016). Fight against financial corruption is yet to receive attention at the state and local government levels. The state governors behave like over lords whilst the local government leaders only appear in offices to share and collect monthly allocations. Before the election, Buhari pledged to encourage all his appointees to declare publicly their assets and liabilities as a precondition for appointment. And that all political appointees will only earn the salaries and allowances determined by the RMFAC. This pledge is yet to see the light of the day.

Recall that the Minister for Mines and Steel Development, Dr. Kayode Fayemi, former Governor of Ekiti and Minister for Transportation, Rt. Hon Chibuike Rotimi Amaechi, and former Governor of Rivers state were openly indicted of corruption and embezzlement of state fund by their various states panel of inquiry. However, they are yet to be prosecuted, rather they walk shoulder high in the president's cabinet. The transportation minister, Rotimi Amaechi is alleged to be fantastically corrupt; however, he stays in his post in spite of being blamed for abusing £338 million by a commission investigating the sale of state resources.

Independently, Amaechi is blamed for diverting £140 million of the state assets into Buhari's presidential election, with reports he paid for media experts and personal jets. These charges came as the president stands blamed for getting a charge out of a rich way of life while a large number endure in destitution (Daily post, 2016, May16). Her excellency, Mrs Aisha Buhari likewise lives rich way of life. Her costly purse worth nearly # 50 million. Mrs. Buhari was spotted with the 35cm permeable crocodile pack, which is assessed to cost anyplace somewhere in the range of \$50,000 and \$300,000, at the air terminal in Washington D.C., when she showed up the United States Wednesday for certain commitment (This-day, 2016, August 5).

The lack of transparency in the oil sector institutions persist. Neither the Petroleum Industry Bill (PIB) designed to transform and improve the efficiency of the oil and gas sector nor any different restructuring approach to NNPC and the oil and gas aimed to achieve more commercial, more independent, financially sustainable, transparent and accountable petroleum institution is yet to be implemented. Quickly observed are the claims and counter claims about unaccounted for monies. Okonjo-Iweala (2019, pp. 53-54) noted, on March 15, 2016, the Auditor General of the federation claimed that its 2014 audit showed that #3.2 trillion (\$16 billion) was unaccounted for by NNPC in terms of remittances to the federation account. On March 17, 2016, NNPC countered that it owed only #326 billion and was in fact owed #1.37 trillion by the federation account. On March 22, 2016, the Revenue Mobilization and Fiscal Commission claimed that #4.9 trillion was unaccounted for by NNPC.

Lack of synergy exists between the executive and legislative arms in the fight against corruption. You may recall that at one time in July 2018, the minister of Justice and Attorney General of the Federation (AGF), Abubakar Malami, the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) and the Economic Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), were missing at a formal review on the status of recuperated public assets and resources from 1999 to 2016 sorted out by the House of Representatives joint committee on public accounts and finance. Likewise missing of the

insightful hearing were ICPC, the DSS, NCS, among other government agencies.. (www.sunnewsonline.com>Recovered plunder: AGF, CBN, EFCC, others shun Reps probe panel).

Confusion trailed the where about of recovered loot. There exist discrepancies in figures released between the EFCC and ministry of finance. Ibrahim Magu had announced ₦739 billion as the amount recovered in the first two years, while Kemi Adeosun said records from office of the Accountant General of the Federation (OAGF) had only ₦91.4 billion as the amount recovered since 2015. Recently the Vice president Yemi Osinbajo, has been indicted by the House of Representatives with regards to his misappropriation of whopping ₦5.8 billion, monies meant for the poor masses and development of the country.

Under the watch of president Buhari, the following corrupt practices have been alleged without any visible action: Baru Maikanti- Group Managing Director NNPC, \$26 billion illegal contract, and ₦1.1 trillion crude lifted by ghost companies, Abba Kyari ₦500 million MTN penalty scam, ₦50 billion Sahara energy scam (Lawal Daura were involved). Mallam Yusuf – ₦3 billion NHIS fraud, Babachir Lawal (ex SGF) ₦270 million grass cutting contract scam, Yobe grass cutting and borehole scam ₦530.6 million, Mallam Maina – ₦3 billion pension theft, Amb Ayo Oke – ₦13 billion Ikoyi towers money dumped for Buhari's re-election and committee's finding trashed and major General Buratai; Dubai estate and multiple homes in Abuja and he was procurement director of military and Buhari shielded him to testify in DasukiGate.

The un-seriousness of the anti-corruption war manifest in the prosecution ending up at bail applications and government is only interested in blackmailing the opposition. The government published one-sided list of Nation Looters that are mostly PDP members. It then becomes leave PDP and join APC; you now become a saint. The yesterday's scavengers are now today's saints. The EFCC is highly unprepared to the corruption fight; it took our judges to court and lost out in all. Again, one begins to doubt the credentials and integrity of this regime to fight corruption in as much as it turned its eyes away from the stoppage of security votes that is unbudgeted and unaccounted for, which has remained a Conduit pipe to siphon public money. Budget padding is now a recurring decimal since the inception of this administration; both the executive and legislature are guilty of this crime. Allegation of executive padding of 2018budget in the ministry of mines and power at the excess of #30 billion Naira is yet to receive investigation. Military and Para-military extortion is taking a frightening dimension without being checked.

The Buhari's war against corruption remains questionable given the administration's refusal to name the real owner of the \$43 million recovered by EFCC from an Ikoyi apartment in Lagos State. It beats ones imagination to believe that the administration is maintaining zero tolerance for corruption. Buhari has poor record of sacking officials for reported cases of corruption in his government. Rather he shields and defends them irrespective of the weight of the alleged crime. President Buhari once wrote the senate, defended and absolved Babachir Lawal, of all off-base doings leveled against him. It was the clamor of the people that constrained him to sack Lawal and have him supplanted by his own sibling, Boss Mustapha. What a Familiocracy? He is likewise acceptable at reappointment of the individuals who were sacked for defilement and infringement of their vows of office.

For example, Abdurashheed Maina was the chairman of the Presidential Task Force on Pension Reform. He was subtly recalled, restored, and even elevated to the post of director accountable for human resources in the Ministry of Interior. We may recall that President Jonathan excused Maina in 2013 after from the proposals by the office of the head of service. He was said to have taken about N100 billion from the annuity subsidize. Once more, Prof. Usman Yusuf, the National Health Insurance Scheme boss who was said to have wasted over N997 million from the plans intercession fund. Inquiry was carried out and he was discovered guilty and on that account the Minister of wellbeing properly sacked him yet he was restored by Mr. President; and Mallam Ahmed Saleh previous Chief Registrar of the Supreme Court plotted with two others (Mohammed Abdulrahman Sharif and Rilwanu Lawal) and took N2.2 billion belonging to the Apex court. They were additionally said to have gotten gratifications totalling N74.4 million from private temporary workers who were offering types of assistance to the summit court. Mallam Saleh was shown the way out yet President Buhari recalled him and even advanced him as the secretary of Legal Council of Nigeria. What an honest fight against corruption?

Over the most recent couple of months, Nigerians have been stood up to with untidy disclosures like the false reestablishment of Abdullahi Maina, suspected grant of N25 billion agreements without following fair treatment, Attorney General of the Federation's assertion is that the EFCC came up short on the proof to demonstrate its claims of sharp practices against unmistakable players in the Malabu oil bargain, claimed re-plundering of intriguing properties recouped from supposed marauders of annuity finance, among others. Indeed, even the acting chairman of EFCC, Ibrahim Magu was prosecuted by DSS arraignment for debasement (Transparency International , 2018).

Defilement is by all accounts deteriorating in Nigeria, as per the most recent corruption perception index (CPI) Nigeria was positioned 136th in 2016 a noteworthy 12 places beneath where it was the earlier year. Nigeria positioned 148 out of 180 nations surveyed in 2017 on the straightforwardness global yearly defilement observation record, demonstrating crumbling in view of debasement in public administration in Nigeria contrasted with 2016. Fayose said the report was another vindication of his position that the All Progressive congress (APC) administration of President Muhammadu Buhari was not battling any defilement however hiding it where no one will think to look. He referred to the instance of EFCC Chairman Ibrahim Magu as an instance of defilement being hidden away from plain view with APC brush by Buhari's administration.

Actuality is that President Buhari is managing the more awful type of defilement throughout the entire existence of Nigeria and interestingly, in spite of their publicity, they have not had the option to conceal the decay in their government from according to the International Organizations like the Transparency International (The Daily Post, 2018, February 22). Nigeria's most recent position shows that the nation has not gained ground in its battle against corruption, in spite of cases by the Muhammadu Buhari's administration that it is making a lead way. In the 2016 rankings, Nigeria scored 28. In 2015, it scored 26, the year prior to that it scored 25. In 2014, the nation scored 27 and 25 out of 2013 (The Sahara Reporters, 2018, February 21).

In association of the report of Transparency International (TI), the US branch of state has again given an uncomplimentary appraisal of Nigeria under the authority of president

Mohammadu Buhari on its 2017 nation report on Human Rights... further taking note of that the Buhari-led administration needed straightforwardness. It included that administration authorities occupied with monstrous debasement. Debasement, the report stated, was not constrained to government authorities yet exceptionally widespread among the security organizations. The report expressed, in spite of the fact that the law gives criminal punishments to conviction of authentic debasement, the government did not actualize the law successfully, and official much of the time occupied with degenerate practices without any potential repercussions.

Huge, far-reaching and unavoidable defilement influenced all degrees of government and the security administrations. EFCC's captures and arraignments of government officials proceeded consistently, embroiling a noteworthy number of resistance political figures and prompting charge of factional inspiration in the piece of the EFCC. Emerging from the reality introduced over, the investigation dismisses the second speculation, which expresses that the Buhri's administration kept up zero resistance for defilement.

## CONCLUSION

This study investigated the Buhari administration anti-corruption war. The study generated evidence from secondary data sources and applied content analysis. Based on the evidence generated and the finding of this study, we accepted our first hypothesis that, there are more credible and observable effectiveness of the fight against corruption. Whereas we rejected the second hypothesis, which states that, the regime maintained zero tolerance.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

On the strength of the findings stated above, the study hereby recommends as follows:

- (1) For better result and sustenance of the efforts, there should be improved coordination and cooperation between and among state institutions involved in the fight against corruption as well as implementation of open declaration of assets by elected officials and their subordinates and also effectively implement anti-corruption law. Equally, there should be requisite favourable legislative framework strengthening institutions ( Executive, Legislature, Judiciary, EFCC, ICPC and Civil society organisation) recognised by the law in fighting corruption.
- (2) The regime should be courageous enough to be non-partisan in its fight against corruption. It should look inward and fish out both former PDP stalwart that are in APC and corrupt APC members. There should be no "sacred cow". Also the Anti-Corruption Agencies should be able to tackle the scourge at both the state and local government levels as well as security out fits and strategise on intelligence gathering. And perhaps and more importantly the regime should reinvigorate the African shame culture and name calling against looters and there should be a National compilation of looters, Nigerians need to know them.

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