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The Dasukigate and Peace Building: Hangover of Military Professionalism or Corruption Incarnate

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Abstract

Election is an important component of democracy because it avails the citizenry the opportunity to choose the best among candidates that presented themselves for election. For the electioneering process to be free and fair, liberal democracy gives room for the circulation of elites from all fields of endeavor to politics. This is what informed the dominance of serving and retired military officers in Nigerian government and politics. These are men trained to manage violence and restore peace. They achieve this peace because military organizations and military regimes possess certain characteristics that differentiate them from the civil society. Such notable characteristics are professionalism, hierarchy of command, discipline, solidarity and cohesion (esprit de corps). These are the attributes that retired military men are expected to exhibit in their new status and responsibilities in the civil society by fair distribution of the wealth of the nation in order to meet the yearning and aspirations of Nigerians. It is against this backdrop, that this paper analyzed the Dasuki gate and its effect on peace building and democratic consolidation in Nigeria. The paper concluded that Dasuki's military professional training and discipline has been jettisoned for corrupt primitive accumulation which consequently breach the peace of the nation by escalating Boko

Haram insurgency. The paper recommended that the money recovered from Dasukigate be used prudently in providing succor for the less privileged Nigerians.

Key Words: Corruption, Electoral Fraud, Insurgency, Poverty

Introduction

This paper is passionate about the deprivations ordinary Nigerians are subjected to by successive military regimes and civilian administrations. Each time the military topples democratic government, the reason is corruption, financial recklessness and inability to manage modern political institutions such as electoral bodies and census institutions. While on the other hand, the outcry of civil governments in Nigeria at the point of inauguration is the inheritance of empty public treasury. However, the financial recklessness claims by the military and the empty treasury inherited always by the civilians, do not stop primitive accumulation by those privileged few in power whether military or civilian government thereby impoverishing Nigerians making the satisfaction of physiological needs difficult.

It is in this vein, Fajana (2003) conceived of poverty as a situation where a population or a section of a population is living in destitution and survey on income judged to be inadequate to secure the basic necessities of life. Essentially, it is inadequacy of resources that informed the 1973 Santiago Declaration of the third world economists that the third world, housing seventy percent of the world population is subsisting on only twenty percent of the world income and even this meager income is maldistributed as to leave the bulk of its population in abject poverty.

Conscious of the miserable situation of ordinary Nigerians, this paper adapted and modified a song of starvation and hunger from the inaugural lecture of professor Isaac Olaoluwa Akinyele of the University of Ibadan (1993). The lyrics of the song goes as follows:

Lord it is a new day and my pocket is empty.

I have a wife and ten extra mouths to feed.

I have not been paid six months' salaries

in spite of the bail out.

I am overworked and unpaid yet

I can complain to no one.

The rich are getting richer and they don't care about me
and my hunger. I look on as they feast on the best
available food, living in best houses in reserved areas of
cities and ride on expensive flashy cars. I am only

hoping to catch the left over and Dasuki has increased
the number of those of us struggling for the left over.

O God our helper in ages past

Our hope for years to come

Stand by us when Dasuki and others

starve us to death, and give us

always our daily bread.

This is the prayers of majority of Nigerians outside the corridors of power. This is essentially what precipitates violence prior to election, on the election day and post-election period. The reason is the foot soldiers for any kind of violence be it electoral, ethnic or religious are readily available for the manipulation of the political class because they were born to a society where their parents have been without the necessities of daily living owing largely to the trends of political corruption in Nigeria aided and abated by the military whether serving or retired since 1966.

Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

This paper reviewed concepts such as corruption, democracy, election and peace building. While on the other hand, the paper utilized prebendalism as the theoretical framework.

Corruption: Corruption is one of the greatest monsters threatening the economic and political development of Nigeria. It has eaten deep into the fabrics of all sectors of the Nigerian political economy in spite of anti-graft agencies. This heinous phenomenon has permeated the Nigerian bureaucracy ranging from the award of contracts in both public and private sectors, staff promotion in workplace, to dispensation of justice, etc.

In practical terms, corruption in Nigeria connotes a public servant receiving personal gains in discharge of his official duty. An illegitimate official elected through buying of votes. A police officer watching crime being committed because he has collected bribe. A building regulator ignoring a faulty and weak foundation just because he has been bribed. Misuse of public office to divert public fund. In the academics, corruption connotes giving free marks in return for money (monetization of grades) or sexual satisfaction. In the confines of academics, corruption equally revolves around giving and taking of money and other material gratifications to accredit courses where human and material resources are not practically available to sustain such programmes.

It is against this backdrop that Agbaje (1996) conceived corruption as any form of reciprocal behaviour or transaction where both the power and office holder can respectively initiate the inducement of each other by some reward to grant illegal preferential treatment or favour against the principles and interest of specific

organization within the society. It covers such act as use of one's office for pecuniary advantage, gratification, influence, peddling, insincerity in advice with the aim of gaining advantage, less than a full day's work for a full day's pay.

In similar perspective, the world bank (1997, p. 2) defined corruption as:

The abuse of public office for private gains. This happens when an official accepts, edicts or extorts a bribe. It is also abused when private agents actively offer bribe to circumvent public policies and processes for competitive advantage and profit. Public office can also be abused for personal benefit even if no bribery occurs through patronage and nepotism, the theft of state assets or the diversion of state resources.

Dike (2011) was of the opinion that all the features of corruption embedded in the definition of corruption are very glaring trends of developments in Nigeria where discoveries of stolen funds run into billions of US dollars and Nigerian naira. He stressed further that corruption is the quickest means of acquiring wealth in Nigeria which has contributed to the poverty and misery of a greater proportion of the Nigerian population.

Democracy: In the context of Nigerian government and politics, particularly in the last sixteen years, the popularity of democracy did not stop fundamental questions as: Does democracy actually ensure the rule by the people? This fundamental question may have been the reason why Winston Churchill (1947) defined democracy as the worst form of government except all the other forms that have been tried from time to time. In similar vein, Cricks in Heywood (2002) opined that democracy is perhaps the most promiscuous word in the world of public affairs. A term that can mean anything to anyone is in danger of meaning nothing at all. This assertion can be seen in the actions and in-actions of major stakeholders of Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) in the sixteen years of their stewardship in Nigeria. Ogbulafor, the former PDP chairman once said they will rule Nigeria for sixty years. This implies that Nigerians cannot make an alternative choice even in multiparty democracy. This is the way he understands democracy.

Heywood (2002) is not in divergence from the views expressed above about democracy. In his own observation of trend of events in political activities, he became amassed with the mass conversion of politicians and political thinkers to the course of democracy. He said even in Greece often thought of as the cradle of the democratic ideas, democracy tended to be viewed in negative terms. He stressed further that thinkers such as Plato and Aristotle, for example, viewed democracy as a system of rule by the masses at the expense of wisdom and property. Starting from nineteenth century up to the twenty first century, the term continued to be viewed as a system of 'mob rule'. Obasanjo (1990) is of the view that democracy is the most preferred form of governance by the majority, but may not necessarily ensure rapid economic

development. According to him, democracy is the option which the governed prefer and which is easily denied them by the governor under one pretext and pretense or the other.

However, democracy, in its ideal form particularly in the postmodern political space, is the most civilized and enduring form of government. According to Heywood (2002), democracy is:

- A system of rule by the poor and disadvantaged;
- A form of government in which people rule themselves directly and continuously;
- A society based on equal opportunity and individual merit, rather than hierarchy and privilege;
- A system of welfare and redistribution aimed at narrowing social inequalities, etc.

Democracy is a form of government that respects procedural quality from party formation, internal party democracy, electioneering campaign to electoral victory. It allows the citizens to select their leaders in anticipation of good life with freedom to make alternative choice periodically.

Election: Election is the process of choosing candidates for public offices. Election is nowadays used by trade unions, social clubs, town unions, students' union, sport clubs including FIFA in choosing those who would steer the affairs of the union. However, election cannot be discussed exhaustively without the doctrine of mandate. Mandate is based on the idea that in winning an election with the aim of governing a state a party must acquire the mandate of the electorates that authorizes it to carry out its policies or programmes it outlined during electioneering campaign (Heywood, 2002).

It is instructive to note that the mandate model gives credibility to election result and it also keeps the politicians to their words. Although, it is not the entire population that transfer their mandate to politicians through election. The electorates must be judged to be mentally sound and eighteen years of age. The strict adherence to voters' qualification for voting gives credence to political representation which is automatically linked to elections. Schumpeter in Heywood (2002) portrayed democracy as an institutional arrangement and a means of filling public office by a competitive struggle for people's vote. He identified democracy with elections, specifically competitive elections. According to Heywood (2002), election is a device for filling an office or post through choices made by a designated body of people known as the electorate. Scholars that conceived election in this perspective includes: (Nwabueze, 1985, Mbachu, 2011). On the other hand, components of free and fair elections include, legal framework, independent judiciary, independent electoral administrators, etc. (Mackenzie, 1967, Dundas, 1994).

In cognizance of the above conceptualization of election, it becomes sufficient to establish the fact that, people's mandate has been stolen at intervals of four years throughout the sixteen years of Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) rule in Nigeria. This is what precipitated post-election violence recorded in the political history of Nigeria under PDP.

Peace Building: Peace in its abstract form is the absence of war. But concretely, peace goes beyond the level of mere violence free society to include sustainable satisfaction of individual and collective consumption needs in the society. Peace and war are human creation. They are caused by the struggle for material resources, which its sufficiency across all segment of the society maintains peace and if otherwise, engenders war.

In the Nigerian context, the privileged few at the corridors of power are the architects of violence through the primitive accumulation of state resources. It is within this purview that fundamental questions about the character of Nigerian state is raised as regards what it does, and the rationality for doing what it does. Within the context of Almond's structural functionalism and Easton's system theory, one may view Nigerian state in liberal perspective as a system of laws, regimes, rules and authority patterns which makes it a sovereign rational political community. Going by the above liberal thinking, it is expected that Nigeria has rational leaders whose policy decisions and programmes are based on the articulated and aggregated needs of various segments of the society.

In a radical departure from the liberal position as to whether Nigerian political class creates peace or mobilize primordial sentiments for violence, the Nigerian state can be structured within the thinking of Marx and Lenin (1975) as contained in the communist manifesto that the "executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the affairs of the whole bourgeoisies". Given the absence of absolute peace within the six geopolitical zones of Nigeria, it may not be erroneous to say that the Nigerian political community is not governed by rational and neutral leaders but rather, an entity with structures or machineries put in place for the promotion and protection of the interest of the dominant ruling class. Even where the state is seen to be taking radical policy measures, such policies do not threaten the fundamental interest of the dominant class. Ali Mazrui in Wakili and Mohammed (2006) commented that Africa's post-colonial conditions have produced fewer great leaders than were produced by the anti-colonial struggles

According to a publication of National Open University (NOUN, 2006), the prospect for peace and conflict are necessarily constrained by the

Competing antinomies of conflict and cooperation, harmony and discord, unity and diversity within the constraining context of hegemonic rivalry for dominance and the emergent dominant

allocative and distributive rules and principles in any given society or community. Therefore, the problem of peace and conflict cannot and should not be divorced from the dialectics of domination and subjection, in other words, superordinate and subordinate relations at the community, national and global levels. These relations of inequality and exploitation, which frequently lead to conflicts are more often than not linked to issues of production and distributive politics (p. 3).

Given this scenario, peace, according to Idowu (2005), is the loveliest word in human language when there is peace both within and without, there is sustainable progress, integrated growth and development and there is forward march as it were. To Sandy and Perkins in Idowu (2005), peace is a word that is uttered almost as frequently as “truth, beauty, and love”. Common synonyms for peace include “amity, friendship, harmony, concord, tranquility, repose, quiescence, truce, pacification and neutrality.

On the other hand, peace building involves conflict prevention, conflict resolution and all kinds of amicable post conflict activities. Post-election peace building is a function of well-established institutions steered by men of impeccable character that would redistribute the common wealth of the nation to all sectors of the political economy cutting across party affiliations.

Theoretical Framework: Prebendalism

This paper is predicated on prebendalism. The theory of prebendalism, as analyzed by Jega (2007), is the transformation of state office into prebends. In this regard, state offices are regarded as prebend that can be appropriated by office holders who use them to generate material benefits for themselves, their constituents and their kinsmen. This can be evident in the way the wealth of the nation was distributed to friends and family members by officers of Goodluck Jonathan’s government as amplified by the Dasukigate.

Obviously, it is pertinent to note that, because of the sustained exploitation of the Nigerian masses through prebendalism for the past fifty (50) years, young energetic Nigerian’s have adopted negative value system which according to Umez (2000) revolve around the following household phrases, “He who no fast, na him lost, fast guys, God father, long-leg, Ojoro, Akpuruka. Yahoo boys” etc.

The Military and Trends of Political Corruption in Nigeria

Nigeria got her independence from the British colonial lords through consensual decolonization in 1960. This symbolic freedom from the inequities and absurdities of the colonial system brought great hope to the people of Nigeria believing that progress would be recorded in all fields of human endeavour. In the real sense of it, the parliamentary democracy that ushered in the first republic started on a good note with

peoples' yearnings and aspirations been transformed into concrete material resources for public consumption.

The first generation leaders in the ranks of Obafemi Awolowo, Nnamdi Azikwe, Ahmadu Bello were practically using the common wealth of their regions for the betterment of the lives of the people which can be seen in the construction of cocoa house in Ibadan, Western Region, University of Nigeria Nsukka in Eastern region and Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria in Northern region. Building human capacity was their passion for the people when some of them were shot dead at their prime time during the 1966 military coup that systematically institutionalized corruption in Nigeria. To understand the role of the military in institutionalizing corruption in Nigeria, it is necessary to first understand the military factor in the Nigerian politics.

It is on record that the Nigerian military is the leftover of Royal West African Frontier Forces (RWAFF) and the last colonial institution to be decolonized after four years of independence. Major General Aguiyi Ironsi succeeded Major General Welby Fvarard, the last British commander of Nigerian military in 1964. It is therefore proper to say that the Nigerian military at their early formative stage even though conscripted into British colonial army, has been loyal to the British colonial lords and unpatriotic to their fatherland, because they have not been part of the nationalist struggles.

It is, therefore, obvious that after six years of independence, they initiated and sustained the indoctrination of civil Nigerians into corrupt practices. This is evident in coups and counter coups that kept their hegemonic position in the corporate governance of Nigeria over thirty years of independence. Babarinsa (1998) was of the opinion that coup plotting is the most lucrative crime in history. A robber may take over a house, a bandit baron may take over a city, but the successful coup plotter seizes a country, its central bank, its constitution and its future. He further stressed that there had been three successful primary coups in the history of Nigeria. The January 15, 1966 coup by Major Chukwuma Kaduna Nzeogwu, December 31, 1983 coup by Muhammadu Buhari, Ibrahim Babangida and Sani Abacha and what he considered the June 12, 1993 coup by Babangida against the electoral victory of Moshood Abiola. On the other hand, he mentioned secondary coups in which gang of coup plotters toppled or attempted to topple another gang. These are coups of July 1966, July 1975, February, 1976, August, 1985, April 1990 and November 1993.

Given their training and orientation with regimented command and coercive instruments at their disposal, it became easier to assert their influence on Nigerian government and politics which can be glaringly seen in the creation of states and local governments, adoption of presidential constitution with enormous power conferred on Mr. President, development of Abuja as new federal capital, federal character principles and Africa been the central focus of Nigerian foreign policy orientation.

To further change the psyche and perception of the Nigerian populace particularly the productive segment of the society (the youths) towards the principle of primitive accumulation nurtured by the military, major national institutions established to remold youths towards national integration and development and those intended for policy direction for the country have been headed by the military. For example, the National Youths Service Corps (NYSC) has been headed by the military up till date. Furthermore, the better part of the existence of National Institute of Policy and Strategic Studies, Kuru, Jos, have been under the watch of military officers.

The military has very prominently featured in taskforces on the procurement, distribution and marketing of petroleum products, fertilizer and other essential commodities that have direct bearing on the lives of the Nigerian masses. Gradually, and in quick succession, larger proportion of Nigerian political elites and the down trodden masses in the informal sector of the political economy keyed into the dominant value system of the military. In the words of Yaqub (1994, p. 8),

The centrality of the military institution should therefore be located following the comments of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, in the division of societies into irreconcilable classes with one class becoming the dominant and the other the dominated. In such societies, the ideology as well as the morality of the dominant class are or will constitute the dominant value system. This is apparent because the military is not just comprised of the different units of the modern army, the air force and the Navy of a nation state. Rather the military institution should be seen to include all the apparatuses of domination.

Each regime of the military from 1966 accused its predecessor of corruption until 1979 when Shagari came to power. From the lessons of military orientation, Shagari's government became synonymous with corruption. Umeh in Umez (2000, p. 54) opined that:

During Shagari's administration, Nigerian foreign reserve decreased from eight billion US dollars in 1979 to one billion US dollars in 1983. External debt increased from twelve billion US dollars to fifteen billion US dollars. Also, Shagari's ministers, governors and other officials awarded illegal contracts and import licenses while senators travelled on vacations overseas with public funds, and in many cases the politicians transferred public funds from Nigeria to their private bank accounts abroad.

Buhari's regime that overthrew Shagari was accused of corruption, inflation and high handedness. It was against this background that a secondary coup took place which brought Babangida to power, a regime that liberalized corruption. Yaqub (1994) is of the view that Babangida's regime is indisciplined, corrupt and grossly irresponsible.

After destroying his eight years of inept and deceitful policies, Babangida stepped aside for Abacha.

Abacha told Nigerians that his government is a child of necessity, with strong determination to restore peace and stability to our country and on these foundations, enthrone a lasting and true democracy. It was under this pretext that Abacha looted Nigeria's treasury. Salami (2000) revealed that:

On 26th January, 2000, the BBC report that about \$6.54 million had been found in the swizz private bank account of late General Sani Abacha, his family and associates. Some of his ministers were also alleged to have fat private Bank accounts. One of his ministers was alleged to have kept ₦4 billion in two of his private houses in Nigeria. The minister of finance was alleged to have carted away \$3 million and ₦30 million while his minister of steel took \$5million and ₦2 billion. His national security adviser took \$80,000.00, £40,000.00, ₦250,000,000 and had several houses in Abuja (p. 2).

Abacha died in June 1998 and Abdulsalam Abubakar succeeded him. He was smart in fast tracking the transition programme and quickly handed over power to Obasanjo in 1999. His wisdom to relinquish power to civilians covered his treasury loot. He was however said to have diverted some Abacha loot and corruptly spent five billion dollars to repair the eagle square for the May 29, 1999 handing over ceremony.

Obasanjo took over government in May 29, 1999 and in September 2000, he told British Broadcasting Cooperation (BBC) that there is corruption in Nigerian Air Ways, Nigerian Ports Authority, Nigerian Petroleum Company etc. He stated that before he left office in 1979, Nigerian Airways had 32 Airplanes, but at the time he came back to government in May 1999, there was only one airplane flying. That Nigerian Ports Authority had 19 ships, but the time he returned to government, there was no ship functioning, they had been sold at ridiculous prices. He stated that he returned to government to put a stop to corruption in Nigeria.

This is typical of eloquent speeches of Nigerian leaders where corruption is condemned in public. Under Obasanjo's watch, corruption began to engulf the legislative arm of government. In August 2000, the Senate President was indicted for accepting a welfare package of 22.95 million naira for Sallah/Christmas. He was also involved with the inflated 173 million Naira street lighting project and with the 100 million computer contract. Salami (2000) further explained that the Senate President was also indicted for the purchase of eight additional cars worth 32 million naira by his office, which could not be accounted for.

The Halliburton bribery Saga was a typical corruption case under Obasanjo's civil government. It is the same Obasanjo who claimed to have come to fight corruption,

that turned out to give bribe to National Assembly Members to support his fraudulent tenure elongation. Bugage in Mohammed (2006) commented that:

The people who are canvassing for this third term at the National Assembly are making promises. One of them is a return ticket. It doesn't matter the party. They will make sure you return to the National Assembly. They will make sure that you have a choice plot of land in Abuja with ₦100 million that you will now build a villa of your choice. If you choose not to go back to your constituency, you can stay in Abuja and enjoy the rest of your life (p. 36).

Corruption Cases of Obasanjo's Governors (1999 – 2007)

S/NO	NAME OF GOVERNOR	STATE	AMOUNT INVOLVED	YEARS OF COURT CASE
001	Gbenga Daniel	Ogun	₦58 billion	3
002	Orji Uzo Kalu	Abia	₦5 billion	7
003	Joshua Dariye	Plateau	₦700 million	7
004	Ayo Fayose	Ekiti	₦1.2 billion	7
005	Saminu Turaki	Jigawa	₦36 billion	7
006	Abdullahi Adamu	Nassarawa	₦15 billion	4
007	Chimaroke Nnamani	Enugu	₦5.3 billion	7
008	Jolly Nyame	Taraba	₦1.3 billion	7
009	Danjuma Goje	Gombe	₦24 billion	3
010	Attahiru Bafarawa	Sokoto	₦6 billion	5
011	Aliyu Akwe Doma	Nassarawa	₦15 billion	3
012	Timipre Sylva	Bayelsa	₦5 billion	2
013	Alao Akala	Oyo	₦11 billion	3
014	Rasheed Ladoja	Oyo	₦6 billion	6
015	Peter Odili	Rivers	₦100 billion	Perpetual injunction

Source: Daily Trust, September 29, 2014.

When Obasanjo could not scale through with his third term bid, he manipulated the entire machinery of government and brought in Umaru Musa Yar'adua who died a short while. Still after the death of Umaru, Musa Yar'adua, he orchestrated the coming

of Goodluck Jonathan under whose leadership, corruption reached its pinnacle in Nigeria.

The Dasukigate and Post-Election Peace Building

The doctrine of separation of powers avails different arms of government the opportunity to act legally within its own areas of jurisdiction without undue interference from other arms of government. It is on this basis that the president of Nigeria, Dr. Ebele Goodluck Jonathan appointed retired colonel Sambo Dasuki as the National Security Adviser (NSA) without necessarily going through the national assembly screening and ratification as it is the practice in the case of ministers. Therefore, the office of the National Security Adviser (ONSA) is a trust held in utmost sincerity on behalf of Nigerians which must not be betrayed, because its betrayal has the capacity to halt all sectors of the nation's political economy.

The office of the National Security Adviser (ONSA) emerged from the Shinkafi led committee that re-organized, restructured and modernized the Nigerian Security Organization (NSO) into three strategic security agencies namely, State Security Service (SSS), National Intelligence Agency (NIA), Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA). It was this re-organization that informed the promulgation of National Security Agencies Decree of 1986 (Cap 278 LFN). It was this decree that created the office of the National Security Adviser (ONSA) initially known as office of the coordinator of National Security (OCONS). The main thrust of this office is the harmonization of National Security efforts.

Importantly, given the critical role of peace and security in the growth and development of any given political economy, the National Security Agencies Degree 1986 (Cap 278 LFN) outlined fifteen (15) responsibilities of the NSA of which this paper mentioned only five (5).

- Coordination of the activities of the Nigeria's intelligence community using Joint Intelligence Board (JIB) as the chairman. By this role, he is to advise Mr. President Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces and National Defense and Security Council on matters or issues that affects the security of Nigeria.
- He is the chairman of the intelligence community as such, he can review and determine National intelligence priorities and direct the appropriate agencies for the collection and collation of the National intelligence priorities.
- He prepares policies and programs to ensure the effective coverage of the National intelligence priorities and requirements.

- The NSA coordinates the activities of the Defense Agency, the National Intelligence Agencies established for the Federal Republic of Nigeria by law.
- NSA develops and ensure the implementation of procedures and measures designed to enhance the security of information and materials of any of the agencies of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Essentially, out of the fifteen responsibilities outlined by the National Security Agencies Decree of 1986 (Cap 278 LFN), there is nowhere sharing of money or banking was mentioned. Therefore, the role reversal of Sambo Dasuki from Security Adviser to a banker sharing arms money has an historical antecedent traceable to his background. His father Ibrahim Dasuki, former Sultan of Sokoto is anti-democratic. It should be noted that democracy is the system of government that preaches fraternity and respect for the ideals of majority. In spite of the good virtues of democracy, Ibrahim Dasuki used the resources at his disposal to subvert the supreme will of Nigerians by covert support for the annulment of June 12, 1993 presidential election in Nigeria.

Against this background, Jibo relying on professor Omo Omoruyi, the erstwhile Director General of the defunct Center for Democratic Studies (CDS) in Onuaha and Fadakinte (2002) said, Sultan Ibrahim Dasuki was opposed to the June 12, 1993 presidential election from the outset. He did not like either of the candidates, M.K.O Abiola of Social Democratic Party (SDP) and Alhaji Bashir Tofa of the National Republican Convention (NRC). More fundamentally, according to Jibo, Dasuki did not like power shift from the North to the South. Thus, he was behind the scene, a principal power player who ensured that the presidential election was annulled.

Given this background, Col. Sambo Dasuki was indicted alongside Col. Lawan Gwadabe as secondary coupists against Abacha in 1995 attempted coup. Therefore, Sultan Dasuki became a security threat, as such, Abacha regime later declared Col. Sambo Dasuki a wanted person. A Security Adviser with this antecedent, would not hesitate to betray the trust reposed on him by Nigerians. This is what informed the sharing of 2.1 billion US dollars' arms money by Sambo Dasuki to those vultures and unpatriotic Nigerians that surrounded myopic and ill prepared Goodluck Jonathan.

The table below paints a clear picture of the names of the beneficiaries of the arms money as at the time of this write up and the amount they got respectively.

Beneficiaries of Dasuki Arms Deal

S/N	Name	Nomenclature	Amount
001	Dr. Peter Odili	Former Governor, Rivers State	₦100 million
002	Attahiru Bafarawa	Former Governor, Sokoto State	₦4.5 billion
003	Aliyu Shinkafi		₦100 million
004	Jim Nwobodo	Former Information Minister	₦500 million
005	Tony Anenih	Former BOT Chairman	₦260 million
006	Ahmadu Ali	Former PDP Chairman	₦100 million
007	Bode George	Former Deputy Chairman	₦100 million and \$30,000.00
008	Olisa Metuh	PDP Publicity Secretary	#400 million
009	Gen. Bello Sarkin Yaki		₦200 million
010	Dr. Raymond Dokpesi	Chairman Daar Communication Plc	#2.1 billion
011	Iyorchia Ayu	Former Speaker House of Rep	#345 million
012	Dalhatu Investment Ltd		₦1.5 billion
013	Bello Haliru and Son	Former PDP Chairman	₦300 million
014	Bello Mutawalle		₦300 million
015	ACACIA Holding		₦600 million
016	Bashir Yuguda	Former Minister of State Finance	₦1.9 billion
017	Rashidi Ladoja	Former Governor Oyo State	₦100 million
018	Olu Falae	Former Secretary FGN	₦100 million
019	Tanko Yakasai	Former Presidential Adviser	₦63 million

Source, *Daily Trust*, January, 17th 2016.

Worthy of note is the fact that the above table is not exhaustive of the beneficiaries of the arms deal. In another development, the Minister of Information, Lai Mohammed revealed in the Tuesday January 19th, 2016 edition of *Daily Trust* that fifty-five (55) people stole 1.3 Trillion in Seven (7) years. This period covered the end of second tenure of Olusegun Obasanjo, Late Umaru Musa Yar'adua and Goodluck Jonathan's tenures.

The minister stated further that using World Bank rates and cost, one third of the stolen fund would have provided 635.18 kilometers of road, built 36 ultra-modern hospitals, one in each state, built 183 schools, educated 3,974 children from primary to tertiary level at 25.24 million per child and built 20.062 units of 2 bedroom houses.

Implication of Corruption on Peace Building

It is important to note that prior to the Dasuki arms deal that triggered the devastation of the North East by Boko Haram, majority of Nigerians, particularly North East have been wallowing in poverty. Since the return of the country to civil rule in 1999, enormous amount of money running into several trillions have been allocated to states from the federation account in order to facilitate the provision of basic welfare services

such as schools, health facilities, water, electricity, roads and economic opportunities to the citizens in the rural areas otherwise referred to as dividends of democracy (Niworu, 2013).

These enormous resources did not have trickledown effect significantly on the villages attacked by Boko Haram in the North-eastern part of Nigeria. Most of these communities severely hit by the insurgents have no social and infrastructural amenities. They have no good access roads nor efficient and sufficient medical facilities. Where there is health facility, the ratio of patients to the health personnel is always higher. The inhabitants of the Boko Haram war theater still utilize their primitive farming implements with little intervention from the government as regard agricultural inputs such as improved seeds, herbicides and fertilizer.

The Lake Chad Basin that provide source of livelihood for majority of the people affected by Boko Haram rebels has dried up to the point of total extinction. Therefore, the young minds who easily became prey for Boko Haram recruitment in the North East did so not by their pre-conceived plans, but because of the economic formations created by the Nigerian State (poor and the rich) (Niworu, 2007).

Now with 2.1 billion US dollars carted away, the implication is escalation of insurgency and illiteracy because schools remained closed, more poverty because economic activities were halted. More burden on survivors' relatives because of the increasing numbers of orphans and widows whose husbands were killed in the battle.

The aftermath of this catastrophe is vengeance mission on one hand by kids who lost their dear parents and on the other hand, the struggle for survival which could elicit all sorts of atrocities and social deviance. This will definitely have negative effect on post-election peace building.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Election is the most civilized way of selecting leaders that govern a political community with the intention of providing public goods. However, this process has been marred by military intervention into politics. The military realized right from onset the enormity of wealth accruable to Nigeria from oil. Therefore, they do everything possible to get to the corridors of power in order to manipulate events that would enable them siphon the wealth to their personal advantage. In doing this, the military recruit the urban based vocal elites of the civil society which became indoctrinated with corruption, the dominant value system of the military. It is against this backdrop that Dasuki jettisoned his military professionalism and the ethics of his new office (ONSA) to enmass public wealth and also shared some to their accomplices.

This paper, therefore, concluded that, peace building would be jeopardized with little fund for public goods and more illiterates, widows and orphans to cater for.

It is, therefore, the recommendation of this paper that, Nigerians should revert back to their old tradition of changing unwanted behaviour in the society through village square songs and dances where the names of culprits are mentioned in the open thereby causing shame on them and their family.

Secondly, elder statesmen should always use their privileged positions to reprimand public office holders found wanting of corruption. They should do this in all mass media.

The money recovered from Dasukigate and other corrupt practices should be prudently invested in providing critical infrastructure in the rural areas such as asphalted roads concrete bridges linking communities, ultra-modern hospitals with medical personnel, functional standard schools, potable drinking water, soft credit facilities, etc.

European and American banks should not accept money deposits from public office holders and their accomplices. The property companies of these continents should not sell property to any Nigerian with questionable character. Their media houses should make bold headlines of news about corrupt Nigerians and their foreign syndicates.

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