

# IMPUNITY GALORE



A CHRONICLE OF SOME  
**UNRESOLVED**  
HIGH PROFILE  
CORRUPTION CASES  
IN NIGERIA FROM 1999 - 2022

A Publication of



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# **HUMAN AND ENVIRONMENTAL DEVELOPMENT AGENDA**

**(HEDA Resource Centre)**

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# ABOUT HEDA RESOURCE CENTRE

## WHO WE ARE

The Human and Environmental Development Agenda (HEDA Resource Centre) is a leading good governance, anti-corruption, transparency and accountability, climate change, sustainable development and environmental justice organisation in Nigeria, founded in November 2001 and duly registered in Nigeria in 2004 as an incorporated trustee, a non-profit, non-partisan and Non-Governmental Organization (NGO). The organisation has observer status with the UN ECOSOC, UNFCCC as well as the Green Climate Fund.

## VISION

An Africa where all persons regardless of locations and situation have the freedom and ability to enjoy the benefits of good governance, and respect for human dignity in a sustainable environment.

## MISSION

To serve as a policy and campaign centre for research, training and advocacy on the environment, good governance, and human rights.

## CORE VALUES

- Zero tolerance for discrimination against any person or group of persons based on gender, ethnicity, disability and religion.
- Zero tolerance for all acts perpetrating or encouraging all forms of abuse, violence and discrimination against women, children, and other vulnerable groups in society.
- Zero tolerance for discrimination against any person or group of persons based on disability, HIV status and any other non-communicable conditions so long as such individual(s) is/are medically and mentally able to discharge their tasks and roles diligently
- A principle of equal opportunities and inclusion
- Adhering to best practices in environmental protection, and biodiversity conservation in all programmes, procurement and activities
- Strict adherence to integrity, accountability, transparency, and best ethical standards in pursuit of organisational goals and objectives.

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# DEFINITION OF TERMS

## ACRONYM

BPE	Bureau of Public Enterprise
CCB	Code of Conduct Bureau
CFRN	Constitution of the federal Republic of Nigeria
CIPMN	Chartered Institute of Project Management of Nigeria
CBN	Central Bank of Nigeria
EFCC	Economic and Financial Crimes Commission
FEC	Federal Executive Council
ICPC	Independent Corrupt Practices And Other Related Offences Commission
IGP	Inspector general of Police
IMC	Interim Management Committee
MDAs	Ministry Department and Agencies
NBET	Nigeria Bulk Electricity Trade
NDDC	Niger Delta Development Commission
NERC	Nigeria Electricity Regulatory Commission
NHIS	National Health Insurance Scheme
NIA	Nigeria Intelligence agency
NIWA	National Inland Waterways Authority
NNPC	Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation
NPDC	Nigeria Petroleum Development Company
PHCN	Power Holding Company of Nigeria
NSPMC	Nigerian Security Printing and Minting Company
OAGF	Office of the Auditor General of the Federation
OML	Oil Mining Lease
ONSA	Office of The National Security Adviser
OPEC	Organisation of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
P&ID	Process and Industrial Development
PCARA	Presidential Committee on Audit of Recovered Assets
PEF	Petroleum Equalisation Fund
PTDF	Petroleum Technology Development Fund
SAN	Senior Advocate of Nigeria
SGF	Secretary to the Government of the Federation
SPDC	Shell Petroleum Development Company
SPIP	Special Presidential Investigation Panel
TCN	Transmission Company of Nigeria
VAT	Value Added Tax

# ABSTRACT

This document is a collection of corruption cases being investigated by the EFCC, ICPC, Senate and House Committees of the Nigerian law-making body- The National assembly. The collection is centred on cases between 1999 till 2022.

**Chapter One** highlights the historical journey of Nigeria since independence in 1960, the crisscrossing of different epoch of governments whether military or civil rule till 2022. In chapter one, readers will find an economical characterisation of the ruling class, and how members of the ruling class have contributed to 60 years of underdevelopment of the Nigerian state. The chapter lays emphasis on the interminable rhetoric of the ruling class that is certainly not matched with realities. Interestingly, the chapter also captures a plethora of agencies and committees created by the same ruling class to address the menace of corruption which has grown unabated over the years. However, there are recommendations offered to political actors offered in this chapter with a view to addressing the menace of corruption.

**Chapter Two** captures a broad-spectrum description of corruption from various perspectives of pro anti-corruption organisations like the world bank and establishes a nexus with one of HEDA Resource Centre's publication which was released earlier in 2019. There is a short historical trace of the establishment of the two major anticorruption agencies - EFCC and ICPC. The chapter attempts to stress the paradox of a nation endowed with so much but have majority of its citizens lives in poverty. The chapter again concluded with recommendations to help foster policy discussion and formation.

**Chapter Three** is centred around the aim of the study, which is to identify and compile unresolved corruption cases, either investigated by the National Assembly [NASS], and Executive of the Nigerian government other than those undertaken by the statutory anti-corruption bodies or not as well as those of the anti-corruption agencies. It underscores the constitutional provisions for governments both at the National and sub-National to address corruption, and it concluded on the challenges of fighting corruption.

**Chapter Four** summarises a catalogue of unresolved alleged corruption cases by the executive, legislative arms of government in Nigeria since 1999 till date. it also attempts to give a sense of status of these alleged corruption cases

**Chapter Five**, which is the concluding chapter, summarises the key findings of this study, conclusion and key recommendations to the Executive, Legislature, the judiciary, Civil Society Organisations, and the media.

# CHAPTER ONE

## BACKGROUND

Nigeria attained independence on the 1<sup>st</sup> of October 1960, this is over six decades ago. Nigeria has failed to attain its full potential because of bad governance occasioned and engendered by serious and pervasive corruption that has drained the resources of the Country. The character of the Nigeria ruling class has remained the same; whether Military or Civilian. The rhetoric and promises are always the same “We would fight/stamp out corruption in Nigeria” but nothing changes, and in fact things only get worse. In the past public resources have been stolen in millions and thousands, 60 years after, billions and trillions are fleeced from the public treasury and commonwealth of the Nigerian people and diverted into private hands.

From inflation of Budgets/contracts to misappropriation or outright stealing of public funds meant for projects, the stories remain the same. In fact, the treasury looters have become more audacious, brazen, and sophisticated in the theft of our commonwealth. As a result of this reality, projects are abandoned, rising poverty and intensifying insecurity have become the other of the day at Federal, State and Local Governments levels. For instance, according to a survey report of the chartered institute of project management of Nigeria [CIPMN], 2017, there were over 56,000 abandoned government projects, estimated at roughly Twelve Trillion (N12trn) across the six geopolitical zones of Nigeria.

Amid rising poverty and insecurity, Nigeria seems to be rich in number of agencies established to fight corruption, financial crimes, money laundering and abuse of office. The primary anti-corruption agencies of the Executive Arm of Government in Nigeria are the Code of Conduct Bureau, EFCC and ICPC. In addition to these agencies, we have other bodies like the Office of the Attorney General that has oversight and supervisory functions over the law enforcement agencies; the Code of Conduct Tribunal; the Office of the Auditor General of the Federation, Office of the Accountant General among others. The Executive arm of Government also sets up ad-hoc committees/panels to investigate cases of corruption brought against its officials and personnel.

The National Assembly has both Standing, Ad-hoc and Joint Committees that investigate allegations of corruption. By virtue of the provisions of the 1999 Constitution, as amended, the National Assembly has powers of oversight over government activities and processes. For instance, the Appropriations and Public Accounts Committees of both Chambers of the National Assembly have critical roles to play in ensuring that public funds are not stolen or diverted by public or private officials. The Appropriations committees for instance have a duty to ensure that funds are allocated to the relevant and necessary projects and sectors.

Furthermore, the Committees have a duty to ensure that projects are not inflated, and the right amount is appropriated for projects. On the other hand, the Public Accounts Committee is required by its mandate to ensure that all funds appropriated are accounted for. However, whether these tasks are carried out meticulously or not is another issue.

The irony of the situation as we would see from numerous cases is that the National Assembly that is charged with the responsibility of checking the excesses of the Executive, enable, collaborate with, or



even push the officials to commit these crimes. The Budget for cash scandal between Prof. Fabian Osuji and the Senate President Wabara and the Budget padding scandal in the House of Representatives in the 8<sup>th</sup> Assembly as cases in point, buttresses this position.

It may be safe to assume that if these committees, and all other committees of the National Assembly rigorously undertake and conscientiously play their statutory roles of oversight, cases of corruption and abuse of office for personal gain could be drastically reduced, the practice curtailed, with incipient cases nipped in the bud.

The battle against corruption may be won progressively if the right foundation is laid. This starts with the system and mechanisms that are put in place and the personnel deployed to operate those systems, including Politicians, Civil & Public Servants. However, until this is the case, people of good conscience in Government, the Public and Non-State actors have a duty to act and mount consistent and persistent pressure on the ruling class to do the needful. It is on this basis that this project has been undertaken.

## **Recommendations**

### **Addressing corruption through broad Spectrum approach: Prevention- Punishment**

The broad-spectrum approach covers prevention to Punishment; as such, efforts must be made, and processes and mechanisms put in place to ensure that corrupt practices do not occur in the first place, and that when they occur, they are nipped in the bud and the appropriate punishment is meted out to serve as deterrent. To this end, the right laws, policies, institutional frameworks, training, personnel, equipment, and structures must be put in place to ensure that corruption is tackled holistically. The right people would have to be elected to offices as well as recruit Civil and Public Servants who are patriotic and do not see public office as a means to acquiring wealth.

### **Prevention**

Primarily, prevention measures will centre around ensuring that the enabling environment is created that would guarantee the implementation of best practices in governance and administration which include procurement, recruitment, personnel management, operations, finance, accounting, education, and auditing processes. In addition, appropriate legislation, policies, and enforceable regulations are put in place to encourage patriotism and service to fatherland. Public Officers should be rewarded and encouraged to give their best and be above board. A strong Public and Civil Service that is capable of quality service delivery with integrity. should be built, motivated, and sustained.

Political parties and candidates with a proven track record, progressive orientation and human and national development driven ideology must be elected to office. Citizens should see money politics becoming a thing of the past. For political appointments into MDAs, the Executive is to ensure that the right picks are made based on qualification and merit, and the Senate is to ensure that confirmation of appointees are properly scrutinized, and merits promoted over sentiments. While Political

affiliation is not a crime, integrity, and qualification to hold these offices must be the primary criteria for appointment and or confirmation. Our Political Office holders (Elected or Appointed) must be made to understand that once sworn into office National interest trumps personal, group or political affiliation. Citizens as electorates must ensure that they reward only parties and candidates that promote the interest of the whole people with their votes. National Reorientation, national rebirth, education, and sensitization of the upcoming generations a priority for governments at all levels in collaboration with National orientation agency and the media.

### **Punishment**

There must be no sacred cows in the enforcement of the laws, no matter whose ox is gored; Justice must be swift, and the law must take its course. This may be one of the ways to curb the impunity that enables public office holders and public servants to routinely breach procedures and provisions of the law and divert public resources for private use. This also means that the punishments prescribed by the relevant laws should be commensurate with the crimes committed.

The attitude should be to view economic crimes as sabotage of the national life which depending on the scale and magnitude can be seen as a treasonable offence. For instance, funds have been voted for defence and security and these funds are embezzled and due to this fact, the security of citizens, our communities and the country has become comprehensively undermined, with the security architecture, overwhelmed and inherently unable to deal with security challenges.

### **Budgeting process; Finance and accounting procedures**

The fiscal policies of Government should be comprehensive, it should be seen as a value chain with every component connecting with the others. The fiscal process should run primarily and solely for the purpose of serving the people of Nigeria only. Mechanisms need to be put in place to reduce and possibly close the opportunities and gaps for abuse.

Financing should be purpose driven, and funds allocated based on comprehensive human and national development plan. It should be based on needs and results from a needs assessment. The entire process must be inclusive and participatory in approach.

When spending is based on needs and resources are allocated based on an inclusive planning process; with the participation of citizens in the planning, implementation and progress tracking, opportunities and avenues for abuse, corruption and corrupt practices are greatly curtailed.

## CHAPTER TWO

### INTRODUCTION

Corruption remains one of the biggest hindrances to development, it pervades the walls of ethnicity, race, gender, demography, and culture, it is diverse and pluralistic. It disproportionately affects the developing nations with more damaging effects on women, children, and the rural poor. The World Bank describes corruption as a form of dishonesty or a criminal offense which is undertaken by a person or an organisation which is entrusted with a position of authority, in order to acquire illicit benefits or abuse power for (one's) private gain.

Corruption may thus involve many activities which can include bribery and embezzlement and may also involve practices which maybe legal in certain context and countries. Political corruption occurs when an office holder or other governmental employee acts in an official capacity for personal gain.

Corruption is pervasive across the world; it is restrained depending on the strength of institutions and level of public acceptance or intolerance across different jurisdictions.

Corruption thus is the abuse of Public Office, and or a position of trust and authority for personal gain. However, Corruption is a symptom of a deeper systemic problem, it is enabled by a system that prioritises the interest of a few over those of majority, and one that is underpinned by elite capture of the state and relevant institutions.

In the context of extensive pervasiveness of corrupt practices, corruption is a main concern, because of its adverse impact on people and society, as a major, if not the main obstacle to national and human development. The funds and resources that are meant for the people, to provide for their needs, wellbeing, security, and build and maintain the infrastructure necessary for these, are channelled into private accounts.

The tragedy of corruption in Nigeria today is that a Country endowed with such enormous resources [human, material and natural] and potentials, has remained underdeveloped, become pauperized, and with majority of her citizens impoverished and live from hand to mouth. But for widespread corruption, engendered and enabled by the impunity of the ruling elite, occasioned by elite capture of the state, Nigeria has no business being where it is today, in terms of development and the quality of living of its people. Corruption has more or less emptied the state of its purpose and hollowed out the essence of governance so much so that it has undermined and continues to stress the limits of social cohesion of the Nigerian society.

This project was thus conceived to track and collate records on the status of the Anti-Corruption battle, and to provide relevant and available documentary evidence about the Anti-Corruption war since 1999 till date. It is particularly focused on unresolved corruption investigations undertaken by both the executive [Federal Executive Council – FEC] and legislative [National Assembly – NASS] arms of the government at the federal level.

This work is sequel to “A COMPENDIUM OF 100 HIGH PROFILE CORRUPTION CASES IN NIGERIA [As at 22<sup>nd</sup> of November 2019].

The People Democratic Party government led by Chief Olusegun Obasanjo had established the

Independent Corrupt Practice and allied matters Commission (ICPC) and Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) in 2000 and 2004 as a practical indication of commitment to fighting corruption. And between 2000 and August 2021 two decades from that administration, there have been reports of a number of convictions and recovery of funds, however, corruption remains pervasive, and the impunity of the ruling elite seems overwhelming.

Given this circumstance, there are many questions that are begging for answers. For instance, is the number of convictions reported adequate when compared with the extent of corruption in the country? Are the convictions adequate with respect to the number of cases reported to be investigated and prosecuted? Are the convictions, and the terms of the sentences deterrent enough to prevent and reduce corruption? And ultimately, is the Nigerian Ruling class serious about the fight against corruption or are they just paying lip service to the corruption battle or probably deceiving the populace with mere mantra?

This position is premised on the fact that until the ruling class is serious about eradicating corruption in Nigeria and in fact see governance as a call to service and not a means for primitive accumulation of wealth; the fight against corruption would at best be fortuitous tool in the hands of the faction of the ruling class with power to discipline, punish, and keep opponents in line, and weaken opposition platforms. And as far as this continues to be the case, the weaponization of the anti-corruption battle by contending factions of the ruling class, will ultimately undermine democracy and democratic practice and governance, by discouraging the emergence of principled and viable opposition platforms and politics, and substitute democratic participation with autocratic co-optation.

Nevertheless, the 4<sup>th</sup> Republic has had its fair share of high-profile corruption cases; no tier or organ of Government has been spared. However, the commitment is not sufficient to clear it from the suspicion of triviality with which the ruling class treats corruption as a problem. Corruption in the Nigerian Public Sector and Service; At Federal, State and Local Government levels have become a norm. The normalisation of the practice of abuse of office for personal gain and varieties of corruption-systemic, grand, and corruption happening simultaneously is increasingly more pronounced.

There are also acts of corruption that are carried out by Civil and Public Servants (Junior, Mid and High), Contractors [from the private sector], Politicians (Executive and Legislature), and the Judiciary; and quite often, if not in all cases, by a combination of these different actors.

Though there are some corruption cases published, some were not and continue to go unheard. If this reality remains and the sincerity of purpose is not acquired by the ruling class, the people and Government of Nigeria, we will keep going round in circles and there would be no fundamental progress in the battle against corruption; nor would there be any consequential improvements in the level and quality of national and human development in our country.

### **Recommendations**

To avoid this seemingly slow progress, a holistic, integrated, and potentially more effective and impactful fight against corruption would also have to be all embracing and cover the whole spectrum from prevention to punishment and sensitization, mobilization, reorientation to recovery. To this end, the system must be

configured in such a way that makes it almost impossible for anyone to steal money from the Nigerian treasury, and or abuse public office for personal gain, and in case such happens, the perpetrator does not escape justice.

Making this happen will require governments, and all of society collective approaches. The National Assembly for instance, should be able to, and ought to play its role more rigorously in the area of appropriation, monitoring and oversight of public spending. This will also include ensuring that oversight of the executive also includes oversight of the implementation of legislation enacted by the National Assembly, to ensure compliance with the provisions of laws as enacted.

The Anti-corruption agencies should and ought to fulfil their mandate without undue interference from political authorities [either executive or legislature]; while the Judiciary should and ought to discharge its duty speedily in the interest of Justice and the Nigerian people, without compromise and without fear or favour. The implication of all these is that there would be no sacred cows in the administration of criminal justice and dispensation of justice.

A significant component of this approach from prevention to punishment spectrum in the fight against corruption, will be the strengthening of institutions and processes like the audit process in the public sector; making the supreme audit institutions function autonomous and independent of undue influence. This will require enforcement of legislation and policies formulated to enhance the audit process and institutionalise it. Furthermore, professional associations, the media, private sector operators and trade unions should be mandated to develop, implement, and enforce anti-corruption practice codes and guidelines. This, along with the establishment by law of a robust whistle blowing and witness protection regime and mechanism, will serve to reinforce the whole of society approach towards fighting corruption.

## CHAPTER THREE

### ANTI-CORRUPTION INVESTIGATIONS; INTRODUCTION INVESTIGATIONS BY THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY EXECUTIVE AD-HOC COMMITTEES

It is important to understand the context within which this study and the compilation of this compendium have been undertaken. The aim of the study is to identify and compile unresolved corruption cases, either investigated by the National Assembly [NASS], and Executive of the Nigerian government other than those undertaken by the statutory anti-corruption bodies or not. It therefore begs the question; what are unresolved corruption cases? To understand this, it is necessary to explore what it means for a corruption case to be resolved.

What does it mean for a corruption case to be resolved?

- 1- For funds stolen to be recovered.
- 2- For the culprits to be disciplined with the full extent of the law.
- 3- To serve as a deterrent to others (to make stealing of public resources unattractive).
- 4- To name and shame those involved.
- 5- To remove and bar them from holding public and political offices of any kind in the future.
- 6- To put in place or strengthen laws, policies, and practices to ensure that it is difficult for the crimes to be committed.
- 7- Quick tracking of crimes.
- 8- Addressing corruption (From Appropriations- Allocations- Disbursement- spending).

The Chapter II of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999, as amended, [1999 CFRN], titled Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy is clear in its provisions with respect to the role and obligations of the State in ensuring the abolition of corruption and other forms of abuse of power.

**Sec.13.** It shall be the duty and responsibility of all organs of Government, and of all authorities and persons, exercising legislative, executive, or judicial powers, to conform to observe and apply the provisions of the Constitution.

**Sec.14.** (1) The Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be a State based on the principles of democracy and social justice. (2) It is hereby, accordingly, declared that: (b) the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government:

**Sec.15.** (5) The State shall abolish all corrupt practices and abuse of power: and

**16.** (1) The State shall, within the context of the ideals and objectives for which provisions are made in this Constitution.

(a) harness the resources of the nation and promote national prosperity and an efficient, a dynamic and self-reliant economy.

(b) control the national economy in such manner as to secure the maximum welfare, freedom, and happiness of every citizen on the basis of social justice and equality of status and opportunity.

In line with these provisions of the Nigeria 1999 constitution, as amended, one will argue that the resources, assets and income of Nigeria and its constituent parts belong to Nigeria and her people and to this end, must be used for the development of Nigeria and her people, and all those residents therein, and in furtherance of their interests. As such, the resources must be used in line, with the provisions of the Constitution (1999 CFRN as amended) and all relevant laws, policies, procedures, and practices. Anyone, no matter how highly placed, who diverts funds meant for public purpose for personal or private gains, or

uses or misappropriates public funds, and or abuses public trust is working against the progress, growth, and development of the Country and in violation of the Constitution. These categories of persons should be seen as violators of the provisions of the constitution and enemies of the State.

In view of the above position therefore, efforts should be made to ensure that all forms of economic sabotage are discouraged and brought to the barest minimum.

One of the ways probes, investigations and prosecution of corruption cases can yield any tangible and long-lasting results is when they are conducted from a position and mindset of patriotism and not from unpatriotic standpoint. The failure to attach this important ingredient is clearly responsible for some officials of the Anti-corruption agencies engaging in corruption will investigating or prosecuting corruption and why many are still embracing corruption and financial crimes.

### **CHALLENGES TO FIGHTING CORRUPTION**

The impediments to a viable fight against corruption include but are not limited to the following:

1. Fighting corruption merely to secure some benefits and considerations from the international community and/or international organisations like the World Bank.
2. Fighting corruption merely because of public outcry and pressure from the Civil Society and the Media.
3. Fighting Corruption to score some cheap political points.
4. Selective fight against corruption targeting political opponents and dissenters to silence and cage opposition.
5. Using the fight against corruption to settle scores or fight enemies.
6. Lack of independence, expertise, sufficient resources, and security of tenure for anti-corruption agencies.

These challenges above to fighting corruption and financial crimes can only yield piecemeal, and unsustainable results. This is because, they focus narrowly on the symptoms of corruption, as well as, on its use as a parochial weapon of selective and arbitrary punishment, rather than on rooting out the causes of corruption and enabling safeguards to corruption while ensuring deterrence. The overwhelming public perception is that the Anti-corruption establishment is heavily influenced by political and parochial considerations; that the processes are not independent, fair, and objective.

### UNRESOLVED PROBES: THE EXECUTIVE

#### 1. The Ibrahim Magu Case:

The Ex. EFCC Acting Chairman Ibrahim Magu was suspended from office in 2020 by the President Muhammadu Buhari. He was suspended to allegedly allow for an unhindered probe by a Presidential Panel headed by Retired Justice Ayo Salami. The Presidential Investigation Panel was set up under the Tribunal of Inquiry Act and Other relevant Laws.

The Presidential Panel was set up to investigate various cases of alleged official misconduct and financial irregularities against the former Acting Chairman of the EFCC. The allegations were made by the Minister of Justice and Attorney General of the Federation Abubakar Malami (SAN), who subsequently failed to appear before the panel to defend his allegation against Magu.

The Presidential Investigation panel which was established in July 2020, not only took depositions and presentations from the suspended EFCC chairman, but also took immense cognizance of the work and report of a previous Presidential Committee on Audit of Recovered Assets [PCARA] which was set up by the president in 2018.

The main finding of panel was never made public or white paper issued by the government, though the Committee submitted its report to the President in 2021, after several extension of its deadline. The report of the Presidential Investigation Panel was submitted to President Muhammadu Buhari on Friday, November 20, 2020. In December 2020 President Muhammadu Buhari set up a four-man panel to review the Justice Ayo Salami report. The Panel comprised of two staff each from the Office of the Chief of Staff (CoS) and the Office of the Secretary to the Government of the Federation (SGF). The Government said that the review is centred around the need to fill in some gaps and address the allegation of undue interference by the Minister of Justice in the proceedings of the Justice Ayo Salami Panel.

Certain elements at the corridors of power behind frustration of Magu's confirmation as substantive Chairman of EFCC by the Senate, set up mercenaries to further frustrate his deserving promotion to the rank of AIG, immediately after his unceremonious removal as the Acting Chairman of the Commission. As at the time of this compendium in December 2022, the Justice Ayo Salami Probe Panel Report and the report of the four-man review panel has not been made public. The only things that have happened include:

1. The Removal and redeployment of the former Acting Chairman of the EFCC Ibrahim Magu and Police Officers considered loyal to Magu back to the Police.
2. And the appointment of a substantive EFCC Chairman.
3. A court of law in Abuja awarded compensation in favour of a pastor falsely accused of receiving bribes on behalf of Magu.

#### 2. EFCC Uncovers 43 Million Dollars Cash in Empty Apartment in Ikoyi, Lagos

The EFCC operatives based on information from a whistle-blower stormed an unoccupied apartment in Ikoyi, where they discovered and recovered the following sums: \$43 Million, 27,800 Pounds Sterling and N23.2 million all in cash.



A Panel headed by the Vice President, Prof Yemi Osinbajo, was set up on the 19<sup>th</sup> of April 2017 to probe the funds. During the investigation, it was discovered that the funds belonged to the Nigeria Intelligence Agency [NIA] but kept in the private apartment owned by Ambassador Ayodele Oke, the Director General of the NIA and his wife. Amb. Ayodele Oke was recommended for sack and prosecution, which was acted on by the President. The Ex-NIA Boss and his wife were arraigned at the Federal High Court, Lagos.

Amb. Ayodele Oke fled the Country with His wife in February 2019. He was declared wanted but since then all efforts at getting him to answer for the allegations have failed.

Furthermore, there has also been no information in the public domain with respect to the management and use of the recovered sums.

### **3. P & ID Case:**

The Process and Industrial Development (P&ID) transaction has haunted Nigeria since the 2010. Nigeria supposedly entered into an agreement with a Company with questionable background registered in the British Virgin Island (BVI) to process 'Wet Gas'. Two Irish Men who fronted P & ID, Michael Quinn and Brendah Cahill, had no experience in the Gas sector, other than connections with influential persons in Nigeria.

P&ID commenced arbitrations over lost profits, claiming Nigeria had failed to supply the Company- The Investor - State Arbitration in London with wet Gas. In 2017, the P & ID action led Nigeria being held liable for \$6.6 Billion in damages and interests. The current Nigerian Government is challenging the outcome of the arbitration and has filed an appeal proceeding to the effect. Had the case succeed, the scam would have been one of the biggest in Nigeria's history.

Investigations conducted by Nigeria's EFCC investigators in collaboration with external investigators have shown that some Nigerians, in public office and lawyers to Nigeria in the Arbitral conspired with certain foreigners to fleece Nigeria. The investigations have been discrete and undertaken since the claims were made. While the Nigerian government battles in foreign Courts to ensure that the arbitrage is not paid, some Nigerian actors, indicted and found complicit in the investigations have not been brought to book and still walk free. The Matter is still open.

### **4. The Arms Probe**

The arms probe panel was inaugurated in August 2015 by the Nigerian Presidency to investigate procurement of hardware and ammunitions in the Armed Forces from 2007 to 2015 and to identify irregularities and make recommendations for streamlining the procurement process in the military.

The panel had submitted its first interim report in November 2015 while it presented the second report in January 2016 following which President Muhammadu Buhari ordered the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) to investigate some serving and retired military officers, mainly from the Nigerian Air Force (NAF). The Committee was then disbanded.

The probe panel had found that beyond the \$2bn alleged to have been mismanaged by the Office of The National Security Adviser [ONSA], under the watch of the then National Security Adviser [NSA], Col Sambo Dasuki [Rtd], the total extent of funds mismanaged with respect to arms procurement over the period covered by the probe amounted to a whopping \$15bn.

The President also directed investigations on the roles of the officers as well as some companies and their directors in fundamental breaches associated with the procurements by the Office of the National Security Adviser and the Nigerian Air Force. During their investigations, some members of the arms probe panel were accused of also receiving bribes from individuals and companies that were being probed by the same panel.

One of the members was later arrested and detained by Department of State Service for money-laundering and illegal possession of firearms.

Apart from Jon Ode who was the Chairman, other members of the disbanded arms probe panel, include Rear Admiral J.A. Aikhomu (Rtd.); Rear Admiral. E. Ogbor (rtd.); Brig.-Gen. L. Adekagun (Rtd.); Brig.-Gen. M. Aminu-Kano (Rtd.); Brig.-Gen. N. Rimtip (Rtd.); Cdre T.D. Ikoli; Air Cdre U. Mohammed (Rtd.); Air Cdre I. Shafi'i; Col. A.A. Ariyibi; Group Capt C.A. Oriaku (Rtd.); Acting Chairman of the EFCC, Mr. Ibrahim Magu and Brig-Gen Y.I. Shalangwa as its Secretary.

Mention must however be made of the fact that while some officers were retired and are being prosecuted as a result of the Panel's report; there are still several unanswered questions. The report has not been made public and the implementation of recommendations of the report has been bogged down by politics and the intrigues of power play etc. The government has failed to present a comprehensive report of assets recovered or their total value; just as there is no information as to the management and utilisation of the recoveries from the probe panel.

## **5. Halliburton Scandal**

The Government of President Umaru Musa Yar'adua set up a Board of Inquiry on the 16th of April 2009 led by Mr. Mike Okiro, the Inspector-General of Police to investigate a Multi-Million Dollar bribery scandal involving American Company Halliburton and allegedly implicating some former Heads of State.

Halliburton had repeatedly admitted that it had paid \$182 million to Nigerian Government officials over a 10-year period to win a six billion dollar contract to build a natural gas plant on Bonny in South-South Nigeria.

Years after, investigations are still inconclusive. Statements and pronouncements have been made but nothing concrete has come out. The companies were fined in the United States while Nigeria and Nigerians, victims of the bribery and corruption received no compensation or beneficiaries of the corruption brought to book.

## **6. The Petroleum Trust Fund Probe**

General Sani Abacha, the late Nigeria Head of State, had during his regime established the Petroleum Trust Fund (PTF) to serve as an Intervention agency to cushion the effect of the increase in Petroleum products prices in Nigeria. He appointed Major- General Muhammadu Buhari to head the Fund.

The Petroleum Trust Fund was to intervene in such areas as roads and waterways, supply of educational materials, rehabilitation of educational infrastructure, food supply, health, water supply, etc. General Muhammadu Buhari ran the fund for five years between 1994-1999.

On assumption of office as President of the Federal Republic Of Nigeria in 1999, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo set up an Interim Management Committee (IMC) headed by Dr Haroun Adamu to wind down the PTF. It was in the course of the winding down that the worms crawled out of the can. The IMC appointed three technical consultants to investigate various aspects of the PTF Management. It was alleged that Buhari set up a management structure and appointed Afri-Project Consortium (APC) led by Salihijo Ahmad as the sole Manager of the PTF projects.

Mr. Ahmad had asked the IMC officials to come and collect some documents in connection with all the transactions. On the day of the appointment, he collapsed and died. The other members of the APC team claimed that they were not in a position to supply the documents. There were allegations and revelations during the activities of the IMC, but that was the most that came out of the IMC's exercise.

Till date, no tangible result emerged from the exercise of the IMC other than the winding down of the PTF.

## **7. The Sagem National Identification Card Probe**

The National Identity Card scandal is another case of high-profile corruption perpetrated by the top echelon of the nation's political leadership class. In 2001, the administration of Olusegun Obasanjo awarded the \$214 million National Identity Card project to SAGEM S.A., a French company, under controversial circumstances because the Nigerian Security Printing and Minting Company (NSPMC), which bided for the same contract at a lower rate, was not obliged. It was alleged that seven prominent public servants collaborated with SAGEM S.A. to scuttle the \$214 million project. Records of the 18 various investigations into the matter indicted Hussaini Akwanga, who until December 4, 2003 was Nigeria's Minister for Labour and Productivity; Chief Sunday Michael Afolabi and Mahmud Shata, former Minister of Internal Affairs and Minister of State in the same Ministry respectively; R. O. Akerele, Permanent Secretary of the same Ministry of Internal Affairs; Okwesilieze Nwodo, former Governor of Enugu State and erstwhile secretary of the ruling People Democratic Party; Niyi Adelagun, a business partner of SAGEM S.A. in Nigeria; and Jean-Pierre Delarue, the Regional Area Manager, Identification Systems of SAGEM S.A. It is now on the pages of history books that the huge sum released for the project that was not fully executed was divided among the suspected culprits (Asaju, 2003: 38 – 41). The Investigation was carried out by the Independent and Corrupt Practices and other related matters Commission (ICPC).

## **8. National Health Insurance Scheme (nhis) Ex- Executive Secretary Dr. Usman Yusuf**

The erstwhile Executive Secretary of the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS) Usman Yusuf was suspended by the then Minister of Health, Prof. Isaac Folorunsho Adewole in February 2018 in line with Civil Service procedures to allow for unhindered investigations against him. The allegations against him centered on misappropriation of public funds.

A Panel was set up by the Honourable Minister and after concluding its task, the Executive Secretary was indicted by the Panel. The Executive Secretary was however reinstated under controversial circumstances, and against the wish of the Minister.

The Board of NHIS suspended the Executive Secretary again in November 2018. There was however a standoff between the Executive Secretary and the Board as the Executive Secretary insisted that the Board had no powers to suspend him. He resumed duties and workers protested his continued stay in office. In the midst of the unfolding crisis, the Executive Secretary was asked to proceed on administrative leave. Another panel led by Dr. Hassan Bukar was constituted on the 31<sup>st</sup> of October 2018 and the Panel recommended his sack for misconduct. The panel also recommended the dissolution of the Board. The Executive Secretary was sacked but the issues surrounding his sack have not been addressed.

### **9. Audit Report On NHIS:**

The 2017 Audit Report of the Federation prepared and submitted by the Office of the Auditor General of The Federation to the National Assembly [NASS] revealed that between 2016 and 2016, the management and staff of NHIS had helped themselves to several 'illegal' and unapproved allowances totalling N6.8bn. These infractions were recorded under the tenure of the sacked Executive Secretary, Usman Yusuf. Besides the payment of unapproved allowances, the NHIS management was also indicted by the report for engaging in at least another 13 illegal financial dealings amounting to N748 million in the period under review. Apart from sacking the Executive Secretary, no one has been prosecuted or made to pay for the corrupt practices.

### **10. Management Staff Of Petroleum Equalization Fund**

The disbanded Special Presidential Investigation Panel for Recovery of Public Property, SPIP, had arrested a Director, Corporate Services, Petroleum Equalisation Fund, PEF, over allegations of corrupt enrichment, living beyond his legitimate earnings and abuse of office. The investigation revealed more than three accounts in Standard Chartered Bank Limited where he has nearly N2 billion naira. He also has huge amounts in several foreign currencies in the said Bank. He also owns a multimillion hotel complex in Owerri, Imo State in addition to vast estates in Abuja and other cities. So, far the Panel discovered 49 companies which have been steadily transferring monies into the accounts of the said director. The Panel subsequently investigated the entire management team of the PEF. The investigation of Mr. Nnaji and other principal officers of the Agency was revealing corruption and money laundering running into billions of Naira when its chairman was removed in a very crude and controversial manner, and the panel disbanded. As at the time of this report, this case and others handed to over to the Office of Attorney General and Minister of Justice by the Panel were either compromised or sabotaged by the office.

### **11. Under Remittance Of Oil/gas Rotalties And Taxes**

The Federal Government had sued four oil companies, accusing them of not being transparent in reporting their production activities, engaging in under-remittance of taxes and oil/gas royalties and in some cases, diverting such funds to private coffers. Sued before the Federal High Court, Abuja, are Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC), Nigerian Agip Oil Exploration Company (NAOC-ENI), Shell Petroleum Development Company (SPDC) and Nigeria Petroleum Development Company (NPDC).

The companies were sued with their “agents or assignees” in the four suits before Justice John Tsoho, initiated by the Special Presidential Investigatory Panel (SPIP) on the recovery of public property, led by Okoi Obono Obla. The Panel accused NNPC of diverting huge funds remitted to it by its agents or assignees as taxes and royalties. In a supporting affidavit, the plaintiff accused NNPC of failing to remit

the taxes paid to it by Agip, which operated the Aboh Field between 2007 and 2016. It was estimated at \$148,326,339.09.

The plaintiff stated that money was never remitted into the Federal Government's account, but instead, “concealed and diverted to the use of persons employed as officials and public servants within the NNPC and faceless syndicates at both the CBN, serving and or retired as to date”. It added that the same “unethical practices were found as NNPC employees concealed and diverted to persons, using accruing royalty tax on crude oil, omitted to remit same from 2007 – 2016, as received from operators of Bong FPSO and holders of PSC to the tune of \$44,755,903.99”.

It was stated that information to this effect, which could be “detected from records in the SPDC (Shell Petroleum Development Company), and even the Department of Petroleum Resources (DPR), was concealed by both internal and external auditors, without audit query through indicated reported period”. It claimed that a thorough examination of NNPC's books would reveal additional \$1,195,481.85 “concealed and diverted to personal use to others than paid into public pool in designated account at the CBN”.

SPIP accused Agip of not being transparent in reporting its production activities in relation to Oil Mining Lease (OML) 60 and 61, comprising 66 oil wells at Udaga farmland, Oguta Local Government Area, Imo State. The plaintiff, who identified the 66 oil wells, stated that Agip has consistently failed to comply with “extant laws on Royalty Taxation, Crude Oil Revenue Royalty Taxes, Deep Water and Inland Water Basin Drilling Law 1969 and had effected, uttered incorrect entries as to daily production volume from indicated wells in OML 60 and 61. It further alleged act of commission and or omission, through its employees, agents, contractors; conspired, connived, collaborated and presented such incorrect daily production volumes thereon, and had stolen, misappropriated huge sums of monies, in the currency of US dollars, to the tune of 2000 barrels and quantifiable volume of gas measured in (mmbtu) per' day and \$750,000,000 respectively, being the global currency of trade in said commodities.

SPIP raised similar allegations against Shell in relation to its operations in OML 20 comprising 40 oil wells. It alleged that Shell has also consistently failed to abide by extant laws on Royalty Taxation, Crude Oil Revenue Royalty Taxes Deep Water and Inland Water Basin Drilling Law 1969 and “had effected, uttered incorrect entries as to daily production volume from indicated wells in Oil Mining Lease, alongside non remittance, underpayment and diversion of Petroleum Profit Tax and VAT for a number of years. By act of commission and or omission, through its employees, agents, contractors; conspired, connived, collaborated and presented such incorrect daily production volumes thereon, and had stolen, misappropriated huge sums of monies in the currency of USA dollars to the tune of 2000 barrels and quantifiable volume of gas measured in (mmbtu) per day and USD 750,000,000 respectively, being the global currency of trade in said commodities.

“The respondent has also consistently failed to abide in compliance to the extant laws of Royalty Taxation, Pipelines Laying/Crossing Tariffs revised edition 2007 as issued by the National Inland Waterways Authority (NIWA), Crude Oil Revenue Royalty Taxes, Deep Water and Inland Water Basin Drilling Law 1969 and has defaulted on Pipeline Laying/Crossing Tariff Remittance from 2007 to December 31, 2017 at N5,000,000 yearly and N100,000 Annual Inspection and N500,000 Monitoring

Fee totalling N375,000,000,000; N1,100,000 and N8,250,000,000 respectively.”

SPIP particularly accused NPDC of engaging in “unethical concealment of sum of N399 868,642.44 being amount due to the coffers of the Federation of Nigeria to be received on its behalf and that of the people of Nigeria”. “But certain employees charged with effecting necessary action in compliance, connived, conspired, concealed and or diverted same and failed to remit sum as Gas Sales Royalty Tax into designated CBN Account No: 802906891 and such other JP Morgan, Chase Bank Account at Park Avenue, New York NY, USA known as Federation Account for the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) as to the US Dollars currency where and when applicable.

“Both ND. Western Limited and SEPLAT Pet. Ltd and their employees defrauded the Federal Republic of Nigeria of public funds due to it that would have been deployed to improve our infrastructure, health care delivery and education as both companies violated at will Nigerian laws regarding remittance of Gas Sales Royalty Tax to the tune of N3,234,732,992 and N194, 739,901.83 respectively, totalling

N7,422,341,136.27 unremitted. “As well as the sum of \$14,641,676 19 dubiously concealed and diverted by officials of ND. Western Limited, failing to remit same amount into DPR dedicated US dollar account.

“NPDC also diverted to unauthorised use, upon concealment, sum of \$142,202,174.19 spanning 2010 – 2016 being the sum of \$171,485,52651 concealed and missing and in the purse of private persons. “NPDC and its employees Benin also concealed and diverted the sum of USD 1,688,036,933.73 accruing to the Nigerian public from their Crude Oil Royalty Tax and supposed to be remitted into CBN dedicated account. “ND. Western Limited also deliberately concealed and diverted N sum of USD 29,066,721.47 spanning through 2014 – 2016 on their Crude Oil Drilling due to be paid into the Crude Oil Royalty Tax as holder of Sole Risk (SR) from NNPC.

When the cases were mentioned on May 28, 2019, the plaintiff informed the court that it had documents on the defendants. The cases were since abandoned after the disbandment of the SPIP.

## UNRESOLVED PROBES: THE NIGERIAN SENATE

### 1. Probe of the power sector

The Senate established an ad-hoc Committee on August 13<sup>th</sup>, 2015, to investigate alleged unwholesome practices in the power sector from 1999 till 2015. The Panel was inaugurated on the 28<sup>th</sup> of August 2015 by Senator Bukola Saraki who was President of the Senate at the time and was Chaired by Senator Abubakar Kyari (APC Borno North). The probe was supposed to be an investigative hearing/interactive session with all relevant stakeholders in the power sector. According to a statement by the Clerk of the Committee, Cletus Ojabo “The Investigation will be deepened on funds appropriated for the power sector since 1999 to the point of unbundling of the Power Holding Company of Nigeria (PHCN) and all Matters connected therewith.” Part of the reasons for the probe included allegations in the public domain and comments of former Nigerian leaders to the effect that, the country had, in 16 years from 1999 to 2015 spent \$29.635 billion or N6.52 trillion on the power sector without a commensurate delivery. While the administration of former President Olusegun Obasanjo reportedly spent \$16bn (N3.52 trn), his successor, late President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua, expended \$5.375bn or N1.183trn while President Goodluck Jonathan's administration spent \$8.26bn (N1.817 trn). Again, in November 2017, the Senate had resolved once more to set up a committee to investigate an alleged \$1.35bn fraud in the power sector. However, most of the allegations used as basis for the call for this new probe date back to 2013 and thereabouts, period covered by the mandate of the previous investigation panel set up in 2015, begging the question as to the outcome of that probe.

What is instructive however, is that nothing tangible seemed to have come out of these and other related power sector probes with respect to reports of findings, or appropriate recommendations.

### 2. Senate PTDF probe

The resignation of an entire ad-hoc committee of the Senate probing the activities of the PTDF due to pressure, brought to the fore the issue of undue interference in corruption investigations. The Committee was led by Senator Ndoma Egba and was inaugurated on the 4<sup>th</sup> of October 2006. The Committee alleged that its members were under serious pressure from the senate leadership. The committee indicted former President Olusegun Obasanjo and former Vice President Atiku Abubakar; they were accused of taking money from the PTDF for their personal use. The entire committee resigned in October 2009, alleging that they had been put under severe pressure by the leadership of the National Assembly to drop their recommendations which had been out in the public domain since March 2007. Sahara Reporters published the 12-point recommendations of the committee in full on March 21, 2007. The Senate had earlier resolved on September 2006 to probe the operations of the PTDF over which both President Obasanjo and Vice President Atiku had trade accusations. The allegations were being investigated by the EFCC and an administrative panel. The EFCC concluded that the Vice President abused his position. President Obasanjo then forwarded the report to the Senate for its perusal. The Senate referred the EFCC report to its Judicial committee, which upheld the findings and recommendations of the EFCC, including the indictment of the President and his Vice. However, in constituting the probe panel, the Senate while

upholding the recommendations of its Judicial committee had been silent on the indictment by the EFCC and an administrative panel, resolving that the matter should be left for the courts to settle.

When the Senate Ad-hoc committee probing the matter returned with findings indicting both the President and his Vice, the Committee alleged that pressure had been mounted on its members ostensibly to change its findings and recommendations.

### **3. Joint Senate Committee on Customs and Maritime investigation 2017**

The Committee Chaired by Senator Hope Uzodima was set up to investigate the alleged N30 Trillion revenue leakage in the import and export chain. The Committee quizzed companies involved in the process.

Over 60 Companies were investigated in connection with the leakages, with only 33 honouring the invitation and appearing before the panel. Apart from the companies involved, the Committee also interfaced with the relevant government agencies (e.g. Customs) and banks. The Committee made a lot of pronouncements and revelations, including ordering the Police through the Inspector General of Police [IGP] to arrest the Chief Executives of 30 firms and prosecute them for economic sabotage. Nevertheless, until the end of the Eight Assembly, and up to the present moment, nothing conclusive came out from the probe. The committee has issued an interim report in October 2017, which was published by PLAC Nigeria, but nothing concrete has been done with respect to implementation of its findings.

In its interim report, the committee had indicated that as a result of the work of the committee, some N128bn had been recovered in remittances made by collection banks, while the 60 companies being investigated had remitted N12bn.

There is no indication however as to whether a final and more conclusive report was made or submitted to the Senate.

### **4. Malabu OPL 245 fraud probe**

The Senate had on 17<sup>th</sup> of July 2012 agreed to probe the controversial deal involving the sale of an oil bloc, OPL 245, following a motion by Senator Abdul Ningi. In moving his Motion, he opined that the deal appeared fraudulent and asked the Senate to investigate it. Senate President, David Mark on Wednesday 19<sup>th</sup> February 2014 directed the Senate Committee on Petroleum (Upstream) to urgently conclude investigations on the \$1.1 billion dollars proceeds allegedly paid to Malabu Oil Company from the sale of the oil block OPL 245 on March 25, 2011. This was sequel to a point of order raised by Senator Olubunmi Adetumbi with respect to investigations being conducted by European parliaments on the same issue with a view to unravelling the roles played by their own nationals in the fraud. The OPL245 licence was issued under the Indigenous Concession Programme (ICP), launched by the FGN in 1991 to encourage Nigerian companies to participate in the country's oil industry promote local entrepreneurial development. The licence ought to be for a company with the financial capacity to undertake the exploration and exploitation of the OPL 245 field as well as company with expertise, experience, and profile for sustainability. However, the OPL 245 licence was issued to Malabu Oil and Gas, a company that was formed just nine days before the issuance of the licence. The licence was awarded without the appropriate



procurement process and scrutiny. It was awarded in a highly compromised process where the awarding officials were the ultimate beneficiary. Dan Etete and Mohammed Abacha lacked the locus to benefit from the Award. Dan Etete, being the petroleum minister who oversaw the process was the 2<sup>nd</sup> largest shareholder in the company that got the contract while Mohammed Sani Abacha whose father was the president that awarded the contract held the largest share in the company, Malabu oil and Gas, that won the licence, “against all known Government regulations” and “before a formal application was submitted by the company,” the EFCC found. At the expense of Nigeria, only a few individuals shared the proceeds of corruption, the \$801 million received by Etete's Malabu. Although \$1.097 was the compensation which was to be paid to Malabu, however due to litigation on some part of the money, the remainder, \$801million was transferred to Malabu, pending the determination of suit. “Mr. Etete would later transfer more than half of this sum into accounts of phoney companies controlled by a Mr. Aliyu Abubakar, a man believed to have acted as a front for politically exposed persons including Former President Goodluck Jonathan and his Attorney General, Mohammed Adoke, as well as Shell and Eni staff.” Mr Etete and Mohammad Abacha had used their positions to confer undue advantage on themselves, an action such that “This corrupt deal deprived Nigeria's people of a sum worth 80% of its 2015 healthcare budget.” All actors named in the scandal, including Mohammad Bello Adoke abused their office to benefit from the largesse.

Unfortunately, up to the expiration of the lease of OPL 245 in 2021, and the reversion of ownership to the FGN, and even up to the time of writing this report, the Senate of the Federal Republic of Nigeria is yet to conclude its investigations.

### **5. Senate Probe into Bribe for Job Scandal 2013**

The Senate on 16<sup>th</sup> of January 2013 Mandated its Committees on Federal Character and Employment, Labour and Productivity to commence investigation on allegations of bribery and corruption in the employment processes in the Nigerian Immigration Service (NIS) as well as Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) of Government with a view to bringing culprits to Justice. The committee had eight weeks to conclude its assignment. The above action came because of a submission made by Senator Ali Ndume (Borno South) bothering on report made by one of his constituents that he was asked to pay N200,000.00 to secure jobs in an agency.

It is not however clear whether or not the said committees actually embarked on this investigation mandated by the Senate, whether the investigation was concluded, or whether any report of any findings and or recommendations were submitted to the Senate for its consideration.

### **6. Senate Probes Deaths of Nigerians in failed Immigration Recruitment Exercise-2014**

The Senate on Tuesday 18<sup>th</sup> March 2014 ordered a probe into the unfortunate incident that resulted in the needless death of Nigerians. About 15 job applicants died, with another 70 injured in stampede after hundreds of thousands of Nigerians clogged venues across the Country. The Chair of the Committee on Interior Senator Atiku Bagudu in raising the motion, said more than 700,000 applicants were registered for the recruitment, with 70,000 in the Abuja test centre alone, and all of them charged N1000

administrative fee, which was allegedly paid to a consultancy firm.

As with several other similar probes, there is no publicly available record of the committee's proceeding or conclusion of its investigation with recommendations or submission of its report to the Senate Chamber for consideration.

## **7. Senate probe of the Interim Management Committee of the NDDC under Kemebradikumo Pondei- 2020**

The Senate instituted an investigation into allegations of fraud in the Niger Delta Development Commission. The investigation was led by a seven-man Ad-hoc Committee to investigate the “Financial Recklessness” of the Interim Management Committee (IMC) of the Commission led by Senator Olubunmi Adetumbi. The leadership of the NDDC admitted having spent 1.32 billion Naira on the Staff as Covid-19 Palliative. The Commission also owned up to spending 81.5 billion in just 8 months. A Break- down of the expenses include.

- 1- 1.3 billion on Community relations.
- 2- 122.9 million on Condolences.
- 3- 82 million on Consultancy.
- 4- 3.14 million on Covid-19.
- 5- 486 million on Duty Travel Allowance.
- 6- 790.9 million on Impress
- 7- 1.956 billion on Lassa Fever.
- 8- 900 million on Legal Services.
- 9- 200 million on Maintenance.
- 10- 85.6 million Overseas Travels.
- 11- 1.121 billion on Public Communication.
- 12- 774 million Security.
- 13- 8.8 billion Staffing.
- 14- 248 million Stakeholders Engagement.

The Senate on Thursday 23<sup>rd</sup> July 2020 indicted itself as an institution for not carrying out an effective oversight function on the activities of the Interim Management Committee, IMC of the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) which led to the rot and high-level corruption in the interventionist agency. It also indicted the Federal Government, and the IMC for the problems, stating that squandering trend of funds allocated to the Agency by some individuals in the Niger Delta Region without commensurate development makes it imperative for a holistic review of the Act establishing the Commission, with a view to establishing the lacuna in the Commission and making necessary corrections. Consequently, the Senate recommended that President, Muhammadu Buhari sacks Professor Kemebradikumo Pondei of the Interim Management Committee (IMC) of the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) over alleged financial recklessness and constitute a new board for the NDDC. The noise around the probe has gone down and nothing has been heard again from the Senate on the Probe, more so when the Minister of the Niger-Delta, Senator Godswill Akpabio publicly accused some of the Senators, including a Member of the Committee, Senator Peter Nwaboshi, of being beneficiaries of NDDC contracts. He submitted that he had records of over 1000 contracts that had been awarded to Senators, and which were not executed.

As of the time of writing this report, no record of a final report of this Committee is available, the NDDC is still managed by an IMC, no substantive board has been constituted for the Commission, and no mismanaged or misappropriated funds have been recovered; nor has any steps taken towards the amendment of the NDDC Act – all of which were resolutions of the Senate occasioned by the probe.

## **8. Senate probe of Mismanagement of 6.2 billion Naira Palliative Fund of the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC)**

The Senate on 17th December 2020 commenced a fresh investigation into alleged mismanagement of 6.2 billion Palliative Fund of the NDDC. The Senate Committee on Ethics, Privileges and Public Petition led by Senator Ayo Akinyelure summoned the newly appointed sole Administrator of the Commission, Effiong Okon Akwa to respond to the allegations. The infractions happened under the former acting Managing Director Kemebradikumo Pondei. The investigation followed from a Petition submitted by High Chief Sobomabo Jackrich, who claimed to be the Chairman of the NDDC Covid-19 Palliatives Distribution Committee. The Petition alleged that Pondei the erstwhile Acting Managing Director and his team mismanaged food and medical items worth N6.2bn meant for the people in the Niger-Delta. In his petition he said as Chairman of the Committee, he could not account for the palliatives as his committee was side-lined and the process hijacked by the IMC.

As of the time of writing this report, nothing further was heard of this investigation, its findings, conclusions, and recommendations, nor as to whether a report was submitted to the Senate for its consideration.

## **9. Probe of Special Job Slots Allocated to Senators**

When the scandal broke out in October 2019 that lawmakers including the Senate President, were given job slots for juicy Government agencies, the Senate promised to get to the root of the matter. The Senate Committee on Federal Character and Intergovernmental affairs was tasked to investigate the case by investigating the agencies concerned. The Chairman of the Committee promised that no matter whose ox is gored the full weight of the law would be brought to bear. The Committee Chair, Senator La'ah had said to journalists that “We are aware that some of the agencies are selling the employment slots at their disposal. They are commercialising employment, selling a single slot for as much as N1.5m, when we have children who have graduated from tertiary institutions who could not get any job for many years. Some people are just taking Nigerians for granted. Our children are suffering, running from one end to another, looking for jobs. Some have become bandits and terrorists because the jobs meant for them have been cornered by some greedy people.”

Despite this profound and welcomed postulations by the Senator, nothing concrete came out of the investigation as there is no publicly available record of any report being submitted.

## **10. Senator Ahmed Lawan Probe Committee on Federal Government Privatized Companies**

Senator Ahmed Lawan (Yobe South), on July 19, 2011 brought a motion on the collapse of some privatised Government Companies. In line with the motion which fundamentally was based on the Privatisation and Commercialisation Act of 1988, Bureau of Public Enterprises Act of 1993 and the Public

Enterprises (Privatisation and Commercialization) Act 1999, the Senate resolved to raise a special committee to probe the ways and means the Bureau of Public Enterprise (BPE) conducted the Privatisation exercise. At the conclusion of the investigations by the Committee, it made 45 recommendations. The Committee also exposed some shady and questionable deals. The findings of the Committee indicated that most of the Privatised Companies are moribund. The Senate adopted the 45 recommendations wholesale based on the incontrovertible nature of the findings. Since the conclusion and adoption of the report in 2011, nothing has come out of the probe, and its recommendations adopted by the Senate are yet to be implemented by the Executive. The most significant recommendations were that the committee called for a halt to the privatisation process, and a comprehensive review of the previous privatisation exercise including return to public ownership of public assets inappropriately or unjustly acquired, and sanction of culprits.

The advocacy and campaigning network, Alliance on Surviving COVID 19 And Beyond [ASCAB] had recently, in 2021 produced a review of the report of the Senator Lawan Committee, urging implementation of the adopted recommendations of the report. ASCAB had sent a formal letter, with its review of the report attached to the leadership of the National Assembly [NASS], now presided by same Senator Lawan as Senate President.

### **11. Senate Probe of 1.8 trillion Naira Intervention Fund in the Power Sector- 2020**

The Senate through the Senate Committee on Power led by Senator Gabriel Suswam in June 2020 commenced a probe into over N1.8 trillion interventions by various Federal Governments between 2012 and 2020. The Governments had over the years intervened in the power sector with different sums during the period under review; N701 billion, N600 billion; N380 billion and N213 billion, successively. With the huge amount of funds invested in the power sector, the sector failed to record noticeable changes and improvements in the services provided. However, this is not the case. Hence, the probe. The Ministries, Departments and Agencies that were subject of the probe included: The Ministry of Finance and the Central Bank of Nigeria as the bodies through which the interventions were made. Others included the Nigeria Bulk Electricity Trade (NBET), Nigeria Electricity Regulatory Commission of Nigeria (NERC), Transmission Company of Nigeria (TCN) and Presidential Power Initiative among others, as recipient agencies through which the interventions passed to the power sector corporations.

As of the time of writing this research, no report on the investigation is known to have been submitted to the Senate for consideration.

### **12. Senate Probe in \$27 million Embassy Funds - 2013**

The Senate on 27<sup>th</sup> of June 2013 directed the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs Chaired by Senator Mathew Nwagwu to investigate the alleged sale of some Federal Government's prime properties in the United States of America for \$27 million. The cash was allegedly embezzled by Nigerian Embassy Officials in the USA. The funds were realised from the sale of four prime properties in Maryland and Washington DC. The allegations were contained in a petition sent to the Senate President David Mark by Daniel Elombah on behalf of Transform Nigeria Citizens Initiative, a non-government organisation. The alleged activities happened between 2004 – 2007. Funds realised from the sales, except those set aside as fees, were remitted to the Nigerian Embassy in Washington DC, but could not be accounted for.

Again, regrettably, there is no indication in any publicly available record as to whether this investigation was concluded, whether any finding and recommendation were made, whether any report was submitted to the Senate for its consideration, or recovery of the fund.

#### **14. Senate Probe into Crude Oil, Gas, Non-oil export unrepatriated Proceeds for 23 Years**

The Senate on the 7<sup>th</sup> of October 2020 instituted a Probe into the total amount of crude oil and gas, as well as non-oil export proceeds that have not been repatriated since the enactment of the Pre-Shipment Inspection of Export Act CAP-P26 Laws of the Federation of Nigeria 2004. To this end, the Senate mandated the Committee on Banking, Insurance and other Financial Institutions, Chaired by Senator Uba Sani (APC, Kaduna Central) to carry out a comprehensive investigation into the matter, covering the period between April 1996 to 2019. The Committee was also directed to determine why the relevant government agencies have conflicting data on the same product value published in Nigeria, while those published by other OPEC Countries are different.

However, the outcome of this exercise is now unclear, as no public hearing conducted or report submitted by the Committee to the Senate on this issue, and neither has recommendations occasioned by the investigation made publicly available.

#### **15. Senate probe panel to investigate allegations of corruption brought against Inspector General of Police Ibrahim Idris**

On the 4<sup>th</sup> of October 2017, the Senate set up an 8-man Ad-hoc Committee to probe the allegations made by their member, Senator Isah Misau (APC Bauchi) against the then serving Inspector General of Police [IGP] Ibrahim Idris. The Committee was Chaired by the Deputy Chief Whip, Senator Francis Alemikhena (APC- Edo North). The Committee was to investigate the IGP on alleged misappropriation of funds, illegal promotion, posting of senior officers and claims that he impregnated a serving female Police Officer. Senator Isah Misau during plenary had accused the Inspector General of Police of diverting funds meant for the purchase of Armoured Personnel Carriers [APC] to buy Luxury Vehicles. There was a lot of drama and controversy surrounding the probe; the IGP snubbed the Committee on several occasions, the Senate threaten to arrest the IGP at some point. The IGP also approached the Federal High Court in Abuja on Thursday 12<sup>th</sup> October 2017, praying the court to restrain the Senate from investigating him.

The probe ultimately never came to a logical conclusion.

#### **16. Senate Committee on Public Account's discovery of N848 million and \$1.5 million fraud**

The Senate Committee on Public Accounts Chaired by Senator Mathew Urhoghide uncovered N848 million, and \$1.5 million financial fraud committed by officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Tel-Aviv, Israel. A report emanating from the Office of the Auditor General of the Federation (OAGF) had indicted the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The revelation was made during the sitting of the Senate on the 27<sup>th</sup> of October 2021. The Chairman of the Committee said that those involved in the fraud should be exposed for further action. A representative of the Permanent Secretary, Salawu Zubair, from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs appeared before the Committee and attempted to provide

answers to the queries. Based on the Auditor General's report “The sum of \$858,704.50 was generated as revenue in respect of Visa and administrative charges for the period of 2013 to 2015. The following irregularities were observed in association with the transaction: Treasury book 6A and Treasury Book 6 revenue booklets were not kept, and consequently not made available; Revenue collector's registers with details of TR6A and relevant amounts were not maintained; and Relevant cash books were not updated with relevant entries throughout 2014.

As at the time of this research, no official report has emanated from the Senate while the case has not been referred to the law enforcement agencies.

### **17. Senate Probe of Banks over withholding Tax Remittances**

The Senate on Tuesday, 25<sup>th</sup> Feb 2020 mandated its Committee on Banking, Insurance and Other Financial Institutions Chaired by Senator Uba Sani to investigate allegations of non- remittances of withholding taxes collected by banks on behalf of State Governments. The Senate also directed the Panel to ensure the recovery of all withholding tax revenues on both bank deposits and dividends. It asked the Committee to conclude its investigations within four weeks and report back to the Senate. The directive was based on a motion sponsored Senator Uche Ekwunife. The motion was on the digitisation/automation of collection and remittance of withholding tax on bank deposits and dividends payments for enhanced State Governments Internally Generated Revenue.

As of the time of this report, it is not known if the committee concluded its assignment, if it submitted any report of its findings and recommendations to the Senate, or if the recommendations have or are being implemented. It is not known, the exact amount of unremitted withholding tax prior to the investigation, nor how much was, or has been recovered in unremitted withholding tax by the deposit banks as outcome of the investigation.

### **18. Senate Probe NNPC over \$396 million spent on Refineries Maintenance- 2020**

The Senate on Thursday 30<sup>th</sup> January 2020 mandated the Committee on Petroleum Downstream, Upstream and Gas to carry out a comprehensive probe into the finances and current state of the refineries. The Senate resolved to probe the NNPC for over \$396 million expended on maintenance of refineries between 2013 and 2015. The motion that gave rise to the investigation was moved by Senator Yusuf A. Yusuf (APC, Taraba Central). In moving his motion, the Senator noted that NNPC had four refineries: two in Por-Harcourt (PHRC) and one each in Kaduna (KRPC) and Warri (WRPC). The Country through NNPC has in the past 25 years spent billions of dollars in the maintenance of the refineries, the latest being over \$396million spent between 2013 and 2015 without any tangible results or functionality of the refineries.

More than a year since the Senate mandated this investigation, nothing is known as outcome of the investigation or heard from the Committee.

## UNRESOLVED PROBES: THE NIGERIAN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES (HoR)

### 1. The Arms Purchase probe

The House of Representatives on the 11<sup>th</sup> of February 2021 constituted an ad-hoc Panel of Inquiry to determine the quality and quantity of arms purchased for security agencies in the Country in the previous 10 years – 2011 to 2021, taking particular note of the \$1bn that the National Assembly had appropriated specifically for arms purchase during the 8<sup>th</sup> Assembly. The resolution to establish the Ad-hoc committee to probe arms purchase was made by the House on 20<sup>th</sup> December 2020. The Chairman of the Committee, Hon. Olaide Akinremi, during the inauguration stated that Nigeria spent the sum of \$47.387 million on arms importation into the Country in 2019 alone. The Committee during its sitting told the Late Chief of Army Staff, Lt. General Ibrahim Attahiru and Inspector General of Police to do a comprehensive report on the issue. The Late Chief of Army Staff told the Committee to refer any inquiries on the issue to his predecessors. The Committee was ultimately disbanded, having failed to discharge its task within the stipulated period. The Committee was part of the twelve committees whose assignment was discharged by the House on Wednesday 5<sup>th</sup> May 2021 plenary session of the House in accordance with Order Eighteen, Rule 3 (1) (g) of the Standing Order of the House.

Although the House had hinted that a new Committee to continue with the probe may be set up by the Speaker, nothing further has been heard from the HoR on the matter till the time of this report.

### 2. \$500 million China Loan Probe

The House of Representatives through its Committee on Treaties and Protocols led by Hon. Ossai Nicholas in July 2020 launched an investigation into the \$500 million loan from the Chinese Government. The Committee invited the Minister of Transportation, Chibuike Ameachi, his Communication and Finance counterparts, Dr Ali Isa Pantani and Mrs Zainab Ahmed respectively, to provide answers on the \$500million loan to be sourced by Nigeria from the Export-Import Bank of China for railway lines across the country. The Minister of Transportation during the investigative hearing confirmed to the House Committee that the \$500million loan was part of the \$849million required for the Lagos – Ibadan Railway project. He further explained that the balance of \$349million was counterpart funding to be provided by the Government of Nigeria. The Committee specifically cited Article 8(1) of the agreement, which states that “the borrower hereby irrevocably waives any immunity on the grounds of sovereign or otherwise for itself or its property in connection with any arbitration proceeding pursuant to Article 8(5), thereof with the enforcement of any arbitral award pursuant thereto, except for the military assets and diplomatic assets.” The Minister during his appearance appealed to the Committee to halt the probe, and delay it to the end of the year, by which time the project would have been completed, because of the adverse effect it would have on the project being undertaken by his Ministry. The Minister was particularly worried about the possible reaction of the Chinese government if it felt there was division in the government of Nigeria, which may cause it to withdraw the loan, and thus stop the project.

Mr. Rotimi Ameachi said that “We have the approval to construct the Lagos-Ibadan, Lagos-Kano and Lagos- Calabar rail lines. We are also at the point of negotiating the loans. Summoning us to the National Assembly to come and address the loans would look like the Government is no longer interested in the loan.”

The probe is expectedly still ongoing as at the time of this report, and against the backdrop of calls from stakeholders across the country for the Executive to halt all processes towards securing loans from China until all conditions under which the loans were obtained and others under processing are scrutinised by the National Assembly. It is unlikely the current Assembly will see to the conclusion of the probe.

### **3. House of Representatives' probe into fraud in NEMA- 2018**

The House of Representatives through its standing Committee on Emergency and Disaster Preparedness resolved in February 2018 to investigate alleged cases of fraud at the National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) totalling an estimated N17bn. The committee was given six weeks by the House to report back on its findings. The Committee at its sitting resolved to ensure that anyone found culpable would be brought to book no matter whose ox is gored.

The Committee at a press briefing informed correspondents that it was investigating the following:

- a- The release of N5.8 billion food intervention in the Northeast.
- b- The release of N3.1 billion food intervention in the Northeast, release of N1.6 billion for Libya returnees and the release of N1.6 billion for flood intervention in 16 states of the federation.
- c- The donation of 6,779 metric tons of rice by the Chinese government; payment of about N800 million demurrage on the donated rice by Chinese and the unaccounted N10 billion releases from ecological funds. The committee in its report alleged the total amount involved in the suspected fraud to be about N33bn. The House on Thursday 8<sup>th</sup> November 2018, endorsed the report of the Committee that investigated the N33 billion fraud at NEMA and subsequently advised President Muhammadu Buhari to immediately sack the Director-General of the National Emergency Management Agency, NEMA, Engr. Mustapha Maihaji, for alleged mismanagement and embezzlement.

The Committee had further recommended that the Independent Corrupt Practices and other related offences Commission, ICPC, the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, EFCC, and the Police should be directed to recover about N800 million alleged demurrage from some officers of the Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Budget and National Planning and NEMA. The Committee also charged the ICPC and EFCC to recover N150million, being subsidy cost of 5000 metric tons of rice from the present DG, Engr. Maihaji who claimed to have donated same to World Food Programme (WFP), when they were ready to pay for it or import same. The management of NEMA had however in its reaction to the findings of the Committee rejected the report of the Committee and denied the occurrence of any fraud within the agency.

As of the time of this report, it is not clear how many of the recommendations of the Committee have been or are being implemented by the Executive or the law enforcement agencies.

### **4. House of Representative probe into FADAMA and other donor's assisted project in the Agricultural sector**

The House of Representatives in February 2022 began an investigation into allegations of fraud in the agricultural sector. It was alleged that funds donated by international organisations to finance projects in the agriculture sector amounting to over \$1bn were misappropriated. The probe by the House was initiated based on the adoption of a motion moved by Mr Awaji-InombekAbiante titled 'Call for



Investigation of the Administration and Performance of Donor Assisted Agricultural Project Funds.' Adopting the motion, the House mandated the Committee on Agricultural Production and Services, chaired by Hon. Muntari Dandutse, to "investigate the administration and performance of all donors funded agricultural projects, with a view to unearthing the problems associated with its inability to achieve its set objectives." The Committee was to report back to the House within six weeks for further legislative action.

As of the time of this report, 3 months after the deadline, nothing has been heard in the public domain about the work of this Committee, nor about its findings and report.

### **5. Probe of abandoned government projects worth N230 billion**

The House of Representatives on Tuesday May 12th, 2020 commenced an enquiry into allegations that the Federal Government abandoned capital projects across States of the Federation worth N230 billion. The Chairman of the Ad-hoc Committee, investigating the allegation, Hon. Ademorin Kuye (APC-Lagos), made the claim that abandoned Federal Government projects across the country were worth 230 billion Naira. "According to a conservative estimate put together by the Nigerian Society of Builders, the value at these Federal Government abandoned properties in Lagos, Ibadan, Enugu, Port Harcourt, Kano, Kaduna and other cities are projected at N230 billion," Mr Kuye said. Mr Kuye further said preliminary findings showed that some of the government's properties were being used by individuals and corporate bodies, who do so without remitting any revenue to the Federal purse. Citing some of the projects, he noted that the estimated economic loss at the national stadium, Surulere, Lagos, from 2004 till date, is about N52.6 billion, while about N126 billion had been lost in rent to the NET building between 2006 to date. The amount, he said, could settle 161 years rent. The lawmaker also explained that some of the abandoned projects came as a result of the relocation of the capital city from Lagos to Abuja in 1990, as well as the commercialisation and privatisation exercise during Obasanjo administration.

There is no indication, as at the time of this report that this committee completed its work, nor that it submitted any report to the House of Representatives.

### **6. Probe of alleged waste of \$500million Nigcomsat satellite project fund, others- August 2020.**

The House of Representatives through its committee on Insurance and Actuarial Matters, 18th August 2020 commenced investigations into the failed \$500 million launch of the Satellite 1-R, as well the N180.9 million insurance premium allegedly paid for the failed Satellite 1 project which was launched in 2011. The panel's enquiry was based on the receipt of about 6 petitions written by "concerned Nigerians" within the insurance industry and those working within some of the organisations invited. NigComSat, along with a number of insurance companies had been invited to give evidence before the probe. The committee's Chairman Hon. Darlington Nwokochi stated that the investigative hearing was to expose breaches by the operator who allegedly influenced the contract as well as financial infractions that have held down the multi-million-dollar satellite contract(s).

Although the committee held hearings where the concerned agencies and corporations were invited, there is no indication as of the time of this report as to whether this committee completed its **work or** submitted

any report.

### **7. Probe into alleged looting of N613 billion Prison Fund- July 2020.**

The House of Representatives, on Tuesday 21<sup>st</sup> July 2020, heard a motion to investigate allegations that over N613.5 billion appropriated to cater for correctional centres and inmates across the country were misappropriated. A motion to probe the alleged pilfering of the funds, by prison officials, was brought to the floor, by Minority Leader, Hon. Ndudi Godwin Elumelu (PDP-Delta). The House of Representatives mandated its committee on Reformatory Institutions led by Hon. Ogbee Lazarus to investigate the Nigerian Correctional Service for spending N613. 5 billion Naira without any noticeable changes in the welfare of inmates and overall Prison Infrastructure. Elumelu had noted in his motion that the Federal Government had appropriated over N613.5 billion to the Nigerian Correctional Service in the last 10 years, with a sum of N4 billion in 2015, N14 billion in 2016, N16.6 billion in 2017 and a higher sum of budgetary allocation in both 2018 and 2019, with each year having over 70% recurrent expenditure; stating that the Federal Government spends an average of N17 billion annually on feeding of convicts and awaiting trial inmates in the 244 Correctional Services nationwide.

Sadly, there is no indication, as at the time of this report that this committee completed its work, or submitted any report to the House of Representatives.

### **8. Probe of CBNs \$7 Billion to Banks from Foreign Reserve-**

November 2019The House of Representatives mandated its Committee on Banking and Currency led by Hon. Victor Nwokolo to investigate the non-refund of \$7bn withdrawn from Nigeria's foreign reserves by the Central Bank of Nigeria in 2006 to pay banks and assets managers, which have since not been refunded. The mandate of the committee was to investigate “the details of the disbursed funds by the CBN to the Banks and the continued non-repayment of same 13 years after disbursement.” The committee was also to determine “the terms and conditions of the disbursement to ascertain if the terms and conditions have been complied with as it relates to repayment of the fund, and report back within eight weeks for further legislative action.” The investigation was premised on the unanimous adoption at plenary, of a motion titled 'Need to Investigate the Non-Repayment of \$7bn from Nigeria's Foreign Reserves Disbursed to 14 Global Asset Managers and 14 Nigerian Banks by the Central Bank of Nigeria Since 2006.

Regrettably, there is no indication as at the time of this report that this committee completed its work or submitted any report to the House of Representatives.

### **9. Probe of \$1.9 Billion Delta Steel Company's Collapse- November 2019**

The House of Representatives mandated its committees on Steel and Works to investigate the collapse of the Delta Steel Company built with \$1.89bn. The House of Representatives was also to determine why the 10 per cent of the mining proceeds has not been paid to the host community. The investigation was based on, a motion moved by a member of the House from Delta State, Hon. Ben Igbakpa, titled 'Need to investigate the collapse of the Delta Steel Company,' which the House unanimously adopted. The committees were specifically asked to “conduct an investigation of the sales and the subsequent failure of Premium Steel and Mines Limited to put the steel company into operations.” The panel is to make

recommendations on measures to ensure its resuscitation within the shortest possible time, and submit its report within four weeks, for further legislative action.

Regrettably there is no indication, as at the time of this report that this committee completed its work, nor that it submitted any report to the House of Representatives.

### **10. Move to probe implementation of \$22bn Brass LNG project- June 2018**

The House of Representatives resolved on May 31<sup>st</sup> 2018 to set up an ad-hoc committee to probe the implementation of \$22 billion Brass Liquefied Natural Gas, LNG, project alleged to have been poorly managed. The resolution of the House was premised on a motion moved by Kingsley Ogundu Chinda, (PDP, ObioAkpokor Federal Constituency, Rivers State) titled: “Urgent Need to investigate the implementation of the \$22 billion Brass Liquefied Gas Project.” The ad-hoc committee was required to investigate the expenditure and implementation of the \$22 billion gas project and report back in six weeks for further legislative input.

Sadly, there is no indication, as at the time of this report that this committee completed its work, or submitted any report to the House of Representatives.

### **11. Demand for Probe of EFCC by House of Representatives- 2011**

The House of Representatives called for an investigation into the whereabouts of the sum of N20 billion allegedly recovered from the former Inspector General of Police, Mr. Tafa Balogun, by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC). It also sought clarifications from the anti-graft agency on the whereabouts of another N50 billion which was allegedly in the coffers of the defunct Police Equipment Fund (PEF) before the organisation got stuck in controversy. Nothing of note came out of this call for a probe by the House of Representatives.

### **12. Probe of Ajaokuta Steel Rolling Mill- 2014**

The House of Representatives resolved on Wednesday 30<sup>th</sup> April 2014 to investigate the collapse of Ajaokuta Steel Rolling Mill despite the investment of \$ 20 billion. The motion moved by Hon. Ben

Nwankwo was passed by the House of Representatives. The House mandated its committees on Steel, Privatisation, Commercialisation and Justice to investigate the concession of the Ajaokuta Steel Rolling Mill. It also mandated the three standing committees to also probe the affairs and failure of the Mill and report back to the house for further legislative actions. As of the time of this report, more than 7 years later, it is not clear if those committees carried out and concluded their assignments, or if any findings were made, or report submitted to the House.

### **13. House of Representative Probe \$16 Billion Spent on the Power Sector- 2009**

The House of Representatives commenced a probe into allegations that former President Olusegun Obasanjo spent \$16 billion on the power sector, with no tangible result. The House Committee on Power and Steel Chaired by Ndudi Elumelu was mandated to carry out the investigation. It was given four weeks to conclude the investigations.

#### **14. House of Representatives to Probe Bayelsa Pipeline Surveillance Contract- July, 2018**

The House of Representative resolved on Wednesday 18<sup>th</sup> July 2018 to investigate pipeline surveillance contracts and payment of contractors by Nigerian Agip Oil Company (NAOC) in Bayelsa. The resolution followed the adoption of a motion moved by by Hon. Frederick Agbedi (PDP-Bayelsa) and four other lawmakers at plenary.

The committee was expected to identify the beneficiaries of the contracts, employment, and the impact on the oil-producing communities in the country. The committee was also expected to determine the effect of the contracts on the net national revenue derivable from Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) and the NAOC joint venture operations. The House of Representatives ordered NOAC to suspend all pipeline surveillance contracts pending the outcome of investigation.

Again, there is no indication, as at the time of this report that this committee completed its work, nor that it submitted any report to the House of Representatives.

#### **15. Probe of CBN over Black Marketing of Mint Naira Notes- 2018**

The House of Representatives in July 2018 mandated its Committee on Banking and Currency to investigate the black-market sales of mint naira notes. This resolution was based on a motion moved by Hon. Adekoya Adesegun Abdel-Majid from Ogun State.

As with many of the investigative and probe committees of the House, there is no record that is publicly available to show that the committee concluded its work, made any findings, or submitted a report to the House.

#### **16. Probe of Disbursed N104 billion Anchor Borrower Loan- March, 2020**

The House of Representatives resolved to investigate the disbursement of N104.23bn released by the Central Bank of Nigeria for the Anchor Borrowers Programme of Muhammadu Buhari Administration. The major focus of the investigation was the N81.5bn (out of the N86.6bn so far disbursed by the Bank of Agriculture), which the borrowers have allegedly not refunded. The motion was moved by, Hon. Sergius Ogun, titled 'Need to Investigate the Usage of Funds Disbursed by the Bank of Agriculture to Anchor Companies under the Anchor Borrowers Programme'. Adopting the motion, the House mandated the Committees on Agricultural Production and Services; and Banking and Currency led by to “investigative the non-recovery of N81.5billion from defaulting companies under the Anchor Borrowers Programme.”

As with many of the investigative and probe committees of the House, there is no record that is publicly available to show that the committee concluded its work, made any findings, or submitted a report to the House. And apparently in admission of the failure of the previous investigation, the House had in June 2021 mandated its committee on Agriculture to probe over N275bn in various loan facilities advanced to the Agriculture sector by the CBN over the years.

#### **17. Probe of Acting PENCMDG- December 2018**

The House of Representatives commenced a probe of the alleged illegalities perpetrated by the Acting PenCom DG, Aisha Dahir-Umar, the total disregard for the Pension Reform Act 2014 in the removal of the entire PenCom Board. Moving the motion, Hon. Benjamin Wayo, alleged the Acting DG of gross violation of the PENCMDG Act noting that such was possible because FG's failure to reconstitute PenCom's leadership for nineteen months.

“The Acting Director-General, Mrs. Dahir Umar, has unilaterally, without any backing of the law, increased her terminal benefits and those of other senior staff of the commission by an outrageous 300 per cent and also raised up the level of PenCom General Managers from 10 to 17, clearly in breach of the extant laws governing the institution.”

“It is dangerous and too risky to leave a treasury of N9trn without proper custodians and regulators”, Wayo stated.

Nothing of note has been heard of this probe since 2018.

### **18. Probe of Federal Ministry of Transportation and Nigerian Maritime Administration and Safety Agency over \$195m Security Contracts- November 2019**

The House of Representatives commenced a probe over a contract entered on behalf of Nigeria with a foreign private Company, HLS International Limited. The Contract was for the supply of certain security and surveillance equipment and systems. The Contract was valued at \$214, 830,000.00, including an additional \$195,300,000.00 for the actual contract and an additional \$19,530,000.00 NIMASA agreed to pay HLSI for management training consideration.

Again, as with many of the investigative and probe committees of the House, there is no record that is publicly available to show that the committee concluded its work, made any findings, or submitted a report to the House.

### **19. Probe of Federal Government MDAs Over Fraudulent Insurance Policies- December 2019**

The House of Representatives resolved on Thursday 12<sup>th</sup> December 2019 to investigate Federal Government MDAs, over fraudulent insurance policies. The motion was moved by the Minority Whip, Hon. Gideon Gwani. He argued in his motion that some of the insurance ventures which were outside the country could “Tremendously promote money laundering and illicit financial flow to the tune of several billions of Naira in the Insurance Sector”

Gwani submitted that “Several billions of Naira are suspected to be paid as premium annually on either non-existent assets or on unverifiable data, with unadjusted premium in breach of Section 61 of the Insurance Act 2003 by some Federal Government Institutions and some security agencies in collaboration with the insurance companies that do not pay claims.”

As of the time of this report, sadly no findings of the committee have been made public, nor is there any indication that it concluded its work nor submit a report.

### **20. Probe of Interim Management Committee (IMC) of the NDDC- 2020**

The House of Representatives Committee on the NDDC led by Hon. Tunji-Ojo Olubunmi laid its report on its investigation of alleged extra- budgetary spending by the IMC on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of July 2020. The Committee in its report had indicted the then IMC and recommended members for prosecution by anti-corruption agencies for alleged breach of financial regulations.

The House however stepped down the consideration of the report for review. Nothing has been heard since then.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### **The key findings from this research include the following:**

1. Many of the investigations and probes are inconclusive, in the sense that revelations are made, panels are established, investigations are undertaken, and reports are submitted; but nothing else seems to happen thereafter.
2. Most of the reports of the investigations are unavailable in the public domain and are not accessible.
3. It does seem from research conducted that the efforts made to track and document the investigations and reports, that the majority of these investigative committees hardly ever conclude were difficult. This because investigations were not concluded within the allotted time frame, which is usually six weeks on the one hand, and when they do conclude their assignments and submit a report on the other hand, and many of the reports are not considered by the chamber of the legislature that commissioned the investigation.
4. Also, even when the committees submit their reports and the report is considered by the commissioning chamber, the recommendations are hardly implemented.
5. There is no indication that there is any coherence in the keeping of records of recovered assets.
6. There is no indication of any coordinated approach to the management and utilisation of recovered assets.
7. Record keeping is a very significant problem, as there is no coordinated and or integrated approach to record keeping and documentation, making it extremely difficult to track, trace, retrieve, and or access any relevant document.
8. Vital documents, including records and documents emanating from the reports of investigations carried out by the Legislature are particularly difficult to access, due in large part to the absence of any systematic method for keeping and preserving such vital documents.
9. The total value of assets involved is humongous.

#### **Challenges:**

During this research, the challenges faced were around two basic things; that is the twin and interrelated challenges of unavailability and inaccessibility of information.

The required information, with respect to reports of the various investigative committees, commissions on enquiry and probe panels are often non-existent, particularly at the legislative level. Oftentimes, there are no soft copies of the reports, and the only hard copies produced are in the [personal] possession of the leadership of the respective committees; and that is in the case where the committees concluded their assignments and produced a report.

Where reports are produced, it is difficult to trace and track, as there is no systematic documentation mechanism in place either manual or digital for the storage and keeping of documents and records. And without such a mechanism in place, information retrieval is at best chaotic if not impossible.

Where information is properly documented and records are properly kept, even if it is in hard copies, the challenge of inaccessibility is compounded by bureaucratic bottlenecks and red tape that make it

extremely frustrating to access necessary and required information, especially when the research or the occasion is time bound.

Yet, by virtue of the FOI Act, virtually all the documentation required for this research given that they are reports of public enquiries and investigations, ought to be available in the public domain, in a manner that is accessible, through the process of proactive declaration. These reports, or at least summaries of them, should be available online on the websites of the respective institutions of the executive and legislature.

### **Conclusion:**

The main conclusion that can be drawn from the study is that the apparent impunity of public office holders, and politically exposed persons [PEPs] with respect to corrupt practices and the abuse of office stems from the knowledge that they would not be caught, they would be protected, and if caught they would be given soft landing, the terms of which can be negotiated. This also means that unless citizens and civil society organisations take ownership of the anti-corruption fight, increase public pressure for accountability, and make it difficult for the corrupt to thrive, corruption will continue to undermine the very fabric of society, and make it impossible to realise the goal of human and national development.

### **Recommendations:**

#### **a- To The Executive:**

- i. There is an urgent need to set up a mechanism to review and set out the modalities for the implementation of the reports of all the various anti-corruption probes and investigations, with a view to ensuring that accepted recommendations are implemented within a definite timeline, of not more than two years.
- ii. Efforts should be made by the Executive to ensure speedy enactment of the Proceeds of Crime Bill.
- iii. The Executive should establish an integrated framework for the management of Recovered Assets in the country. This should be managed by an autonomous, multi stakeholder, inclusive and participatory mechanism.

#### **b- To The Legislature:**

- I. There is an urgent necessity to put in place an appropriate documentation and information retrieval mechanism for the legislature, that will include a registry of documents, as well as a tracking procedure to trace and retrieve information, records, and documents.
- ii. The legislature should immediately put in place a mechanism to review the submitted reports of all its investigations and take appropriate steps to consider and implement the recommendations therein. This should include tracking and retrieving reports from its investigative committees that have not submitted or are yet to submit their reports.

- iii. The legislature in the recommendations from the findings of its investigations, should ensure where further investigation and prosecution are required, that such are formally referred to appropriate authorities by the legislature for further action. The legislature should explore the potential for utilising binding resolutions to back up such referrals.

**c- To The Judiciary:**

- I. The Judiciary should further strengthen its mechanism for implementing the Administration of Criminal Justice Act, and for monitoring the adjudication of corruption cases.
- ii. Practice Direction issued by the Heads of relevant courts should include innovative mechanisms to ensure speedy anti-corruption trials and reduce incidences of abuse of procedures and process on the part of stakeholders.

**d- To Non-State Actors:**

- I. Civil Society is required to improve its networking and alliance building capacity to enable it to be better positioned to amplify its advocacy to combat corruption and enhance the anti corruption struggle across board.
- ii. Civil society will need to devise improved and innovative mechanisms in its engagement with state actors in the Executive, Legislature and Judiciary, to improve the systems, policies, legislation etc for tackling corruption and winning the anti-corruption fight.
- iii. For Civil society to enhance its capacity and amplify the impact of anti-corruption , its advocacy will need to build on and strengthen its international alliances with the global civil society and actors in the anti-corruption sphere, leveraging on them to increase pressure on government at all levels and political actors to take the anti-corruption fight seriously.



## THE CASES AND FINANCES INVOLVED

CORRUPTION CASE	AMOUNT IN DOLLAR
Allegations of financial impropriety against SGF Babachir Lawal	\$8,000,000
Allegations of financial impropriety against DG NIA, Ayo Oke	\$43,000,000
\$2 billion arms deal or Dasukigate	\$2,000,000,000
Probe of Halliburton Bribery Scandal	\$180,000,000,000
Investigation into \$40 Million loan to the Aviation Industry	\$40,000,000
NNPC Subsidy payment without recourse to National Assembly	\$216,000,000,000
Probe of alleged missing funds from NNPC	\$20,000,000,000
Probe into Arms and Private Jets Scandal	\$15,000,000
Probe into fuel subsidy scam	\$3,500,000,000
Alleged diversion of NLNG Dividends	\$378,000,000,000
Alleged sale of some FG prime properties in U.S.A	\$27,000,000
Probe of financial fraud committed by officials of the Min. of Foreign Affairs in Tel-Aviv, Israel.	\$1,500,00
Probe of spending on power sector	\$16,000,000,000
Investigation into China Loan	\$500,000,000
Probe into NIMASA security contract	\$195,000,000
Probe into the collapse of Delta Steel Company built.	\$1,890,000,000
Failure to refund money withdrawn from Nigeria's foreign reserves by the CBN in 2006	\$7,000,000,000
Abandoned state of the contract awarded for CCTV Camera in Abuja	\$460,000,000
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$825,679,500,000</b>

## Executive Dispensations

- 1- Chief Olusegun Obasanjo  
29<sup>th</sup> May, 1999- 29<sup>th</sup> May, 2003  
29<sup>th</sup> May, 2003- 29<sup>th</sup> May, 2007
- 2- Umaru Musa Yaradua  
29<sup>th</sup> May, 2007- 5<sup>th</sup> May, 2010
- 3- Goodluck Ebele Jonathan  
5<sup>th</sup> May, 2010 – 29<sup>th</sup> May, 2011  
29<sup>th</sup> May, 2011- 29<sup>th</sup> May, 2015
- 4- Muhammadu Buhari  
29<sup>th</sup> May, 2015- 29<sup>th</sup> May, 2019  
29<sup>th</sup> May, 2019- Date

## National Assembly

- 1- 4<sup>th</sup> Assembly- 1999- 2003  
Senate President  
a- Evan Enwerem- 1999  
b- Chuba Okadigbo- 1999- 2000  
c- Anyim Pius Anyim- 2000- 2003  
  
Speakers  
a- Salisu Buhari 1999- 2000  
b- Ghali Umar Na'Abba 2000- 2003
- 2- 5<sup>th</sup> Assembly- 2003- 2007  
Senate President  
a- Adolphus Wabara 2003- 2005  
b- Ken Nnamani 2005- 2007  
  
Speaker  
a- Aminu Bello Masari 2003- 2007

- 1- 6<sup>th</sup> Assembly- 2007- 2011  
Senate President  
a- David Mark- 2007- 2011  
  
Speakers  
a- Patricia Etteh- 2007  
b- Dimeji Bankole -2007- 2011
- 2- 7<sup>th</sup> Assembly- 2011- 2015  
Senate President  
a- David Mark – 2011 – 2015  
  
Speaker  
a- Aminu Waziri Tambuwal
- 3- 8<sup>th</sup> Assembly- 2015- 2019  
Senate President  
a- Bukola Saraki- 2015 – 2019  
  
Speaker  
a- Yakubu Dogara
- 4- 9<sup>th</sup> Assembly- 2019-  
Senate President  
Ahmed Lawan- 2019  
  
Speaker  
a- Femi Gbajabiamila

## APPENDIX OF EXECUTIVE PROBES

<b>Date</b>	<b>Investigation</b>	<b>Committee Carrying out the Investigation</b>	<b>Status of Investigation</b>	<b>Implementation</b>
3 <sup>rd</sup> July 2020	Financial impropriety levelled against the suspended acting chairman of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, EFCC, Ibrahim Magu, by his supervising minister, Abubakar Malami.	Ayo Salami Judicial Commission of Enquiry	Report Submitted	Committee Set up to Review the Report. No implementation beyond removal of Magu and appointment of substantive Chairman.
April, 2017	Allegations of Financial Impropriety against SGF Babachir Lawal	Vice-President, Yemi Osinbajo 3 Man Committee	Report Submitted	Babachir Lawal Removed from office and Prosecuted
April, 2017	Allegations of Financial Impropriety against DG NIA, Ayo Oke	Vice-President, Yemi Osinbajo 3 Man Committee	Report Submitted	Ayo Oke Removed from Office, but has fled the Country with His Wife to avoid prosecution and is still on the run.
August, 2015	\$ 2 Billion Arms Deal or Dasukigate	Arms Deal Probe Panel	Report Submitted	Sambo Dasuki indicted and recommended for Prosecution. Prosecution is still on-going.
October 2009	Probe of Halliburton Bribery Scandal	EFCC	Inconclusive	
2017	Investigation of P&ID Scam	Ministry of Justice and EFCC	Still Ongoing	
2017	Investigation of Purchase of Arms from 2007 to 2015	Arms Probe Panel	Report Submitted	Some Officers have been retired and are being prosecuted. There are a lot of unanswered questions.

<b>Date</b>	<b>Investigation</b>	<b>Committee Carrying out the Investigation</b>	<b>Status of Investigation</b>	<b>Implementation</b>
1999	Winding Down of Petroleum Trust Fund and Investigation of its activities	Interim Management Committee	Report Submitted	Beyond winding down, nothing else came out of the exercise
2003	Sagem National Identity Card Fraud	Presidency/ICPC	Investigation Complete	Prosecution but till date nothing tangible.
2018	Investigation against the Executive Secretary of Financial Impropriety and high handedness	Presidential Panel	Report Submitted	Executive Secretary sacked but the other weighty issues not addressed.
July, 2020	Financial impropriety against Adebayo Shomefun led Management of NSITF	Ministry of Labour Panel	Report Submitted	Indicted Officers sacked including the Managing Director, Adebayo Shomefun

## APPENDIX OF SENATE PROBES

<b>Date</b>	<b>Investigation</b>	<b>Committee Carrying out the Investigation</b>	<b>Status of Investigation</b>	<b>Implementation</b>
August, 2015	Investigation of Power Sector between 1999-2015	Ad-hoc Committee	Inconclusive	Nil
February, 2016	Investigation of the abuse of the Abuja Master Plan	Senate Committee of the FCT	Inconclusive	Nil
June, 2018	Investigation into 19.5 Billion Naira Intervention Fund to upgrade Aviation Infrastructure	Senate Committee on Aviation	Inconclusive	Nil
January, 2016	Investigation into \$40 Million Loan to the Aviation Industry	Joint Senate Committee on Aviation and Anti-Corruption	Inconclusive	Nil
September, 2006	Probe of PTDF	Ad-hoc Committee	Resignation of the entire Committee due to pressure	Nil
April, 2018	Investigation of funds spent on the transportation Sector during the Obasanjo Administration	Ad-hoc Committee	Inconclusive	Nil
May, 2020	Probe of the Interim Management Committee of the NDDC under KemebradikumoPo	Senate Committee on the NDDC	Inconclusive	Nil
December, 2020	Probe of NDDC Mismanagement of 6.2 Billion Naira Palliative Fund of the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC)	Senate Committee on NDDC	Inconclusive	Nil
January, 2018	to investigate all subsidy payments made by the NNPC without recourse to the National assembly	Senate Committee on Public Accounts	Report Submitted	Report Adopted with Mandate to NNPC to refund \$216 Billion

<b>Date</b>	<b>Investigation</b>	<b>Committee Carrying out the Investigation</b>	<b>Status of Investigation</b>	<b>Implementation</b>
March, 2014	Probe of alleged Missing \$20 Billion Dollars from NNPC	Senate Committee on Finance	Report Submitted. Report absolved Government of any culpability and that no such money was missing.	Nil
September, 2014	Probe into \$15 Million Arms and Private Jet Scandal	Senate Committee on Defence	Inconclusive	Nil
July, 2012	Malabu OPL 245 Fraud Probe	Senate Committee on Petroleum (Upstream).	Inconclusive	Nil
January, 2013	Probe into Bribe for Job Scandal 2013	Committees on Federal Character and Employment, Labour and Productivity	Inconclusive	Nil
2018	Probe into 3.5 Billion dollars fuel subsidy scam	Ad-hoc Committee	Inconclusive	Nil
2018	Alleged diversion of NLNG \$378 Billion Dividends	Committee of Gas	Report Submitted	Nil
2018	Probe of alleged diversion of N61.1 Billion by NSITF Management	Senate Committee into Public accounts	Report Submitted. Indicted the Management	Nil
2017	Probe of alleged N30 Trillion revenue leakage in the import and export chain	Joint Senate Committee on Customs and Maritime Investigation	Inconclusive	Nil

<b>Date</b>	<b>Investigation</b>	<b>Committee Carrying out the Investigation</b>	<b>Status of Investigation</b>	<b>Implementation</b>
March, 2014	Probe into the unfortunate incident that resulted in the needless death of Nigerians during the immigration recruitment scandal.	Senate Committee on Interior	Inconclusive	Nil
July, 2011	Probe into \$15 Million Arms and Private Jet Scandal	Senate Committee on Defence	Inconclusive	Nil
July, 2012	Probe Committee on Federal Government Privatized Companies	Ad-hoc	Report Submitted. 45 Recommendations were made and adopted by the Senate.	The Recommendations have not been implemented by the Federal Government till date
2020	Probe into over 1.8 Trillion Naira interventions by various Federal Governments between 2012 and 2020	Senate Committee on Power	No Report Yet	Nil
June, 2013	Probe the alleged sale of some Federal Government prime properties in the United States of America for 27 Million Dollars	Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs	No Report	Nil
October, 2020	Probe into the total amount of crude oil and gas, as well as non-oil export proceeds that have not been repatriated since the enactment of the Pre-Shipment Inspection of Export Act CAP-P26 Laws of the Federation of Nigeria 2004	Committee on Banking, Insurance and other Financial Institutions	No Report	Nil

<b>Date</b>	<b>Investigation</b>	<b>Committee Carrying out the Investigation</b>	<b>Status of Investigation</b>	<b>Implementation</b>
October, 2017	Probe the allegations made by their member Senator Isah Misau (APC Bauchi) against the then serving Inspector General of Police [IGP] Ibrahim Idris.	Ad-hoc	Inconclusive	Nil
2020	Probe of N848 million and 1.5 million dollars financial fraud committed by officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Tel-Aviv, Israel	Senate Committee on Public Account	Report Submitted Indicated	No evidence of implementation
February, 2020	Probe allegations of non-remittances of withholding taxes collected by banks to state governments	Committee on Banking, Insurance and Other Financial Institutions	No evidence that a report has been submitted.	Nil
January, 2020	Comprehensive probe into the finances and current state of the refineries	Committee on Petroleum Downstream, Upstream and Gas	No Report	Nil



## APPENDIX OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES PROBES

<b>Date</b>	<b>Investigation</b>	<b>Committee Carrying out the Investigation</b>	<b>Status of Investigation</b>	<b>Implementation</b>	<b>Administration</b>
July, 2018	Probe of Pipeline Surveillance Contract in Bayelsa	Ad-hoc	No Report	Nil	8th Assembly
2008	Probe of \$16 Billion Spending on Power Sector	House of Representatives Committee on Power and Steel	No Report	Nil	6th Assembly
May, 2014	Probe of Ajaokuta Steel Rolling Mill	House of Representatives Committee on Power and Steel	No Report	Nil	5th Assembly
December 8, 2010	Probe into the whereabouts of 20 Billion naira loot recovered from Tafa Balogun	House of Representatives, Ad-Hoc Committee (Chairman Ehioogie West-Idahosa)	No Report	Nil	6th Assembly
March, 2014	Probe into the Expenditure of 10 Billion Naira by Alisson Madueke on Private Jets	The Public Accounts Committee	No Report	Nil	7th Assembly
November, 2007	Committee probe on Siemens Bribe scandal	Ad-hoc Committee	No Report	Nil	6th Assembly
5th May, 2020	Public hearing into the financial recklessness in the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC)	Committee on NDDC	No Report	Nil	9th Assembly
15th June, 2015	Investigation on alleged irregularities surrounding Centenary Project	Committee on FCT investigation	No Report	Nil	8th Assembly

August, 2020	Probe of \$16 Billion Spending on Power Sector	House of Representatives Committee on Power and Steel	No Report	Nil	9th Assembly
February, 2014	Kerosene supply distribution and subsidy payment between 2010 and 2013.	Committee on Petroleum Resources (Downstream)	No Report	Nil	7th Assembly
October, 2013	Investigation into N255 Million BMW Bullet proof Car Scandal	Committee on Aviation	No Report	Nil	9th Assembly
8 <sup>th</sup> January, 2012	\$6 Billion Fuel Subsidy Fraud	Ad-hoc Committee	Report submitted	Not implemented	7th Assembly
December, 2019	Non-remittance of N1.3 Trillion by PPPRA	Committee on Petroleum Resources (Downstream)	No Report	Nil	9th Assembly
November, 2019	Probe into \$195 Million NIMASA security contract	Joint Committee	No Report	Nil	9th Assembly
December, 2019	probe into N2.3 Billion fraud in NSITF	Committee on Labour, Employment and Productivity	No Report	Nil	9th Assembly
December, 2019	Investigation into fraudulent Insurance policies by MDAs	Committee on Insurance and Actuarial Matters	No Report	Nil	9th Assembly

November, 2019	Probe into the collapse of Delta Steel Company built with \$1.89 Billion	Joint Committees on Steel and Works	Report submitted	Not implemented	9th Assembly
November, 2019	Investigation of the Federal Ministry of Transportation and the Nigerian Maritime Administration and Safety Agency (NIMASA) over contract entered into on behalf of Nigeria with a foreign private company, HLS International Limited, for the supply of certain security and surveillance equipment and systems	Joint Committee on Marine and Institutions and Public Procurement	No Report	Nil	9th Assembly
November, 2019	Probe into the "Turn Around Maintenance" of the petroleum refineries in Port-harcourt, Warri and Kaduna within four years, costing a total sum of #396.33 Million	Committee on Petroleum Resources (Downstream)	No Report	Nil	9th Assembly

November, 2019	probe/investigation of the failure to refund \$7 Billion withdrawn from Nigeria's foreign reserves by the CBN in 2006, which was paid to banks and assets managers	Committee on Banking and Currency	Report submitted	Not implemented	9th Assembly
November, 2019	Joint House and Senate Committee on the NDDC probe of the FG and 17 Local and International oil Companies over indebtedness to the NDDC to the tune of N72 Billion and \$73 Million, while FG owed NDDC N1.2 Trillion	Joint House and Senate Committee on the NDDC	No Report	Nil	9th Assembly
September, 2019	Resolution to investigate the debt portfolios of the Assets Management Corporation of Nigeria (AMCON) and the bad debtors on AMCON's list, whose debts totaled about N5.4 Trillion	House of Representatives	No Report	Nil	9th Assembly

October, 2019	House of Representatives (Committee on Finance) queried the abandoned state of the contract awarded for the installation of Close CCTV Cameras in FCT, Abuja, for which \$460 Million loan obtained from China-EXIM Bank	House of Representatives	Report submitted	Not implemented	9th Assembly
July, 2019	House of Representatives resolution to investigate contracts awarded and payments made to contractors by the Federal Government to revive the Power Sector. According to the motion, the Probe was to cover the \$16 Billion spent by Olusegun Obasanjo led administration between 1999 to 2007, it was also to cover the administrations of Late Umaru Yaradua, GoodLuck Jonathan and Incumbent President Muhammadu Buhari	House of Representatives	No Report	Nil	9th Assembly

July, 2020	probe of NDDC, especially its Interim Management Committee, over alleged illegal spending of N81.5 Billion	Ad-hoc Committee	No Report	Nil	9th Assembly
July, 2020	probe of N613 Billion allegedly not accounted for by the Nigeria Correctional Service (formerly Nigerian Prison Service)	Committee on Reformatory Institutions	No Report	Nil	9th Assembly
June, 2021	probe of alleged annual revenue leakage due to racketeering of \$30 Billion forex by multinational oil companies, banks and other	Joint House Committees on Finance and Banking and Currency	No Report	Nil	9th Assembly
July, 2020	probe of NDDC, especially its Interim Management Committee, over alleged illegal spending of N81.5 Billion	Ad-hoc Committee	No Report	Nil	9th Assembly

June, 2020	probe of \$467 Million and N43.5 Billion spent by Nigerian Communications Satellites Limited on NIGCOMSAT Satellites, which has failed	Ad-hoc Committee	No Report	Nil	9th Assembly
May 2020	investigate the number and conditions of capital projects abandoned by the Federal Government across the country, valued at N230 Billion	Ad-hoc Committee	No Report	Nil	9th Assembly
March, 2020	House of Representatives Resolution to investigate the environmental hazards posed by a project of the NLNG Limited valued at \$10 Billion	House of Representatives	No Report	Nil	9th Assembly

March, 2020	Investigation on the disbursement of N104, 226, 956, 985.10 released by the CBN for the Anchor Borrowers Programme of the regime of the President, Major General Muhammadu Buhari. The Focus is on shedding light on the N81.5 Billion which the borrowers have allegedly not refunded, out of the N86.6 Billion so far disbursed to them by the Bank of Agriculture	Joint Committees on Agricultural Production and Services and Banking and Currency	No Report	Nil	9th Assembly
March, 2020	House of Representative's Resolution to investigate payments of \$30,000.00 daily or N4 Billion annually as demurrage on a floating dock acquired by the Nigerian Maritime Administration and Safety Agency (NIMASA) for N50 Billion	House of Representatives	No Report	Nil	9th Assembly



February, 2020	Probe of funds donated by International organisations to finance projects in the agricultural sector, such as FADAMA, amounting to over \$1 Billion	Committee on Agricultural Production and Services	No Report	Nil	9th Assembly
July, 2020	Probe on allegations of alleged extra-budgetary spending and mismanagement of funds by the NDDC.	Ad-hoc Committee	No Report	Nil	9th Assembly
June 2020	House of Representatives resolution to investigate the alleged spending of over N40 Billion by the expanded Interim Management Committee of the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) between October 2019 and May 2020 without approval. The NDDC was also alleged to have spent N81.5 Billion	House of Representatives	No Report	Nil	9th Assembly
August, 2020	House of Representative Resolution on “Dangerous” Clauses in loans and commercial agreements with international bodies and other countries, especially China.	House of Representatives	No Report	Nil	9th Assembly

May, 2018	House of Representatives investigating the activities of the National Pension Commission and violation of the Pencom Act. The Committee was mandated to probe the withdrawal of N33 Billion by Pencom from CBN account, alleged non remittance of funds to pension funds custodians and administrators among others.	Joint Committees on Pension and Public Procurement	No Report	Nil	8th Assembly
February, 2018	Probe on NEMA Scandal	Committee on Emergency and Disaster Preparedness	Report Submitted	Not implemented	8th Assembly

## ABOUT US

HEDA Resource Centre is a prominent Nigerian organization committed to promoting good governance, combating corruption, and advocating for environmental justice. Founded in 2001 and officially incorporated as a non-governmental organization in 2004, HEDA conducts research, policy advocacy, training, and citizens' awareness campaigns in various areas such as anti-corruption, food security, climate change, human rights, public sector accountability, and electoral reform. This paper aims to provide an overview of HEDA's mission, achievements, and collaborations in its pursuit of fostering transparency, accountability, and sustainable development in Nigeria.

### **Vision and Mission:**

HEDA's vision is to ensure that every individual in Africa, regardless of their circumstances, can enjoy the benefits of good governance and live with dignity in a sustainable environment. The organization's mission revolves around serving as a policy and campaign center for research, training, and advocacy on crucial issues like the environment, good governance, anti-corruption efforts, sustainable development, and human rights.

### **Partnerships and Recognition:**

HEDA has established strong partnerships with various media outlets, including online, broadcast, and print media, to effectively articulate informed views on policies and programs related to good governance, food security, accountability, and sustainable development. Furthermore, HEDA has attained observer status with significant international bodies such as the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), and the Green Climate Fund, enhancing its influence and ability to contribute to global initiatives.

### **Contribution to Transparency and Accountability:**

HEDA has made significant contributions to transparency and accountability in Nigeria through extensive research and advocacy efforts. The organization's **Compendium Of 100 High-Profile Corruption Cases** in Nigeria has garnered attention from local and international partners, including the UK's National Crimes Agency (NCA). This publication has served as a basis for investigations on illicit asset tracing and recovery. HEDA's transparency and anti-corruption campaigns, along with its media engagement, have exposed scandals such as the Malabu Oil Deal (OPL 245), leading to the suspension of the mining lease. The Organization also made a publication on the Oil Deal titled; “**Corrupt Practices in Nigeria's Oil Industry: OPL 245 Case Study**” and this has attracted a refund of \$85 million to Nigeria from the United Kingdom. The organisation and its partners blew the whistle on a private jet belonging to former Petroleum Minister, Dan Etete, believed to be a proceed of the OPL245 deal and the Nigerian Government had it seized when it was moved out of Dubai to Canada. HEDA's activism in the judiciary also earned it recognition, as it became part of the National Judicial Council's Committee on the Monitoring of Trials of Financial Crimes and Corruption Cases in Nigeria. In a continual effort to promote transparency and accountability, also published a collection of corruption cases not investigated by the EFCC, ICPC, Senate and House Committees of the Nigerian law-making body- The National assembly between year 1999 till 2022 in a published article titled; '**Impunity Galore: A Chronicle of Some Unresolved High Profile Corruption Cases in Nigeria (1999-2022)**'.

### **Innovative Tools and Initiatives:**

HEDA has leveraged technology to enhance its work in combating corruption and promoting accountability. The organization developed the “**Illicit Asset Tracing App**”, available for download on both Google Play Store and Apple Store and has been downloaded over 13000 times locally and internationally. This app, integrated with the Asset Tracing website, enables individuals to anonymously report illicit wealth of Politically Exposed Persons (PEPs), thus supporting the work of anti-graft agencies. Additionally, in collaboration with other stakeholders and with support from the MacArthur Foundation, HEDA established the Anti-Corruption Situation Room (ACSR). This quarterly platform brings together state and non-state actors, including anti-corruption agencies, youth groups, persons with disabilities, civil society, communities and religious leaders, and various community representatives to discuss corruption-related issues, set agendas for government action, and empower citizens to hold public officials accountable. The initiative has held over 30 sessions with each attended by about 50 stakeholder groups across Nigeria. The initiative attracted the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crimes (UNODC) in Nigeria and it partnered with HEDA to organise some special ACSR sessions.

HEDA developed the Illicit asset tracing App downloadable via <https://play.google.com/store/apps/details?id=com.hedang.assettracing> as well as on the Apple Store via <https://apps.apple.com/ng/app/assettracing/id1471320020> which was integrated to “asset” tracing website <http://assettracing.org/> and has been downloaded over 13000 times locally and internationally. The platform helps individuals to report illicit wealth of Politically Exposed Persons (PEPs) anonymously to aid the work of anti-graft agencies.

### **Leadership and Collaboration:**

HEDA has played leadership roles in various civil society collaborations, both locally and internationally. It hosts the secretariat of the Civil Society Network Against Corruption (CSNAC), a network of over 150 anti-corruption organizations and individuals in Nigeria. HEDA is also an active member of the Procurement Monitoring Working Group (PPMWG) and the Anti-corruption thematic group of the Open Government Partnership (OGP) Nigeria. The organization continues to collaborate with critical stakeholders, such as Integrity International Institute (III), to advocate for the establishment of an International Anti-Corruption Court (IACC).

**Commitment to Climate Justice and Sustainable Development:** HEDA is actively engaged in addressing climate justice and promoting sustainable development. The organization produced State-specific Seasonal Climate Prediction documents based on NiMet's predictions, and has supported farmers and food production by organizing sensitization workshops and radio programs. HEDA's involvement in the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), Conference of Parties (COP) events, such as the Climate Justice Circle (CJC), has facilitated discussions by organizing the “**Climate Justice Circle (CJC)**,” with an over-arching theme: “**On the road to COP27**” featuring no less than 37 experts including women, youth, and persons with disabilities (PWDs), to address climate change challenges. This was also followed by a post COP27 dialogue.

Moreover, HEDA plans to collaborate with other state and non-state actors with the support of the MacArthur Foundation, to convene at least three (3) sessions of the Anti-Corruption Situation Room (ACSR), this year at National and sub national levels for a periodic public perception of leadership and governance in Nigeria in order to set the anti-corruption agenda for Nigeria's incoming government, underscoring its commitment to sustainable development.

The Organization is also currently generating petitions and mobilizing protests against uninvestigated alleged cases of corruption before Nigeria's Anti-Graft Agencies - The Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), and Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC), and instituting international public interest litigation.

As HEDA continues its endeavors, it remains a vital force for positive change in Nigeria and serves as an inspiration to other organizations dedicated to similar causes.

HEDA has a toll free line: **08004332277**, which has received hundreds of phone calls from members of the public on sundry issues of corruption, human rights abuses, transparency and accountability. Some of the cases have been taken forward through petitions, Freedom of Information requests and Public Interest Litigations.

**A publication of**



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