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**THE ECONOMIC IMPACT OF CORRUPTION IN AFRICA AND  
THE WAY FORWARD**

**Case study: Cameroon**

**Thesis**

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**ABSTRACT**

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<p>This thesis is based on a holistic approach to analysing corruption and its economic impact in Africa, using Cameroon as a case study. It seek to analyse precolonial Africa and how their justice system led to low corruption and the slave trade how slavery contributed to today's corruption</p> <p>the colonial rule how the divide and rule policies, imposed taxes etc., led to deaths, especially in the Congo, suppression of civil rights, exploitation and misery up to the 1960s, obstruction of natural process of state formations and development.</p> <p>In post-colonial Africa, we seek to explore the cold war and the rise of dictators with support from the East and West, the decline of democracy and the rise of tyranny and tribal and religious conflicts; Neo-colonialism and the use of financial institutions to mingle in countries domestic policies</p> <p>In Cameroon, the vast amount of corruption in the awarding of government contracts and the custom sector leading to enormous cost of doing business and tax evasion, corrupt insurance sector leading in insecurities in investments, corrupt judiciary, the police and the army, and the theft of funds for state arms and machinery, daily police bribery and unreliable justice system and the vulnerability of the poor.</p> <p>The way forward seeks to propose the promotion of pan Africanism as a tool to eliminate religious and tribal conflicts, re-orientation to pre-colonial ethical norms and value to promote political goodwill and dedication to the country, strengthening anti-corruption watchdogs to facilitate the prosecution of em-bezzlers and the corrupt.</p> <p>For international efforts, nations like Switzerland should change laws and make it difficult to attract money laundry and tax evasion. The nation of Cameroon should draw lessons from Finland such as a free access to education for all, freedom of speech and the press, independent arms of the government, political goodwill and dedication of service, access to law and justice, no political influence in state recruitments, openness to criticism and collective decision making.</p>		
<b>Key words</b> Accountability, Bribery, Corruption, Economic Growth, Political Goodwill.		

## CONCEPT DEFINITIONS

Dockey..... a fraud document

Gombo.....an instrument use in bribery especially money

FCFA..... central African franc currency symbol

XAF.....ISO code for central African franc currency

**ABSTRACT**  
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## 1 INTRODUCTION

Corruption is something that we talk about, it's something that we complain about, it's something whose negative impact we recognise, it's something that even the corrupt acknowledge. But the irony and the tragedy at hand is that those who engage in corruption love it, the tragedy at hand is that those of us who do not engage in it directly, accommodate it. Our levels of tolerance of corruption in Africa is amazing. By using a holistic approach, we trace the history and the impact of corrupting in Africa and Cameroon in particular first by addressing the invasion, exploitation, and occupation of African territories by West European powers from the late 19th century and its impact on economic, political, socio-economic, and corrupt cultural life style of the people today. It will also be important to analyse pre-colonial Africa for its vast diversities, progress, education, self-sustaining and numerous trades and powerful kingdoms.

In Precolonial African societies, laws were made collectively by various head of sub communities, and the king couldn't make a decision without the collective agreement of these representatives, and they had very little outside influence on their decision making. Disputes were resolved by various heads of sub communities who presided over the case by engaging parties in oath taking, by doing so, delivering equal justice to all was certain because of the consequence that followed if done otherwise. Bribery and corruption was very less practiced due to the power of the oaths. African societies developed various means of agriculture, hunting, and war weapons and even intra trade between other kingdoms and to Asia, India and Europe. The empire of Sudan, Mali, Songhai, Ghana etc., were all great and prosperous. Corrupt practices were very common among intra trade by providing brides and slaves for personal gains.

The high demand for slaves in Europe and the Middle East gave the foundation of corruption in Africa. The Portuguese for example, traded European wheat and cloths for Africa's gold and workforce. African kings were now forced to enrich themselves by attacking other kingdoms and taking slaves for themselves and shipped them for sale. The European traders also supported these kings by providing weapons so as to accelerating defeat and to boost their trade. It was here that the great African civilization started deteriorating because the man power needed for economic growth of those societies were been taking away, and so the

society continued to grow weaker and weaker until there were very few warriors to defend their lands, the western European however noticed this after over 200 years of trade, they started domination of weak kingdoms by using other kingdoms to fight another etc. Colonialism brought systematic corruption on a huge level across their colonies. The crushing of indigenous values, the devaluation of standards, the elimination of checks and balances and the excessive imposed western structures destabilized the well run status quo machinery previously in use across precolonial times and the end result is what we see today; absence of loyalty and political good will to the state, oppressive, dictatorial, stagnant economies and corrupt state institutions etc. The colonial rule adopted direct and indirect rule. In indirect rule, the rulers held power for the colonial authorities instead for the people, consequently leading to poor infrastructure development, hunger and rise in poverty.

The colonial authorities also imposed a flat tax on all citizens which was used to pay colonial officers for running the colony and surplus was sent to Europe for Europe's development. The colonial authorities also created a military to force and suppress anticolonial activist, to acquire cheap labour, and in Belgian Congo let to about 10 million dead's who were mainly the educated and or important man power of the country. Men and women were taken off their farms to work as house helps, miners, clerks and other menial capacities for the colonial authorities.

The post-colonial Africa however never had the required skill force to engineer their societies after independence because the colonial authorities gave very little on educational investment, in short, for over 200 years of brutal rule, tortured, hanging and killings, there were just about one doctor compared to a thousand in Africa today after just 50 years of independence or partial independence. The cold war never made it better, the Soviet Union in desperate search of allies supported dictators and fuelled arm conflict to coup away nationalist leaders who were for or against capitalism or communism.

US and Europe's support for brutal dictators, like Mubutu who killed and impoverish his own people, is never to be denied. Such regimes which were and are still rampant across Africa were supported with arms to crush members of the opposition or human right activist. At independence, African countries never gained its full independence, leaders such as Patrick Lumumba, Kwame Nkrumah, Thomas Sankara who stood for a corrupt free Africa and

a government for the people were all assassinated with the help from the CIA, in the documentary, “The Assassination of Patrice Lumumba “ one CIA agent and some state agents from Belgium reported, ‘ Lumumba signed his death warrant on the day he challenged the white man, the mere fact an African could challenge the king of Belgium was even the more reason he had to be taken out’’. It is for sure that independent Africa couldn’t make any decision that could benefit their people because of outside influence from former colonial authorities, and so leaders who could not even make a good decision for their household were encouraged and supported to stay in power. Such leaders amassed vast country wealth and saved them in their personal bank accounts and investment in Europe while leaving their people in poverty and starvation.

More so, institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank use loans as a tool to mangle into countries domestic policies and so set policies that were not beneficial to the people. In Cameroon today, corruption is the order of the day, justice has its price and can be bought and sold as commodities, consequently making the poor voiceless and vulnerable. The police are poorly paid and equipped and so open bribery is the norm for public order. The judiciary is dependent on the executive which makes the department incapable of bringing some people to justice because of their political connection and wealth.

Therefore businesses are poorly protected and public safety is not insured, consequently making the country very unattractive to investment. politicization of state aid and funds; electoral fraud; embezzlement of state funds; very centralized government; very little accountability by government officials to the general public but their bosses; award of public contracts for political favour; tax increases on companies owned by opposition supporters; tax avoidance by companies with political influences; poor infrastructure development and maintenance; corrupt recruitment process in civil service and elite schools such as medical, teaching, engineering schools etc.

Tribalism and promotion of tribal conflict for political gains (divide and rule); Divergence of state funds from agriculture, infrastructure, health, education into private accounts makes the country very economically unstable, poor infrastructural development, rise in unemployment, crimes and illicit trade etc. the constant change of constitution without universal suffrage and over dependency on the executive also means the public are left out on taking decision on the most important issues that affects them.



The African society must look at all these issues and overturn them for an economically viable society before the African union agenda 2063 can be realize.

## **2 BACKGROUND OF CORRUPTION IN AFRICA**

### **2.1 Corruption in pre-colonial Africa**

The rampant corruption in Africa today is indeed an alien culture although not an unknown practice. It is very evident that, the underdevelopment and rampant corruption in Africa today is a direct consequence of centuries of exploitations by the western Europeans and some African kings. “Before even the western Europeans came into relations with our people, we were a developed people, having our own institutions, having our own ideals of government” (Ekra, 1913). It is very evident that before the 15th century, when the first European traders started trading with Africans, a great civilization was on the move. Dominant pre-colonial African civilizations were Ghana, Mali, Sudan, Nubia, Egypt, Great Zimbabwe, Carthage and Congo.

These kingdoms and empires were never isolated from each other, communications between neighbours, across kingdoms, and beyond the continent were common. Relationships were created through commerce, marriage, migration, diplomacy and warfare. Eastern kingdoms and empires had come into trade deals with the Chinese, Arabs, and Indians traders. The first trade post with the European was in the 15th century with the Portuguese traders in today modern day Ghana, local surpluses were exchanged with rare foods and goods. East African kingdoms developed the world’s prominent marketplaces and big cities were created at trade junctions, like Zanzibar and Timbuktu cities.

Taxes were paid directly to kings and local heads who were in charge of local commerce. Traders uses horses and camels to travel across the continent and beyond to conduct businesses. Before the 15th century, there were tens of thousands of states and kingdoms in Africa which were categorized into centralized and decentralized societies. Rulers and monarchs were at the helm of the centralized societies, they made the laws, and collected taxes and were comprised of just very few people.

This type of states and kingdoms were mostly situated in agricultural and cross trade routes. The power bestowed upon a king or monarch varied from society to society, some kings had all the power of decision making while some were just more like a symbolic statues. Stronger

states and kingdoms gave divine powers to their kings so as to create strong governmental structures. The Igbo people of modern day Nigeria and the Kikuyu people of today's Kenya, were examples of decentralized societies. People were grouped according to ages and power given to heads of groups who then formed the local elders of the societies and worked in close collaboration with the general public to run the society. Other people grouped up according to their activities such as the San people of southern African and the pygmy of central Africa who were moving hunters.

Farming was a vital part of the society as both man power and metal tool were all available to the people, this led to the production of food surpluses, although farming was very unreliable in some areas. Most crop production were maize, yams, or banana. Other foods such as cassava, banana etc. were brought by Asians and European traders which later became a vibrant food of the societies. Landless families were given or rented farm lands by well to do families, as a results, unemployment and homelessness was something very uncommon.

In central and west Africa, societal status were determined by a person's wealth or inheritance, nobles, royalties and political leaders were distinguished by great wealth and large residential homes. On the other hand, due to large flooding which often prevented the transfer of wealth from generation to generation and also washed away lands and homes, the Dinka people of today's southern Sudan held very low regards to material things.

Cautious in the running of the governance in both centralized and decentralized societies were never reckoned with. Because most laws were unwritten, spirituality and dead from attacks by the gods were always attributed to laws so as to keep the law consciously fresh in the minds of the people. This however, proves the level of emphasis laid on accountability in the running of the state and kingdoms. The rule of law were never reckon with, like for example, the Asante's kingdom in West Africa. The Asante kingdom was made up of seven clans and were united by a golden stool of Asante-Hene. According to Dr. Emizet F. Kisan-gani, the kingdoms 'the local administration had in place modernized policies that included supporting advancement by merit and the development of states enterprises through public investment. 'the Asante were able to 'build infrastructures and supported agriculture, commerce, industry and education through self-help and self-reliance. (Chika, 2012.)

In other part of Africa such as the Yuruba people of West Africa, the misuse of power were closely followed by members of the secret house, who were in charge of choosing and swearing in kings. If a king by any means was found abusing his power for selfish benefits, the members of the secret house will in the words of Yunusa Salami “present him with an empty calabash or parrot’s eggs as a sign that he must commit suicide” because according to tradition the king could not be deposed. In other kingdoms such as in the grass fields of Cameroon, the power of judgment and justice rested in the hands of the chiefs, and Fons. It was believed that these titled men do not lie and hence to keep their titles which was like the Nobel Prize we have today; one must deliver justice right in other not to be strip of their titles which was a very disgraceful experience.

In east Africa for example, the kingdoms of Great Zimbabwe and Rwanda had very dictatorial caste systems overseen by the king. Justice were given according to which king was in power, but in all, the king never allowed individuals to amass mass wealth or land through corruption, anyone suspicious of such act faced the worse punishment from the king. Such were the practice were that which were in place across Africa, but in all, the most important aspect were the values that held these people together and curb the level of corruption down in the administration which were basically a set of agreed rules and regulations, moral values of the societies and guided human interactions. (Chika, 2012.)

Earlier proponents of this stance were dismissive of pre-colonial African achievement and humanity. (Dalglish, 2005.) These individuals include Hegel who in one of his most celebrated works stated: The peculiarly African character is difficult to comprehend, for the very reason that in reference to it, we must give up the principle which naturally accompanies all our ideas - the category of Universality...The Negro exhibits the natural man in his completely wild and untamed state (Hegel, 1956, 93).

### **2.1.1 Trade with the western Europeans**

Corruption was not a strange thing in Africa before the coming of the western European traders and explorers, in fact, Africans had been in close contact with the Arabs for centuries. Islam was practiced among some of the people and highly practiced in some powerful African kingdoms. This meant that Africans Muslims had to travel to Mecca during the pilgrimage during which they sold captured prisoners of war to the Arabs as slaves, and Arabs sold

captured European and Arab women back as slaves, this meant a balance of trade. Corruption began to root itself during this trading period. Because the demand wasn't so high, the stability of the kingdoms were not in great danger.

Unlike European slave trade, traders from the Arab and African kingdoms also enslaved members of their own ethnicity, tribes and family members which later led to a bit of corruption in the judicial system (Nuun, 2008, 142). The coming of the western European was a game changer, the high demand for plantation workers meant high labour demand. The most common manner in which slaves were taken was through villages or states raiding one another (Northrup, 1978, 20)

Greedy African kings went to war with each other for prisoner captures, hence the destabilization of the kingdoms. (Kusimba, 2004, 66) writes "insecurity confined people within ethnic boundaries constructing spheres of interaction." and thus, trust was lost. Because of this process, the slave trades may be an important factor explaining Africa's high level of ethnic fractionalization today. Brain drain, separation of the families and thus the weak ones were forced to engage in any unlawful means to earn a living for their families, some of which were capturing and selling others. According to Manning (1990, 124) focuses on the slave trades, writing, "Slavery was corruption: it involved theft, bribery, and exercise of brute force as well as ruses. Slavery thus may be seen as one source of precolonial origins for modern corruption."

According to Barry (1992) and Inikori, (2003) the economic state of African kingdoms at this time was shattered, because the slave merchants facilitated (corrupt) the leaders by supplying arms and other weapons of war to attack each other, consequently, tribal conflict was increased, political instability ensued, and in most instances, the collapse of pre-existing forms of government. According to Kimambo, (1989 247) and Mbajedwe (2000, 341–342) in the late 19th century, the slave trades resulted in the disintegration of the Shambaa kingdom, the Gweno kingdom, and the Pare states in East Africa's Pangani valley etc. the results of political instability meant that the judicial system became twisted, false accusations of witchcraft and other crimes became a short way to get rid of enemies, who at that time were then sold as slaves because the penalty of such crimes were changed from beatings, payment of compensation or exile into slavery. Many scholars such as Herbst, (1997, 2000) have

argued with evidence how the current rate of corruption and instability in Africa stands as the result of weaken, corrupt and unstable precolonial era.

Guyanese historian Walter Rodney cites in his book 'How Europe Underdeveloped Africa' one estimate showing that while Europe's population more than quadrupled between 1650 and 1900, Africa's population rose only by 20 per cent during the same period. The loss of work-force was not more serious than the damage to the social and economic fabric of the society and the undermining of the confidence of Africans in their historical evolution (Tunde, 2008.). The economic performance of the African state at slave time couldn't do any better because its man power were being extracted, consequently leading to failed states. An empirical study by Bockstette, Chanda, and Putterman, (2002) and Chanda, & Putterman, (2005) find that "state antiquity," measured using an index of the depth of experience with state level institutions, is positively correlated with real per capita GDP (Nunn, 2008.)

Another economic effect of the corrupt cultures developed during the slave trade can be traced back to be mistrust that sprang among the people. Sometimes, the present African leaders are not given enough time to prove their ability because of public mistrust for public officials. The question is asked why does this mistrust continues even a hundred years after slavery? Findings by Bisin and Verdier (2000) shows that cultural change happened slowly. Another findings by Alesina, ( 2003) on the separation of Germany between 1945-1990 shows that East Germans view government intervention more favourably than their West counterparts, also that since 1990 the Eastern counterparts started getting used to the views of the West, even though this cultural shock lasted only for about 45 years. The researchers estimated that, the grip to change will last for as long as 20-40 years to reach zero. In which case, the effect of the shock will have resisted for as close as the shock itself. In case of Africa, the cultural change and mistrust lasted for over 400 years, and would take approximately another 400 years to die out ( by year 2350), so its empirically evident that mistrust is still being felt today and its stogged in the sub consciousness of Africans themselves, but in the long run will eventually die out.

Comparatively speaking with trust, it can as well be said that the descendants of those exposed to this abomination are corrupt today as the result of the corruption involved in slave

trade and that was later followed by colonialism, so Africa after 50 years of self-determination was mostly likely to be corrupt because its own culture and form of governance was altered 400 years ago.

In his words "The past is what makes the present coherent," said Afro-American writer James Baldwin, and the past "will remain horrible for exactly as long as we refuse to assess it honestly." most writers had tried to place all blame on the white man for the ills of the African societies in the past and today. The fact is that Africans leaders were just as happy to trade their brothers for the shinning European goods as much as anything else. The rules played by the Africans themselves were so great that it would have been impossible for the European to succeed without them. The corrupt nature of the slave trade, especially those practiced by the kings and his men still persist today. Some African kings, traders, military aristocracy and elites found themselves so wealthy that they did everything to protect their interest. Today's African leaders are not engaged in selling their people for slavery to the Europeans, but are experts in looting the continents mineral resources to enrich themselves still for the comfort of the white man's inventions.

The slave trade had a profound economic, social, cultural and psychological impact on African societies and peoples. It did more to undermine African development than the colonialism that followed it (Tunde, 2008.) While western Europeans amass fortune and built empires, African leaders were busy drinking alcohol and looking themselves in the mirror. The impact of slave trade corruption would have been different today had the leaders demanded capital goods rather than liability goods which would have help in developing their economies. As it was not so, the economic development of Africa started declining. The African economy began to stay dependent on European goods since it became cheaper than those made by the Africans. Textile goods became cheaper than local made, consequently, textile and other manufacturers when out of business.

According to Samuel Johnson in his book, *The History of the Yorubas*: "Before the period of intercourse with Europeans, all articles made of iron and steel, from weapons of war to pins and needles, were of home manufacture; but the cheaper and more finished articles of European make, especially cutlery, though less durable are fast displacing home-made wares." The predominance of the slave trade prevented the emergence of business classes that could have spearheaded the internal exploitation of the resources of their societies. The

slave trade drew African societies into the international economy but as fodder for western economic development (Tunde, 2008.)

## **2.2 Corruption in colonial Africa.**

Corruption is a form of antisocial activity carryout by a group or an individual to extract unjustly and illegally benefit from others, it's against the moral laws of the land and it makes it difficult for authorities to provide material and spiritual values in a fair and transparent manner to the society (Osoba, 1996, 372.). Likewise the economic development of Western Europe, North America and China, the economic development of Africa slowed down because of the corrupt attitude of external and internal parties up to the 1960s. Because no two economic development models are the same and is based on the people's culture, Africa's has failed to gain roots due to massive corruption that can be trace back centuries. Africa is truly a diverse continent right down to a single country, mix with Arabic and Europeans cultural values, Christianity and Islamic cultural values, and this mix of cultures often crash and are/were used by the colonial authorities to divided and rule the people against their interest.

However, colonization distorted natural process of state development and strive in Africa and left scars of corruption and political instability (Hrituleac, 2011). Kings who rebelled against colonial occupation and corrupt nature were humiliated or overthrown for more loyal ones, Africans who rebelled for self-determination were killed by gun shots or by lynching and then hanging, or the cutting of the hands and legs of able men who were capable of rebelling against their rule.

Upon arrival in Africa, the imperialist governments found no better tool of control which they could easily use to manipulated and control the society, one of which was financial economic infrastructures. These governments had to create these institutions and use them for the benefit of their homeland while leaving the poor masses in miserable poverty and diseases.



Hut and Poll taxes were the first corrupt institution instigated by the imperialist. Such taxes were compulsory and were collected mainly for the purpose of covering the cost of administration (of whom very few Africans were part of). Most imperialist governments particularly the British and French immediately impose such taxes in any of newly claimed land.

The British in colonies like Zimbabwe and Kenya, used the tax system to lure people into cheap and free labour. The British tax were to be paid only in cash and those who lacked financial assets were forced to work in whites invader's farms and mines for very little amount of pay. Such cheap labour were highly needed to keep the white invader's economy afloat.

The corruption here was not the monetary system put up, but the manner in which it was being used and collected. The imperialist governments used the local chiefs and kings to collect taxes. In cases where they were not collaborative, or did not exist, the imperialist's governments removed and or appointed new ones. In order to keep the local leaders loyal, the imperialist governments set aside a percentage of the collected tax for them, this was mainly to motivate and encourage them to collect more taxes. An example here are the Bechuanaland chiefs who collected and retained 10% of the gross tax collected (Colclough, and McCarthy, 1980; Tlou, and Campbell, 1984.) This alone encourage the chiefs to set aside and ignore their tradition values and laws which were the main pivot of their society long before the coming of imperialist.

The policy of awarding tax collectors and chiefs a percentage in taxation collection became a means to accumulate vast fortunes for private interest, a system that was had for the chiefs to rebel against consequently leaving the masses in poverty and misery while the imperialist and chiefs abused their powers while accumulating mass wealth. Colonial chiefs "were implicitly encouraged to use their positions to amass wealth and demonstrate thereby that it paid to cooperate with Europeans".

The habit of living in mass wealth became a way of life for the kings, they became partners in imperialism and became blinded to the cry and needs of their people. This corrupt practices led to low agricultural output as the men were forced to work for paid labour why the women cultivated food crop which were the backbone of the economy. Families were set apart because their husbands died in mines, or had gone too far away for a long period of

time. For those families that could not meet up with the tax obligations because the head of the family died or the family separated, were forced to sell the few castles to meet up with their taxes.

The tribal and religious conflicts today are all associated with corruption, a method introduced by the imperialists to govern the people. A method called divide and rule. As quoted by one scholar; in the game of Divide and Rule, we are merely pawns, they keep us busy fighting each other instead of fighting them, neither one of which is profitable for us. The imperialists use this method to promote rivalry between tribes, in order to protect their interest and discourage unity. Titles were created, and kings who collaborated with the imperialist were given the title of a paramount rulers, and sub rulers, while the paramount ruler was given the power over other sub tribes. The British, for example, in Cameroon conferred such title to the king of Bali Nyonga in the North West Region (Bamenda), a title which still exist today and still cause conflict between the Bali tribe and their neighbours because they in the modern days have refuse to recognise such titles. Elsewhere in colonial Africa , in Uganda for example , the British conferred a similar paramountcy on the Baganda (Roberts, 1962) ; the Tutsi in Belgian Rwanda and Burundi (Weinstein, & Schrire, 1976; Mazrui & Tidy 1984), the Ibo in British Nigeria (Hunt, & Walker, 1974 ) and the Shona in present-day Zimbabwe, to mention but a few cases (Munyae, Mulinge & Leseted, 1998.)

The divide and rule strategy could only be sustained by applying more corrupt practices. The imperialist government supported their loyalist by sending some to western education and missionary works, economic favours etc. This by itself created a big gap and disparities in many ways among the African people, economic and educational opportunities enjoyed by very few and especially those at the leading position gave a strong foundation to the corrupt culture we have in Africa today. Upon independence, most learned Africans were loyalist to the imperialist and so they continued using the divide and rule principle till date. The consequence can still be felt today across Africa on literacy rate and economic opportunities. Below is a map on the literacy rate in Cameroon and Nigeria, literacy rate turn to be higher in some areas than others. Most of these areas were imperialist loyalist or they had given up their religion for Christianity to gain favour from the imperialist governments.

According to the National statistics board: Here are the national literacy rates of Nigeria's Youth population in any given Language(s), i.e. percentage of Nigerian youth, able to read and write in any language (2008/2009) including English, Arabic, Etc (nairaland 2015)



Figure 1: Religion demography in Nigeria (adapted from nairaland 2015)

The red represents Islam and yellow Christian regions.

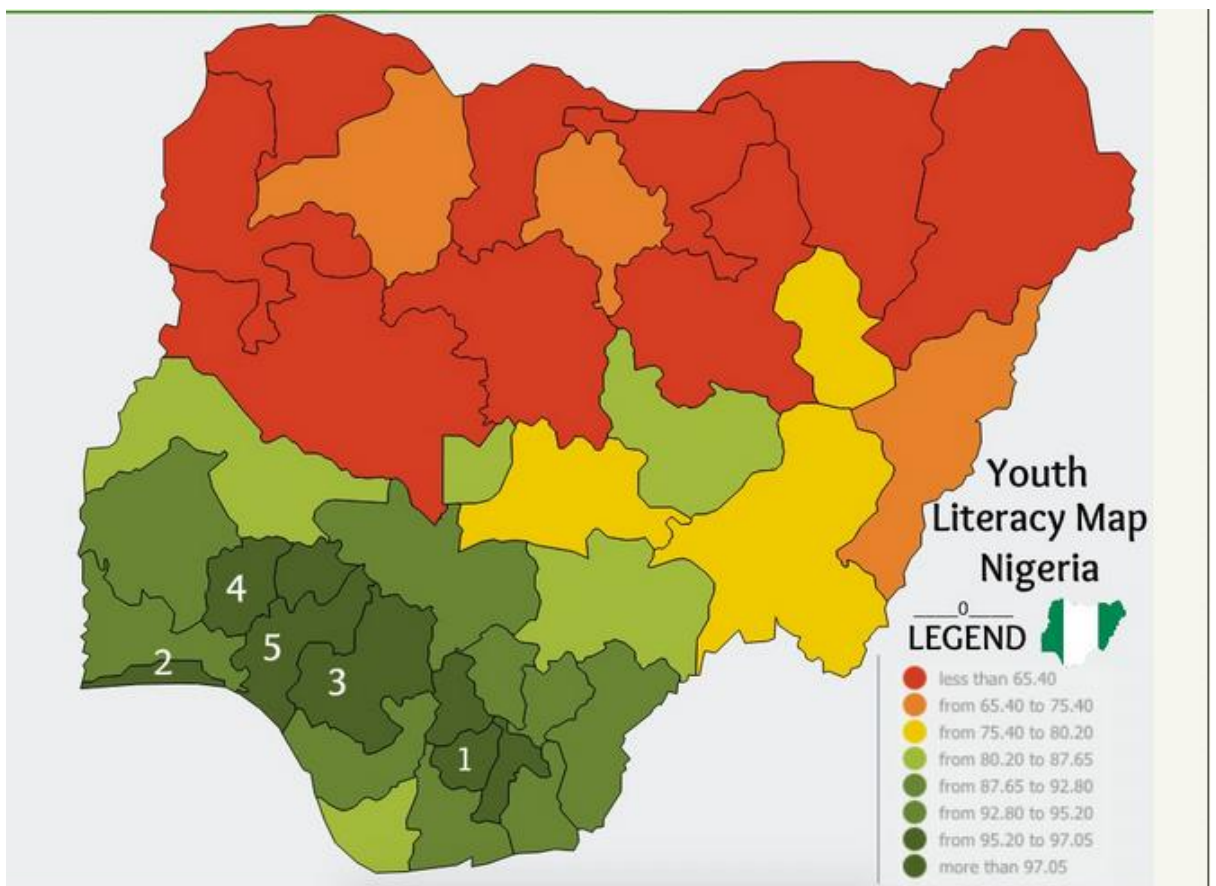


Figure2: Literacy rate in Nigeria (adapted from Nigeria demography and health survey 2003)

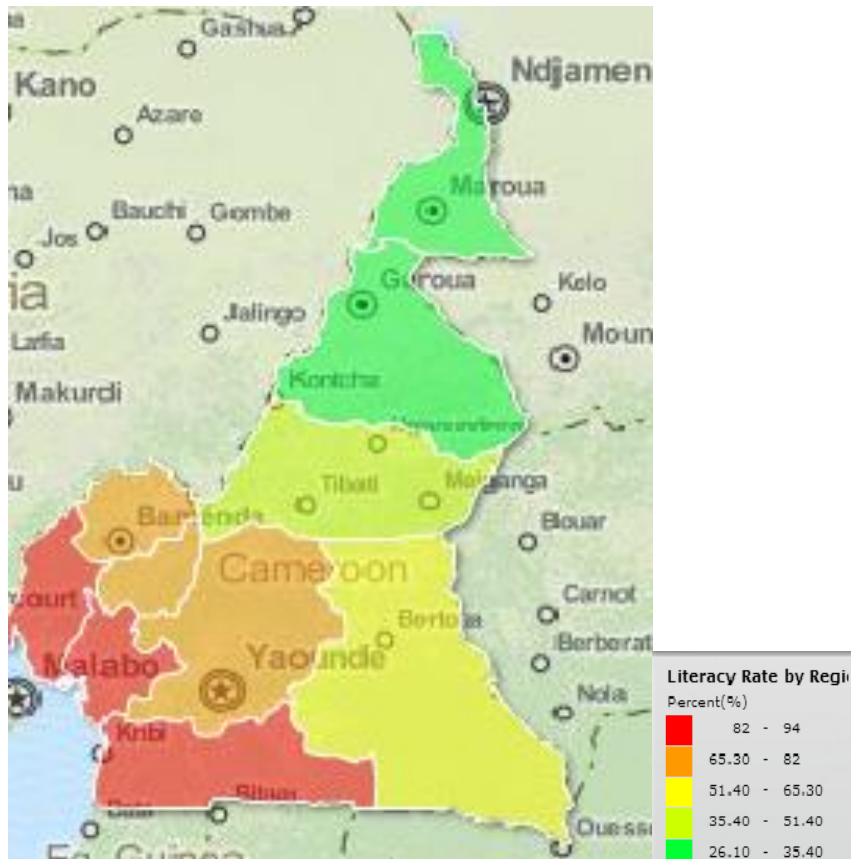


Figure 3: literacy rate in Cameroon (adapted from target map 2010)

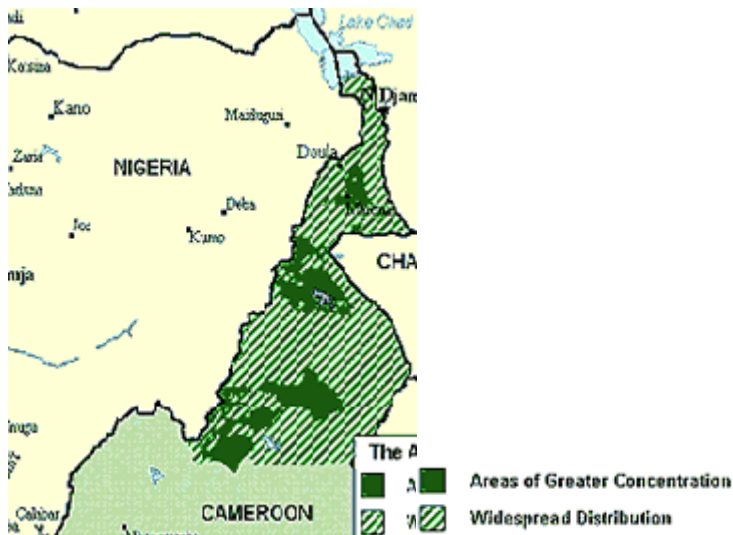


Figure 4: Religion Demography of Cameroon (adapted from Joshua Project 2015)

By taking these two countries into study, one can easily find the disparity that is found in educational opportunity in Africa today. Literacy rates turn out to be very high in Christian areas of the countries, i.e. those who submitted to the religion of the imperialist, while those who rebelled against were denied access to education and other opportunities that followed.

The case of Cameroon and Nigeria both sum up to the same answer which is disparity in opportunities, so 50 years after independence, the effect of corruption built by the imperialist governments can still be traced today in Africa. As seen above, the divide and rule policy outpaced the end of imperialism, it stayed rooted in the state structure of the African states upon independence in the form of tribalism and nepotism.

African leaders upon independence discovered the power and benefits of the divide and rule policy, and so were swift to adopt it to their own agenda. Some tribes were sorely involved in the running of the state while others were made inferior tribes (Mulinge, 1998.) Political leaders also turned to favour their own tribal men and women by giving very little changes to the other tribes.

In most British, French, and Spanish formal colonies, leaders felt threatened by the presence of educated and knowledgeable individuals, the fear of challenge or loss of respect plunged them to appoint unqualified but loyal and political party base affiliation. This ill-tailored strategy led to economic mismanagement and misuse of public funds. In the case of Kenya for example, President Moi appointed members of his tribe who in most cases mismanaged the office to bankruptcy and then later reappointed to repeat the same action in other ones, the consequence of which led to massive unemployment, deteriorating health services, poor agricultural yield and poor education infrastructure and low literacy rate.

Another area in which the legacy of imperialism has led to the corrupt nature of the African state is in its political and administrative structure. African chiefs appointed by the colonial government were given life appointments as long as they remain loyal, there were no such thing as election or public participation in a universal suffrage, so at independence, elected leaders with the culture of continuity of leadership gripped to power which led to the civil war, instability, famine and displacement of millions. In the colonial era, chiefs and local leaders were given authoritarian powers to rule and unquestionable by the colonial government. These leaders were not noted for their civility or the rule of law, "they were known instead for their decisiveness, courage, presence, and ability to hold a crowd" (David 1991.)

The mode of governance adopted after independences were only slightly modified from those used by the imperialist. Some African politicians upon independence, especially those

loyal to former colonies adopted the model of the colonial chiefs, even though people resented its practice during the colonial times. They adhered to an only slightly softened version of the colonial chief's role (David 1991, 29.). Not only do these so-called leaders loot the natural resources of their country, they also misused their power and have no regards for the law and constitution, just as the colonial government in collaboration with the local chiefs and leaders did.

Upon independence, any political movement that preached against the imperialist governments was crushed and in many cases mass massacres were carried out, like the Bamileke and Mau Mau uprisings in Cameroon and Kenya respectively. In the 1950s the French forces suppressed, exiled and massacred members and leaders of the Cameroon independence party (UPC), it further became worsened after the party was banned in 1955 and the assassination of its head Um Nyobe on the 13 September 1958. This gave room to the French to negotiate independence with the loyalists to their favour. Almost every constitution in independent Africa was drawn up by the imperialists, powers were centralised to a handful of few, government structures were never decentralised, complete state control over economic activities, no term limit and other handicaps for a democracy. All these however, nurtured a cruel corrupt culture that later on hunted the continent, which led to a virtually total lack of commitment and good will by the African leaders.

In Congo, King Leopold II handicapped and wore out the Congolese people in both spiritual and physical strength, he robbed and amassed a fortune for himself while the Congolese people starved. He confiscated all unoccupied lands and rubber plantations of Congo. Congolese were refused free trade but to trade only with the government (mostly ivory and rubber), consequently, the only market was the state who set the price and controlled the people's income. To increase their wealth, Leopold and his men imposed rubber taxes on the locals, this helped them to increase the quantity of rubber production. Free and forced labour were also introduced as automobile invention and demand grew and rubber was solely needed for the production of tyres. At the end of his reign, Leopold and his men had made a fortune while the Congolese population had decreased by almost 50 percent in two decades. This remarkable decline was due to a variety of factors, including executions, deaths in battles of resistance, separation of husbands from wives for extended periods of time, people fleeing

from the Congo Free State to neighbouring territories, exhaustion from overwork, and famine created by the fact that people no longer had time, and in many cases, adequate land, to farm (Brown University, Watson Institute for International Studies 2005.)

The inhuman treatment of the Congolese people reduced their humanity to beast and just mere human machinery in the wheels of rubber production. Members of the force, public and other state accomplices frequently killed and mutilated people's hands as punishment for not meeting up to the tax or rubber obligation as demanded by the state. These authorities kill and cut, or mutilated hands from living men and women to prove to their supervisors that they had not misused ammunition, this strategy further engineered more corrupt practices in that, these authorities frequently and routinely kidnap and mutilate the hands of individuals in case they failed to meet up with their own obligations or as a means to prove their hard work and seek promotion from their bosses.

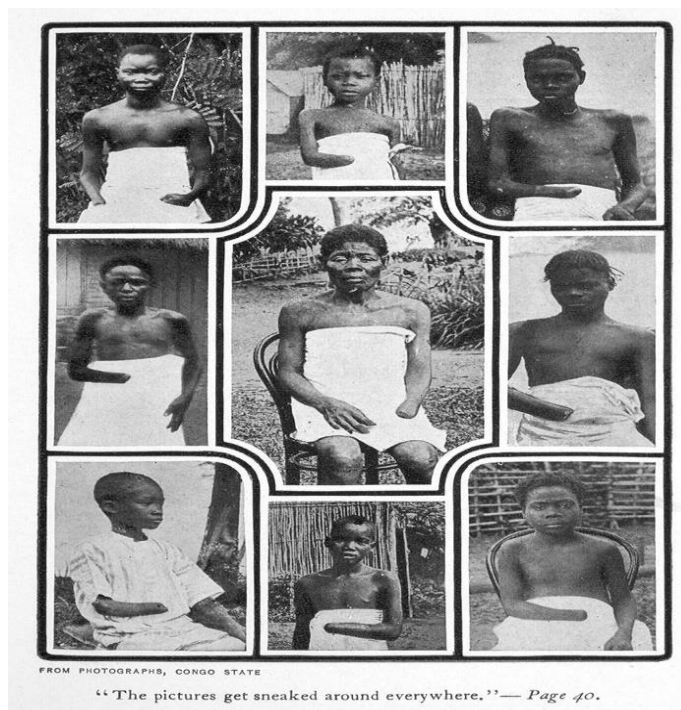


Figure 5: mutilated Congolese by Leopold's soldiers. Source: Alice Harris - King Leopold's Soliloquy: A Defence of His Congo Rule, By Mark Twain, Boston, 1905.

Because the local economies had gone shattered and the main workforce either killed, mutilated or worn out, very few able men and women were left who could resist the regime,

consequently, forcing other people to join the corrupt system to earn a living for themselves, which later on became a way of life in their communities.

Upon his arrival in the Congo in 1890, George Washington Williams, an African American recalls after witnessing the atrocities himself. “Two Belgian army officers saw, from the deck of their steamer, a native in a canoe, the officers made a wager of £5 that they could hit the native with their rifles. Three shots were fired and the native fell dead, pierced through the head, and the trade canoe was transformed into a funeral barge and floated down the river”

Over half a century, the Belgian continued to exploit their Congo colony. The Belgian government had been convince that the Congolese people were alright with their rule and needed no independence. In 1959 a protest broke out and the Belgian government hastily arranged the handover of the Congo to the Congolese. Before the handover in 1960, over almost a century of controlled, there were just about seventeen Congolese university graduates. The consequence of not allowing the Africans in the participation of government jobs, Congolese had very less affiliation of themselves as a country, instead they saw themselves as members of their tribal groups, more so, more than ninety-five percent of the state’s wealth were in the hands of 110,000 white settlers (just about one percent of the population), in addition to that, the colonial government like others had insured enormous debt for the state beyond its payback capacity, it was evident that the future was going to be turbulence for the Congo.

### **2.3 The Cold War and corruption**

The end of colonialism gave birth to a world divided by ideologies, communism and capitalism by the Soviet Union and the United State of America respectively. Because the newly independent countries of Africa were still fragile from ethnic divide and outside influence, a strong government was needed to be in place, there was the need for the purchases of arms and ammunition for self-defence, the dawn of Africa’s time to self-determination and self-finding away from centuries of exploitation from the outside world. Another scramble for Africa emerge as two war victors seek for new allies.

Because the formal imperialist governments feared the new African leaders could switch side in their opposition, there was the need to get rid of non-loyal leaders. The model used



during colonial rule was again reintroduce, committed African leaders were assassinated or overthrown by a military government with outside support. The assassination of Patrick Lumumba of Congo, the overthrown of Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, military coups in Nigeria, Roben Um Nyobe of Cameroon, Thomas Sankara of Burkina Faso, etc were all example of those who were assassinated because of their view for nationalism and self-determination, pan Africanism, or communist affiliation.

In the case of Congo for example, separatist of the mineral rich Katanga region were a threat to national unity, so the newly elected leader Patrick Lumumba sought military aid from the West. Help was given, in desperation to protect his country, he turned to the East where the Soviet Union was ready to help. Behind him, the Belgians with the support of the United State had been fuelling Tshombe, the head of the rebel group of the rich Katanga region to separate in favour of the Belgian mining companies. Lumumba had voiced the concern about Belgian companies' corrupt practices, so in order to stay in command of the Katanga wealth, Lumumba needed to be taken out. The United States supported the Belgian forces on the pretext that Lumumba was a communist and a civil war followed just few weeks after independence.

After months of turmoil and instability, the United States finally found a puppet to support, General Mobutu Sese Seko. He continued the looting of the state funds into his private Swiss bank account while infrastructures and public facilities declined, despite his dictatorial rule, the United States stood by him and provided millions of dollars of aid to him which he then used to suppress his own people.

Mobutu not only took the profits earned from diamond, copper, uranium, and oil exports to increase his personal wealth, but pilfered the foreign aid for personal use as well. In 1984, it was believed that Mobutu had close to four billion dollars, an amount equivalent to Zaire's national debt, in personal Swiss bank accounts, Mobutu's economic policies ignored areas of the country that had no mineral resources, thus by the mid-1970s, about 60 percent of the deaths in Zaire were blamed on malnutrition (Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University 2005.)

In apartheid South Africa, the Soviet Union and the United States continued the same pursuit at the expense of the oppressed people, however, all nature of corruption and human right

violations were overlooked by both sides to protect their interest. This selfish game left million dead and weaken the South African economy while depriving greater percentage of its population the rights to education and economic opportunities. The cold war created a model of tyranny, corruption, disintegrated societies in Africa most of which descended into civil and tribal conflicts after the end of the cold war, because both sides (USSR and USA) withdrew their supports consequently, some leaders could then be held accountable.

The card game between the Soviet Union and America on Ethiopia and Somalia left the horns of Africa in turmoil, as a result of the post-cold war fight. Long pro-American, Ethiopia, a pre-industrial country with 50 million people, changed sides in 1977 followed by battalions of Cuban troops and military equipment's plus million dollars in aid. The United States responded by mass supplies of arms and money into vulnerable neighbouring Somalia, a desert strip of six million nomads (Perlez, 1992.) Ethiopia was left devastated in thirty years of civil conflict, and a fragile state today, while in neighbouring Somalia, now consider not-very-relevant by Washington, descended into civil conflict fought with the military attaché provided by the United State.

### 3 NEO-COLONIALISM AND ECONOMIC INTEREST

Because of the economic dependence of some imperial powers and companies on their colonies, surrendering total sovereignty to Africa, especially to mineral rich African countries were never an option considered, in fact indirect rule under the pretence of independence was an option during the independence negotiation, or was reinitiated by supporting a certain group of people or individual to power. In this case, many African states were and are assumed independent in theory, whereas it's economic and political policy are coached and dictated from the outside even though neo-colonialism in Africa is disputed. Neo-colonialism can take many forms, like the presence and use of troops in formal colonies, the use of currencies tied to the formal colonial government (e.g. the CFA Franc used by formal French colonies in Africa, tied to the French Franc), and the use of monetary mean by loans or surety, aids and state running cost, banking systems with voting powers, etc., to exercise control over the policy of a nation. Neo-colonialism can also be carried out by cooperation's and big financial institutions like in the Congo.

Exploitations are carried out by the use of foreign capital, rather than for development, while the gap between the rich and the poor grow wider. So the fight against income gap is a fight against misuse of capital investment. Neo-colonialism is such a threat to world peace because the complete right of governance is not in the hands of the people nor for their interest but just a very few groups making such countries a breeding ground for conflicts, although not only limited to such states. If Africa was united, no major power bloc would attempt to subdue it by limited war because from the very nature of limited war, what can be achieved by it is itself limited. It is, only where small States exist that it is possible, by landing a few thousand marines or by financing a mercenary force, to secure a decisive result (Nkrumah 1965.)

Neo-colonialism is more cancerous than colonialism because the real player is behind the mask who cannot be held accountable for their misdeeds. African countries neo-colonise have power without responsibilities while the neo-colonialist have exploitation without redress. Because in the old fashion imperialism, the imperial powers had to justify their acts at home and abroad. Breaking up of big African nations and kingdoms into smaller units were a good move to prevent them from the ability to defend themselves and so will seek security and defence from the formal colonial power. Furthermore, the bargaining power of

small states will be weak and will be forced to sell at the price fixed by the strong nations and also buy by their prices too.

In case of any social unrest in any neo-colonialist state, the existing government can be sacrificed by the neo-colonialist authorities and create another one for replacement. It is at the advantage of the neo-colonialist government to maintain very low economic standards in their neo-colonial states but to be able to maintain some level of comfort to keep the system running, this is why the failure of development aid to Africa is nothing strange.

### **3.1 World Bank/IMF/WTO corrupt policies**

The World Bank and the international monetary fund both called the Bretton Woods institutions were founded in 1944 for the reconstruction of the post-world war era. The main objectives included a worldwide trade organization that was only later founded in 1995 known as the World Trade Organizations (WTO) to ensure the stability of the international monetary system—the system of exchange rates and international payments that enables countries (and their citizens) to transact with each other. The Fund's mandate was updated in 2012 to include all macroeconomic and financial sector issues that bear on global stability. The World Bank in partnership was to lend money for reconstruction for war-torn and impoverished countries in Asia and Europe. At its inception, no African nation had gained its independence and so was never a member or a likely beneficiaries of the plan.

Decision making in the World Bank are carryout according to voting power of which the USA has the greatest voting in decision making (THE WORLD BANK, 2016). The 47 African nations members combine have a voting power of about one-percent. It's very clear from here that, the main interest of this bank will not go to the less develop economies in Africa, but to the favour of the highest voting powers. See appendix below on the voting powers of the IMF and the World Bank.

The World Trade Organization on the other hand is govern by members represented by delegates, ministers, who meets regularly in Geneva or after every two years respectively. the World Trade Organization is distinguish from the World bank and the IMF in that, decisions are made by members countries on equal bases thereby giving greater chances to the less developed African nations to influence its decision than in the World Bank and International Monetary Fund.

After providing more loans to sub-Saharan African countries more than their repayment capacity, the World Bank and the IMF restructured and imposed internal policies by asking for more privatization, free trade and reduction in government size.

To more details, the policies were summarized as follows:

- Privatization of government enterprises
- Decreased government spending;
- Liberalization of trade
- The lifting of import and export restrictions
- Increased interest rates
- Liberalization of the money markets
- Devaluation of currencies; and lastly,
- Market pricing and the removal of price controls and government subsidies.

The consequences were disastrous, sub-Saharan Africa's debt grew to its records high while more corruption sprang up from new areas, basic infrastructure dilapidated, slow economic growth, high cost to education, healthcare and food etc. Privatization is really beneficial if the state enterprise is unprofitable and non-productive, then it is much more advice to privatize to reduce government spending, but to a greater extent as demanded by the World Bank and the IMF was disastrous. The World Bank was quite aware of the lack of capital investment and entrepreneurship in these countries thereby opening the way for foreign investors who repatriates profits instead of reinvesting the money back into the economy to facilitate growth.

The immediate actions by these foreign investors like the case of Cameroon in the privatisation of the Sonel (the electricity company) and other services led to massive job and pay cuts. In the case of less government spending, the state suffered from poor social services such as health care, education, infrastructure development since these are not profit generating sectors.

Also, by freeing the economy, cheaply manufactured imports goods like clothes, food, and even drinks led to the undermining of local industries with no protection especially when

they are needed at their early stages of development. Infant companies in Africa cannot compete with established enterprises in developed countries and so cannot trade equally, consequently, Africa's start-ups had failed to grow under total trade liberalization. More so, the dependence of developing countries on the export of raw materials deprived the local industries on raw product development and the high and better prices that follows it.

Increased interest rates aimed at encouraging savings and investments, but then this instead led to the inaccessibility to capital for the local small entrepreneurs who are the backbone of every growing economy. It also attracts especially outside investors on speculative investments who derive fast profit but adding nothing to the productive capacity of the state.

The lifting of control over foreign exchange plus the unregulated imports only added more spending on the expense of local economy thereby leading to the devaluation of the currencies. However, devaluation of currencies are used to add cost to import goods why lowering the cost of export which was not the case. In addition to this, because of too much reliability on import goods such as fuel and plants, the cost of goods turn to be very high locally and so competition is made impossible. A good example is in Kenya, where the 81 percent devaluation of the Kenyan Shilling in 1993 resulted in an overnight jump of the external debt to 143 percent of GDP, and commodity prices escalated 3 to 4 times in a week. That year for the first time in decades, the price of salt, one of the cheapest staple products, rose (Nyikal, 2005, 11.)

Reducing the amount of government subsidies and devaluating the currency, the impact became disastrous on the very poorest of the poor, basic goods became dangerously expensive and unaffordable, hence increasing the poverty rate overnight.

### **3.2 Aid organizations, private companies and foreign governments.**

Although African leaders have the right to refuse any investment that do not seek to benefit its people, their greediness and selfishness have let so many of them to condone corrupt nature of investment from international actors at the detriment of the masses. Corrupt leaders such as Mobutu and others who seek protection from prosecution and zeal to protect their rule abroad, or to seek protection for the secret bank accounts abroad give out their sovereignty and state interest for personal gain. International actors are seen as accomplices of

corruption in the way they carry out their foreign policies or encourage corrupt leaders for their own interest. such corrupt natures are cultivated by providing loans with turf conditions disregarding the consequences on the receiver, grants and aid provided with the aim of protecting their economic or and strategic interest, the reward of contracts and the acquisition of business licenses by avoiding the laws and taxes.

### **3.3 Loans and aid with strings attached**

As seen above in the World Bank's and IMF's restructured strategy for loans and grants to Africa, other foreign organizations and governments are not left out. Governments or organizations attach strings to loans and grants in the form of providing the technical ability to execute intended projects which the loan is granted for. E.g. organization may issue conditions to the recipient of the loans or aid to provide the technical ability, equipment, materials needed for the execution of the intended project without even considering the availability of such in the recipient country. This corrupt act may affect the recipient negatively in two ways:

1. First, where the availability of the technical skill or materials are present within the recipient country; this refuse the economy the use of its own workforce - the creation of jobs.
2. Second, more commonly, aid and donor organizations attached overprice but incapable and unqualified personnel's with little or no work experience as part of their aid package or loans conditions to Africa. (Mulinge, and Lesetedi 1999.)

### **3.4 Strategic and economic interest**

Companies and governments that had been benefiting from colonies before independence never gave up completely because of the economic benefits to their companies, on the other hand, governments who sort military bases as cold war competition extended to Africa, carried out, promoted, and turned blind eyes on corrupt practices in their respective strategic geographical areas. The nightmare in this kind of practice is that, while its benefit the foreign party and some few members of the African ruling class, a culture of corruption is promoted and motivated by giving more aid to subsidise such behaviours. The United States, Belgium,

and France subsidised and provided aid to a dictator in Congo for over thirty years for the strategic interest in that he stood against communism (Munyae & Gwen 1999, 63.). Because of the benefits to the big powers, the Congolese dictator became immune to corruption and looted his country resources into his personal bank account in Europe.

If a good policy is developed and works against the economic and strategic interest of the international bodies, but good for the interest of the African citizens, aid will be cut, which in contrast it should usually be a mutual benefit deal and not always again-loss issue. The same can be said for the reason why the French government have continued to support corrupt tyrant leaders in her former colonies in Africa.

### **3.5 The might and influence of big cooperation's over politicians and war financings**

Big cooperation's are part of the corrupt engine driving Africa's economy to its knees, and are huge accomplices in tax avoidance and exploitative practices, most of which include illicit acquisition of government and private contacts and business registration. In Cameroon for example, bribes paid to obtain contracts from foreign investors are tax deductible (Ackerman 1999.), bribes paid to obtain special favour like in the awarding of government contracts are sometimes amount to about 15 percent of the total contract cost, in return, poor executions are carried out in order to secure back the money, at the expense of tax payers sweat. In this case, corruption is facilitated by the giver (big cooperation's), while making the receiver comfortable to ask more in the future. Most contracts acquired through corrupt bids often lack the technical capacity for a satisfactory and efficient completion of the projects, hence unreliable projects are handed over to the public, such sub-standard in fractures executed by those with very little engineering experience are common around Africa (Munyae & Gwen 1999, 64.)

In addition, in some parts of the continent, like in very rich mineral regions, the amount of guns and ammunitions outnumber the amount of toothbrushes. multinational companies promotes tribal or religion conflicts as a means to gain cheap labour and distract the people from what really matters while they loots their resources, it should be noted that, these kind of practices are carried out in collaboration with some local and corrupt government officials.



Every emerging or developing country needs foreign direct investment in order to create jobs and facilitate economic growth, multinationals who acquire government contracts illicitly are also most likely to buy immunity from labour laws, thereby avoiding minimum wage laws, safety standards, health regulations, working hours, overtime payments, social benefits etc. the consequences of this is that huge profit is generated out of the exploitation of workers and repatriated abroad without any reinvestment to support economic growth. The African economy desperately needs such investments, but if more corrupt practices are involved in the process, more and more people will join the poverty line.

Northern Europe emerges well in the index corruption perception index, its home to four of the top five countries. But just because a country has a clean public sector at home, doesn't mean it isn't linked to corruption elsewhere. Take Sweden for instance. It comes third in the index, yet the Swedish-Finnish firm TeliaSonera – 37 per cent owned by the Swedish state – is facing allegations that it paid millions of dollars in bribes to secure business in Uzbekistan, which comes in at 153rd in the index. The company is now pulling out of business in Central Asia, but Sweden isn't the only “clean” country to be linked to dodgy behaviour overseas. As our research shows, half of all OECD countries are violating their international obligations to crack down on bribery by their companies' abroad (transparency international 2015.)

### **3.6 Support and cover-up of huge personal bank accounts and financial investment of African leaders in the west**

Switzerland, the centre and headquarter of the world's money laundering, tax evasion, racketeering, corrupt accounting, and a friend of corrupt developing nations leaders for more than a century is the great beneficiary of corruption from the developing world (Adusei 2009.) Half of Africa's external debt are held in foreign bank accounts in the form of stolen assets (commission for Africa report 2005.) Leaders such as Sani Abacha and Mubutu Sese Seko's illegal bank accounts are only reviled after they have left office, no wonder there is an African race for who stay longer in office.

It is believed that, Sani Abacha alone embezzled about \$4.3bn during his five years of dictatorship, i.e. about 300% of Liberia's total GDP and about 15% by 1998, while his Congolese counterpart who held office for more than three decades is believed to have embezzled

far more than that, the list goes on including Arab Moi of Kenya. According to the Nigerian government, following years of follow-up and judicial fight, Switzerland, Jersey, and Liechtenstein cooperated with the Nigerian government in 2005 to recover about \$1.2 billion stolen by ex-president Sani Abacha.

It would not be possible for African leaders to loot their national treasuries if there were no countries willing to receive these funds. If you preach transparency and accountability, you should not have the facility to transfer illicit funds to your own country (Dr Ayi, 2015.) It is thereby clear that, foreign governments and agencies are accomplices in facilitating corruption in Africa. From the year 2000, the annual aid to developing countries have amounted to about \$100 billion annually, 10% of which went to Africa, but these aid donors (aka rich countries) headed by Switzerland receive about \$900 billion from these developing nations (aka poor countries), (\$150 billion from Africa) in the form of tax evasion, embezzlement, fraud accounting, debt servicing and corruption (Adusei, 2009.)

While the economy of foreign nations like Switzerland are fuelled by hard earn money of the poor like in Africa, the citizens of those poor nations go to bed hungry while Swiss children have plenty on their tables. The reason why they do not need to question the source of these wealth is when these leaders come for banking. These nations are however guilty because there have failed to punished the partakers of this evil act such as the banks. The debate that Switzerland has a transparent and clean economy is a joke; it's a corrupt driven economy. Her economy is corrupt because her financial institutions (a vital sector of her economy) have been found in full collaboration and corruption scandal with corrupt third world leaders and politicians. To cut it short, Switzerland can be best described as an economic vampire, parasite and predator feeding on the economies of poor African and third world countries. the main pillar of Swiss economy are their banking laws which are supported by four-fifths of its people, their banking laws are that which attracts, embezzlement, tax evasions, terrorism funding and other lootings in the developing world to their financial system. (Murphy, 2009.)

## **4 CASE STUDY: CAMEROON**

Cameroon is often referred to as ‘Africa in miniature’, situated in one of the most violent neighbourhood in west and central Africa. It’s home to about 21 million inhabitants and completely diverse in languages, religion and culture. There are a total of about 250 languages in addition to English and French which are its official languages. The Central African country has one of the highest literacy rates on the continent. Its progress, however, is hampered by persistent problems with corruption (BBC 2016.). The president of Cameroon has been in office since 1982 after a peaceful transfer of power from the president Ahmadou Ahidjo, who served as Cameroons first president from the 1962 independence till his resignation in 1982. He was sent into exile after being accused of planning a coup by Mr Biya.

At the helm of the country since 1982, Paul Biya is regarded as one of Africa's most prolonged serving leaders. Cameroon's parliament in April 2008 passed a controversial amendment to the constitution enabling President Paul Biya to run for a third term of office in 2011. The veteran corruptor in chief proceeded to rig another election to win a new seven-year term in during the October 2011 election, a vote widely criticized for irregularities and rigging by opposition parties, civil society organizations and international observers. The Cameroonian People's Democratic Movement (RDPC) party for which he belongs, has claimed landslide majorities in every legislative election since 1992 (BBC 2016.). Because revolutions tend to be common in this type of regime, foreign direct investors turn to shy away from investment in fear of a political instability and the inability for a long term forecast.

### **4.1 Transparency international and the Cameroon national anti-corruption**

According to the Transparency International report on corruption perception index, Cameroon was ranked as the world’s most corrupt nation in 1998 and 1999 among 85 and 90 countries respectively. The country has made a lot of progress in the fight against corruption leading to the establishment of an anticorruption board called national anti-corruption commission in 2006. According to the Transparency International report for 2014 and 2015, Cameroon was ranked 136/175 and 130/168 in corruption perception index with a constant

score of 27, the same corruption index for Russia and slightly above Ukraine. “Corruption is a vice which is not specific to Cameroon, it is a global phenomenon, but we think a country like ours, which does not have enormous resources, will stand to benefit if we avoid wasting money and other funds. Biya in his 2007 interview said, “We are determined to go on and we have not only proceeded to arrest some replica officials who are today facing the law, but have also put in place a certain number of structures” (France 24, 2007)

The public and private sectors are not clear of corruption in Cameroon. Corruption has become endemic, a way of life and a daily practice. Corruption is punishable by law in Cameroon, anti-corruption laws were drafted in 2006. The problem with growing rate of corruption is not the absence of laws, it’s the lack of implementation. There are good laws in Cameroon, they are just not applied and if they were, they would give confidence to people that something can be done about their complaints (Fominyen, 2010.). The following are the anti-corruption laws in used in Cameroon:

- The Constitution of Cameroon: Amendment of constitution of Cameroon by Law N° 96-06 of 18 January 1996 completing the 1972 Constitution of Cameroon requires the filling of a statement of assets and liabilities for all public officials.
- Declaration of assets and properties: Law N° 2006/3 of 25/04/2006.
- Penal Code: Law N0 65 LF -24 of 12 November, 1965; Law N° 67-LF-1 of 12 June, 1967); Law N° 177/23 of 6 December, 1977; Law N° 72 – 16 of 28 September, 1972.
- Criminal Procedure Code: Law N° 2005/007 of 27th July 2005.
- Special Criminal Court: Law N° 2011/028 of 14 December, 2011.
- Bank confidentiality: Law N°2003/004 of 21/04/2003;
- Financing of political parties and election campaigns: Law N°2000/015 of 19 December 2000.
- Sanctioning of Corrupt Magistrates: Decree N° 95/048 of 1995.
- National Anti-Corruption Commission: Decree N° 2006/088 of 11 March 2006.
- National Governance Programme
- Cameroon Tax Code
- Cameroon Public Service Code
- Cameroon Public Procurement Code
- UN Convention against Corruption ratified by Cameroon on 25th April 2004.

- UN Convention for the fight against transnational organized crimes.
- African Union Convention on the fight against corruption. (Acauthorities 2016.)

But good laws in and of themselves will not fight corruption, because if it were just good laws, what is better than the Ten Commandments? Because of the nature of corruption in Cameroon, I am going to limit this work on some public sectors such as the Judiciary, customs, insurance, police and the army, and the executive.

## **4.2 Corruption in government – Tenders and the awarding of contracts**

Economic growth depends on easy communication from farm to market and other means of communication that facilitate the movement of people and goods. Unemployment is also reduced when government spends on infrastructures and other social services provided by the government. Irregularities in the awarding of government contracts in Cameroon is rampant, according to public procurement regulations of Cameroon. A government Contract is a written agreement with a public community. Public establishment or semi- public organisation whereby a person governed by public or private law undertakes to carry out a construction work on their behalf or under their supervision or to supply goods and services in return for a price, a contract brings two groups or persons together. These are: -

- A supplier/contractor (supplier of goods, services or works)
- A public or para public institution represented by a person or a commission, a vote holder, the stores accountant and the paymaster (Decree N° 79-35 of 2 February 1979)

Corruption often begins usually during that start of the contract launch. In Cameroon, a list of processes are needed to bid for a contract, and in each step a bribe is given to succeed to the next step, and money usually exchange hands for documents to be signed.

### **4.2.1 Call for tender**

Call for tender in Cameroon according to the law is supposed to be public, but for very rare cases it can be awarded directly without any call for tender. The person or commission responsible for this publications usually side-line part of the funds and move from company to company seeking for a compromise agreement on how to embezzled funds and execute the project anyhow. In addition to that, since the law stipulate a minimum of three tenderers

to bid for a contract, the public agents create fictitious companies in addition to their pre-arranged companies and then award the contract to their desired company therefore bypassing the law. The pre-arranged contractor then pay a certain pre-arranged money and carry out with his contract execution. It should be noted that, the executing contractors by paying bribe is immune to follow regulations and work supervision, consequently leading to poor output at the expense of the taxpayers. Consequently, taxpayers tend to shy away from paying taxes because they don't see their tax payments used properly.

#### **4.2.2 Requirements for tender**

In Cameroon, one of the basic requirements to bid for a public contract is a previous bid and execution of a public contract, though not applied in all cases. Corruption at this stage involve payment of money to elevate or get an approval signature from the tender board. In addition to this, members of the tender board are sent to applicants' office for evaluation, from which money exchange hands in the form of fuel money, usually tens to hundreds of thousands XAF. In return to favour, the inspector presents a favourable report to the board. It should be noted that, this bribe is an additional cost to the contractor and untaxed, therefore creating more cost of doing business in an economy with very little capital. Consequently, economic growth is tempered with and all the malicious consequences that comes with it.

#### **4.2.3 Submission of tender**

At this stage, the supplier, corrupted by necessity, is only at the start of a long road full of obstacles (Friedrich 1999, 46.). Submitting a tender file requires an attestation of solvency, usually a stamp that cost less than 1000FCFA, from the court of first instance, but to get that stamp in time requires the applicant to give 'fuel money' in order to get it through. Other steps that follows here are also more likely to collect 'fuel money'

### **The awarding of contracts.**

This is another very fertile ground for corruption. Contracts are awarded by: -

1. The commission in charge of public contracts in the parapublic institution or supervisory ministry; -
2. The provincial commission in charge of contracts of the governor's offices; -
3. The central commission in charge of public contracts at the Presidency of the Republic (Friedrich 1999, 47.).

Contracts with huge amounts are awarded by the presidency while the first and second commission have their own various limits. The law requires the commission to study the bidders and award the contract to the best possible bidder based on their records. But here, the best bidder is usually the company who paid the best bribe and got the best bidding price beforehand and use it for the bidding process to knock out competitors. Also in collaboration with the commission team, the bribe giver submitted fake documents representing ghost companies in order to increase his chances of winning the contract. However, the negative effects is that, incompetent companies are chosen, plus mounting cost of corruption, thereby making it very difficult to deliver the best output for the state, consequently plunging the state into too much spending.

#### **4.2.4 The signing of the contract:**

The funds needed to carry out the contract need to be signed by the commission and the authorities concerned for the disbursement of funds, at this stage, every signature ask for ‘‘fuel money’’ and it has to be given to facilitate documentation. Here, fast-forwarding documentation means other documents in line need to be delayed, thereby altering the rules of fair service in the public office.

#### **4.2.5 Implementation**

In mostly construction works, corruption becomes rampant at this level. According to law, there is supposed to be an independent control team who supervises each level of the project. Very often this supervising team are given bribe to ignore all the technical irregularities

going on in the project and to file a favourable report on behalf of the executing team. Again, according to law, 10% of the total amount is supposed to be withheld upon completion and only paid back after a certain amount of time like 5 years. This is to make sure the work was carried out perfectly and served the needs for which it was intended, within this time, any irregularities found on the project is supposed to be repaired at the expense of the executing company, and it is the responsibilities of the commission team to see this through, but very often, the total amount is paid in full in a reward for a certain percentage. (Ntemfac, 2006.) Thereby leaving out all the liabilities that the contracting companies were supposed to fulfil during the five years period, so the state and local government carry the burden of the cost of maintenance which leads to redundancy in spending on the side of the state and the taxpayers.

#### **4.2.6 Reception and payment**

Public contracts in Cameroon are mostly paid when the job has been completed, and it is the duty of the technical receptions to confirm compliances and completion, in order not to get the work rejected, the contractor must give out money even if the work was done perfectly. This committee is well known in Cameroon for signing fictitious roads, bridges, and other public infrastructures on paper and which were paid for by the state. Suppliers often over-price even basic goods as far as the supplies are to the government, drinks that cost about 200 FCFA can be priced five times its price to extract more money from the state (Ntemfac, 2006.)

Fake contracts are drawn up by the Ministry of Finance in collaboration with other ministries and full cheques are issued out, sometimes more than twice or thrice the price of an actual executed work. For contracts that were shabbily done, contractors use their connection in the Ministry of Finance to get their full cheques even though the work was rejected or was unfit for the purpose. Then they turn round and bribe the operators again to say that they have never been paid and the vicious cycle continues. ( Ntemfac, 2006.)



### **4.3 Corruption in the Insurance Sector**

Unreliable insurance companies sprang up everywhere like tree roots. These insurance companies issue out fake policies to clients just as a fulfilment of government policies. Also, very few accident claims are compensated, or to an extent, the client is asked to pay more in the form of bribe in order to get their claims processed. One very corrupt way which Cameroon insurance companies carry out their corrupt practices is by over pricing, if the customer asks for a lower price, the insurance company would then offer them a very cheap insurance that is valid only on paper, and can fulfil the state regulations but cannot be covered in case of a claim. Because of a dying economy, most people often opt to go for such a deal. The consequence is that the customer tends to bear most risk which often happens at a very high cost far beyond their ability to sustain, and so economic growth slows down due to lack of security and savings.

### **4.4 Corruption in the Custom sectors.**

From those we interviewed confirmed, more than 85% of customs officials are corrupt, few who refused to answer our questions feared we were secret police agents and so turned down our request. From those who answered, the following were their daily necessary corrupt practices with the custom officials.

Custom officials usually automatically accused and considered all documents to be false. like the police does to the taxi and private car drivers, these documents are held in the name of verification until the persons (car owners, business men and women, private citizens) patients runs out, then he/she is then obliged to give to the custom official a certain amount of money before they and their goods can be let go. In the case of the police, every part of the car is checked for abnormalities just as a means to extract money. On my own personal account as a victim of this inhuman behaviour, I was forced to pay a bribe at the Doula International Airport, customs and immigration check point because I feared of missing my flight.

This is what happened. I missed the flight to Finland on the 19th September 2012, and a different flight was scheduled for me the next day, as I got in the line to get my residence permit check, the custom/immigration agent told me that my documents were fake and in

need of verification. He asked me to go back to Nigeria where the Finnish Embassy is located and get a confirmation letter, with just one hour before my next flight could take off, he came around and asked for money to let me go, I had no choice but to give in in-order not to miss the second flight which will have cost more if I had refused to pay the bribe. Similar stories like this can be told by almost every Cameroonian, corruption is a cancer and a time bomb in Cameroon. The failure to fight all these kind of everyday petty corruption to encourage citizens to report them has led to more freedom in partaking in corruption and thus risking the state security, as in my case, one could have easily do away with explosives through the airport if only one have enough money.

Another arena of corruption in the customs sector is in the usage of the special waivers law. According to this law, some goods or imported shipments are exempted by law for any essential goods such as for education or for diplomatic missions. Importers who have connection with the port authorities use these laws to avoid paying taxes and later on give a certain percentage to the custom authorities. Also, not all the taxes collected from the border or ports are entered into the state documents, they are diverted into private bank accounts and part of them goes to their supervisors. The custom sector is the most corrupt sector in the economy of Cameroon. Findings revealed that virtually all areas of the public sector are highly corrupt; with the Police, Custom and Tax officials being the most corrupt institutions in the country (Pr. Ndedi 2015.) No economy grows with constant extraction of money from private citizens and business men and women. It reduces the investment capital of business people, but it also makes difficult the ease of doing business and diverts investment capital into untaxed corrupt practices.

#### **4.5 Corruption in the Army and Police force**

According to a respondent, who happened to be a police officer, “the chances of getting into the police and military academy without bribes and godfather(s), is very minimal, so this where it usually begin, it’s like investment, and once you get the job, you need to realize your money back and of course profit” and he laughed. Corruption in the police force is a daily habit and it takes one just 10 minutes to prove it to show one the degree of such cancer. Police bribery in Cameroon has its price, which begins from 500 FCFA and above. In cases where a police officer gained entry into the force through a godfather(s), he/she is automat-

ically obliged to stay submissive and loyal as long as he/she stays in the force. This sometimes forces the individual to carry out some illegal and corrupt practices as a way to please those godfathers.

As is common in all administrative services, said a superintendent of Police, not all appointments in the police force are made on the basis of merit and moral integrity of the applicant. This person is appointed into this position of responsibility either because he belongs to that ethnic group, because he has paid money or because he is a diehard supporter of the regime in power. This way of doing things has resulted in generalized indiscipline within the force. Police officers victimize innocent citizens during their investigation, and he that has no money is like to be sent to jail. The actions of police officers can no longer be checked, with everyone doing what he likes. In the police force, one of the reasons for this indiscipline is the fact that abuses and unethical conduct very often go unpunished (Friedrich, 1999.). Same rhetoric goes on with the military. According to our findings, the military at the top position are spoiled with illicit transaction in arms and ammunition, and any attempt to expose such powerful individual's lead eminent death and disappearance.

#### **4.6 Corruption in the Judiciary and the Justice Department. Ministry of Justice**

The common form of corruption practice in the justice department are the issues of false documents and signatures. Though not practiced in all departments, it is very possible to buy freedom and escape the law in Cameroon. Knowing the right person to corrupt is very essential or knowing the right one who knows that right one. According to these findings, clients who wants the law to favour them can find intermediaries from various chambers or among the employees of the justice department. Justice is bought and sold in Cameroon courts, and the Cameroons Supreme Court condones electoral riggings and frauds. Rich, connected or politicians get away with murder while the poor and vulnerable are jailed. Sorrowful faces can be seen daily in Cameroons court, poor pitiful devils going to jail, while the rich and connected remain on street to commit more crimes. (Ntemfac, 2006.). According to some respondents, some judges and magistrate go after some parties themselves to seek money in exchange of prosecution or payment in damages. The most common form of bribery here is in cash and kind.

For those already convicted, judges collect bribes in order to be granted bail, reduce term of punishment or to be released. In other cases, one party simply shows their wealth and class by simply buying justice and get their accused imprisoned without any thorough investigation or proper follow-up of the law. With this, the plaintiff simply shows its pride and proves their invisibility and untouchability to those around them. Bad institutions do not only affect progress of democracy but put the very poor at risk. Inefficient judicial systems slow economic growth if the judicial system continues to be unjust and will lead to the creation of a gap between the rich and the poor since the rich are able to get around the law and manipulate them to their favour.

Corruption has eaten into the fabric of the Cameroon society until even the corrupt complain about it. Some free services in the judiciary are sold to the public and even to corrupt colleagues themselves. The level of corruption in the justice department, and especially in cases concerning members of the political elites who by themselves are above the law is indescribable. In Brazil, the inefficiency and transparency in the judicial system is seen as a growing obstacle to national development (Wheatley 1988, 18.) A corrupt judicial system gives a free ride to debtors to escape at will, because they are rest assured the creditors can never fight them through the courts. It therefore forces credit unions and banks to lend money at very high interest just to foreclose on debt. More disturbing, vital investment are stalled or scared away because investors are not guaranteed that their basic rights can be upheld by the judiciary.

#### **4.7 Political corruption**

The growth of corruption in Cameroon is relative to the country's politics. As seen above how the imperialist favoured communities against the other, the promotion of tribal conflicts to promote party politics etc. An example of a tribal conflict was the complete destruction of the Bawock village by the Bali Nyonga people in 2008, which was motivated by a member of the ruling party for personal political gains. The electoral process in Cameroon is famous in its open corrupt practices. Electoral riggings, fake voter's cards, buying of voters, etc. Members of the electoral commission, who are themselves appointed by the president engage in changing electoral results in favour of their boss etc. The constitution of Cameroon is constantly changed to favour the ruling class. The separation of power by the executive,

judiciary and the legislatures are only on paper. Where the political structure is adamantly corrupt, accountability becomes impossible, national and local administration becomes weak and incapable of delivering services based on merits and fairness especially to the poor and vulnerable.

The Cameroon constitution states that the judicial power shall be exercised by the Supreme Court, Courts of Appeal and Tribunals; the judicial power shall be independent of the executive and legislative powers; magistrates of the bench shall, in the discharge of their duties be governed only by the law and their conscience (I doubt if they have any conscience left). The constitution further makes the president the head of the Supreme Court, the head of the armed force, the head of government, and has veto power over any law and legislation. This however gives the president the power over all the main branches of the government, thereby making the separation of power impossible. Because the judiciary is not independent of the government, members of the government cannot be held accountable for their actions as long as they are politically connected. Since only one person decides the state policies, members of the government tend to agree to all policies made by the head of state with no objectivity in order not to displease their boss and to keep their jobs, the end results leads to unreliable policies.

#### **4.8 Other corrupt practices**

Children as young as 12 years old are given money to gain entrance into primary and secondary schools. The official bribe price for gaining admission into big government schools are 50,000 FRS and above. Parent who cannot effort sending their children to private schools prepares paying the bribe and save money over the years because the government schools are very cheap. Public examinations such as FSLC, GCE, BAC, CAP, etc., are all bought and sold. Some teachers in colleges and universities exchange marks for sex and money and deliberately fail those who do not comply. Cameroon Tribune No 8120/4405 of 18th June 2004 supported this claims, showing that, females in the department of linguistic and English were scoring far more in courses that they didn't even attend than their male counterparts, while males were ask to pay as little as 2,000frs for pass marks.

Public services and professional schools entrance examinations are never complete meritorious, corruption in this sector is so common so much that, the official bribe prices are known. Some of which are:

- CUSS (Medical School) 1.500.000FCFA (about 2500€);
- ESSTIC (ASMAC School of Journalism) 1.000.000FCFA (about 1500€);
- Ecole Normale Sup (Higher Teachers Training School) – 1.000.000 FCFA;
- Ecoles Normales Annexe (Teachers Training Lower Cycle) – 1.000.000FCFA;
- Polytech (School of Engineering) – 1.500.000FCFA (about 2500€);
- EMIA (Military Academy) – 1.500.000 (about 2500€); or some months of scholarship);
- Others – 500.000 – 2.000.000FCFA depending on the cycle. In some cases, selections are based on names, especially those from the centre regions. (Ntemfac, 2006.) When recruitment become uncompetitive, the poor and vulnerable suffer.

Fraudulent documents fill the streets of Cameroon today, their common name “Dockey” is use by forgers who fake documents and are able to imitate high official’s signatures and stamps. Although there has been a decline in fraudulent school certificates, other documents are still very fragile to fraud. In addition, corruption is not left out in the media, Journalists receives “gombo” to glorify politicians and cover up their crimes, while at the same time demonize their enemies. Government officials bribe journalist to praise and glorify the regime while the pro-opposition party’s journalist do the reverse. (Ntemfac 2006.) Sport is not free either from the wave of corruption, managers and coaches trade games to opponents for selfish games, the Cameroon football federation, FECAFOOT at some point in time had two presidents each claiming the rights to govern the sport. Government ministers on the other hand issue out contracts as fast as possible so as to take out their percentage and avoid the risk of being sacked and lose its opportunity to get rich quick.

Under Mr Biya’s authority, therefore, expert graft, skilled election fraud, artful pilfering of state resources, abject looting, generalized embezzlement, savage over billing, vast exploitation of the poor by the rich and powerful, endemic tax evasion, clean white collar theft, vicious customs, police and gendarmerie fraud, massive examination leakages, etc., have been obtained with terrifying alacrity. For 31 years, corruption has glided along like a sublime symphony with an ask-for-proof conductor- in-chief in full action: looking the other way that is.

There are good anti-corruption laws in Cameroon, but they have not just been applied. Enforcing and respecting these laws will give confidence back to the people and the motivation to report such evil.

## 5 THE WAY FORWARD

There are so many ways to solve the corrupt culture in Cameroon and Africa in general. Some of which can be traced back to precolonial African government and way of life, to adding value to Africa's natural resources before any export. Corruption can never be eliminated, it can only be controlled. There is no inherited genetic gene that makes corruption attractive to Africans, neither does the C shaped sickle cell in the African's blood stream signify an acronym for corruption. The rampant acts of corruption in Africa today which is embedded in the social fabric of the societies, started with the excessively corrupt colonial government, slave traders and African kings. The present challenge is for African governments to search out ways to restore the values and ethical principles that previously existed among the people. Re-orientation is critical in this instance, other avenues include spirituality, strengthened anti-corruption watch dogs, pan-Africanism and an emphasis on economic development (Chika, 2012.).

Corruption has crippled the economic, political and social life of a common man, and no part of the society is spared from it, even the church of Christ is not left out. There is no denial that, corruption has denied the African states from growth and development, and it has greatly paralyzed the performances of government's vision and plans by hindering its implementation. The economic, political and social cost of corruption outweighs all reforms and efforts towards progress by weakening the states machinery and moves to accountability.

According to the World Bank report of 1997, economic growth and ease of doing business becomes difficult in a highly corrupt country, i.e. a transparency index of less than fifty. Because local enterprises find it difficult to operate due to the influence of international and national corrupt actors. Projects, especially aid funded projects become poorly executed, loss of support for development from international bodies and governments, mismanagements, ineffective spending's and high deficits, poorly maintain and development of infrastructures, increase in taxes, and failed programmes such as millennium development goals. Corruption further breeds other forms of viruses to the economy which further impairs eco-



conomic progress such as brain drain, tribalism, nepotism, favouritism, racism, which furthermore make it impossible to fight corruption. The fight against corruption in Africa and Cameroon in particular has to go two ways, national strategies and international initiatives.

### **National strategies**

Strategies such as the restoration of indigenous values and institutions, re-education, promotion of African states as a unit, focus on economic and science, independent anti-corruption units, development programs base on local knowledge and resources, declaration of assets, administrative reforms etc.

### **5.1 Administrative reforms**

Corruption grows where administrative authorities' fails to protect basic economic rights. Such administrative reforms should seek to promote accountability and the rule of law in all government and private agencies. This implies a transparent simplification of the laws and processes and easy accessibility, transparency in state recruitment, and the rights of citizens to question state officials and civil servants. Although the perpetrators of corruption are well organized and are always ready to retain their ill-gotten wealth, the anti-corruption organizations and civil rights activist must mount pressure on the political body to change the status quo. More so, to ensure growth in investment and democracy, the three arms of the government must be separate. The judiciary and the legislative arm of the government must be free from the dictatorship of the executive who twist it to any wishful directions. In addition to that, the civil service should be cleared off from the hands of the executive and rest them on the powers of the parliament, especially the appointment of high level officials. Such move will reduce or even stop the politicization of the civil service as a political party's rights to hire and fire and will guarantee merits in appointments and recruitments. More accountability will be rest assured as loyalty to a certain political party will not protect any one from prosecution.

The fight against corruption will go nowhere without free and independent judicial institutions. The institution in its own must be corruption free and governed by the rule of law because an active and independent anti-corruption unit by itself cannot fight corruption alone. According to Transparency International, prosecution of corrupt officials and constant watchdog on institutions motivates members of the public to report more corrupt officials and activities, and will also help in conscious awareness of such behaviour. Appointment of

judges should by itself be carried out by public or at least partly to ensure public trust and assurance.

Protection and assurance should be given to the members of the judiciary in the reforms as a tool of protection from bullying by politicians and others involve in corrupt activities. Working conditions and wages should be part of the reforms as a means to curb the acceptance of bribes by judges. In addition to this, special courts should be setup to prosecute economic crimes due to the nature and impact of economic corruption on the state. In this regard, justice will be served fast, specialization and professionalism of judges shall be improved, and the public shall felt the immediate impact. Adequate resources should be provided to this institution, and give its achievements and credibility a nationwide publicity.

### **5.2 Independent anti-corruption units**

After watching a number of anti-corruption groups in and around Africa, and especially that of Cameroon, I know a number of things, I know that good laws in and of themselves will not fight corruption, because if it were just good laws, what is better than the Ten Commandments? For independent anti-corruption units to achieve its goals, it must have all the powers to investigate any department and officials without any limits. It must be provided with all necessary resources need to carryout it investigation unhindered, its staff must be adequately trained and protected, it must be free of the executive power, and the parliament shall set check and balances. Most importantly, political goodwill for those at the helm of the nation must be present for any such agency to be successful, for we know that the seeds of corruption are in the leadership of the state and so if the leadership are willing to fight it, then corruption has no way to hide.

### **5.3 Promotion of civil rights organizations and activist.**

Many people get trampled upon each day because they are unaware of their civil rights. Civil rights education prevents the public from possible exploitation and also enable members of the public to be able to check on elected officials and those in leadership. It therefore gives power to the public from being corrupted and also prevents the corrupt in prevailing. Because of high level of tribalism and nepotism, which by itself breeds corruption, anti-corruption groups must address and balance the social, economic, and political gap that such gap has created. An example of this is the divide and rule policy practice by the Cameroon government CPDM party as a strategy to stay in power. In this regards, more education resources

should be awarded to the Muslim northerners of the country whose literacy rate and economic opportunities are very low. Ethnic division must be stopped and perpetrators of such act must be punished. E.g. the Bawock-Bali conflict of 2008.

#### **5.4 Declaration of assets**

The zeal to get rich quick has occupied all members of the Cameroonian civil service. 8 in 10 respondents during this research once asked, what will you do if you are the president of Cameroon for one hour? they all responded by; I will loot all the money from state treasury to Europe and pass an immunity bill in the parliament to protect me and then other things can follow. This by itself proves how civil servant serve their personal interest rather than the public. Public declaration of asset for high ranking officials such as president and government ministers should be made compulsory including the members of the family, because many looted resources are hidden abroad under a different family member's name, and as such every year. Declaration of assets will set in second thoughts to those who want to get rich overnight.

#### **5.5 Long term strategies.**

In order for the fight against corruption to succeed and sustain, the Cameroon government should start considering increasing the salary of the civil servants and their working conditions. Poor pay in all countries create an atmosphere conducive to corruption, and will as well facilitate brain drain as the more qualified leave the country for a better pay elsewhere. Encouraging and promoting pan Africanism to subdue the culture of tribalism, nepotism and racism to encourage unity and help reduce the amount of ethnic violence and the corruption associated with it. If Cameroonians start to see themselves first as Africans before their tribes and religion, it will be difficult for the politicians to divide and rule. Restoration of some pre-colonial values in the form of governance, drawing example from Rwanda shall be of added value to promote trust. To economise government spending's, important sectors of the economy such as the customs and the judiciary should be allocated all needed resources along with good pay. The police, the courts and judges should be the main target for this initiative.

#### **5.6 International initiative**

The country of Switzerland, the warehouse of money laundry, has started collaborating with African governments for repatriation of Africa's stolen assets, and more is yet to be done to

stop embezzlement of funds through their banks. Although the economy of Switzerland is built on stolen assets from developing countries, and thus will make it difficult to engage any political goodwill to help anti-corruption organizations from around the world in the fight against corruption. Most anti-corruption organizations in Africa not living out that of Cameroon, only formulated legislation and strategies to fight corruption nationally, but indeed corruption goes beyond a nation's boundary.

Another avenue for large scale corruption are multinationals cooperation's involve in unethical activities around the world. Corruption can never be challenged without the help of the international communities checking the behavior of their companies abroad. although plenty of efforts and legislation has been passed by most nations to regulate the behavior of their companies abroad, very few has been brought to account, this in itself means that, a lot is yet to be done to support this effort. The US government passed a law in 1977 to regulate the activities of its cooperation outside of the US border, (foreign corruption practices act 1977) one of the first of its kind by a country setting regulations of behavior outside of its border. Other countries have followed suit, in 1998, Finland ratified the OECD convention on combating bribery of foreign public officials in international business.

By the year 1997, other international communities such as the World Bank, IMF and the OECD pledged the will to get rid of corruption through their aid programs. The IMF and the World Bank from 1990 started pushing for a democratic reforms and anti-corruption measures by using its lending power to push for change. The bad side of this is that, these organizations have only seek for changes that favoured their return on investment, rather than a real change at the benefit of the masses. Although these international organizations have shown interest in combating corruption in Africa, very little have been done to bring their banks and institutions to account and billions of stolen African assets still remain in their banks and economy.

Following all the laws and legislations passed by the international communities in trying to curb corrupt practices, very little action has been done to put this into force, which therefore implies that, these companies have found a different way to get around the laws. However, it is very vital for international cooperation's to join the fight against corruption and main actors in the international scene through its contracts and dealing. International cooperation operating in corrupt countries should submit corruption report to local authorities and to the

international communities to help exposed the perpetrators. On the other hand, the Cameroon and African governments, they must blacklist and exposed multinational cooperation's involved in corrupt practices. Switzerland should pass laws that discourage and less attractive for money laundry through its banks and institutions and should speed up the process of repatriation of stolen funds.

I am also suggesting a multinational co-operation of anti-corruption organizations to share information on corrupt foreign officials and organizations and to jointly fight course together. Also, an international criminal courts should be setup to try corrupt individuals and organizations who buys politicians for self-interest and also those who seek refuge abroad with stolen wealth. It is also true that, the foreign policies of other governments promote corruption in many ways provided it served their interest, this however is no different from other forms of corruption, such organizations and governments should be punished by the international communities and protect vulnerable and weak countries from the rich and powerful ones. Anti-corruption groups should watch over the activities of their government outside its borders and punished them in policies that interferes and promote dictatorship and tyranny around the world. More so, western European countries should take the responsibilities of their atrocities and payback for the reconstruction of the economies which they help to exploit for decades and even centuries.

### **5.7 A lesson from Finland**

Finland over the years has been rank among the world's most transparency country, with a transparency index of 89 and 90 in 2014 and 2015 respectively. But how have they managed to be this corruption free even at the midst of economic crises? According to the Ministry of Justice report of 2010, the secret to their success are simple, Finns plays by the rules, and they simply say no to corruption, there is enough room for freedom of speech and the press and an access to education for all. The Finnish people do not tolerate corruption in any form and any gift above certain amounts are taxed. The Finnish media are at the forefront of exposing corruption and its actors (Joutsen & Keränen, 2009.)

The Finnish administration also has a well-run democracy at all its levels of governments (national & local), a fully transparent public service, low hierarchical government structures, political goodwill and complete sincerity and dedication to service, no influence of political

leaders in civil service recruitments, and complete dedication to a liberal society and honesty. About one half of Finnish companies operating abroad have accepted to have engaged in corruption abroad (Joutsen & Keränen, 2009.) which is very small amount as compare to other countries. In light to help fight these malicious acts abroad, the Finnish government drew up social responsibilities to companies operating abroad.

What constitutes corruption in Finland is very clear, anything that does not influence the exchange of favour! The local administration are run by long time residents who often knows each other. The Finnish culture of honesty started during the colonial rules (1150-1809) and during autonomous rule under Russia up to 1917 (Joutsen & Keränen, 2009.). The principles of decision making in Finland are done in collective and collegiate way, by this, the rate of corruption is seriously curbed since the giver of bribe often finds it difficult to convince groups. The Finnish administration publicly publishes their decisions and they are all open to criticism from the public and the media. The Finnish government has in place several methods of supervising the decision of the state authorities, and they make sure each decision made conforms to the state law and legislation. The enforcement of laws are strict and according to the laws without any political influence to the outcome. In addition to the state laws and legislation, the Finnish government has adopted many international treaties on anti-corruption and have set continuous commitment to fight corruption at home and abroad.

### 5.8 Brief summary of corruption and its impact

<b>Corruption</b>	<b>Impact</b>
slave trade	Undermine African development, exploitation, psychological trauma. -slave trade drew African societies into the international economy but as fodder for western economic development
colonization	Distorted natural process of state development and strive in Africa and left scars of corruption and political instability. disparity in opportunities, tribalism and nepotism

Bretton Woods institutions restructuring policy	job and pay cuts, poor social services such as health care, education, infrastructure development, inaccessibility to capital for the local small entrepreneurs, speculative investments,
illicit contract	immunity from labour laws, avoiding minimum wage laws, safety standards, health regulations, working hours, overtime payments, social benefits etc.
insurance sector	Economic slowdown due to lack of security and savings.
Corruption in the Army and Police force	no economy grows with constant extraction of money from private citizens and business men and women, it reduces the investment capital of business people, but it also make difficult the ease of doing business and divert investment capital into untaxed corrupt practices
Corruption in the Judiciary and the justice department.	Corrupt judicial system gives a free ride to debtors to escape at will, because they are rest assure the creditors can never fight them through the courts. It therefore force credit unions and banks to lent money at very high interest just to foreclose on debt. more disturbing, vital investment are stalled or scare away because investors are not guaranteed their basic rights can be uphold by the judiciary.
Political corruption	Where the political structure is adamantly corrupt, accountability becomes impossible, national and local administration becomes weak and incapable of delivering services base on merits and fairness especially to the poor and vulnerable.

### **A message to corruption fighters.**

I have always liked to refer corruption fighters to the book of Mathews in the Bible and the story of John the Baptist. John the Baptist was in the habit of condemning the king of Herodias not to engage into adulterous affairs with his brother's wives, and he said this so often to the irritation of the king. They (corruption fighters) should remember there was a lady called Salome who enjoyed the status quo at that time, they must remember that, after Salome danced so well, Salome demanded for the head of John the Baptist. So that is how it is for corruption fighters today, they are like John the Baptist telling the later days Herodias that you are corrupt, you are corrupt, you must remember that they are Salome's who will

be looking for your head. The question is, are you prepared? But I want to use this occasion to remind you, that it is not going to be easy, the children of darkness, who are the perpetrators of corruption have won advantage over the children of light, they are well organized, they are prepared to kill, they are prepared to do anything on Earth, to ensure that their ill-gotten wealth, is retained and protected.



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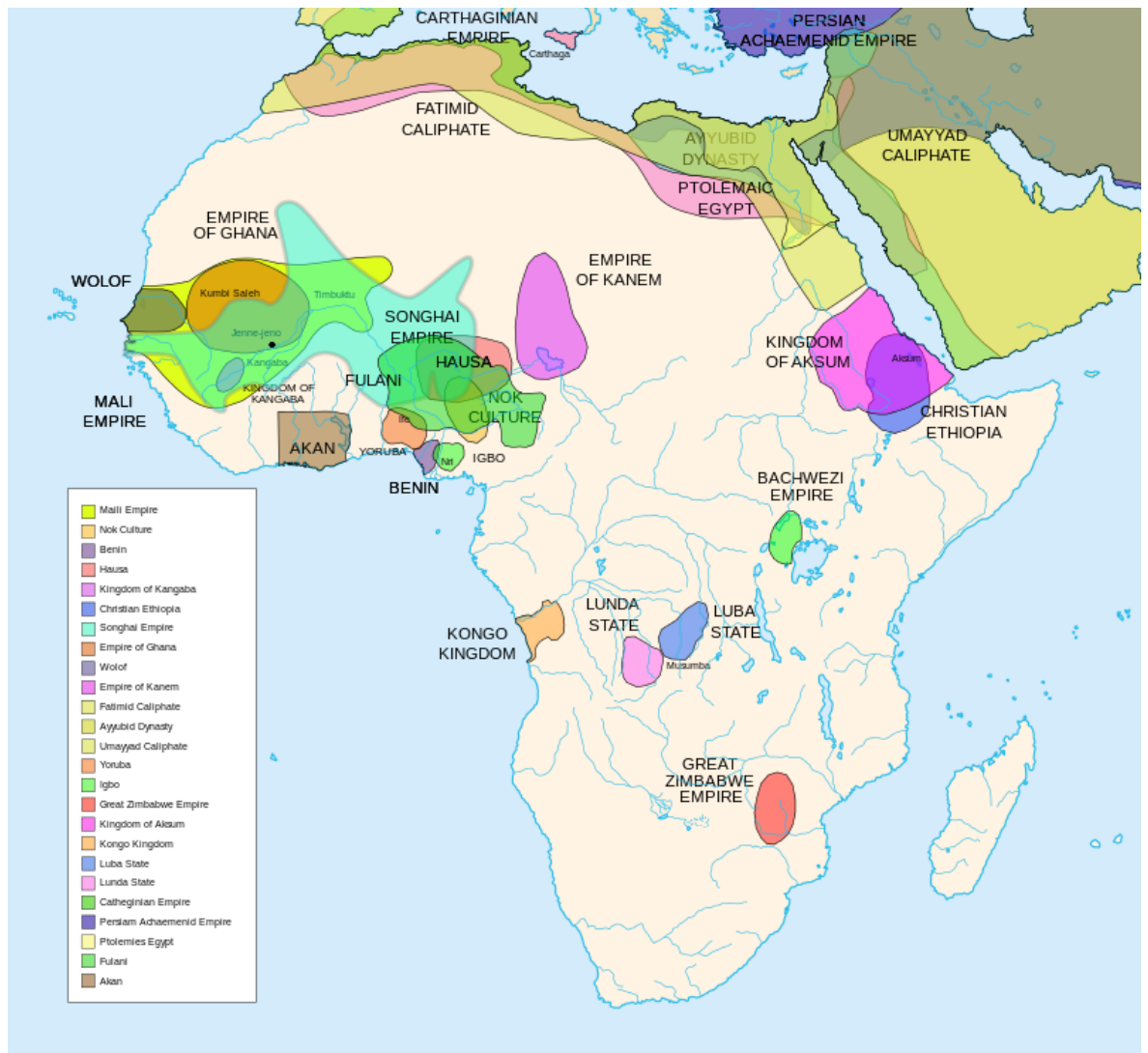
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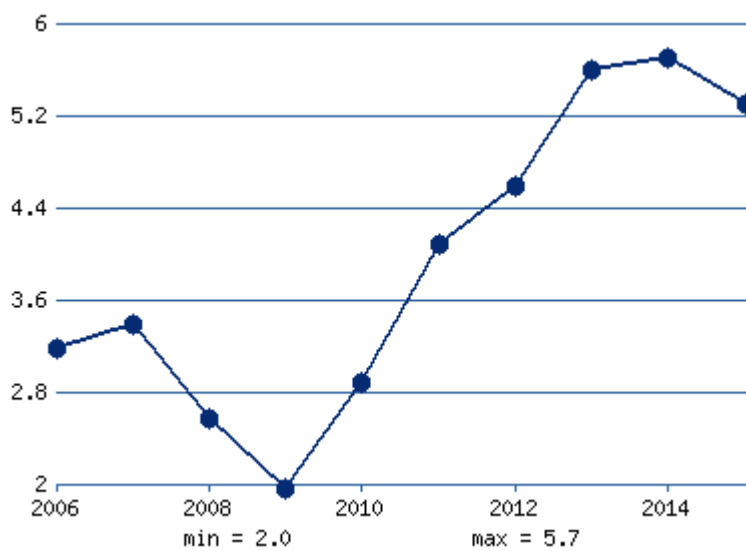


Pre-colonial Africa and civilization



Corruption index for Cameroon from 2006

Real GDP growth rate (%)



## Economy of Cameroon



Douala, the economic capital of Cameroon

<b>Currency</b>	CFA Franc (XAF)
<b>Fiscal year</b>	Calendar year
<b>Trade organisations</b>	AU, WTO
Statistics	
<b>GDP</b>	\$72.12 Billion (PPP) (2014 est.) <sup>[1]</sup> \$28.82 Billion (Nominal) (2015 est.) <sup>[2]</sup> Rank: 96th (2015) <sup>[3]</sup>
<b>GDP growth</b>	5.9% (2014 est.)
<b>GDP per capita</b>	\$3,200 (PPP) (2015 est.) <sup>[1]</sup> \$1,489 (Nominal) (2015 est.) <sup>[2]</sup>
<b>GDP by sector</b>	agriculture (22.3%), industry (29.9%), services (47.9%) (2015)



<b>Inflation (CPI)</b>	2% (2015)	<b>Imports</b>	\$6.159 billion (2015)
<b>Population below poverty line</b>	37.5% (2000)	<b>Import goods</b>	machinery, electrical equipment, transport equipment, fuel, food
<b>Gini coefficient</b>	44.6	<b>Main import partners</b>	 China 18.9%  France 15.0%  Nigeria 12.1%  Belgium 5.2%  United States 4.4%  India 4.2% (2012 est.) <sup>[6]</sup>
<b>Labour force</b>	9.332 million (2015)		
<b>Labour force by occupation</b>	agriculture (70%), industry and commerce (13%), other (17%)		
<b>Unemployment</b>	30% (2001)		
<b>Main industries</b>	petroleum production and refining, aluminium production, food processing, light consume goods, textiles, lumber, sh repair		
<b>Ease-of-doing-business rank</b>	168th (2014) <sup>[4]</sup>		
		<b>Public finances</b>	
		<b>Public debt</b>	16.2% of GDP (2011)
		<b>Revenues</b>	4.035bn 2015)
		<b>Expenses</b>	\$5.404bn (2015)
		<b>Economic aid</b>	The Paris Club agreed to reduce Cameroon's debt of \$1.3 billion by \$900 million, debt relief now totals \$1.26 billion (2001)
		<b>Credit rating</b>	B (Domestic) B (Foreign) BBB- (T&C Assessment) (Standard & Poor's) <sup>[7]</sup>
			<b>External</b>
<b>Exports</b>	\$5.283 billion (2015)		
<b>Export goods</b>	crude oil and petroleum products, lumber, cocoa beans, aluminium, coffee, cotton		
<b>Main export partners</b>	 China 14.8%  Netherlands 9.5%  Spain 8.8%  India 8.4%  Portugal 7.9%  Italy 5.9%  United States 5.3% (2012 est.) <sup>[5]</sup>		
			<b>Main data source: CIA World Fact Book</b> <a href="#">↗</a> All values, unless otherwise stated, are in US dollars.

## Voting powers in the World Bank and IMF

Country	Voting Weight (%)
USA	16.75
Japan	6.23
Germany	5.81
UK	4.29
France	4.29
China	3.81
Canada	2.56
India	2.34