



Combating Corruption in Nigeria: Rational Decision Theory Approach

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ABSTRACT

This research paper will use the *rational decision theory* to explain why people in both private and public sectors of the economy indulge in the act of *corruption*. The *Rational Decision Theory* is a *standard analytic approach* used by economists and other social scientists to explain why individuals make the decisions that they do. The field of *decision theory* indebted to *Blaise Pascal (1670)*, *Daniel Bernoulli (1738)* and *Abraham Wald (1939)* has spawned several Nobel Laureates, and a healthy body of experience has developed to support its fundamental premise¹. The behavior of *stockholders*, economic cycles of boom and bust, criminal behavior, and a host of other behaviors have been explained by this theory. In this article, I apply simple rational decision theoretic rules to explain why corruption thrives in Nigeria's private and public sectors as a model to what obtains in other parts of the world. I will also apply the theory to identify some critical areas where private / public policy efforts should be focused if corruption is to be tamed. This research paper seeks to provide a comprehensive insight into the vexed and critical issue of corruption. The topic is relevant, due to its contributing effects to retarding the growth and development of countries in both developed and developing parts of the globe. This research paper will tackle the issue at stake comprehensively by providing definitions of what corruption is from diverse authorities, *research methodology* employed in preparing this seminal paper, national scenario of corruption in Nigeria as a *reference model*, causes and effects of corruption, challenges faced by companies working together in collective action to combat the monster of corruption, long and short term implications of not outlining strategic agenda to deal with corruption in all its ramifications, and efforts made to tackle the problem at both public and private sectors of the economy, and at national, regional and international levels will be examined.

Keywords: Rational, Decision, Theory, Analytic, Reference, Model, Approach, corruption, Stockholders, Research, Methodology.

INTRODUCTION

Corruption can be defined as the tendency to make putrid, taint, debase spoil, destroy the purity of, pervert, and to bribe². In other circles it is defined as the abuse of public power for private gains³. A dishonest way of using one's position or power to one's own advantage, especially for money⁴. A dishonest or wicked behavior⁵. The perversion of or the attempt to pervert the legal or right process within an entity⁶, the creation of or the attempt to create bottlenecks within a system for private profit or personal gain⁷. Corruption is attracting a lot of attention around the world, and is a growing international and regional concern. According to *Corruption around the World* (Tanzi, 1998), in its end-of-year editorial on December 31, 1995, *The Financial Times* of London, characterized 1995 as the year of corruption. The following three years could have earned the same title. The writing of books on corruption has become a growth industry in various countries. Corruption came second on a list of the biggest problems facing the world. The scourge of corruption and white-collar crimes has become a cause of serious concern. Corruption is a menace that can never be eliminated completely from society. Some traces of corruption always exist in every society. The extent of such corruption in



each is inversely proportional to the level of justice, accountability and indiscriminate application of law. As long as injustice and poverty prevail one cannot hope to eradicate corruption. A society based on the rule of law and equality caters for the genuine needs and wants of its members. But a society where the rule of law is absent, the vacuum is filled by the rule of nuisance value. The rights, privileges and respect in such a society depend upon how much you can browbeat a man or woman. One may acquire an official position by virtue of which one is able to cause harm to others or to give them favour and advantage. Corruption prevails all over the world equally in developed and developing countries. The level of corruption may vary between developed and developing countries but it cannot be restricted only to the developing and poor countries. The series of scandals surfaced recently in the United States indicate that corporate leaders can also be spectacularly corrupt.

The intricate and much touted regulatory system that oversaw the working of the American corporations turned out not to be strong enough to prevent *Enron, Global Crossing, Tyco, Bearings Bank, WorldCom, Wamu, Lehmann Brothers, Bear Stearns, Morgan Stanley, Merrill Lynch and recently AIG Inc* just to mention a few from indulging in immensely corrupt practices and for a reputable accounting firm *Anderson, now KPMG Inc* to sanction them. The crimes committed by these corporations were big and punishable. So corruption is not unique to the developing world alone. It is clearly understood that any deviation from the conduct or behaviour permitted by law will be punished. And punishment will be consistent with the magnitude of the committed crime. However, this relationship between crime and punishment often breaks down. It collapses when legal and regulatory systems become dysfunctional and compromised. This happens when the power of the strong cannot be constrained by the weak. This is exactly what happened in America's go-go capitalism. Here the power wielded by corporate boards and corporate executives was considerably greater than that exercised by common shareholders and common consumers. Undeniably, poor and developing countries are more prone to corruption. Lack of rule of law, inequality, injustice and bad governance causes vulnerability to moral and financial corruption eventually.

This time it is Bangladesh, which leads the list, followed by Nigeria in Africa, Indonesia in South East Asia, and Azerbaijan in Central Asia. This list is drawn up by Transparency International (TI), a Berlin-based organization, on the basis of the perception of foreign businessmen and fifteen surveys from nine independent institutions⁸. Not all the branded countries are as poor as Bangladesh, which tops the list. Nigeria is truly oil rich and yet it is often listed as the first, second or third most corrupt country. This year its position is second. Not that these countries are in Asia or Africa that they are poor and corrupt. Singapore, for example, is in Asia as well but happens to be the fifth least corrupt country in the world followed by Hong Kong, also in Asia, which is the fourteenth least corrupt country in a list of a hundred and two states. Corruption has thrived even in a very rich state like Kazakhstan, which has been ranked the fifteenth most corrupt state. What all that means is that the form of government or the extent of natural resources or the potential for becoming far rich does not matter. What matters is



the quality of government, the kind of governance and the transparency in administration it ensures. It does help when a country is as small as Finland which tops the list of least corrupt countries followed by Denmark and New Zealand, for a small country it is necessary to have efficient administration and least corruption.

Even larger federations like that of Canada and Australia and a confederation like Switzerland are able to achieve a very low level of corruption. Pakistan ranks now twenty-third whereas it was seventh in 1999 and earlier its rank swayed between two and four among the most corrupt countries of the world. Corruption has struck deep roots into Nigeria's soil. The truth is that all sections of Nigeria's elite are involved in corruption in a big way. They included politicians, businessmen, civil bureaucrats and military officials. It is not endemic to the public sector alone but extends to private sector as well. One routinely cheats, short-changes, lies, adulterates and acts in myriads of other dishonest ways. It is not at all doubtful that Nigeria's private sector or corporate sector is morally and ethically compromised and subscribes to corrupt practices in what is a corrupt and morally bankrupt environment. Corruption is not a simple phenomenon. It is a complex structure of many forms prevalent in our society at different levels starting from a ruler to a layman. The first type is "*speed money*". Speed money is used to move the file quickly, to combat inefficiency and red-tapism both planned and inherent. The second type is "*collusive corruption*" in interpreting existing laws and regulations, and in formulating new laws or amending existing ones to provide benefits to an individual or a certain group. The third type is sanctioning and writing-off heavy loans by the banking authorities without adherence to proper procedures or any strict analysis. Nonpayment of taxes is the fourth category. All rulers, officials and businessmen are defamed for their tax evasion. Federal Inland Revenue Service (FIRS) officials, themselves provide consultation for evading taxes against their palm greasing. Businessmen, industrialists, traders, importers and exporters take full advantage of this blessing. They save import duties by over and under invoicing of their imports and exports, while growers and manufacturers within the country seek subsidies for their sole benefits. It is a brief view of the forms of corruption. State-sponsored and private profit based bonds and schemes for extortion of money and whitener schemes of money raised by smuggling, drug-trafficking etc. are some other examples. Allotment of plots, arable lands and pastures to their favourites and high-ranking officials are another form of corruption. Discretionary powers of bureaucrats to use public sector funds for development schemes and unaccountable financial pools of other law-enforcement agencies are the other side of the picture. Issuing licenses, providing securities in the form of patronage and subsidies to their near and dear ones are also common practices of the rulers and officials in Nigeria. Commissions, favours and grafts demanded by the rulers, ministers, secretaries and heads of the institutions are the latest inventions.

Both Shehu Shagari and Buhari's governments in Nigeria were dismissed with the charges of wholesale corruption, extortion of money and abuse of powers. Nigeria's misfortune after the Biafran-Nigerian civil war and the banning from political activities and subsequent death of its first generation political leaders has been a string of either



weak, ineffective, corrupt, demagogic, non-visionary dictatorial rulers or leaders without much exception. The continuance of all-pervasive, anachronistic and highly damaging feudal system has become a fixed frame of mind for the nation. This is in direct conflict with democracy, progress and freedom both social, economic and political. Total neglect of education has widespread socio-economic implications and clear-cut effects on the society's moral fiber. This neglect is only the trend of a feudal society like ours. Constitutional acrobats of 1956, 1962, 1973 and later undemocratic amendments destroyed the system of government badly and uprooted the structural integrity. Weak political and military governments paved the way for abuse of official power, nepotism and favouritism for private gains by the civil and military officials, politicians and rulers. The masses trapped in a vicious triangle of bread, cloth and shelter are suffering inescapably. The press and electronic media are largely state-sponsored. Those who claim their freedom forget the unlimited restrictions. The press also failed to highlight the mounting corruption because state functionaries were far expert in hiding their corrupt practices; they relied on the advantage of secrecy of state and official correspondence and transaction. Distorted and weaker laws provided no authority to the judiciary and law-enforcement agencies to dispense justice and relief to the masses. So they also joined hands with the corrupt regimes and officials, and became tools of oppression, instead.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In writing this research paper I used an objective, analytical approach in providing a broader and deeper perspective to the issue under consideration using a wide range of materials such as journals, magazine and newspaper articles, text books on economics, psychology, development studies, sociology and anthropology, dictionaries, encyclopedias/Wikipedia and internet / online resources.

National Scenario

Corruption in Nigeria is a consequence of the nexus between bureaucracy, politics and criminals. Nigeria is now no longer considered a safe state. It has now become a Hobbesian state of nature where life is so nasty, solitary, brutish and short-lived. Today, Nigeria has through the moral sanctions of collective opinion across the world become something of a pariah state. Nigerians receive "special treatment" when they apply for visas or arrive at foreign ports of entry or try to open a bank account or transact any form of business outside their homeland. They are relatively less free to move around the globe than citizens of most other countries; they may not participate as freely in the emerging global economy, even where the country belongs to international groupings like The Commonwealth, G-20, African Union (AU), ECOWAS, United Nations (UN) et cetera. Why are the country and her citizens the subject of such nervousness one may ask? Stereotypes of Nigerians, abound. Some common derogatory examples describe them as the flamboyant, arrogant, loud, pushy, overconfident West Africans whose self-assurance comes from the wealth derived from wastage, and corruption on a grand scale or even drug trafficking and elaborate scams. By definition, these stereotypes emanate from exaggerations, distortions and generalization of some very real observations, but the effect both on the rest of the world and on Nigeria and her citizens is very significant. For those



who see Africa as a huge untapped market, Nigeria with approximately one-fifth of the populations of the continent⁷ and its oil revenues is potentially a lucrative entry point. The apprehension towards all things Nigerian however, serves to keep many out of venturing to unlock this probable goldmine. At one time, bribe was paid for getting wrong things done but now bribe is paid for in other to get the right things done at the right time. The annual Corruption Perception Index (CPI) Report 2007 of the German-Based Transparency International ranks Nigeria as the 147th most corrupt countries in the world out of 179 countries polled⁸.

Causes of Corruption-Rational Decision Theory Rationalization

At its core, rational decision theory is based on simple and intuitive concepts. It assumes fundamentally that given an option, W , which has a likelihood or probability of occurrence, P , the expected benefit from taking that choice is given by the multiplication of the option, W and the probability P . In simple mathematical terms, we would say that: Expected Benefit = $W \times P$. Of course any choice options naturally carry corresponding costs. Therefore, given a Cost, C with a probability of occurrence P' , the expected cost of the option is given as: Expected Cost = $C \times P'$. In effect, the expected net benefit of any option W given a cost C and respective probabilities of occurrence P , and P' is given as: Expected Net Benefit = Expected Benefit - Expected Cost = $W \times P - C \times P'$. Whenever the Expected Net Benefits are greater than zero, the choice is one which a rational decision maker is expected to make. If the Expected Net Benefits are negative, the rational thing to do is to turn down the option. Now that we have a decent handle on rational decision theory we will apply the concept to two hypothetical corruption cases.

Case 1: Low Enforcement regime

A 45-year old Director General in the Nigerian Civil Service earns ₦8m annually (including allowances, rent and home ownership subsidies and other emoluments). He has the opportunity to corruptly enrich himself to the tune of ₦10 m. If caught, he will suffer reputational damage for the rest of his life, spend some time in jail and lose his pension entitlements. He estimates that the losses he will suffer if caught and prosecuted will come to about ₦5 m annually. These losses can be calculated as a perpetuity, which at an assumed 10% interest rate gives estimated lifetime losses of about ₦50 m. He knows that there is a 10% chance that he will be caught, and if caught, there is a further 10% chance that he will be prosecuted. He expects that he will be found guilty if prosecuted. Should he corruptly enrich himself?

Answer: Yes. The Expected Net Benefit is positive (+₦9.5 m).

1. Probability of getting embezzled amount (P_1) = 100%
2. Probability of getting caught (P_2) = 10%
3. Probability of getting prosecuted (P_3) = 10%
4. Probability of being found guilty if prosecuted (P_4) = 100%
5. Estimated Lifetime Losses (C) = ₦50 m
6. Gains from Corrupt enrichment (W) = ₦10 m



$$\text{Expected Net Benefit} = P_1 \times W - P_2 \times P_3 \times P_4 \times C$$

$$\text{Expected Net Benefit} = 100\% \times 10 \text{ m} - 10\% \times 10\% \times 100\% \times 50 \text{ m} = 10 - 0.5 = \text{N}9.5 \text{ m}.$$

Case 2: High Enforcement Regime

Consider the case of the same civil servant. Assume that now the enforcement and judicial environment is radically different. The government has instituted a policy that rewards whistleblowers who report corrupt officials with 2.5% of the total embezzled amount. There is also a 2.5% bonus reward that goes to the lawyers who prosecute the cases if there is a successful conviction. These developments have caused the probability of getting caught to increase to 50% and the probability of getting prosecuted to increase to 50%. Should the Civil Servant still corruptly enrich himself in this new scenario?

Answer: No. The Expected Net Benefit is negative (-N2.5 m).

1. Probability of getting embezzled amount (P_1) = 100%
2. Probability of getting caught (P_2) = 50%
3. Probability of getting prosecuted (P_3) = 50%
4. Probability of being found guilty if prosecuted (P_4) = 100%
5. Estimated Lifetime Losses (C) = N50 m
6. Gains from Corrupt enrichment (W) = N10 m

$$\text{Expected Net Benefit} = P_1 \times W - P_2 \times P_3 \times P_4 \times C$$

$$\text{Expected Net Benefit} = 100\% \times 10 - 50\% \times 50\% \times 100\% \times 50 \text{ m} = 10 - 12.5 = -\text{N}2.5 \text{ m}.$$

An analysis of the causes of corruption in both private and public sectors of the economy are many and complex. The following are some of the causes of corruption in both the private and public sectors:

- I. Emergence of political elite who believe in interest-oriented rather than nation-oriented programmes and policies.
- II. Artificial scarcity created by the people with malevolent intentions wrecks the fabric of the economy.
- III. Corruption is caused by the change in the value system and ethical qualities of men who administer resources in both private and public sectors of the economy. The old ideals of morality, service, integrity and honesty are regarded as anachronistic.
- IV. Tolerance of people towards corruption, complete lack of intense public outcry against corruption and the absence of strong public forum to oppose corruption allow corruption to thrive in private and national life.
- V. Vast size of population coupled with widespread illiteracy and the poor economic infrastructure lead to endemic corruption in public life.
- VI. In a highly inflationary economy, low salaries of government officials and staff in the Organised Private Sectors (OPSs) compel them to resort to the road of corruption. Graduates from technical and vocational schools with no experience draw a far handsome salary than what government secretaries draw.
- VII. Complex laws and procedures alienate common people to ask for any help from government.
- VIII. Election time is a time when corruption is at its peak level. Big industrialists fund



politicians to meet high cost of election and ultimately to seek personal favor. Bribery to politicians buys influence, and bribery by politicians buys votes. In order to get elected, politicians bribe poor illiterate people, who are struggling for two meals per day.

IX. Bad governance

X. Inefficient management of state resources

XI. The failure to respect the rule of law, transparency, and accountability

XII. Absence of democratic institutions

XIII. Repression of the civil society and other centres of opposition

XIV. Capacity deficiency on the part of the civil society

XV. A weak and corrupt bureaucracy

XVI. Military rule and the centralization of political power

XVII. Little or no press freedom (presence of gag-laws)

XVIII. Top-Down approach to developmental issues.

Effects of Corruption

Nigerian private sector and government administration is tainted with scandals. It is ranked as one of the most corrupt countries of the 106 countries where corruption is rampant, according to the Corruption Perception Index (CPI), 2004 Report released by Transparency International ⁹. Corruption in Nigeria and other countries in her league lead to promotion not imprisonment. It is very difficult to catch a big shark. Corruption in Nigeria has wings not wheels. As nation grows, the corrupt also grow to invent new methods of cheating the people in both public and private sectors of the economy. The strategy to empower people puts a human face on the costs of corruption. Corruption has had an impact on the ability of the country to meet its obligations to its citizens in terms of providing basic necessities of life as enshrined in the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) and the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) documents in the public sector and lead to the collapse of private businesses and corporate bodies leading to loss of millions and billions of Dollars of investors money and confidence to invest in the economy . The loss of over 10 Trillion Naira as a result of drop in market share capitalization by the Nigerian Stock Exchange (NSE), due to the greed and manipulation of share prices by company executives and market operators is worthy of note. The Bernard Madoff's case which led to the loss of over US \$50 Billion of investor's money in a ponzy/pyramid scheme is also a case in point. The current global financial crisis which has led to a downturn in the global economy and its associated problems to nations, companies (especially financial, and insurance), households and individuals was as a result of greed, corruption, incompetence and sheer maladroitness on the part of company executives and market operators leading to the collapse of the U.S Sub-Prime Mortgage industry. Investors in investment banks like Morgan Stanley, Bear Stearns, Lehmann Brothers and AIG Insurance can attest to this. The International Labor Organization (ILO) had earlier released the chilling report that the global job losses could hit 51 million by the end of this year. According to Juan Somavia, ILO director general, the premise of the report was not alarmist. "*We are now facing a global job crisis*," he said. Market with trillions of naira already lost, collapse of commodity prices, especially oil leading to reduction in export earnings ¹⁰.



The ILO predicted that the crisis could push another 200 million workers into extreme poverty as they are faced with grim reality of being forced out of a living in informal, underpaid and unstable work situation, especially in Africa and South Asia. The Central Bank of Nigeria governor had also said that the effects of the global financial crisis on the Nigerian economy include low confidence in the stock market. Other effects, he said, are demand pressure on the foreign exchange market arising from divestment and repatriation of capital and dividend by foreign investors as well as de-accumulation of foreign reserves and pressure on exchange rate, liquidity pressures, potential toxic assets, exchange rate risks, counter-party risks and challenges of global capital flows, including over-priced lines of credit, etc ¹⁰.

Challenges for Companies Working Together In Collective Action to Fight Corruption

In the quest to fight corruption through a collective initiative, companies face a lot of problems, some of which include:

1. High cost of prosecuting offenders.
2. Non-confidentiality of identities of people willing to volunteer information on corrupt cases.
3. Weak and non enforcement of existing laws on matters bordering on graft and misappropriation.
4. Lack of adequate mechanisms to facilitate quick exchange of information and intelligence.
5. Variations in the level of technological advancement of companies, organizations and establishments.

Measures to Combat Corruption by Companies in Collective Action

Is it possible to contain corruption in our society? Corruption is a cancer, which everyone must strive to cure. Many new leaders when they assume the reins of power declare their determination to eradicate corruption but as soon as they make their commitment to tackle corruption they in turn get swallowed up in the vortex of corruption and start amassing stupendous wealth whose sources are not only questionable but cannot be justified, thereby eroding their moral authority to combat corruption. There are many myths about corruption, which have to be exploded if we really want to combat it. Some of these myths are: Corruption is a way of life and nothing can be done about it. Only people from underdeveloped or developing countries are prone to corruption. We will have to guard against all these crude fallacies while planning measures to fight corruption. The measures include:

- I. Foolproof laws should be made so that there is no room for discretion and/or manipulation by company employees, politicians and bureaucrats. The role of the politician should be minimized. Application of the evolved policies should be left in the hands of independent commission or authority in each area of public interest. Decision of the commission or authority should be challengeable only in the courts.
- II. Cooperation of the people has to be obtained for successfully containing corruption.



People should have a right to recall the elected representatives if they see them becoming indifferent to the electorate.

III. Funding of elections is at the core of political corruption. Electoral reforms are crucial in this regard. Several reforms like: State funding of election expenses for candidates; strict enforcement of statutory requirements like holding in-party elections, making political parties get their accounts audited regularly and filing income-tax returns; denying persons with criminal records a chance to contest elections, should be brought in.

IV. Responsiveness, accountability and transparency are a must for a clean system. Bureaucracy, the backbone of good governance, should be made more citizen-friendly, accountable, ethical and transparent.

V. More and more courts should be opened for speedy & inexpensive justice so that cases do not linger in courts for years and justice is delivered on time.

VI. Local bodies, Independent of the government, like Lokpals, Lokadalats, CVCs and Vigilance Commissions in India, and Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), Independent Corrupt Practices (and other related offenses) Commission (ICPC) in Nigeria should be formed to provide speedy justice with low expenses.

VII. Need for Freedom of Information (FOI) law. Right to Information should be introduced, which will empower the citizens to ask for the information they want. Barring some confidential information, which concerns national and international security, other information should be made available to general public as and when required. Stringent actions against corrupt officials will certainly have a deterrent impact.

Drawing Private/ Public Policy Lessons from Rational Decision Theory

While these examples are hypothetical, the implications are clear. The self interest of people and the proven rational basis for much of human behavior can actually be used as tools for cracking down on corruption. Rational decision theory suggests that if corruption is to be tackled effectively public policy must focus on (i) increasing the likelihood of getting caught, (ii) increasing the likelihood of prosecution and (iii) raising the penalties borne by corrupt officials.

(i) Encourage whistleblowers so that the likelihood of catching embezzlers increases.

There is always a long line of clerks, messengers, cashiers, accountants, personal bankers and auditors that are privy to every single act of corruption. Right now, these people keep quiet because there is no incentive to make them come forward with the information that they have. Imagine what would happen if a law was enacted that guaranteed a reward of 2.5% of the recovered proceeds of corruption to a whistleblower (the payout should probably be capped at N10m or so, otherwise the incentives become perverse). I am confident that the authorities would be inundated with all types of information about corrupt activities. As a consequence the likelihood that corrupt officials will be reported should increase, thereby increasing the costs to the perpetrators of corrupt activities.

(ii) Provide Incentives to Lawyers so that the likelihood of prosecution increases:

Even where corrupt officials are arrested, we have seen situations where trials drag on forever, or the officials are let off the hook because of the ineptitude and sloppiness of the lawyers charged with their prosecution. To get prosecution rates up, it will be prudent to provide an incentive that rewards the successful and timely prosecution of cases. Guaranteeing some portion of the recovered sums to successful prosecutors could help in this regard. In



the corporate world, where shareholders are faced with what is called the *Principal-Agent problem*, the commitment of the CEO and other executives to making sure that their (the executives') focus is on growing shareholder's wealth is secured by making stock options part of the compensation package. If the stock does well, then the executives benefit as well.

(iii) Increase the penalties associated with corruption: As the cases suggest, a critical element that determines the expected net benefit (or loss) of corruption is the magnitude of the lifetime loss suffered. In all the instances considered, if the lifetime losses had been more extreme, the expected net benefits of corrupt activity would have greatly reduced. Some of the steps that could be taken from a public policy perspective to increase the costs to the perpetrators of corrupt activities includes severely restricting the economic opportunities available to people convicted of corruption. For instance professionals like lawyers, doctors, and engineers who have been convicted of corruption could be stripped of their charters and/or licenses. Convicted embezzlers could be excluded from participation in the stock market, or politics, and onerous forfeiture requirements could be imposed to make the lifetime losses large and significant.

CONCLUSION

Corruption is an intractable problem. It is like diabetes, and can only be controlled, but not totally eliminated. It may not be possible to root out corruption completely at all levels of our socio-economic and political lives, but it is possible to contain it within tolerable limits. Honest and dedicated persons in public life, control over electoral expenses could be the most important prescriptions to combat corruption. Corruption has a corrosive impact on our economy. It worsens our image in international market and leads to loss of overseas opportunities. Corruption is a global problem that all countries of the world have to confront, solutions, however, can only be home grown. We have tolerated corruption for so long. The time has now come to uproot it out of our socio-economic, political, private and public lives spheres.

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