

A Comparative Study of Corruption in the Extractive Industries of Nigeria and Botswana: Lessons that can Be Learnt by the Young African Country of Eritrea

Dr. Yemane Desta

Department of Public Administration, College of Business & Social Sciences

University of Asmara

Asmara, Eritrea

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Abstract

This article examines the nature of corruption in the extractive industries of two Sub-Saharan countries, namely Nigeria and Botswana. It explained the root causes of the high levels of corruption present in the case of oil and gas-rich Nigeria and the reasons that account for the minimal levels of corruption prevailing in diamond-rich Botswana. This article identified corrupt political leadership; the legacy of the divide and rule policies introduced by the former British colonial masters; lack of transparent and accountable public institutions, political patronage networks; poverty-driven desire to meet the basic necessities of life; massive inflows of petrodollars producing the “resource curse”; chronic political disruptions characterized by several military coups; the supremacy of familial, ethnic and religious loyalties over national interest and poor public sector pay as the main drivers of pervasive corruption in Nigeria. On the other hand the primary factors that contributed to the remarkable achievement of Botswana in the fight against corruption include ethical political leadership; sound pre-independence traditional institutions; relatively homogenous population; respect for rule of law and property rights; high degree of transparency; cultural intolerance to graft, establishment of democratic institutions at independence; good economic management; ability to manage ethnic diversity; and a competent, a meritorious bureaucracy. This article also identified the key elements of anticorruption strategy that would help prevent and combat corruption as well enhance integrity in the Eritrean public sector based on the experiences of Nigeria and Botswana. They include sound ethical political leadership; transparency and accountability in government; merit-based and adequately paid civil service;

independent, empowered and well-resourced anticorruption commission; and prudent natural resource management.

Keywords: Botswana, corruption, diamonds, Eritrea, extractive industries, Nigeria, oil, Sub-Saharan Africa

1. Introduction

Corruption, broadly defined as the abuse of public office for private gain by the World- Bank, has been acknowledged as a universal problem. (World Bank, 1997) Corruption is manifested in the form of bribery, fraud, extortion, embezzlement, insider trading, nepotism, cronyism, influence peddling and patronage present in both developed and developing countries, the latter are much more prone to corruption and at greater risk of the damaging consequences of corruption. There is growing academic and policy consensus that corruption is often high in low-income countries, and is costly. (Olken and Rohini, 2012) Within the category of developing countries Africa has registered consistently high on the list of countries with poor governance and prevalent corruption. According to Uneke (2010) corruption is one of the key explanations for the existence of widespread poverty and underdevelopment in the Third-world including Africa. Most sub-Saharan African countries have been independent for over five decades nonetheless; there has been stagnation or minimal progress in terms of socio-economic growth and development. Endemic corruption among the majority of these countries has emerged as one of the primary driving forces behind economic underdevelopment, wealth inequality and political instability. (Kichwen, 2017)

According to Heineman and Heimann (2006) corruption distorts markets and competition, breeds cynicism among citizens, undermines the rule of law, damages government legitimacy, and corrodes the integrity of the private sector. Corruption is a destructive force having the tendency to exacerbate and cause conflicts, promote poverty, and impact negatively on the best use of human and natural resources. (Aloko and Abdullahi, 2018) Corruption is a universal age-old phenomenon. It cuts across faiths, religious denominations and political systems and affects both young and old, man and woman alike. Corruption is found in democratic, and dictatorial politics; feudal, capitalist and socialist economies. (Brown, 2014) Corruption is a universal phenomenon, but it is stubbornly entrenched in the poor countries of Sub-Saharan Africa; but it is widespread in Latin America; it is deeply rooted in many of the newly industrialized countries; and it is reaching alarming proportions in several of the post-communist countries.

According Ittner (2009) citing Hope (2000):

“Corruption in Africa has reached cancerous proportions. In fact, so pervasive is this phenomenon in the region that it has been labeled the ‘AIDS of democracy’ which is destroying the future of many societies in the region. The corruption problem in Africa reflects the more general, and now legendary, climate of unethical leadership and bad governance found throughout most of the continent.”

This article focused on examining the link between extractive industries and corruption in Sub-Saharan Africa countries. Sub-Saharan Africa is very rich in resources but the

sub-continent has paradoxically remained the poorest due to unstable, corrupt governments and dishonest leaders. (Kimaro, 2014) Africa is rich in natural resources; however, the proceeds from the sales of these natural resources to other countries are mismanaged by African leaders through corrupt processes (Nathniel, 2014) This article selected two Sub-Saharan Africa resource-rich countries; one having high levels of corruption (Nigeria) and the other (Botswana) with low levels of corruption with the aim of discovering the specific factors that account for differences in the prevalence of this cancerous phenomenon of corruption. This comparative study on the link between extractive industries and corruption in Sub-Saharan Africa would help in drawing lessons from the pitfalls of the countries bedeviled with the specter of pervasive corruption and the success stories of the countries with low levels of corruption. Moreover, the research findings would hopefully be used to identify the anticorruption reform priorities for the young African country of Eritrea aimed at preventing and combating corruption in the nascent but burgeoning Eritrean extractive industry sector.

2. Purpose of Study

This research upon which this article is based was undertaken to achieve the following objectives:

- To explore the nature of corruption in the extractive industries of Sub-Saharan Africa.
- To identify and discuss the primary drivers of increased corruption in the extractive industries of Sub-Saharan Africa countries well-known for their high resource wealth and high corruption attributes.
- To isolate and discuss the primary factors that may explain the reduced level of corruption in the extractive industries of Sub-Saharan Africa countries characterized by high resource wealth and low corruption.
- To discover and present the causes of high levels of corruption in the extractive industry of Nigeria.
- To account for the low levels of corruption in the extractive industry of Botswana
- To discover and present the common themes that can be drawn by examining the common characteristics of high-resource high corruption countries and high-resource but low corruption countries respectively.
- To identify the lessons that can be learnt by the young Sub-Saharan Africa country of Eritrea from the success story of Botswana and failure story of Nigeria with respect to natural resource management.

3. Research Questions

The research methodology relied on research questions aimed at identifying the factors that explain the levels of corruption in the extractive industries of Nigeria and Botswana respectively with the ultimate goal of capturing the lessons that can be learned by Eritrea. They were as follows:

1. What is the link between the extractive industries and corruption in natural resource-rich Sub-Saharan Africa countries?
2. Why is natural resource wealth (including oil, gas, minerals, timber, etc.) associated with the high level of corruption in many Sub-Saharan African countries?
3. Why are few exceptional Sub-Saharan African countries such as Botswana having low levels of corruption in their extractive industries as well as in their overall economy.
4. What are the main factors fueling corruption in the extractive industry as well as the overall economy, society and politics of Nigeria?
5. What are the primary positive elements that produce low levels of corruption in the extractive industry as well as overall economy, society and politics of Botswana?
5. What are the concrete lessons that can be learned by the young Sub-Saharan Africa country of Eritrea in order to avoid the pitfalls characterizing Nigeria and capitalize on the success story of Botswana?

4. Significance of the Study

According Zimring and Johnson (2007) the value of comparative study of corruption is not simply to document differences and similarities between countries and systems; for the comparative perspective is also a valuable tool for analyzing the distinctive character of one's own domestic practice and policy. The value of comparison is much greater than its utility for describing observed variations between states and societies serving an essential device for understanding what is distinctive (and problematic) about domestic arrangements. Therefore, the primary purpose of this comparative study was to examine the factors behind conditions in the extractive industries of resource rich high corruption case of Nigeria and resource rich but low corruption case of Botswana. From the theoretical perspective the study's significance is two-fold: first, it enriches the knowledge we have about corruption in the extractive industries of the majority of resource rich Sub-Saharan Africa countries. Second, the study provides an important perspective from the two extremes of very corrupt extractive industry sector of Nigeria and the very low corruption of the extractive industry sector of Botswana that can be augmented by future cross-country studies. (Ittner, 2009) From the practical perspective the study's significance rests on its ability to draw lessons from failures of Nigeria and successes of Botswana that would be relevant to the young African country of Eritrea possessing nascent but burgeoning extractive industry. Thus, the study makes a timely contribution the knowledge we have about corruption and the ways of preventing/fighting corruption in developing countries with view of drawing valuable lessons for the young African country of Eritrea.

5. Limitations of the Study

The limitations of the study are centered on two grounds. First, the study focused on the examination of two extreme cases of resource-rich very high corruption country of Nigeria and resource-rich but very low corruption country Botswana. Hence, there is strong need for including other Sub-Saharan African countries that are positioned in the middle of continuum

if the study's findings are to possess greater robustness for understanding the phenomenon of corruption. Second, the relatively young, small nation of Eritrea (independent since 1993) would be better served by a comparative study of corruption undertaken to include a larger number of smaller Sub-Saharan African countries showing both resource-rich high corruption (including countries such as Equatorial Guinea and Gabon) and resource-rich low corruption (including countries such as Botswana and Namibia)

The Link between Extractive Industries and Corruption in Sub-Saharan Africa

The belief that natural resource wealth is a blessing has been seriously questioned in recent decades as the experiences of the Sub-Saharan Africa countries and many other developing countries have demonstrated. Empirical studies have repeatedly shown that the large-scale extraction of natural resources in developing countries may sometimes lead to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth, but hardly ever to genuine human development. Whether they are torn by civil strife, suffer from real exchange rate appreciation, fail to adjust policies to changing world market prices, or have hopelessly corrupt leaders, these countries suffer from what has become known as the “natural resource curse”. (Salomonsson and Sandberg, 2010) A common reason why it is called the resource curse or the paradox of plenty is because one might expect a country that has an abundance of natural resources to have a stable government and economy. (Nichols, 2018) However, resource-rich countries tend to have higher rates of authoritarianism and corruption, in addition to having low-rates of economic stability and economic growth compared to non-resource-rich countries. (Nichols, 2018) Many reasons have been posited for this phenomenon of resource curse including a reduced competitiveness of the manufacturing industry through short-term currency appreciation known as the Dutch disease, to the volatility of revenues from resource exports caused by booms and busts in the global economy, government mismanagement of resource revenues, as well as weak and corrupt institutions which divert resource wealth for personal benefit. (Gaba, 2013)

There is considerable disagreement over whether the discovery of minerals in a developing economy generally brings good luck or bad. Indeed, many countries in Africa, including Zambia, Nigeria, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sierra Leone, and others, have squandered vast amounts of their natural wealth. (Lewin, 2011) One does not have to be persuaded that natural resources are necessarily a curse to conclude that they certainly are not sufficient for economic success or even a good predictor of it. In the case of Botswana, minerals turned out to be lucky, but other key ingredients in the recipe for success were present, including good governance and good economic management. (Lewin, 2011)

According Zhan (2011) comparative studies suggest that the abundance of natural resources often contributes to economic underdevelopment in third-world countries. One major causal mechanism of resource curse, as some scholars point out, is that reliance on resources leads to bad governance and weak political institutions that suffer widespread corruption. Veisi (2017) points to the strand of literature that argues that economic problems related to resource abundance are exaggerated and issues of corruption and governance inside public institutions are the driving forces behind the curse. A strong argument can be made that the curse of

natural resources arises not necessarily because of the Dutch disease (economic affliction) but rather works through political mechanisms: resource rents undermine the quality of political institutions and increase the tendency of corruption, which consequently hamper economic growth. (Zhan, 2011) According to Amadi and Ekekwe (2014) citing Aidt (2011) resource-rich countries tend to grow a slower rate than other countries for the often-cited reason resource abundance fosters a “rentier” economy with rampant corruption and poorly developed institutions.

The vast majority of the Sub-Saharan African resource-rich endowed states oil, natural gas and mineral wealth has not translated into improved living conditions for citizens but contributed to growing disparity, corruption, and repression. (Mailey, 2015) These resource-rich Sub-Saharan Africa countries have lost Billions of dollars from oil and mineral revenues to corruption. With exception of few the majority of these countries have consistently scored low on the UNDP’s Human Development Index (HDI) while registering at the bottom of Transparency International Corruption Perception Index (CPI).

Nigeria

Nigeria is ranked as the seventh most populous country in the world and the most populous country in Africa with estimated population of 195.6 million people for 2018. (World Bank, 2018a). Nigeria’s HDI value for 2017 is 0.532— which put the country in the low human development category—positioning it at 157 out of 189 countries. (UNDP, 2018) The HDI is a summary measure for assessing long-term progress in three basic dimensions of human development: a long and healthy life, access to knowledge and a decent standard of living. A long and healthy life is measured by life expectancy. Nigeria’s 2017 HDI of 0.532 is above the average of 0.504 for countries in the low human development group and below the average of 0.537 for countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. (UNDP, 2018) In June of 2018 Nigeria had overtaken India as the nation with the highest number of people living in extreme poverty across the world, with an estimated 90.8 million people (46.4% of its estimated 195.6 million total population).measured to be living on less than US \$1.90 (Naira 684) a day.

The economy is mainly dependent on oil, which sustains corrupt practices where corruption drains Nigeria, about 20% of its gross domestic product (GDP). (Ijewereme, 2015) Nigeria, Angola, Gabon, Republic of Congo, and Equatorial Guinea are the five most important oil-exporting countries from the Gulf of Guinea region where the confirmed, mostly offshore oil reserves in the region are over 52 billion barrels. The oil from the region is of a high quality, contains a small proportion of Sulfur and is much closer to the United States of America by sea than the oil from the Persian Gulf. (Kurečić et al., 2014)

Nigeria and Angola are two by far most important oil rich and oil exporting countries in the region. Almost 90 percent of confirmed oil reserves in the region lie in Nigeria and Angola, and Nigeria alone holds over 70 percent of the region’s oil reserves. (Kurečić et al., 2014) Nigeria is the largest oil producer in Africa and the sixth largest exporter in the world while holding the tenth largest proven oil reserves in the world, with the second largest reserves in Africa after Libya. (Elwerfelli and Benhin, 2018). The country produces 2.4 million barrels of crude oil daily and the country’s proven oil reserve as of 2015 stood at 37.14 billion barrels.

(Elwerfelli, and Benhin, 2018). However, despite its enormous resource endowments Nigeria remains one of the poorest countries in sub-Saharan Africa and in the world at large.

In the Transparency International Corruption Perception Index (CPI) report for 2018 Nigeria scores 27 based on a score of zero to 100 (zero being highly “corrupt” and 100 being highly “clean”). Nigeria is currently ranked 144th out of 180 countries. Nigeria CPI score of 27 is below the average score of 43 as well as the average score for sub-Saharan Africa of 32. According to Ijewerem (2015) corruption is a clog in the wheel of progress in Nigeria and has incessantly frustrated the realization of noble national goals, despite the enormous natural and human resources in Nigeria. According to (Ijewereme, 2015) citing (Ademola, 2011) report the claim made by the former Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) Chairman, Nuhu Ribadu, that the over US\$400 billion had been looted from Nigeria since independence in October of 1960 by its leaders which amounted to “six times the total value of resources committed to rebuilding Western Europe after the Second World War”. In one of the of the high profile embezzlement cases in the extractive industry for all crude oil sales within the period of 2012 and July 2013 the NNPC (Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation) paid only 24 % proceeds into the federation account, and diverted the remaining 76 % which cannot be accounted for resulting in unremitted misappropriated fund totaling US \$20 billion. (Omitaomu, 2014 cited in Donwa et al., 2015).

The nature of corruption in Nigerian oil and gas sector is characterized by under-payment of taxes, royalties, and bribery by the oil and gas companies to NNPC (Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation) and CBN (Central Bank of Nigeria) resulting in discrepancies in quoted figures, have significantly contributed to oil resource curse in Nigeria. (Okeke & Aniche, 2013 cited in Donwa et al., 2015). According to Abraham and Michael (2018) the state of corruption in the Nigerian oil and gas sector is characterized by the following:

- Extensive and prolonged looting of oil revenues by successive civilian and military leaders including state governors
- Fraud, overbilling of contracts and theft of crude oil with the complicity of agents from the national oil company, the MNPC (Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation) (Monticlos, 2018)
- Illegally accessing oil resources by capitalizing on the lack of inspection over the oil transportation routes, as well as corroded pipelines vulnerable for breaches has allowed to access oil and its refined products for any wealthy individual (usually former government officials and crooked businessmen) possessing the necessary labor force and technological capacity. (Ehiemua, 2015)
- Lack of budgetary control and financial accountability resulting from long periods of authoritarian military rule.
- Disregard for the welfare indigenous local communities and environmental pollution being created by oil exploitation by foreign companies including Royal Shell. The decades of oil industry bad practice in the oil-rich Niger Delta has produced dangerous levels of pollution in the form of oil spills, waste dumping and gas flaring resulting substantive

damages to the soil, water, and air quality. (Brown, 2014)

- The national oil company, NNPC being linked to many opaque swap contracts, where crude oil was traded for refined petrol as well as to non-transparent oil exploration and production contract given to foreign companies. (Roy, 2017)
- The NNPC, (Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation), was also responsible for a kerosene fuel subsidy that did not reach most Nigerians, though it was recovering the money by billing the treasury.
- The Petro Equalization Fund that was supposed to compensate for oil transportation costs to different parts of the country (so that all regions pay a uniform price for petroleum), is also often misappropriated. (Roy, 2017)
- The proceeds of corrupt practices in the oil industry were laundered through world financial centers and were used to acquire assets in and outside Nigeria resulting personal enrichment and massive capital flight. (Iziekor and Okaro (2018)

The causes of overall corruption in the Nigerian politics, economy and society in general and corruption specifically in the extractive industries are complex and numerous. Among them the failure of leadership at the highest level of the political system is to blame for the scourge of corruption in Nigeria. According to world renowned Nigerian author Chinua Achebe in his 1988 book “The Trouble with Nigeria” he unequivocally puts the blame squarely at the doorsteps of the country’s post-independence leaders for past and present corruption and underdevelopment in Nigeria. Crisis of ethical political leadership has characterized Nigeria where powerful political elites feed on the state, prey on the weak, use national resources for self-aggrandizement, and deprive citizens of collective goods such as medical care, good education and employment. (Mayanja, 2008)

According to Aloko and Abdullahi (2018) among the prominent drivers of corruption in Nigeria are the legacy of the divide and rule policies introduced by the former British colonial masters; greedy and self-serving political leaders (in both civilian and military administrations); lack of transparent and accountable public institutions, political patronage networks; poverty-driven desire to meet the basic necessities of life; petrodollar bonanza from the oil boom era (1971-77) and subsequent increased quantities of crude oil production and exports; government institutions established to control graft which are themselves not above reproach.

The chronic political disruptions characterized by several military coups; disjointed work of the three branches of government allowing for informal rules and relations to flourish; the supremacy of ethnic and religious loyalties over national interest; poor pay punctuated by late payment for government employees; defective cultural beliefs which require a civil servant to engage into corrupt activities so that one could fulfill his/her obligations before a particular ethnic group, kinship and family are also considered among the cause of corruption in the Nigerian context. (Ehiemua, 2015) In addition the ineffectiveness and inefficiency of the various agencies of governments to tackle corruption without any form of bias or favoritism has allowed corruption in the oil industry to continue even grow unabated in Nigeria. (Brown,

2014). With corrupt leaders in place, all attempts at reforms are doomed, because they are unlikely to implement anything more effective than show-pieces or witch-hunts in their pretended ‘fight’ against corruption. (Ittner, 2009)

We have also to consider the external actors participating in and benefiting from corruption enterprise. Corruption is also a consequence of external factors manifested through the activities of foreign governments, aid organizations and private companies seeking to further their own (economic and strategic) interests through actions and practices that condone corrupt practices or that are corrupt in themselves (Mulinge and Lesetedi, 2002) Most cases of grand corruption also have an international dimension: “the bribe giver might be a transnational corporation(TNC); a corrupt politician might seek refuge from prosecution abroad; and, most common of all, the proceeds of corruption can be secreted to numbered accounts in foreign destinations”. (Galtung, 1998 cited in Mulinge and Lesetedi, 2002)

In 1977 the NNOC merged with the country’s former petroleum ministry and formed the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation. But due to a lack of ability to mine and market crude oil, the corporation had to partner with existing foreign companies, who were still able to conducted operations unimpeded by the Nigerian state. The failed policies and inaction of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation undermined the country’s ability to know the volume of oil being exported and how much they should be compensate. (Nash, 2016)

Foreign Oil companies in Nigeria have been less transparent, manipulated profit data to consistently underpay royalties, conspired to fix prices, and have systematically sought to corrupt the Nigerian government through bribes. (Dougherty, 2011) Multinational corporations such as Shell, Mobil, Chevron, Elf, Agip, Texaco and others keen on benefiting from the exploitation of the oil in Nigeria, have supported and maintained successive repressive and corrupt governments in Nigeria. (Udombana 2003 cited in Kebonang and Kebonang 2013).

The corrupting role of the oil companies can be illustrated through the well-known bribery scandal involving nearly most of the Nigerian leaders that blew open in Nigeria. This massive corruption scandal was exposed after the British lawyer, Jeffrey Tesler, pleaded guilty in 2002 to U.S. corruption charges in in Houston courtroom for his role (1991-2002) in what became known as the Halliburton Bribery Scandal. A network of secretive banks and offshore tax havens was used to funnel \$182 million in bribes to Nigerian officials to secure four contracts, worth over US \$6billion, to build Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) facilities (engineering and construction work) in Nigeria for an international consortium of companies that included a then Halliburton subsidiary. In terms of the personalities and the amount of money involved it is probably the biggest scandal in Nigeria’s history. Chief among the recipients of bribes were: Olusegun Obasanjo and Atiku Abubakar, and Funsho Kupolokun (Former President, Vice President and General Managing Director, Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation respectively) US \$74 million; General Sanni Abacha (former Nigeria Military Dictator) US \$40 million; Dan Etete (former Minister of Petroleum under Abacha) \$2.5 million; Atiku Abubakar (former Vice President) and Don Etiebet, (ex-Petroleum Minister) \$37.5 million; Ibrahim Aliyu, a retired federal permanent secretary (Urban Shelter and Intercellular) \$11.7

million; Bodunde Adeyanju, ex personal assistant to Obasanjo. \$5 million. (Usman, 2011 cited in Donwa et al., 2015). Moreover, it is clear from the flow of vast quantities of corrupt (and other dirty) money via international financial institutions into London, New York, Switzerland and other tax havens that corruption obviously has taken global dimensions. (Shaxson, 2007)

In sum, corruption in Nigerian state and specifically in the extractive industry sector is highly pervasive driven by complex set of factors while producing crippling effects on politics, economy and society. Indeed, the loss of revenue from hydrocarbon extraction has debilitating effects on the government's ability to implement development projects, finance infrastructure or, just maintain basic services. (Monticlos, 2018) The frequent and highly destructive ethnic and religious clashes in Nigerian politics are also attributable to competition for rents and spoils from corruption, where violence is used to establish relative holding power given the evenly balanced distribution of power among the main ethnic (Hausa, Fulani, Yoruba and Igbo) and religious groups (Moslem and Christian). (Roy, 2017) Poverty and injustice caused by corruption weaken any sense of mutual tolerance, social solidarity or coexistence, while reawakening social hatred, radicalism and violence. (Haldun and Odukoya. 2014)

However, despite its formidable domestic challenges Nigeria possess the largest economy in the African continent (GDP 397, 270 million USD for 2018) coupled with the strongest military in West Africa playing valuable peacekeeping role in its neighborhood. According to the World Bank (2018a) Nigeria is a key regional player in West Africa, with a huge population accounting for about 47% of West Africa with an abundance of resources; it is Africa's biggest oil exporter having largest natural gas reserves and the second highest (next to Libya) crude oil reserves on the continent. Nigeria is also the biggest economic and trading partner to the West and Asian countries like China. (Adigbuo, 2017) Its large and diverse population with close language and racial affinity in neighboring countries like Chad, Niger, Cameroon, Republic of Benin, Togo and Equatorial Guinea has also catapulted Nigeria into a prominent role in the West Africa region and in Africa at large. (Folarin, 2010 cited in Talibu, and Ahmad, 2016) If Nigeria is to realize its full potential by utilizing its political, economic, demographic and military clout, the need to prevent and combat corruption becomes paramount and urgent.

Botswana

Botswana is located at the center of Southern Africa, positioned between South Africa, Namibia, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. One of the world's poorest countries at independence in 1966, it rapidly became one of the world's development success stories courtesy of significant mineral (diamond) wealth, good governance, prudent economic management and a relatively small population of slightly more than two million. (World Bank, 2018b) The Government of Botswana has focused on the export of diamonds, which has allowed the country to maintain one of the world's highest economic growth rates for decades since independence, when its early openness attracted foreign aid and investment for an export-oriented productive infrastructure. (Besada and O'Bright, 2018) Diamond mining has

fueled much of the growth and currently accounts for more than one-third of the country's GDP of US\$36 billion for 2018, 70–80 per cent of export earnings, and about one-third of the government's revenue. (Besada and O'Bright, 2018) Thanks to the discovery of diamonds and the productive use of the diamond revenue, the country is now considered one of the richest non-oil producing countries in Africa and has been classified by the World Bank as an upper middle income country. (Kebonang and Kebonang, 2013)

Botswana's HDI value for 2017 is 0.717— which put the country in the high human development category—positioning it at 101 out of 189 countries. In the Transparency International Corruption Perception Index (CPI) report for 2018 Botswana scores 62 based on a score of zero to 100 (zero being highly “corrupt” and 100 being highly “clean”). Botswana is currently ranked 34th out of 180 countries. Botswana has managed to outrank countries including Israel, Spain and South Korea. Botswana's CPI score of 61 is well above 50; far exceeding the global average score of 43 as well as the average score for sub-Saharan Africa of 32.

Despite being a small, landlocked country and a relatively recent democracy (independence from the British came in 1966), Botswana has had a seven percent growth rate over the past thirty years—higher than Singapore and Korea which is recorded among the highest growth rates in the world since the 1950s. (Dougherty, 2011). In sub-Saharan Africa a large number of resource-rich countries including Nigeria, Equatorial Guinea, Angola, Democratic Republic of Congo, and South Sudan have lost huge amounts of revenues due to corruption and mismanagement in the process perpetuating economic underdevelopment and political instability. Botswana has managed to avoid this familiar path of squandering of natural wealth, pervasive corruption and violent conflict in the region.

According to Lewin (2011) the primary forces that enabled Botswana to avoid pervasive rent-seeking and corruption and instead promote economic growth and political stability include sound pre-independence traditional institutions, leadership quality, relatively homogenous population, rule of law and property rights, high degree of transparency, cultural intolerance to graft, establishment of democratic institutions at independence and good economic management. The presence of attributes necessary for the creation of effective political institutions in Botswana including strong, ethical and committed leadership; ability to manage ethnic diversity; a competent, representative, and meritorious bureaucracy; the ability to forge a public-private sector coalition have significantly contributed to promoting good governance, political stability, reduced corruption and economic development. (Sebudubudu and Mooketsane, 2016a)

According to Maipose and Matsheka (2008) cited in Sebudubudu and Mooketsane (2016a) the founding president Seretse Khama established a precedent for high ethical standards, a strong and relatively independent but accountable civil service, and a government focused on development and his successors carried on and built on these attributes. Former president Khama was said to live modestly (for instance, he had a small motorcade and security detail) and preached modest living to his cabinet ministers who did not fly first class (this was unlike in other African countries at the time) but drove their own automobiles and were given little

trappings of ministerial offices. (Bothale, 2018)

The responsibility of a country's leaders, political or otherwise to formulate efficacious and tenable methods to combat corruption is mandatory for destroying the vicious cycle of corruption. (Kaufmann and Vicente, 2011) Generally, it is not easy to understand whether the political leaders are determined to curb corruption, or whether they just come up with ploys to blind its citizens and the international community including donors. (Wambui, 2016) The common populist measures like sanctioning of a small number of corrupt individuals or the deliberate harassment of those with unpopular views is classic example of public relations meant to pacify the citizens while concealing the masters of grand corruption. (Kaufmann and Vicente, 2011) The corrupt leadership witnessed in many resource-rich sub-Saharan Africa countries including Nigeria, Angola, Gabon and Equatorial Guinea continue to collude foreign with multi-national Companies (MNCs) where MNCs dictate contracts in their favor allowing them to pay less royalties and taxes and assume minimum regulatory burden. Thus, for some multinational corporations (MNCs) disorderly, incompetent and corrupt leaders are vulnerable for manipulation and exploitation based on the logic the wheels of government are greased simply through bribery and other nefarious corrupt transactions. (Kebonang and Kebonang, 2013)

Botswana, Seychelles, Rwanda, Cape Verde and Namibia are states that have consistently ranked well in the least corrupt African countries and it has been found that the key ingredient common in these countries is a political leadership that is consistently committed to anti-corruption. The leaders of these countries go an extra mile to strictly implement and enforce compliance with the anti-corruption laws formulated in their countries. (Wambui, 2016) Successive leaders in Botswana have studiously avoided the worst aspects of 'resource nationalism', and have never nationalized mining companies, they have entered into long-term partnership with mining companies, with the Government of Botswana enjoying an ownership stake in all major mining operations and carefully worked out revenue-and risk-sharing agreements. (Koitsiwe, 2018) In doing so, the Government of Botswana has taken a long-term view, promoting private-sector investment in the mining sector, and ensuring that it is itself well-resourced when entering into negotiations with international mining companies, ultimately producing agreements that have given Botswana considerable benefits. (Koitsiwe, 2018)

The country and its leaders did not scare private investors, rather the government entered into a critical and inimitable partnership with an international company, De Beers Diamond Mining Company, to establish De Beers - Botswana Mining Company (DEBSWANA), which has been central to the exploitation and management of diamonds in Botswana. (Sebudubudu and Mooketsane, 2016b). Initially, De Beers and Botswana Government controlled 85% and 15% shares respectively, but this was later renegotiated to 50 - 50%. This partnership has turned out to be highly favorable for Botswana. (Sebudubudu and Mooketsane, 2016b)

With respect to Botswana's political culture the country has maintained a reputation for accountability and transparency, formalized through the constitution and supporting legislation which calls for open government. (Gapa, 2013) Botswana has maintained a high

degree of transparency, which was reinforced by continuing the Tswana tribal tradition of consultation. (Lewin, 2011) These consultative institutions, known as kgotla, created a degree of trust in the government—the sense that government exists to serve the people and promote development and is not the instrument of one group or individuals for the purpose of getting hold of the wealth. Tswana tradition also respected private property; the fact that many of the tribal leaders who helped usher in modern government were also large cattle owners may have reinforced this respect. (Lewin, 2011).

Botswana has a stable political environment with a multi-party democratic tradition where general elections are held every five years. (World Bank, 2018b) The Republic of Botswana is the African continent's longest continuous multiparty republic. (Nash, 2016) Botswana is also well known for its adherence to the rule of law, human rights and good governance. (Nyati-Ramahobo, 2008) After independence in 1966, Botswana's leaders took the opportunity to develop a system that encourage multiparty democracy and designed control measures to break the cycle of corruption. The country encouraged separation of power, freedom of the media, established office of Auditor General to ensure accountability and put in place transparent procurement procedures. (Holms, 1990; cited in Wambui, 2016) In addition, Botswana established democratic institutions after independence. There was a blend of traditional and modern institutions. (Wambui, 2016) Therefore, traditional forms of governance were adopted in the modern state after independent and principles of democracy and good governance were taken on board. For example, the principle of public participation was not imposed by the West; it was always part and parcel of Botswana's traditional culture. (Holms, 1990; cited in Wambui, 2016)

The Botswana culture encouraged democracy of all members of the community who would meet openly to discuss matters related to development of their village. (Wambui, 2016) The Botswana culture has always valued peace and transparency and this is an important factor that has fostered the climate of stability and slaying the dragon of corruption since independence. In contrast, the prevailing cultures in countries such as Nigeria, Angola and Kenya have idolized corruption and vilified the honest citizens as foolish and non-ambitious. (Doing, Alan. 2005)

Despite the BDP (Botswana People's Party) remaining in power since 1966, the foremost political opposition party, the BNF (Botswana National Front), competes for seats in parliament freely. (Gapa, 2013) Furthermore, successive presidents have fused the culture of openness and accountability with their individual leadership styles, insisting on curbing corruption, despite the incentives for corruption presented by Botswana's lucrative diamond mining. (Gapa, 2013) Moreover the indigenous culture possessed by Botswana encapsulated in societal values of "Botho" is considered very intolerant to corrupt acts committed by citizenry, especially public officials. According to Groop (2017) the relatively low levels of corruption in Botswana cannot be explained through accountability alone, rather the prevailing minimal corruption is in part explained role of other factors such as informal rules, emphasizing, among other things, the moral value of "Botho", which guides actors in the Botswana context, and which might hold a part-answer as to why corruption in Botswana is not more common than it is. Hence, Botswana's culture can be considered an important ally

in the combating corruption and enhancing integrity in the public sector. In the Eritrean context corruption is not embedded in society's culture as evidenced by lowest rating given by respondents (both public officials and business people) to Eritrean culture as a driver of corruption in Eritrea. On the basis of three survey-based research works done since independence the findings confirm Eritrea's reputation for possessing "anti-corruption culture". Visiting diplomats and foreign journalists frequently mention Eritrea's reputation as one of the least corrupt countries in East Africa. (Desta, 2019b) Thus, the indigenous Eritrea culture can be expected to make a positive contribution to having ethical public sector if it is aligned with good governance and good economic management.

Whereas many sub-Saharan Africa countries were marred by political and ethnic conflict, and largely ruled by paternalistic, rent-seeking governments; in stark contrast, Botswana's post-colonial up-bringing was characterized by shared values premised on nation building between the state and indigenous groups (Maundeni, 2002 cited in Marumo and Omotoye, 2016). Both statistics and anecdotal evidence suggest corruption in Botswana is still a rarity rather than the rule, especially compared to other African countries. Civil servant salaries, though not generous, are considered sufficient to guarantee a decent living without the need to resort to corruption. (Stefan, 2009) Widely considered to be "the country where corruption is least institutionalized, where the rule of law is most respected and poverty is least severe in Africa," Botswana is the economic development darling of Sub-Saharan Africa. (Bamidele, 2009)

Unlike many countries in a similar situation of a rich resource endowment which gave rise to political instability, political strife and conflict that has destroyed lives, property and ruined society all due to sectional interests over such natural resources, Botswana is one of the few countries that extracted minerals and used them successfully to promote development and in the process managed to avoid conflict. (Sebudubudu (2011) cited in (Sebudubudu and Mooketsane, 2016b). Botswana is rated noticeably better than some European Union member countries (e.g. Greece, Italy, Hungary) as well as cleaner than some of the fast growing and successful countries like the 'Asian Tigers' including South Korea on the basis of the Corruption Perceptions Index for 2018. This makes Botswana an ideal example of a low-corruption country and thus an interesting object of study for a comparison with a high-corruption country, in this case the West African giant of Nigeria.

Table 1. Significant Differences Regarding Nature, Causes of Corruption in Nigeria and Botswana

Characteristic	Nigeria	Botswana
1. Politics	Volatile/disruptive	Stable
2. Leadership	Corruption-prone	Ethical
3. Recruitment/promotion in government	Entrenched Patronage	Meritocratic
5. Rule of Law	Weak	Strong
6. Public Trust of Government	Weak	Strong
7. Hope for Change in Society	Weak	Strong
8. Natural Resource Wealth	Abundant Oil and Gas	Abundant Diamonds

9. Population	Very Large	Very Small
10. Ethnicity	Very Diverse	Limited Number
11. Incidence of Corruption	Grand/Frequent	Small/Infrequent
12. Cultural Acceptance of Corruption	Tolerant	Intolerant
12. History of Corruption	Long	Non-existent/Very Minimal

Source: The Author

6. Lessons that Can Be Learnt by the Young African Country of Eritrea

Shaped like an elongated triangle, Eritrea is located on the African shore of the Red Sea, and has an area of 46,773 square miles, with a coast extending for almost 620 miles. (Fegley, 1995). The country is bounded by the Red Sea on the east, to the north-west by Sudan, to the south and west by Ethiopia, and to the far south-east by Djibouti. (Fegley, 1995) Though relatively small by African standards, Eritrea has a varied topography and climate. For its small size, Eritrea is an incredibly diverse state comprised of nine major ethnic groups where the population (estimated to be 5.2 million) is evenly split between Christians and Muslim. Eighty percent of the population depends for their livelihood on subsistence agriculture.

According Human Development Indices and Indicators: 2018 Statistical Update (UNDP, 2018) Eritrea's HDI value for 2017 was 0.440— which put the country in the low human development category—positioning it at 179 out of 189 countries. Between 2005 and 2017, Eritrea's HDI value increased from 0.408 to 0.440, an increase of 7.8 percent. Between 1990 and 2017, Eritrea's life expectancy at birth increased by 15.9 years to 65.5 years, mean years of schooling increased by 0.3 years and expected years of schooling increased by 1.6 years. Eritrea's GNP per capita increased by about 95.7 percent between 1990 and 2017. (UNDP, 2018)

After thirty years of trench and mountain warfare, Eritrean fighters (the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front) defeated the Communist Dergue regime and won independence from Ethiopia. (Bruton, 2016) The tenacity and bravery of the Eritrean fighters captured the hearts and imaginations of people across the globe. (Bruton, 2016) Eritrea gained formal independence and joined the community of nations on 23 May 1993, after the Eritrean electorate overwhelmingly (99.8%) voted for independence in UN-supervised free and fair elections. Eritrea had embarked on a programme of national reconstruction to recover from the destructive 30-year war it waged against Ethiopian occupation until war broke out between Ethiopia and Eritrea in 1998. The 1998-2000 Ethio-Eritrea war had stalled Eritrea's rebuilding endeavors due to its very high human, capital and material costs. However, after 20 years of no-war-no-peace situation the two countries signed a peace agreement in September of 2018 officially ending the war and forging diplomatic, transport, and trade links. A formal treaty was signed between the two countries ending the state of war between the Ethiopia and Eritrea; and declaring a new era of peace, friendship and comprehensive cooperation. Now, the outlook for Eritrea seems to be very promising with its attention refocused on promoting socio-economic development, political stability and regional peace and security.

While acknowledging the diversity of the sources, extent, and remedies of corruption it can be argued that by conducting cross-country corruption studies we can understand success stories as well as failure stories in the fight against corruption. It is remarkable that successful anti-corruption campaigns have tended to take place in societies that are small such as in Botswana, Singapore and Hong Kong. At the minimum the understanding of the failure stories can be very instrumental in avoiding the pitfalls. Overall, the likelihood of undertaking a successful anti-corruption reforms in the young African nation of Eritrea is promising.

Table 2. A Comparative Picture of Corruption Perceptions Index Scores and Rankings of Nigeria, Botswana and Eritrea

	Nigeria		Botswana		Eritrea		Number of Countries
	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	
CPI 2009	25	130th	56	37th	26	126th	180
CPI 2010	24	134th	58	33rd	26	123rd	178
CPI 2011	24	143rd	61	32th	25	134th	183
CPI 2012	27	139th	65	30th	25	150th	176
CPI 2013	25	144th	64	30th	20	160th	177
CPI 2014	27	136th	63	31th	18	166th	175
CPI 2015	26	136th	63	32nd	18	154th	168
CPI 2016	28	136th	60	35th	18	164th	170
CPI 2017	27	148th	61	34th	20	165th	180
CPI 2018	27	144th	61	34th	24	157th	180

Source: Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Reports (2009-2018)

Both Nigeria and Eritrea consistently scored low on the Corruption Perceptions Index over the 10-year period from 2009 to 2018. For the years 2009, 2010 and 2011 Eritrea had scored higher than Nigeria suggesting that Eritrea was perceived to be cleaner than Nigeria. However, from 2012 onwards up 2018 Nigeria had scored higher than Eritrea meaning Nigeria was perceived to be relatively cleaner than Eritrea. On the other hand, Botswana had consistently scored highly on the Corruption Perceptions Index calculated on the basis of data collected/analyzed from surveys of citizens, business people and experts. A striking fact is that Botswana scored higher and ranked greater than the European Union members of Spain (score = 68, Rank 44), Italy (score = 54, Rank 51), Hungary (score = 46, Rank 64) and Greece (score = 45, Rank 67). On the 2018 Corruption Perceptions Report Botswana also scored higher and ranked greater than the highly industrialized Asian country of South Korea (score = 57, Rank 45). (Desta, 2019a) On the basis of the discussion on high-resource and high-corruption countries typified by Nigeria and high resource but low-corruption countries typified by Botswana, Eritrea as a country can draw lessons to help it avoid the disastrous consequences of pervasive corruption in the extractive industries of Nigeria as well as overall economy; and capitalize on the exemplary work being done in Botswana to prevent and combat corruption.

The specific lessons that can be learnt by Eritrea in preventing and fighting corruption as well as in enhancing public sector integrity revolve around the following key elements:

1. Effective and ethical political leadership

Ong'anyo attributes Africa's problems to leadership. Indeed, leadership also has been a major challenge in most African countries. (Ong'anyo 2008 cited in Sebudubudu and Mooketsane, 2016a). Rotberg agrees by noting that "leadership in Africa is typified by disfiguring examples the Idi Amins and Robert Mugabes - than by positive role models such as Nelson Mandela and Seretse Khama [the latter two were among a rare group of exceptional leaders in Africa]." (Rotberg 2003 cited in Sebudubudu and Mooketsane, 2016a). Bad leadership has been identified as the primary threat holding back Nigeria's economic greatness in the past and present. (Saidu, 2015; cited in Bothale, 2018) A strong argument can be made that the problems confronting Nigeria include pervasive corruption, running an expensive democratic system and the immunity enjoyed by political office holders as long as they are in power. (Saidu, 2015; cited in Bothale, 2018) In contrast, Lewis (2013) credits Botswana's success story in terms of sustained prosperity and minimal corruption to visionary leadership, effective government institutions and a democratic system of government. The lesson that can be drawn by Eritrea is that high quality leadership imbued with morality and public duty would be critical in forestalling corruption and promoting development. Exemplary leadership that is free from corruption would be essential if Eritrea is to prevent and combat corruption wherever it occurs wholeheartedly without bias or favor.

2. Transparency and accountability in government

The dissemination of information and amount of transparency in government operations greatly affects corruption. The effectiveness of information dissemination and in particular how well it reaches voters and those in the position to create change have a large impact on corruption. (Johnson, 2004; cited in Knuckles, 2006). Similarly, lack of transparency in government operations and in government –corporation relations can lead to corruption. (Knuckles, 2006). As corruption thrives in secrecy, measures to improve transparency and accountability form a vital part of any anti-corruption strategy. Effective mechanisms of monitoring and accountability in the use of public resources should be built into all governmental and administrative systems. Research has shown that independent audit and watchdog bodies and rigorous budgeting and financial reporting mechanisms that require all expenditures, including those for military and security, to be on-budget, are likely to reduce corruption. (Ittner, 2009) Hence, the current leaders of Eritrea should open the business of government for citizens to see and make their own judgments regarding the effectiveness, efficiency and cleanness of top level public officials as well as street level bureaucrats. Openness and answerability in the operations and results of government work would be key to holding public officials accountable for their actions and thereby reducing corruption. It should be well noted that corruption is a secretive immoral activity that is committed under the cloak of darkness.

3. Respect for the rule of law

The term “rule of law” embodies basic principle of equal treatment of all people before the law, and both constitutional and actual guarantees for basic human rights. In effect no public official however big he/she may be should be above the law. A predictable legal system with faire, transparent, and effective judicial institutions is essential to the protection of citizens against the arbitrary use of state authority and lawless acts of both organizations and individuals. (Desta, 2019a). The advent of the rule of law in the case of Nigeria is weak where government laws and regulation are routinely circumvented and even worse broken to benefit the very few wealthy, powerful and well-connected individuals and groups. In contrast Botswana has demonstrated respect for the rule of law and property rights promoting predictability in the market place and justice in the daily life of citizenry. Botswana is widely considered to be the country where corruption is least institutionalized, where the rule of law is most respected and poverty is least severe in Africa. The implication for Eritrea is that the country’s laws should be applied uniformly across all members of the society without fear, bias or favors while at the same time respecting property rights.

4. Merit-based and adequately paid civil service

Entrenched patronage and non-transparent hiring method have produced civil service members lacking competency and professionalism. Moreover, according to the World Bank Report (2014) the declining trend in civil service pay has been a major cause of low levels of efficiency, low morale, absenteeism, rent seeking and the deteriorating quality of the new entrants in the majority of African countries. Pervasive corruption in Nigeria and the majority of the countries in the Sub-Saharan Africa in part can be explained in terms of low public sector pay.

In a significant number of Sub-Saharan African countries including Angola, Chad, Equatorial-Guinea and Gabon public officials are corrupt because their salaries are so low they can not make ends meet by deepening solely in their meager earnings. In the face of perceived internal (in relation to their junior colleagues) and external (in relation to their counterpart in the private/NGO sector) higher-level civil servants may be tempted to augment their pay through illicit means in a bid to meet their needs. (Desta, 2019b) Thus, the Eritrean government leaders would be well advised to employ merit-based employment practices coupled with administration of adequate civil service salaries. By doing so Eritrea leaders are expected to reap the fruits of competent and adequately paid government bureaucracy including effective and efficient delivery of public services; and reduced levels of corruption.

5. Independent, empowered and well-resources anticorruption commission

Botswana managed to live with reduce levels of corruption than Nigeria is because Botswana has taken the threat posed by corruption seriously. Unlike Nigeria, Botswana has begun tackling corruption since September 1994, with the establishment of independent, well-resourced anticorruption commission, the Directorate of Corruption and Economic Crime (DCEC) under the Corruption and Economic Act of 1994. (Isaiah, 2018) The Directorate of Corruption and Economic Crime (DCEC) is in charge of investigating and prosecuting corruption in Botswana. The office has nearly 300 staff and a budget of \$9 million annually, which the service has been around since 1994 (26 years). Currently Eritrea

lacks anticorruption legislation that would call for the establishment of a specialized anticorruption commission.

At present the task of combating corruption in Eritrea is being handled by multiple government agencies (the police, security services, the army, and the Ministry of Justice) producing overlapping jurisdictions; turf wars; conflicting policies and rules; and inconsistent application of various unpublished rules governing corrupt acts. Hence, Eritrea lacks of a special task force established under anticorruption legislation that is entrusted with fighting corruption, especially at the highest levels of the government. The establishment of anticorruption legal framework specifying the structure, staff, funding and powers of an independent anticorruption commission for Eritrea would be ideal if Eritrea is to prevent and combat corruption before it becomes prevalent and difficult to address. The well-documented remarkable successes in small countries and city states (including Hong Kong, Singapore, Ruanda and Botswana) in the fight against corruption spearheaded by independent, well-funded, well-staffed and empowered anti-corruption agencies should be carefully noted and studied by the current Eritrean leaders. (Desta, 2019b)

6. Prudent natural resource management

Botswana is often argued to be a model success story for the African continent due to its natural resource governance and long-term, sustainable growth. (Besada and O’Bright, 2018) It was the ingenuity of Botswana’s political leadership and its lack of divisive and selfish tendencies which resulted in smooth management of mineral proceeds and effective distribution of mineral revenue to the development process of the country. Botswana has not suffered from evident corruption associated with misuse of natural resources that has consumed a number of African countries such as Angola and Nigeria. (Sebudubudu and Mooketsane, 2016b).

On the other hand, Nigeria which is the world’s eighth largest exporter of crude oil with vast oil revenue and huge inflow of foreign direct investment (FDI) remains one of the poorest countries in the world. (Kebonang and Kebonang, 2013) Nigerian oil revenue, which accounts for 90 percent of the foreign exchange and 80 percent of the federal revenue, has benefited only a few individuals to the exclusion of the majority of the citizens who have remained poor. (Kebonang and Kebonang, 2013). In fact, as of 2018 Nigeria has the largest number of poor people in the world with 89 million Nigerians joining the ranks of the poor. Besides the fact that a high proportion of oil rent money simply “vaporizes” through corruption, a significant portion of this money is used to finance the military, in order to keep most of the population “quiet”. (Kurečić et al., 2014)

Although one country relies on oil (Nigeria) and the other on diamonds (Botswana), the natural resource is not the problem, but the point of issue appears to lie instead in the governance of the said resources. (Nash, 2016) The Botswana state, which owns and controls the mineral rights of the nation on behalf of the domestic population, has found a way to create and maintain stability due to its ability to deliver public goods (roads, schools, watering facilities, power supply, clinics etc.) on a nontribal, non-regional basis. At the other extreme in Nigeria the accumulation of the wealth of the nation collected from oil exports,

and the desperate and determined attempt by its leaders to circulate it amongst friends and family members has undermined the advancement of the nation, and its ability to maximize its potential to the fullest. (Aloko and Abdullahi, 2018)

Eritrea is richly blessed with natural resources in the form gold deposits, silver, copper, nickel and potassium. Investment in exploration activities for reserves of oil, natural gas and other minerals provide a potential source for the expansion of export receipts. Offshore-oil and natural-gas exploration are specific areas of potential investment. Hence, urgent task for the current leaders of Eritrea is to manage Eritrea's mineral resources very wisely to benefit the majority of the present and future generations so that Eritrea enjoys "resource blessing" rather than "resource curse" dominating the African landscape.

7. Conclusion

The Sub-Saharan Africa region is very rich in mineral resources, yet it largely remains poor, underdeveloped and politically unstable. One of the main drivers of the poor state of affairs in the region is rampant corruption in the extractive industries and overall economy, society and politics. For instance, Nigeria, an African giant, remains crippled due the massive loss of oil and gas revenues to corruption. Crisis of ethical political leadership has characterized Nigeria where powerful political elites feed on the state, prey on the weak, use national resources for self-aggrandizement; and deprive citizens of collective goods such as medical care, good education and employment. In addition corruption in Nigeria has been fueled by the legacy of the divide and rule policies introduced by the former British colonial masters; greedy and self-serving political leaders (in both civilian and military administrations); lack of transparent and accountable public institutions, political patronage networks; poverty-driven desire to meet the basic necessities of life; petrodollar bonanza from the oil boom era (1971-77) and subsequent increased quantities of crude oil production and exports; government institutions established to control graft which are themselves not above reproach.

Despite rampant corruption and its adverse consequences on economic development and political stability, Nigeria is still standing on its feet for now. However, if the very high corruption levels in the extractive industries in particular and in the Nigerian society in general are maintained for the long term, then chances are Nigeria could join the ranks of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) has been called the stereotype of a collapsed state. (Standard, 2011). Certainly the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) is the paradigmatic example of a state cursed by its natural wealth. (Standard, 2011).

In contrast the case of Botswana shows that the country has largely avoided pervasive rent-seeking and corruption and instead promoted economic growth and political stability aided by sound pre-independence traditional institutions, leadership quality, relatively homogenous population, rule of law and property rights, high degree of transparency, cultural intolerance to graft, establishment of democratic institutions at independence and good economic management. (Koitsiwe, 2018) The presence of attributes necessary for the creation of effective political institutions in Botswana including strong, ethical and committed leadership; ability to manage ethnic diversity; a competent, representative, and meritorious

bureaucracy; the ability to forge a public-private sector coalition have significantly contributed to promoting good governance, political stability, economic development; and reducing corruption to minimal levels.

Since its poorest country roots at independence from British colonialism in 1966, Botswana has come a long way forward registering decades of socio-economic development and political tranquility. Thanks to the discovery of diamonds and the productive use of the diamond revenue, the country is now considered one of the richest non-oil producing countries in Africa and has been classified by the World Bank as an upper middle income country. (Koitsiwe, 2018). Botswana has wisely managed its vast diamond wealth; diversified its economy and experienced rapid and sustained economic growth; avoided interethnic or tribal political violence; and it has maintained democratic institutions while developing vigorous democratic processes; at least by African standards. (Sebudubudu and Mooketsane, 2016a).

The young African nation of Eritrea (independent since 1993) can draw lessons from the abysmal performance of Nigeria in the fight against corruption as well the success story of Botswana in controlling graft and enhancing public sector integrity. It is essential that any anticorruption strategy should be tailored to fit the country-specific needs. However, it is desirable that the current leaders of Eritrea recognize the key ingredients for a successful anticorruption strategy include effective and ethical political leadership; transparency and accountability in government; respect for the rule of law; merit-based and adequately paid government civil service; independent, empowered and well-resourced anticorruption commission; and prudent natural resource management. In Eritrea where corruption is not entrenched in society, economy and politics coupled with the presence of inherently anti-corruption national culture, the fight against corruption seems to be winnable.

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