

**CORRUPTION AS REFLECTED IN AFRICAN  
(ENGLISH) FICTION**

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University  
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for  
the award of Degree of the*

**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

**NIVEDITA RAY**

**DIVISION OF SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA  
CENTRE FOR WEST ASIA AND AFRICAN STUDIES  
SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES  
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY  
NEW DELHI – 110067  
INDIA  
1998**



जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय  
**JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY**  
NEW DELHI - 110 067

Centre to West Asia and African Studies  
School of International Studies

21 July 1998

**CERTIFICATE**

Certified that the dissertation entitled "Corruption as Reflected in African(English) Fiction", Submitted by Nivedita Ray is in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of Master of Philosophy of this university. This dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree to this University or any other University and this is her own work.

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

(Prof. GIRIJESH PANT)  
Chairperson

Chairman  
Centre for West Asian and African Studies  
School of International Studies  
Jawaharlal Nehru University  
New Delhi-110067.

(Prof. VIJAY GUPTA)

Supervisor  
Centre for West Asian and African Studies  
School of International Studies  
Jawaharlal Nehru University  
NEW DELHI-110067.

FOR MY  
BAPA, BUN,  
BHAI & KUN

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am deeply indebted to my supervisor Prof. Vijay Gupta, Centre for West Asia and African Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, for his constant guidance, valuable advises, and critical suggestions, which enabled me to accomplish this work in its final form. The fruitful discussions with him has deepened my interest and helped me utmostly in my work. He is meticulous in his approach and I may have failed to come up to his expectations at many stages during the course of my research work. But he has never failed to encourage me and inspire me to become a perfectionist. Working under him has been a new and rewarding experience.

I also owe my sincere gratitude to Prof. Harish Narang, Centre for Linguistic and English, School of Languages,(JNU), for opening before me the world of Africa, in my formative years of J.N.U and for encouraging me to take up this topic for research. He has always extended his helping hand, when I needed books and materials. Discussing with him has also helped me a lot in this study.

I also express my gratefulness to Dr. Ajay Dubey, Centre for West Asian and African Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru, University for his constant support and encouragement.

My special thanks to Lopa, Shubham, Premi, Sachin, Navneet, Firoz, Subodh, Bansi and Raju for their regular support and help.

I, want to also acknowledge Rupesh Raj for patiently typing this work.

Lastly but not the least – significantly – I am most grateful to Mithilesh, without whose help, moral support and co-operation; I would not have been able to complete this dissertation.

**Nivedita Ray**

# CONTENTS

*Preface*

<b>Chapter 1</b>	Introduction	1-16
<b>Chapter 11</b>	Economic Corruption	17-41
<b>Chapter 111</b>	Political Corruption	42-66
<b>Chapter 1V</b>	Social Corruption	67-84
<b>Chapter V</b>	Conclusion	85-90
<i>Bibliography</i>		91-100

## PREFACE

Corruption is a world wide phenomenon persisting since time immemorial. Its after World War-II, that its menace started increasing highly. Today no country is free from its impact. Newspaper, Magazines and serious literatures are thronged with numerous cases of corruption. It has assumed a serious shape, whose eradication is frequently demanded by those assembled behind democratic banners. This phenomenon is seen as inimical to democratic practice because it abhors, by its very nature, the open light of public scrutiny and control.

Many writers all over the world have tried to expose such a serious form of ill in their writings. In Africa the writers have very boldly delineated the picture of African Society, afflicted with various forms of corruption in their writings.

Through fiction many sensitive creative writers have tried to raise people's consciousness towards the menace of corruption, penetrating deeply into the society. Their writings may not be suggesting ways to wipe out corruption. But

by providing the readers an insight, into the evil consequences of such behaviour these writers are perhaps trying to, awaken the spirits of the readers lying dormant, to protest against such undemocratic practices.

In this dissertation attempt is made to study corruption as reflected in African (English) fiction. This dissertation has been divided into five chapters with Introduction and Conclusion inclusive. The first chapter is the Introduction about corruption as such and an outlay about, what has to be discussed in the later chapters. The second chapter deals with economic corruption prevailing in Africa, while the third is on political corruption operating there. The pen – ultimate chapter analyses the various forms of social corruption in the African Society and its effect upon the whole value system and the people at large. In all the above three chapters, various creative writers' way of portrayal of the different forms of corruption is discussed. The last chapter is conclusion, which sums up the findings of the study.



## CHAPTER -1

# INTRODUCTION

Bribery and corruption seem to have become constant themes of modern polity and economy. Its not a recent phenomenon but ancient. How ancient its difficult to assume. If a historian for a time being, assumes the initials B.C. to be “before corruption’ instead of before Christ, and starts turning back the pages of history to find that age, then undoubtedly his attempt will be futile. The phenomenon can be taken as old as mankind. Even anti corruption laws are just as old: “Neither shall thou take bribes” God told Moses” which blind the wise and prevent the words of the just”<sup>1</sup> But today the intensity has increased to an extent rarely seen before. Geographically it is widespread. Yet one is unable to understand why graft or corruption is increasing day by day in part may be academicians have devoted little time to the subject, even as practitioner of the arts of corruption expand and refine their craft. However this does not imply that

---

<sup>1</sup> Eliot, Michael, ‘Money’, *NewsWeek*, New York, 14. Nov. 1994, p.11.

no work on corruption has been done. But the research that have been done are not enough to have a comprehensive understanding of this phenomenon.

When we use the term 'corruption' a definite question spurts in our mind, what is exactly meant by it . The general term corruption conjures up certain common images but when examined more clearly it involves a wide spectrum of practices of varying forms and significance. Such behaviour may encompass outright theft, embezzlement of funds or other appropriation of state property, nepotism and the granting of favours the personal acquaintances and the abuse of public authority and position to exact payments and privileges<sup>2</sup>.

Defining corruption is notoriously difficult. Generally it is understood to entail the use of official position for the purpose of private enrichment or illegitimate advance at the cost of others. David Bayley a social scientist argues that "corruption while being tied particularly to the act of bribery is a general term covering the misuse of authority as a result of consideration of personal gain,

---

<sup>2</sup> United Nations, 'Practical measures against corruption', New York, A/CONF.144/8, 29th March 1990 pp 5-6

which need not be monetary<sup>3</sup>. In the similar way another social scientist Joseph Nye says that corruption involves “behaviour which deviates from the normal duties of public vote because of private regarding (family, close cliques) pecuniary or status gain; or violates rules against the exercise of certain type of private regarding influence<sup>4</sup>. Carl Friedrich of Germany another social scientist has pointed out that “individuals are said to be engaging in corruption when they are granted power by society to perform certain public duties but as a result of the expectation of personal reward or gain ( be it momentary or otherwise ) undertake actions that reduce the welfare of society or damage the public interest”<sup>5</sup>.

Corruption that is discussed above is considered to be such behaviour which is guided by self interest and which act against the interest of the public and society at large for the purpose of discussion in this dissertation this definition is taken into consideration. Corruption is found everywhere but it does not prevail

---

<sup>3</sup> Bayley, D.H., ‘The effects of Corruption in Developing Nation’ *The Western Political quarterly*, London, 19, 4,1966, p.720. (a) : 719

<sup>4</sup> Nye, J. S., (1979) ‘Corruption and Political Development : A Cost Benefit Analysis American Political Sciences Review (Washington ,DC), 61,2, June 1967, p.419

<sup>5</sup> Friedrich, C.J. (1990) ‘Corruption concepts in historical perspective’ In Hedenheimer, et. al, 1990, p. 16.

in equal degree. It responds to varying opportunities for the misuse of power created by a particular governmental institution or social institution, to psychological drives present in the contemporary cultural milieu, to pressures arising under the existing scheme of economic arrangement.

After world-war –II the social ill of corruption became constant themes of writings world over.

In countries like Asia and Africa it seems to have become an accepted feature of life as reflected in Asian and African writings. African writers have reflected this theme very boldly.

In contemporary African state fragility, chronic instability and impermanence seem to be the overriding feature. One of the causal factor behind it is high degree of corruption, as it has a debilitating effect on the economic performance, administrative effectiveness and governmental authority.

Corruption has been an important subject of analysis in Africa. Many social scientists also have carried out research on this subject since as long as independence . Even if not much but still a number of analysis of the causes and

consequences of corruption have been undertaken by different scholars. Some scholars like Samuel Huntington, have viewed it as a virtually inevitable phenomenon of the initial phases of 'modernisation'<sup>6</sup> one likely to diminish as African economies and state move beyond the early stages of capitalist development as tended to be the case in Western Europe's bourgeoisie transition<sup>7</sup>.

Others emphasise the aspirations of African administration elites for the status symbols and life styles of the continents former colonial ruler an inclination reinforced at the lower rungs of the bureaucracy by the social disorientation of rapid urbanisation<sup>8</sup>. And some point to the pressures on civil servants from the primordial public, the networks of traditional kinships and ethnic obligations that require redistribution of acquired wealth and job favors to other members of ones community of origin, a form of solidaristic graft said to draw little moral

---

<sup>6</sup> Huntington, T. Samuel, 'Political Order in Changing Societies', New Haven, 1968, pp.59-71.

<sup>7</sup> Scott. C. James, ' The Analysis of corruption in developing nations', in *comparative studies in society and history*. Cambridge, 11,3, June 1969, pp.315-341, and Brownsberger., N. William , 'Development and Governmental Corruption- Materialism and Political Fragmentation. In Nigeria', in *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. Cambridge, 21,2, June 1983, pp.215-33.

<sup>8</sup> See Brwonsberger, op. Cit. And Greenstone David, "Corruption and Self Interest in Kampala and Nairobi", in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*. 8,2, Jan. 1966, pp.199-210.

sanction due to primary of kinship ties and limited legitimacy of the state structure inherited at Independence<sup>9</sup>. A number of writers, noting both the centrality of the state and the prevalence of corrupt activities in most African societies, have examined corruption as an integral element in relations of political power, in which state property and jobs are allocated to ethnic or political supporters in intricate and sometimes far reaching networks.

Although these studies by different scholars, having different point of view, throw some light on the causes role and place of the phenomenon, yet they are insufficient as analysis of such a complex phenomenon. They focus on a particular character or aspect of this phenomenon. Its multidimensional character is ignored.

Corruption accrues from cluster of institutional, political and socio-economic process. Its cause, consequences and cures should be understood in its appropriate milieu whether a particular political factor or economic condition, that needs to be examined. For a comprehensive understanding of this

---

<sup>9</sup> Ekeh. Peter, 'Colonialism and the Two publics in Africa : a theoretical statement.' In *ibid.* 17, 1, Jan. 1975, pp.91-112, and Andreski Stainslav, 'The African Predicament'. New York, 1968, p.101.

phenomenon it is necessary to focus the study towards the multidimensional character of corruption.

In this dissertation attempt has been made to study the physiology of corruption prevailing in Africa. Thrust of this text will be to examine three aspects of corruption—social, political and economic, as reflected in African (English) fiction. There are no authentic studies available and those available are commentaries so fiction is chosen to study this phenomenon.

Though it is not easy to draw a line between different types of corruption as they are interrelated, still for the purpose of getting a better understanding, categorising is felt necessary.

This study of corruption will be based on African English fiction which have dwelt upon this problem. Basically African English fiction will be used as a medium to get an insight into the whole problematics of this behaviour. Fiction always reflects society, as the writers are conditioned by the socio - economic and political conditions of their period. They do not segregate themselves from their society. A functional relationship between literature and society exists. And

such relationship inspires the writers to commit themselves to peoples struggle through their writings - it includes freedom struggle or struggle against various forms of exploitation. At the same time it helps in raising peoples consciousness about social commitment, so that they in turn help bringing about basic change in the social structure for still higher level of consciousness<sup>10</sup>. Such a functional relationship was quite apparent in the writings of 19th century European writers - Dickens for instance but is unfortunately completely absent from it now in none of the countries such relationship can be ignored. Since we are dealing with African fiction we would concentrate on this relationship in Africa. The trend in Africa has been to expose the society as they regard it as the continuation of struggle for total independence. In fact no committed writer living in a turbulent condition like in Africa will imagine anything else other than the immediate problems before them.

In pre-independent writings of Africa, nationalism, anti-colonialism, assertion of African personality happened to be mostly the theme of the writing that were coming up. Immediately after independence there was a remarkable thematic change. The change was towards addressing the themes of corruption in various

---

<sup>10</sup> Narang. Harish., 'Politics as Fictions', New Delhi, Creative Books, 1995, pp.12-22.



forms of life as a response to the change in the surrounding environment. The functional relevance of literature cannot be ruled out. It is present in day to day life of the people.

So choosing fiction to understand any problem afflicting a society is appropriate. Moreover unlike articles, periodicals daily newspapers, surveys, reports it renders a comprehensive picture of a particular problem. Articles in journals often concentrate on micro studies and do not take society as a whole. They are often casual in nature and inconclusive and incorrect. They stress on a particular aspect, which then provides a partial view.

In Africa from 60's onwards a great number of fiction have been dealt on the subject of corruption by writers of different countries. Some of them are **Armah, Ngugi wa Thiongo, Chinua Achebe, Meja Mwangi, Cyprian Ekwensi, Armada, Sembane Ousmane and Grace Ogot**. Writings of these writers are taken up for discussion in the dissertation. Among them the works of Sembane Ousmane are translated works in English from French, which have been nevertheless accepted by Ousmane himself

They have all cynically delineated corruption occurring in political, economic and social sphere. In their depiction of different forms of corruption, they seem to have questioned the essence of independence. The lost promises of the leaders, the crumbling of aspirations of the masses for a better living condition, are all suggested in their portrayal of exploitation, violence and greed persisting in Africa. In all the novels bribery, corruption, blackmail and payoffs are constantly repeated motifs. This in itself connotes, corruption becoming a way of life, all pervasive and all encompassing, which the writers cannot help but take into account while focussing any urban reality.

They have also referred to leaders who have never fought the independence struggle and who corrupted the society further. The growth of corruption in Africa is the product of wider historical, political and economic process. The form that it assumes depends on several factors like structure and openness of the economy. The limitations of political competition and criticism and institutional indices of the government. How these factors lead to corruption will be discussed in the later chapters, in which three types of corruption i.e. **economic, political and social** will be analyzed.

The approach will be towards understanding the causes behind such type of corruption, how it operates, who are the main players in it, what are their objectives, what has been the consequences on the society as a whole, what has been the psychological impact on the masses and the general attitude of common man towards it? Why hasn't there been any check against it? What can be the possible cures for it in their respective environment where they operate and how creative writers have portrayed them in their writings.

Economic corruption will form the content of first chapter. It is the major problem confronting those who are concerned about economic growth and development. 1960's onwards debate of the role of underdevelopment and development issues became intense and economic corruption as offshoot became an issue. And since then some concerted attempts to study such type of corruption has been carried out.

Many research have been oriented towards understanding the effects of such behaviour on society. Some social scientists have defended that corruption helps in development as it increases economic efficiency. Jagdish Bhagwati of Columbia University) has stated that "bribery can be O.K. when there are

irrational interventions by the government in the economy. But he also warns that bribery even if theoretically justified, eventually is corrosive, diverting revenues from the treasury to the pockets of the bureaucrats until a government is so strapped for cash that it can't find the infrastructure it needs to encourage investment<sup>11</sup>.

These instances of studies were not adequate to bring in an understanding of corruption. Novels which are widely read have focussed on this problem. How the writers have discussed about economic corruption in these fiction will form the basis of 2<sup>nd</sup> chapter.

IT has been observed in the novels that there occurs a nexus between the bureaucrats, entrepreneurs and politicians.

For the bureaucrats, payments from entrepreneurs seeking state favours represent an important source of extra legal income for civil servants. This is a type of corruption which many writers , have drawn the attention to . Entrepreneurship through such corruption are being able to capture and maintain

---

<sup>11</sup> Eliot Michael, 'Money', News week, New York, 14.Nov. 1994, P. 8.

monopoly positions in the economy , happens to be another form of corruption which the novels delineate.

It allows inefficient products to remain in business, and it distorts economic incentives, discourages entrepreneurship and slows economic growth. It thus has devastating effect on the society by breeding inequality and widening the gap between the rich and the poor.

African fictions such as Sembane Ousmane's, *Xala*, Ngugi Wathiongo's *petals of Blood* and *Devil on the Cross* , Chinua Achebe's *A Man of the people* provide an insight into the problematic of economic corruption. These novels will be taken up for analysis in the second chapter , for understanding the working, growth and the cause and effect of economic corruption. The complex process of economic corruption with all its intricacies and dimensions, which the above mentioned novels throw light upon, would be discussed elaborately in the respective chapter that is being referred.

Political corruption in Africa will be the subject of analysis in the third chapter.

As defined by Herbert Werlin "political corruption is diversion of public

resources to non-public purposes”<sup>12</sup>. Such behaviour is used by politicians to capture the apparatus of state or maintain a monopoly of power. Under political corruption, will include activities such as vote rigging, registration of unqualified dead or non-existent voters, purchase and sale of voters, and the falsification of state results, electing and backing candidates who are incompetent, inefficient and who have entered into the party for enjoying higher position of power. Favouring creation of terror, violence, fear and elimination of competent people instead of a democratic set up, is another form of political corruption, which novels have reflected upon.

Writers like Chinua Achebe, Cyprian Ekwensi, Ngugi Wathiongo have delineated different forms of political corruption in their novels. Among them Chinua Achebe's **A Man Of The People**, Cyprian Ekwensi's **Jagua Nana** and **People of the city**, Armah's **Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born** and Ngugi Wathiongo's **petals of blood** are powerful in their portrayal of political corruption, which will be taken up for discussion in the third chapter.

---

<sup>12</sup> Quoted from Mukendi, T.B., and Gould. D. J., 'Bureaucratic corruption in Africa : causes, consequences and Remedies'. *International Journal of Public Administration*. London, 12,3, p.428.

The fourth chapter will be dealing with social corruption. Such type of corruption involves the misuse of social institution for some private advantage. Basically it includes the exploitation of the poor innocent, weak, and powerless by the resourceful, self centered, cunning and strong. The most poignant form of social corruption prevalent in Africa, which will be discussed is exploiting and using women for some illegitimate advantage. Women are used as a commodity or used instead of money, to get some contract done. Women sex exploitation in Africa is the most disturbing form of social corruption. Since the increasing of urbanisation with colonisation sexual exploitation has become a social problem. Economic necessity, poverty, glamour of rich life pushes most of the women to this path, will be analysed in the fourth chapter.

Children, workers and peasants and also the innocent, poor and marginalised lot, are taken advantage of by the bearers of public office. Whether it is a government hospital or a police station these peoples hardships and grievances are never addressed, rather they are dissuaded away or alleged them with serious offences. These type of social corruption, which have been referred in many novels will be examined in this fourth chapter.

Nepotism is also another form of social corruption, rampant in Africa which is to be discussed.

The novels of Ngugi Wathiongo like **Petals of Blood**, **Matigari** and **Devil on the cross**, and Sembane Ousmane's **Xala** and Chinua Achebe's **A Man of the people** have seriously dwelt upon this phenomenon of social corruption. These novels will be referred to while discussing and analyzing about social corruption in the chapter concerned.

The concluding chapter will deal with corruption as such and how these writings on corruption have made people aware of the ills of corruption and how far the writers have tried to raise people's consciousness about this ill.



## CHAPTER - II

### ECONOMIC CORRUPTION

Since independence Africa has remained essentially poor and a severely deprived continent. It has made no significant advancement in economic and human development<sup>13</sup>. In contrast to the 60's it has now acquired an image of a helpless and a 'sick continent'<sup>14</sup>. Today it is mentioned as a world standard for poverty, economic decline and misery. This present predicament is outcome of various domestic and external factors. Among the domestic factors, economic corruption has in a major way contributed to the present crisis. "Pervasive and chronic poverty, extremely high levels of material deprivation and severe inequalities have been advanced as major determinants of such type of corruption"<sup>15</sup>.

---

<sup>13</sup> Gould. D.J., Mukendi, 'Bureaucratic corruption in Africa: causes, consciences and remedies'*International Journal of Public Administration*, London, 12,3, 1989, p.428

<sup>14</sup> Mathwes. K., 'Africa : A overview' *The world focus*, New Delhi, July 1995, p. 4

Economic corruption involves activities like bribing bureaucrats for favours by entrepreneurs, politician accepting money from foreign entrepreneurs for some illegitimate advantage, bureaucrats lobbying law makers and politicians for maximising benefits, entrepreneurs bribing politicians and bureaucrats to maintain monopoly in the market. In this chapter it is proposed to study the working of the phenomenon of economic corruption, its causes and its effects on the society and how various writers in Africa have dealt with this theme in their writings.

Economic corruption is today a pressing problem confronting those concerned about the economic growth and development of the continent. In less than three decades of independence, it has given birth to colossal fortunes to multimillionaires, while plunging into misery nearly half a billion human beings<sup>16</sup>. primarily it is the capitalist economy which encourages it, "since in such an economic system the drive and competition for private profit and capital

---

<sup>15</sup> Leys. Colin, 'What is the problems about corruption' ? *Journal of modern African studies*, London, 1965, 2, p. 216.

<sup>16</sup> Hyacinthe Cabogo Sarassoro, 'Lo Corruptoin et l'enrichissement sons cause on Afrique aujourd'hui', in *Afrique Contemporaine* (Pans). 156, 4<sup>th</sup> quarter 1990, p. 195 quoted in Harsch Ernest, 'Accumulaters and Democrats : Challenging state

accumulation are the motor”<sup>17</sup>. People aspire to grow rich and rise high in the society by any means so generally economic corruption as a behavior is adopted for private accumulation and enrichment.

This phenomenon has been prevalent in the colonial period. The colonisers created the climate for such corruption. They imposed laws and policies which were disadvantageous to public. And it created the opportunity for corruption. The illiterate people in order to avoid any legal problem, gave bribe to the enforcement officers. Between the public and the enforcement officers, had been a constant flow of gifts and presents. The traditional customary exchange of gifts started taking the shape of bribe. Bribes were being given willingly or unwillingly or pressed on the official in the colonial period. With this constant interaction between the willingness of officials to receive bribe and willingness of the public to give them, corruption grew to a larger level. It became so pervasive that hardly could any person carry out his business, avoid trouble with

---

corruption in Africa’, *Journal of Modern African Studies*, London, 31,1, 1993, p.32.

<sup>17</sup> Eme EkeKwe, ‘Class and State in Nigeria’, London, 1986 p. 113-114

the government without acquiescing to some extent at least in the prevailing corruption<sup>18</sup>.

There have been number of writers who have dealt on corruption prevailing in colonial period. They remained concerned about the changing social values under the western influence. The noted novelist Chinua Achebe in his novel *No longer at ease* delineates, the growing corruption under the colonial regime and shows how what has been honourable civil behavior in the traditional society became corruption and bribery in the new colonial world. 'Kola' which was the respect that a petitioner showed to greatness of the person to whom he offered it, in the new order it became cash paid for service rendered. What Achebe shows is that, the natives or the Africans were slowly inculcating the values of the western capitalist system, which laid emphasis on individual gain or profit, in the colonial period. If they didn't become the part of the system, they were left behind.

Obi Okonkwo the central character in the novel *No longer at ease*, when returns from England as a civil servant, had all noble ideals to wipe away corruption

---

<sup>18</sup> McMullan. M, 'A Theory of Corruption', *Sociological Review*, London, 9,2,1961,pp.187-193.

persisting in the society. His theory was that the public service of Nigeira would remain corrupt until the old Africans at the top were replaced by young men. Ironically even Obi's attitude is only superficially different. He objects to corruption only as long as he has enough to live on. Later all his ideals crumble. Like his friend Christopher he yields to corrupt practices. Christopher advises him, that the bribe he takes is his by right of position and power. Its a legal, not a social offence. And Obi also had been seeing all types of corruption around. Earlier when he reaches home from England he is encountered by a custom officer who asks him for bribe. This climate of corruption finally forces him to become a part of it. His enthusiasm for wiping out social ills get evaded by the temptations of privilege and strength of living in decaying social system, He succumbs to a deep pessimism and acknowledge the inadequacy of his generation in providing answers to the complex dilemma of modern life.

TH-7325

In the world of **No longer at ease** which is situated against the colonial background, Achebe portrays the acquisitive and competitive values of society, that have been given free rein and have made man lose his sense of justice and social sacrifice. He is also anticipating the destructive forces, that may act against the common masses, in the post - independent era, in this novel. In

DISS  
364.1323096  
R2128 Co  
  
TH7325

N9



portraying the economic corruption which afflicted the African society in the colonial period he is trying to examine the underlying structural weaknesses of the system on which the new nation was going to be built.

After independence such form of corruption spread widely because of a centralised state structure, and lack of accountability and transparency. Many African states adopted statism as their development model. This approach to resource allocation emphasised state control and eventually turned many African governments into major economic units. The scope of governmental authority, extended to the private sectors. African governments are today the primary exporters, investors, importers and bankers. It is this great concentration of power, which provides a fertile ground for economic corruption. The constant pressure from local businessmen, and transnational corporations - all clamouring for permits, contracts, certificates, import licences - creates an overwhelming temptation to grease the wheels and ensure desired results. Apart from that enforcement of state regulations and statutes in most African countries is poor, arbitrary, capricious, and ineffective. As a consequence individuals and groups

affected by the regulations are forced to engage in opportunism including the payment of bribes<sup>19</sup>.

Though during independent struggle pursued under different leaders, the common men were assured of a better life with dignity, they all turned but to be false promises in the independence period. Its the ruling clique, some businessmen and bureaucrats who enjoy the fruit of independence, by living in luxury , while leaving the masses for a life of misery. With the coming of independence, , the act of bribery and pay offs which were expected to lessen, rather increased . Instead with it came all the old abuses of public life, and to them was added a complex of needs, that could best be met through newly devised technique of illegitimate behaviour.

Certain institutions introduced in the post-colonial phase brought new type of corruptions as for instance politicians to fulfill political ambitions needed money which they extracted by indulging in corrupt practices along with businessman and bureaucrats. Earlier in the colonial period such form of corruption were being carried out on between bureaucrats of colonial regime and businessmen,

---

<sup>19</sup> Gould. D.J., and Mukendi. T. B, op.cit pp. 427-57.

traders, farmers. Soon in the post colonial phase it started operating in a more complex network. A nexus seems to be established between politician businessman and bureaucrat. The nexus is not only limited within the nation, but there are foreign collaborators party to it too sometimes.

In this nexus, is involved the role of power and money. And through the act of exchange of power & money, politicians , businessmen and bureaucrats are enriching themselves at the cost of society. Each is looking towards his own advantage and benefit.

A civil servant having some power and thus opportunity, use it to raise his compensation by granting favours to businessmen in return for money. In the other hand private entrepreneurs bribe the bureaucrats and politicians to capture and maintain monopoly in the markets. The foreign entrepreneurs also looked towards establishing foothold and monopoly by offering bribes to bureaucrats and politicians or by offering them share in their industries. Politicians who serve as wealth brokers obtain the resource they needs by receiving bribes, to purchase security and to continue monopolising the source of legislation<sup>20</sup>.

---

<sup>20</sup> Gould. D.J., and Mukendi. T.B, op.cit,pp.427-57.



This phenomenon in effect has created grave repercussions in the society. It has allowed inefficient producers to remain in business and has been encouraging government to pursue perverse economic policy . Moreover it has distorted economic incentives and has discouraged entrepreneurship, for which economic growth of Africa has been gradually declining. There has been no human development. Common men's aspirations to live a life of dignity have crumbled. Conditioned by this socio-economic environment in independent Africa, sensitive writers of Africa, have cynically portrayed such corruption, which has perpetuated poverty & common mans misery, These writers have lived and experienced the colonial injustices and have raised voice against this single enemy through their writings in the colonial period. In the post colonial Africa they have been continuing the same work, but the difference is that they are now exposing the injustices of the self - seeking affluent peoples of their own country, who are indulged in corrupt practices.

Writers like Achebe, Ngugi Wathiongo, Sembane Ousmane, have recreated the post - independent world in their novels . The picture that they have all showed

is that their country on the hands of few powerful men is in the verge of collapse, if no remedial measures are taken.

In *Man of the people* Achebe while depicting the world of Nigeria, shows how one's self interest overcomes his feeling for the country. No body is prepared to forgo a little privilege in the interest of his country. From the ministers to down to the most junior clerk all are concerned about their own enrichment.

May be the idea of nation is new for which the idea of national interest is weak. So the politicians and bureaucrats involved in governance although are aware of the official purposes they scarcely regard them as sacrosanct. They don't look towards the country as long as a deal is profitable to them .

As for instance we find the deal between the M.P. Mr. Nanga and the foreign entrepreneur in the novel *A man of the people*. Achebe portrays foreign business enterprise as one of the main springs of economic corruption. He shows how 'British Amalgamated' had been advised three months in advance of a 20% increase in import duties on certain textiles in exchange of a reward. Mr. Nanga is rewarded for such information by the firm, by building three blocks of seven

story flats for 30000 Pounds each<sup>21</sup> - in MR. Nangas' name - and then leasing the flats for 1400 pounds per month each. Achebe does not make the calculations but simple arithmetic shows that the cost of the construction would be paid in three years with astronomical profit thereafter. "British Amalgamated" also had another occasion for goodness to the M.P. Mr. Nanga later in selling in ten buses at 6000 Pounds each on never – never terms - indefinitely limited credit - for what services Odili the protagonist does not know . That international corporations were involved in African corruption is obvious but difficult to discuss as it operated secretly<sup>22</sup>.

Achebe, in this novel shows the kind of deal those in power could make with considerable ease . Foreign corporations could make deals with politicians even more easily. What is more, their deals did not become part of the public record so that, while widely reported, such deals are not readily documented.

The unflattering portrayal of international role in official corruption by Achebe is not wholly without foundation. As director of external broadcasting for the

---

<sup>21</sup> Wren. M.Robert, 'Achebe's world The Newshrine : A Man of the People'. Longman 1981, p.98.

<sup>22</sup> Wren. M., Robert op. cit., p.98.

Nigerian Broadcasting company in Lagos , he was well placed for hearing unpublishable reports of corruption and for understanding the innuendos that were printable during the 1960's<sup>23</sup>.

**A man of the people** reflects some of the corruption charges between politicians & foreign entrepreneurs in Nigeria current then when it was written. It however also applies generally to other parts of Africa as similar type of corruption prevailed there also. Ngugi WaThiongo in his novels **Petals of Blood & Devil on the cross** also portrays such type corruption, in which some few affluent peoples are involved. There we not only see the politicians and foreign enterprises involved in it but also local businessmen and bureacurats. A strong nexus seems to be operating within them. Ngugi in his novels exposes, this particular section of people who through corruption, have warmed themselves into position of power in the independent Africa. In his book **Detained : A writers Prison Diary (1981)** Ngugi has outlined :-

“ It is now a fact that just before and immediately after independence the foreign economic interests, with their various local branches and enterprises embarked on a calculated campaign of recruiting new friends from among politicians, administrative cadres... the up and - coming businessman by offering them token

---

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, p.98.

personal lucrative shares and directorships in their local companies. The friends were in return, to ensure the unrestricted freedom of the foreign economic interests, to make profits, meaning of course the freedom to continue unmolested their age - old exploitation of peasants and workers<sup>24</sup>”.

In **Petals of blood** Ngugi cynically portrays how such groups of people carry out their own interests at the cost of others misery. The characters, Chui, Mzigo, Kimeria and Nderi wa Riera belong to this group. They collaborate in different corrupt economic activities , in order to amass wealth. We find Nderi wa Riera the local M.P, on alliance with businessmen Chui and Kimeria and school administrator cum businessman Mzigo, hoodwink the innocent inhabitants of ‘Illmorag,’ which is a microcosm of Africa, in the name of bringing development and prosperity to the region. And this alliance is supported by foreign enterprises.

The farmers are advanced liberal loans for expanding their agriculture and cattle breeding activities. But what Ngugi speaks through his character Abdullah is :-

---

<sup>24</sup> WaThiongo. Ngugi, ‘Detained : A Writers Prison Diary’, London, Heinemann, 1981, p. 53.

“Progress yes, development did come to Illmorog. Plots were carried out of the various farms to make a shopping centre. Shops were planned and the people were asked to send in applications for building plots to the country council. A mobile van - African Economic Bank came to Illmorog and explained to the peasant farmers and the herds men how they could get loans... only one condition . Payment had to be regular .Easy<sup>25</sup>.”

However when they failed to repay the loans regularly and on time - as was feared by some, and hoped by others they were ruthlessly evicted and their lands auctioned . With the auction of land more deprived were the innocent peoples. Illmorog peasants had been displaced from the land. Some had joined the army of workers, others were semi workers with one foot in a plot of land and one foot in a factory, while others become petty traders in hovels and shanties they did not even own . The herdsmen had suffered a similar fate. Some had died, others how been driven even further out into decier povals away from the newly enclosed game parks for tourists, and yet others had become hired , laborers on wheat fields or on farms belonging to wealthier peasants<sup>26</sup>.

---

<sup>25</sup> WaThiongo. Ngugi, 'Petals of Blood' , London , Heinemann, 1977, p. 268.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, p.302

Nyakinyua the old women in the novel belongs to this exploited section of society who had been lured to accept loans and would have later forfeited her land, due to non payment of the loan, had not wanja redeemed it through selling her roaring liquor business to Mzigo.

But Wanja when later wanted a licence to brew, she was handed a white paper saying:-

“An Agreement Made This First Day Of Between - Chira country council (herein after called “The licensor) of the one part and International Liquor Manufactuers (Kenya Ltd.) (hereinafter called the licensee) of the other part Whereby. It is AGREED AS FOLLOWS...In consideration of the royalties hereinafter stipulated the Licenser grants the License sole licence to manufacture THENG, ETA in accordance with patent of invention . NO ROB 10000<sup>27</sup>.

The directors of the Kenya branch were Mzigo, Chui, and Kimeria. Wanja realizes that they Were the ones who benefited from the new economic progress of Illmorog. But Wanja also realizes what she has to do in the present situation.

---

<sup>27</sup> WaThiongo. Ngugi, ‘ Petals of Blood,’ London, Heinemann, 1977 p.293.

She thinks why wouldn't she benefit and make profit, by making use her beauty & body. She had fully internalized the law of the new nation - Eat or you are eaten. and hence takes to prostitution.

What Ngugi exposes in this novel is the blatant, form of economic corruption that had been spreading and penetrating deeper and deeper into the society. If one tries to remain clean in this environment , he had to live a life of misery ,poverty and death, whoever has some power tries to exploit, it for his/ her benefit at the cost of harm done to others. Whether it is power of money, privilege, position or beauty one uses it illegitimately and thus adopts corrupt methods, for his own enrichment and advantage.

Such form of corruption promoted inequality among the citizens in the independent African society. Ngugi suggests that peoples like Chui, Mzigo & Kimeria & Nderi was Rira continued becoming richer & richer by exploiting and duping the illiterate, poor and weak. These poor people had no access to education as they couldn't afford, Even running schools has turned out to be a business for people like Mzigo and Chui.



Economic corruption started to grow as there was no strong force to check it. The underprivileged people who wanted to fight for their right, are left in dilemma whom to fight against, as there was no visible enemy.

Nyakinynua the old woman in Petals of Blood when tries to lead the fight, she does not get enough support. People question her whom to fight against.

“They looked at her and they shook their heads : whom would they fight now, the Government? The Banks? KCO? The party Nderi? Yes whom would they really fight<sup>28</sup>.”

Since economic corruption was operating in a complex network, between local exploiters and foreign collaborators it was difficult to find who the real enemy was and whom should they fight. Even the people didn't have the interest and courage to fight. Ngugi in fact laments in **Petals of blood** over their callous attitude that has promoted such corruption. He shows how in no time of independence the society has decayed and became rotten at the core in the hands of exploiters which Chui, Mzigo, Nderi, and Kimeria represent. Their principal

---

<sup>28</sup> WaThiongo, Ngugi, op.cit, p. 276

pursuit remains wealth and power. And in their drive to satisfy individual desires there is complete disregard of moral or social consideration.

Ngugi throws light on different profit making business which they were indulged in the name of development. He shows how the politician Nderi and businessman Chui, Kimeria have opened tourist centres, shopping plaza, breweries bars, and massage parlours, on the land confiscated by them from the poor people. Another point which he brings to notice is that in the tourist centre like 'Utamadini Cultural Tourist Centre', clandestine business of smuggling of gemstones, ivory plus animal and human skins were thriving and women, young girls were being recruited to satisfy any watali's physical whims. But the policeman does not consider his duty to stop them. Inspector Munira in the novel rather feels that "Tourism was after all one of the biggest industries in the country and there was nothing good that did not carry with it a few negative things. His duty as a policeman was to help maintain stability, law and order, upon which depended the successful growth of all the industries and foreign investment"<sup>29</sup>.

---

<sup>29</sup> WaThiongo, Ngugi, op.cit, p. 276.

What we observe is that there is no effective body to check the corrupt economic practice operating. The law enforcement unit is weak and the judicial system is inefficient. Any strong voice of opposition is always crushed down. As happened with Mr. Hawkins, the lawyer in the novel. Since he is an educated elite well versed in law, who could expose the corrupteers, he has to meet his end. Violence coupled with “soft state” is said to embody “a weak or diffuse sense of national interest and the absence of a commitment to public service”<sup>30</sup> and a fragile state apparatus to check, has only escalated economic corruption further, and has made the business group and the politician more prosperous.

Money is considered by them, to be powerful and sometimes it is equated with God. In Devil on the Cross Ngugi criticizes this blind pursuit of money. Satirically he states through one of his characters, in this novel; who happens to be the leader of ‘International organization of theft and robbery’.

“I think there is no one who does not know that theft and robbery are the cornerstones of America and Western civilisation. Money is the heart that beats to keep the western world on the move. If you people want to build

---

<sup>30</sup> Gould .D.J. and Mukendi. T.B, op. cit. P. 428

a great civilisation like ours, then kneel down before the god of money ignore the beautiful faces of your children, of your parents, or your brother and sister. Look only on the splendid face of money and you'll never, never go wrong. It's far better to drink the blood of your people and eat their flesh than to retreat a step<sup>31</sup>”.

In his focus upon the theme of modern theft and robbery, Ngugi shows the corruption that is operating in nexus between business and crime, politicians and swindlers. He portrays the struggle between the Wa- Benzi class and the rest of Kenya in this novel. He shows how the businessman and traders like Mwaura and Mukiraii have usurped power in the new independent nation. And how are they continuing the exploitation of the masses with the help of the financial support, which their former colonial masters have over their country. Their sole aim remains to maximize profits, no matter how and at whose cost.

According to Mwaura's opinion – “Business is my temple and money is my god. But if some other God exists that's all right ... show me where the money is and I'll take you there”<sup>32</sup>

---

<sup>30</sup> WaThiongo, Ngugi, 'Devil on the Cross', London, Heinemann, 1982. P.89.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., p. 56.

Through the use of their skill in theft and robbery and connections, these businessman like Mwaura and Mukiraai emerged as powerful. Any voice against them is silenced. When Wangari, the main women character in Devil on the Cross arrives with a police at The Feast to arrest the businessman who have gathered to speak about the different techniques of theft and robbery, they should adopt. The police refuses to arrest them. Instead he arrests Wangari for levelling false accusations against respectable businessman. Ngugi cynically delineates the corrupt businessman who have turned respectable in the post - independent period and how an innocent women like Wangari is punished with false accusations .

In yet another instance in the same novel, we observe that when the workers, peasants, unemployed students hold a demonstration denouncing the exploiting business group who have robbed people's wealth, there rally is disrupted. Five workers are killed and some are arrested by the forces of law and order. With an undemocratic system of governance, mechanism to check such form of corruption gets under mined. In this situation the inevitable result is that corruption only grows leading to widening of income disparity , violation of human rights and degradation of societal values. Among the vulnerable section

of society namely women, peasants, workers and students it created more bitterness.

Sembane Ousmane's Xala we find, how this bitterness takes the form of curse and finally a revolutionary shape, when the people of the lowest economic strata of society strip off and spit on Al Hadji, the Wa-Benzi class businessmen, who had been feeding fat on their share and labour.

Ousmane, has used various metaphors in the novel, to show the squeeze of human condition after independence, under the impact of large scale economic corruption. Impotency or xala of Al Hadji is used as a metaphor. It suggests how the nation has become important, with all indigenous resources of strength being dried up. It refers to the economic loot done by the colonisers and then by the 'Businessman group'<sup>33</sup> of the country, who had earlier come together to combat foreign interests. Their ambition to gain control of their country's economy materialised, with coming of independence and appointment of one of their member as president of the chamber of commerce and industry.

---

<sup>33</sup> Ousmane. Sembane, 'Xala', London, Heinemann, 1974, p. 1.

Access to country's economy by this businessmen group provided opportunity to enrich themselves at the cost of common men's poverty and misery. This hoarding of wealth with no development leads to impotency of the state. And all efforts to revive with outside interventions does not help. This is suggested by AlHadji going to different places to cure his Xala, but finds himself frustrated.

Ousmane at the end of the novel provides a solution for rejuvenation of nation state and that is through equitable distribution of wealth. He suggests, this through the metaphor of stripping of AlHadji by the beggar. Only by returning the people's wealth which he has looted AlHadji's 'Xala' is cured in the end, which also symbolizes the cure of Nation's impotency.

In this novel Xala, we observe the debilitating effects of economic corruption in Africa. Country's wealth being accumulated by ministers and businessman leads it to a disastrous state. Its loses it strength to grow and produce. Ousmane though provides a cure to it, by suggesting distribution of wealth equally, but still it remains a remote possibility.

From the above discussion on economic corruption we come to know about its way of operation and who are involved in it and what effect it has on the society, the people and the country at large. Through different novels that have dwelt upon this theme, we find that in the post-independent Africa, those responsible peoples, like the politicians, bureaucrats, businessmen who supposedly are to bring in development and prosperity to the nation and the people, are only concerned about their own enrichment and profit. They are involved in many corrupt economic activities for self-aggrandizement. As a result the development and growth of the country is receding and disparity in income between some affluent rich peoples and the people of the lower economic strata, like peasants, farmers, workers etc. have been widening. Apart from the writers whose work we have discussed in this chapter, there are other concerned writers like Armah, Meja Mwangi and Wole Soyinka, who have given space to this problem of economic corruption in their novels. They have tried to make the readers aware of its evil menace through their writings.

Its not only economic corruption that has been a cause for independent African poverty, misery and deprivation which the writers portray. But coupled with it is



also political corruption, and social corruption which also many writers have delineated in their novels. We will be discussing about it in our later chapters.

## CHAPTER III

# POLITICAL CORRUPTION

Political corruption is a behaviour adopted by politicians or political coalitions to capture the apparatus of state or maintain a monopoly on power. It usually includes activities such as vote rigging, registration of unqualified dead or non-existent voters, purchase and sales of votes, falsification of election results, backing of inefficient and incompetent politicians conducting no election within a party extorting or eliminating competent rivals and creating violence or terror.

In Africa the political scene is surfeited with corruption and bribery, heavy with threat and violence, reeling under the debilitating effects of opportunism. Competition for securing power is primarily the cause behind such political depravity. Perhaps after independence the political condition of the African States was such that politicians had no choice. The need to secure power made certain that whoever failed to maximise power was frozen out of it. A party

which was defeated could either chose to join the victors or its leaders might find themselves on trial or treason. Opposition was dangerous, while power attracted power. Only the powerful could manipulate the political system to distribute the goods that power promised.

Various types of corruption involved in this power politics in Africa will form the subject of discussion in this chapter. The discussion will bring out how this phenomenon worked in the post-independent Africa and what were the intention and causes behind it and what were its effects upon the society and how the writers have dealt with it in their writings.

Various novelists like Chinua Achebe, Cyprian Ekwensi, Ngugi Wathiongo, A.K. Armah, have constructed their fiction on the theme of political corruption. Perhaps in the political environment which they were staying, did not allow them to brush aside this serious problem. Novels like A man of the people by Achebe, Petals of Blood by Ngugi WaThiongo, Beautiful Ones are not yet Born by A.K.Armah powerfully portray such type of corruption. We will concentrate on these novels in the discussion of political corruption's.

The image of politicians which these writers portray in their novels is as a self seeking, vain, fraudulent, and ignorant demagogue. And such image is very much similar to that of the colonial masters ruling in the colonial period. During the colonial period 'the white man'<sup>34</sup> used his power to live lavishly. His house, his car, his servants, his clothes, were all paid for, if need be, by shillings and pence exacted at the point of a gain. He lived better than kings, and enforced his will with a power never known to kings before his coming. With such power he could and did tax men, for no other reason than that they were alive and formed a poor living. In exchange for the tax the white man performed no visible service, offering nothing of known value. In short political power was perceived to be the white man's power. Moreover, the white man's power has no necessary constitutional base. It was administrative, as a matter of law, through all of Africa's colonial history. What must be the result of this, when the power is transferred<sup>35</sup>

To the mass of Africans white man's power was political, despotic and arbitrary. Africans also used power similarly as their colonial masters after independence.

---

<sup>34</sup> The term White men is referred to European colonial masters.

<sup>35</sup> Wren, M. Robert, 'Achebe's World , the newshrine: A Man of the People', Longman, 1981, p.98.

Anti-colonialists fought against these methods in the colonial period. And the masses aspired to usher in highly moral life free of corrupt values. But the leaders who came to power did not keep up the aspirations and promises which they fought for against the former masters. . The promises were to wipe out corruption and live a better life. But unfortunately as reflected by writers as referred about African politicians themselves became perpetuator of all forms of political corruption. They acquired methods which strengthened their political control by impoverishing the people. Political corruption introduced during the post-independent era removed all possibilities of democracy, transparency, human values. We will find reference to such situation in African fiction.

The politicians who took over power from the colonisers, at the time of independence had practically no economic power before independence. When they came into power they got the opportunity to amass wealth. Therefore by misusing power they started enriching themselves, for they wanted to live the life of their colonial predecessors. Their only ambition seemed to take over the privileges of their former masters.

Therefore after independence things didn't change for better, as it was hoped for by the masses. In the life of the country nothing really new did happen. The only change that is observed is the change of embezzlers for the country. The new leaders took power into their hands, only to select the nation's riches and to use them for their own satisfaction.

The political field in the post independent period appeared alluring to many for easy money. In the novel *Jagua Nana* Cyprian Ekwensi has thrown light upon such facts. He shows that an erstwhile idealistic youth on his return from England enters politics primarily for easy money.

“I want money quick quick, and politics is de only hope<sup>36</sup>”

For the future, momentary glitter and glamour, for the prestige and power it gives, one is attracted towards politics, is what Ekwensi portrays in his novel, *Jagua Nana*. He also shows that entry into politics seems to destroy politician into a self-seeking and unscrupulous activist. One of the character *Jagua Nana* thinks, “How ordinary people she knew became transformed by this strange

---

<sup>36</sup> Ekwensi, Cyprian, ‘*Jagua Nana*’, London, Heinemann, 1961, p.13.

devil they called politics. When so transformed a man placed no value on human life. All that mattered was power, the winning of seats, the front page appearance in the daily papers, the name read in the news bulletins of the Broadcasting Corporations<sup>37</sup>”

What writers generally portray is that people join politics only for the sake of money and privileges and not for working for the welfare of the people. With having people joining politics, only for the sake of money and privileges the political arena became abound with mediocrity and charlatens, with minister completely unqualified for the ministerial posts. For instance in A Man of the people, the minister of Culture is completely ignorant of the names of the writers of the society. “I had expected that in a country where writers were so few they would all be known personally to the minister of culture. But it was clear Chief Nanga hadn’t even heard the man’s name before<sup>38</sup>”

Yet a modicum of political altruism persists. Some enter politics to counter act the fraudlence and inanity so glaringly revealed in some new ministerial system.

---

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, P. 138.

<sup>38</sup> Achebe, Chinua, ‘A Man of the People’, London, Heinemann, 1966, p.36

In A man of the People “Max and some of his friends having watched with deepening disillusion the use to which their hard won freedom was being put by corrupt mediocre politicians had decided to come together and launch ‘common people’s convention<sup>39</sup>’.

After independence still the anti-colonialists are found to be fighting against the rulers, who have turned out to be corrupt. They are their own native leaders, who are supposed to look after the welfare of the people. But counteracting such corruption has bred violence and terror.

### **VIOLENCE IN CORRUPTION**

In the post-colonial world a new type of violence has erupted. And political corruption has generated such violence. It emerged in two forms. Either it is introduced to crush corruption or is perpetrated by corruption. Primarily it is unleashed by the ruling clique to suppress the voice raised against it.

History is witness to the fact that prominent leaders in Kenya, who opposed the ruling clique within the Kenya Africa National Union (KANU) got murdered

---

<sup>39</sup> Ibid, p.52.



under suspicious circumstances. As for instance the case of J.M. Kariuki. In the parliament 6 Nov. 1974, he made reference to Kenyatta and his family becoming the richest in Kenya<sup>40</sup> He said “we have moved away from the state which we intended to create” Kenya had become “like a tree growing very tall very quickly, but it is going to fall because it does not have roots, is not firmly rooted in the people and in society<sup>41</sup>”. A few days later, Kariuki was found dead. And two M.Ps Serorey, and Marktin Shikuku, the members of the Parliament Select Committee (PSC) which was set up to inquire into the death of J.M. Kariuki, got arrested in the parliament building. Two more MPs connected with the PSC also died in suspicious circumstances<sup>42</sup>. Another Member of Parliament Mark Mwithaga also ended up in Jail. He had been vice chairman of Kariuki committee and had criticised the government on the whole affair<sup>43</sup>.

In yet another instance prominent leaders in Kenya like Pio Gama Pinto, Nagla, Mboya who had been opposing the ruling clique within the Kenyan African

---

<sup>40</sup> Gupta, Vijay, 'Kenya : Politics of (In)dependence' , New Delhi , People's Publishing House, 1981 p. 194.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid, p. 194

<sup>42</sup> Ibid, pp. 194-195

National Union (KANU) and who had been also posing challenge to Kenyatta's leadership, got assassinated as they could not be arrested, like Odinga, since they did not belong to the opposition. Mboya and Pia Pinto got killed in a day light and Ronald Ngala died in the road accident in 1972<sup>44</sup>.

Such acts of violence in politics, where murder and assassination became an integral part, made politics appear as a dirty game. Writers have depicted the role of violence in political corruption extensively – how the way of politics has turned out to be way of Jungle in which violence erupts and in which violence is fought with violence. The urban sophisticated Indian doctor Nunkooh in the novel *Jagua Nana* felt that entry into politics is entry into a state of war. “We have paid dearly for our former transparently honest methods of struggle when they were ready they pounced and destroyed the movement because we had all declared ourselves from public platforms all over the country. We have now learned that this is bitter war, no platform game<sup>45</sup>”.

---

<sup>43</sup> ‘The Weekly Review’, 31. May 1976, p.5, quoted in Gupta Vijay, op.cit. p. 195.

<sup>44</sup> Gupta, Vijay, of. cit. P. 189.

<sup>45</sup> Ekwenai, Cyprian, ‘*Jagua Nana*’, London, Haonemann, 1964 p.46

'Jagua Nana' in the novel *Jagua Nana*, while attempting to prevent her lover from entering politics says that politics is a unhealthy business. "No Freddie, I no wan you to win... politics not for you. You got education, you got culture. You're a gentleman go proud. Politics be game for dogs. And in dis Lagos is a rough game. De roughest game in de whole world?. Jagua Nana's contention that politics is a rough business not to be entered by 'gentleman', that success in politics is achieved only by those who accept and use its underhand rules. A thug justifies his demands for additional pay in the following way in the novel *Jagua Nana*.

"This no be matter for joke, we want the money to pay certain person wey go him house for night and burn him car... Look my trien I done tell you say if you no wan serious for this business make you go rest for house. I done see say you want pay too much gentleman for this matter... Dem tell you say na gentlemanity de give other people minister..? Anyway wetin be my concern there? Nna you Sabi"<sup>46</sup>

---

<sup>46</sup> Ekeensi, Cyprian, op. cit. p. 52.

Writers have shown that the ruling clique having failed to live up to the aspirations of the people, and having lost their confidence have let loose a reign of terror to sustain in power. Ngugi WaThiongo in his novels. Matigari and Petals of Blood has cynically drawn the political climate surfeited with violence and terror. But he is not even spared by the ruling government. His book Matigari was banned for creation of a fictional character 'Maligari' who went village to village instigating people to demand truth and justice. In such an undemocratic set up, where freedom of speech and expression is curtailed, political corruption has become more and more rampant. Politics no more remained a level playing field. It has turned out to be a dirty business.

Competition has become intense for acceding to power, for which the nature of politics had turned out to be harsh and violent in almost all the countries of Africa in the independent Africa, Money power coupled with muscle power are primarily used for it. Participation in politics and contesting elections in countries like Nigeria and Kenya created situations leading to contestants and supporters fighting pitch battles with guns and hand grenades. So instead of the democratic situation getting strengthened it has been weakened. Writers like Chinua Achebe and Cyprian Ekwensi and Ngugi waThinggo have delineated

the corrupt electioneering process quite elaborately. As depicted by these writers elections in countries like Nigeria and Kenya has always been violent.

Election demand competition and rivalry. The quest for votes demand organisation of the electorate along whatever lines available. Since no stronger loyalties than kinship and lineage existed, organisation along extensions of these loyalties was inevitable. Ethnicity is stressed, both positively and negatively politicians gathered their supporters on ethnic lines. Voters of one ethnic group wanted to protect their country to be taken away by another ethnic group. Voters voted their fear of the perceived enemy and voted their support of their perceived brother. As a result, politician could cynically manipulate masses of voters even when the parties had demonstrated their moral bankruptcy. So 'tribalism' become a major support for the political corruption in Africa. It also bred violence. One party based on some ethnic group confront and attack supporters from opposing side, in most instances wounding or killing some of their opponents. The politicians, for the most part, saw their mutual interest served by keeping the system stable. Without elections, those in power might have persisted longer than the six years that the first republic

lasted. But elections were constitutionally required, and in Africa it has been a major cause of calamity.

Its for election that politicians accumulate money, by corrupt arrangements. They indulge in other forms of corruption like providing jobs to the people of their tribe, in order to garner their support. And in some cases politicians starts some developmental works before election, which infact are for their own advantage and not for the people as such. Ngugi WaThiongo in this novel Petals of Blood shows how local M.P Nderi Wa Riera hoodwinks innocent habitants of Illmorog in the name of bringing development and prosperity. The farmers are advanced liberal loans for expanding their agriculture and cattle breeding. A mobile van – African Economic Bank comes to Illmorog and gives them loan on condition that payment has to be regular. After elections are over the lands are confiscated when the farmers failed to repay their loans . And in that land shopping arcades and bars are raised. The money from such business went to the politician and local and foreign businessman party to it. The money or wealth they accumulated is used by politicians to influence journalists, and bribe opponents, bureaucrats and also buying henchmen, to subdue the voices raised

against them. Electioneering in Africa has always been hazardous. Fraudulent activities like booth rigging, and violence often accompany it.

In the following excerpt from Achebe's A man of the people we get a sense not only of electioneering fraud but of its accompanying violence. Here the leader of the newly formed party is killed.

“Max had been informed by our party intelligence that chief koko’s resourceful wife was leading the women’s wing of the P.O.P in an operation that one might describe as breast feeding the ballot, i.e. smuggling into the polling booths words of ballot paper concealed in their brassieres. Max immediately investigated. But as soon as he alighted from his car one of chief Koko’s jeep swept up from behind, knocked him over and killed him on the spot”.

Violence during elections is primarily seen to be unleashed by the party which has been in power, as they perceive the threat of being defeated by the opposition party. Violence originates because of the leaders trying to come back to power. They try to discourage the opposition leader to contest elections, either by threat, or by legislations or by blocking nominations. As for instance in

Kenya, Kenyatta afraid of opposition introduces a legislation in April 1968 prohibiting independent candidate standing for election to local authorities and “ that each candidate standing for election to local authorities is to be supported by the leader of political party. But when new party is formed to fight election then measures are taken to block nominations. As for instance in Kenya before the by elections nomination papers of many newly formed Kenyan People’s Union (KPU) candidates were declared null and void and almost 100 candidates put up by the KPU in the field were disqualified by returning officers giving the KANU almost a walkover victory. KPU was stopped from campaigning. Measures adopted for the purpose included detention of prominent KPU supporters under specially inacted public security act and banning of KPU rallies and procession. KPU followers were subjugated to intimidation by KANU youth wingers. When such devices failed they opted for more severe corrupt means like booth rigging and execution.

As for instance in A Man of the people Achebe shows how Odili’s- the strong opposition candidate against Chief Nanga- nomination paper was seized by thugs’ and a second paper could not be signed because Odili, was in the hospital was under arrest.



According to the writers the politicians do not adhere to any set ideology or principal. Nor do they have any concern for people and the country. They are simply opportunists seeking their advantage. The following excerpt from A man of the people throws light on such act of opportunism.

‘I know very well and needed no reminder that we were not in Britain or something that when a man resigned in our country it was invariably with an eye on the main chance as when a few years ago ten newly elected P.A.P Members of Parliament had switched parties at the opening of the session and given the P.O.P a comfortable majority overnight in return for ministerial appointments and if one believed the rumours- a little cash prize each as well<sup>47</sup>.

In another instance of opportunism Achebe shows how incompetent politicians like Chief Nanga during an economic crises make their way to ministerial post by ousting cunningly the competent minister.

---

<sup>47</sup> Achebe, Chinua, op.cit. p. 96

It was in the economic crisis that chief Nanga found the opportunity for the ministerial post. With a slump in the international coffee market overnight the government had a dangerous financial crisis on its hands. It affected the internal political problem.

The then minister of finance counsels austere economic measures which might reduce the popularity of the party.

‘The minister of Finance at the time was a first rate economist with a Ph. D. in public finance. He presented to the cabinet a complete plan for dealing with situation. The Prime Minister said “No” to the plan. He was not going to risk losing the election by cutting down the price paid to coffee planter at that critical moments<sup>48</sup>’.

In the parliamentary debate which followed the crisis Chief Nanga distinguishes as a heckler. No one hears what the minister of finance has to say because Mr Nanga and other MP’s who try to prove their loyalty to the prime minister drown the speech with interruptions, ‘they deserve to be hanged’, ‘they have

---

<sup>48</sup> Achebe, Chinua, op.cit. p.97

bitten the finger with which their mother fed them. The prime minister thus expels the university trained politician from the cabinet. In his place men like Chief Nanga with limited education possible under colonialism take their seat. And it is politician like Chief Nanga who despised the younger professionals returning from university.

‘Let us now and for all time extract from our body politic as a dentist extracts a striking tooth all those decadent stooges versed in text book economic and aping the white man mannerism and way of speaking. Away with the damnable and expensive university education which only alienates an African from his rich and ancient culture and puts him above his people<sup>49</sup>’.

What writer show is that in the name of preserving ancient culture corrupt, inept unscrupulous politician make their way to ministerial position and attempt at securing it. As a result such forms of political corruption’s let to deprive the nation of educated, enlightened and farsighted leaders who could guide and lead the country towards progress. For this sorry state of affairs its not only the powerful corrupt politicians responsible. To certain extent common peoples

---

<sup>49</sup> Ibid, p. 98.

apathy and callous attitude and the press comprising of self interested journalist contribute to it. Achebe reflects upon such callous attitude and stoic resignation of the people towards the corruption happening around them. As for instance he says “ As he gave instance after instance of how some of our leaders who were ash – mouthed paupers five years ago had become near millionaires under our very eyes, many in the audience laughed. But it was the laughter of resignation to misfortune. No one among them swore vengeances . No one were shock with rage or showed any sign of tight<sup>50</sup>”.

The resulting mood is one of the apathy and cynacism. ‘The people had become even more cynical them their leaders and were apathetic into the bargain. ‘Let them eat’ was the people opinion, after all when white men used to do all the eating did we commit suicide ... It may be your turn to eat tommarrow<sup>51</sup>’.

Analysing the political situation in Kenya Dr. Vijay Gupta says – “people were disillusioned with the performance of the leaders. The ministers, their relatives and even bureaucrats were living like the old white rulers in big houses with big

---

<sup>50</sup> Achebe, Chinua, op. cit. p. 136.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid, p. 138.

cars and many house boys. They had grabbed land and were absentee landlord. They were engaged in commercial activities and were owning factories and exploiting people just as the Asian and European settlers had done. The poor people neither had land nor jobs... when ever they try to organise themselves they were crushed<sup>52</sup> ”

The peoples fear and cynical attitude and a callous press comprising self seeking journalists have only aggravated political corruption. Journalists in their manner of reporting political incidents the journalists seek their own interest. They are resented by politicians but they are stilled by bribery. Ironically this is stated by corrupt politician in—A Man of the people.

“You see what it means to be a minister’, said chief Nanga. “If I don’t give him something now, tomorrow he will go and write rubbish about me. They say it is nothing short of the freedom to certify innocent men and assassinate their character ... I don’t say they should not criticise – after all no one is perfect except God – but they should criticise constructively<sup>53</sup>”.

---

<sup>52</sup> Gupta, Vijay, op.cit. p.191.

<sup>53</sup> Acheba Chinua, op.cit. p. 68

The writers show how democracy in some countries of Africa has become a farce. The political leaders either through bribery, violence or terror or through corruption in election process as both rigging, and blocking nomination try to secure their seat. And they say how leaders are responsible for the degenerated political condition. There are writers like Armah who show how society to certain extent has been responsible for such corruption.

In his novel 'The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born Armah speaking through the third person narrator, who interprets the world around him says:

“These man who were to lead us out of our despair, they came like men already grown fat and cynical with the eating of centuries of power they had never struggled for, old before they had even been born into power, and ready only for the grave. They were lawyers before, something grown greasy on the troubles of the people who worked the land, but now they were out to be our saviours. There brother and their friends were merchants eating what was left in the teeth of the white men their companies. They too come to speak to us of solvatoin. Our masters were the white men and we were coming to know this, and the knowledge was filing us with fear first and then with anger. And they who would be our leaders, they also had their white men for their masters, and they also feared the masters, but after the fear what was at the bottom of their

beings was not the hate and the anger we knew in our despair what they felt was love. What they felt for their white masters and our white master was gratitude and faith. and they had come to us at last to lead us and to guide us to promised tomorrows<sup>54</sup>.

The new leaders who took over power were not committed towards the country and welfare of the people. Their only aim remained in furthering their own interest rather than the national interest. The idea of national interest may be weak because the idea of nation was new. To the politicians the offices of the state and its organs, were new. They were aware of the 'official purposes' which are attached to them by importation but they scarcely regard them as 'hallowed' and hence they do not regard them as sacrosanct. So instead of using the state resources for development works, they divert them to their own account. Nation still remained an alien body. The moral power which united the village does not unite the nation. In fact it makes it difficult for national institutions to be accorded any respect because the nation is thought of as no more than a cake to be scrambled for. That is why soon after independence the political regime quickly degenerates into a scramble for power and position and public servants

---

<sup>54</sup> Armah. A.K., 'Beautiful Ones are Not yet Born' London : Heinemann, 1969, p. 184.

are recruited on the basis of whom rather than what they know. State therefore become proper objects of plunder to the politicians and leaders.

To satisfy their individual desires they completely disregarded any moral or social consideration. But Armah in his novel shows that it is not their nature which is at fault it is the nature of society which calls into service the baser part of man's nature, which in normal situation is restrained by social sanctions, human affections and responsibilities to one's community. And when the balance is disturbed society unleashes man's savagery upon himself. The decline of society which Africa is heading in the post-independent period is due to this imbalance. It can be traced far back to the colonial period. We are told of general suffering and social misery which characterised this period of history. It is against this background that the new leader rises to power. Initially he may be having the best intentions for his society. But eventually power corrupts him. Armah in his novel makes this clear that although the leader is not completely exonerated, he is only partly responsible for the situation in which he finds himself trapped. He accedes to power in a society which has been built on exploitation and in which men set money and power as the highest goals. In



such a society he relies on the self-seeking unscrupulous aspect of this nature to secure his position.

Further Armah says in his novel, Beautiful Ones are Not Yet Born that:

“How was it possible for a man to control himself, when the admiration of the world, the pride of his family and his own secret happiness, at least for the moment all demanded that he lose control of himself and behave like someone he was not and would never be? Money Power<sup>55</sup>”.

What Armah basically points out that in a society where poverty and inequality prevailed and money and power became the principal pursuit, it was very natural in the part of the leaders to succumb to the temptation of amassing wealth.

What other writers have generally portrayed is, that its the mighty and the powerful in terms of money and privileges, who is the winner in politics in Africa.. What emerges from this whole discussion is that political climate is beset with corruption and bribery. The same leader and his party, who had

---

<sup>55</sup> Ibid. p. 115.

been milking the public system comes to power again and again . There is no effective Machinery to control and check the different forms of political corruption, prevailing there. The common man have become use to it. Their cynical attitude and stoic resignation have only made matter worse. It has only contributed more in spreading the menace of political corruption further. The chronic instability, economic decline and severe deprivation which Africa is undergoing is due to one reason being political corruption. Writers who have highlighted this type of corruption in their novels, which we have discussed, have in a way tried to expose them to readers and the world around, about the sorry state of African politics enmeshed with corruption after independence. Apart from the writers and their works which we have discussed in this chapter, there are other writers like Wole Soyinka, Meja Mwangi, Sembane Ousmane, who have even tried to raise readers consciousness towards the appalling political climate reeling under the debilitating effects of corruption in Africa. But due to non-availability of their works in our library and limited time frame of M.Phil research their writings could not be analysed in this dissertation.

## Chapter – IV

# SOCIAL CORRUPTION

Social corruption is a widespread phenomenon in Africa. It involves misuse of social institutions for private advantage, at the cost of someone else's harm. Generally it includes activities like sexual exploitation, nepotism, exploitation of poor children and workers, unequal services provided by doctors to their patients, harassment of students by self-centred academicians, and suppression of truth by money minded journalists. It is in fact a complex phenomenon operating in various sectors of social life. Today it has become all pervasive, all encompassing and an accepted feature of life.

In this chapter it is proposed to study, the operation of such corruption, its causal factors, and its resultant effect on the society in post-independent Africa and writers way of portrayal of such form of corruption in there writings. The discussion will also take into account the causal trends in African history, which have accelerated and facilitated its growth. The colonial experience will be

focussed, as it had a lingering influence in the post-colonial social structure, practices and aspirations, which promoted social corruption.

Since the coming of modernisation and urbanisation with colonisation, social corruption has become rampant in the African society. The western values-like acquisition and competitive values- which made inroads into the African society with modernisation led to the growth of such form of corruption. It acted against the existing values and norms of the society. Selfishness, greed ignorance ruled man's nature, with having him lose his sense of justice and self-sacrifice. As a result human and moral values were constantly abused.

In the colonial African society it was often seen, young girls offered their sex for favours, doctors granted fitness or sickness certificates for small fee, and taxi drivers overloaded their cars and drove at dangerous speeds while they howled insults at each other across the streets. And traffic officers take advantage of the situation to extract further bribes. Police men patrolled beaches only to check the rich car-owners having affairs with other peoples wives. And nepotism existed inseparably side by side with bribery.

We get to know, about such form of social corruption existing in the colonial period from different novels written by African writers. Chinua Achebe's novel No Longer at Ease is among those many novels which try to show the malaise of social corruption affecting the colonial African society. Obi the central character in the novel, when becomes a civil servant, he is cultured with various temptations. As soon as he got the job of secretary to the scholarship commission he receives an endless queue of clients offering bribes for back door entry to scholarship awards. One of the female candidates goes to the extent of offering to sleep with Obi, but somehow circumstances saves him from yielding to the temptation. In yet another instance we find Obi being offered bribe by a man in his office, who expects special treatment because he belongs to same tribe i.e. Ibo. Another quite similar instance of social corruption that is observed is a policeman who is harassing people in the beach apologising to Obi, when he finds out that he is a Ibo like himself.

Such instances of social corruption which Achebe portrays in the novel not only suggests the malaise, that has been prevailing in the pre-independence African society, but also implicates at the structural weakness of the colonial system, on which the new society was going to be built up. The colonisers in fact had built

up the society on the basis of privilege. In such a society each is found perusing his or her own interest and is trying his best to achieve his goals through any means possible and available. As a result the desired moral order had been disrupted and constantly the human values were being assaulted. And on such a society an independent nation was built up. Therefore what could else be the result of a nation which was built on a weak foundation. The destructive forces of social corruption which were already operating, further contributed to the disintegration of the society.

So when independence came, already the society was in a process of decay with large scale corruption in social life. The new nation had been built up on a weak structured corrupt society. And in the post-independent period this society further deteriorated as corruption in social life grew on enormous pace. Its menace gradually penetrated deeper and deeper into the society, as there was no social measures to control and check it. In all sectors of life either in a hospital, education institution, working place, family, marriage and police station people were experiencing it and sometimes became a part of it.

Having become an accepted feature of life, it invariably and unflinchingly got reflected in fictions dwelling upon social problems. And some of the concerned writers have deliberately given larger space to this problem of social corruption, looking at its debilitating effect on society and moral values. They portray how the society whether urban or rural is controlled by selfishness, greed and a disregard for human suffering. And in their portrayal they also show their concern for people's attitude, as they allow such form of exploitation to go on, by not raising any finger against it. So their novels do provide an insight into different forms of social corruption persisting in the African society and their problematic of operation.

The most glaring form of social corruption that most writers have delineated in their novels is corruption involving in women. Most women are found taking to prostitution, either as a means for livelihood or just for the lure of money and comfort. Generally two kinds of women's seems to choose such path in Africa. One is those ambitious women who want to live a life of luxury and glamour. So they go for prostitution as it appears to be easier and quicker method for money making. The other type is the deprived woman compelled by circumstances to choose such a path. But both kinds of women belonged to the

twice-exploited community. They are first exploited as African masses and second for being women<sup>56</sup>.

In the post- independent Africa, prostitution grew because of some corrupt soulless men in the society, who had money, position, and privilege and power. They offered money, job or other lucrative offer in exchange of services for satisfaction of their sexual lust. And towards such offer therefore were drawn these two types of women.

Cyprian Ekwensi in his novel People of the city shows how aspirations for high life and luxurious life style drive women like Beatrice towards prostitution.

“Beatrice... made no secret of what brought her to the city, ‘high life’ cars, servants, high-class foods, decent clothes, luxurious living. Since she could not earn the high life herself she must obtain it by attachment to someone who could. But she was not so well, and having found Grunnings who did not quite satisfy her, she had to stick to him”<sup>57</sup>.

---

<sup>56</sup> Narang, Harish, ‘Politics as Fiction : The Novels of Ngugi’ New Delhi, Creative Books, 1995 p.126.

<sup>57</sup> Ekwelici Cyprian, People of the City, London, Heinemann, 1966, p. 67.



The character Beatrice best exemplifies the decadent and debilitating force operative in the modern African urban society. The decline of her character is swift, her transformation brutal and tragic. She arouses the passions of many men of the city who become genuinely enamoured of her. Grunnings a British engineer she weds by custom and then deserted, searches for her in the night pits of the city. Lajde an unscrupulous landlord with an insatiable lust and eight wives made money and more money to consolidate his position with her Zamil a rich Lebanese merchant and crook maintains her in his house. Kofi, an affable Ghanaian lorry driver was her last man before she dies all alone.

So the momentary lure of money and glamour, which draws women like Beatrice to prostitution later leads to their moral degradation and downfall. In most cases they are left as pauper at old age and have to die alone. But there are some women who being aware of their ageing, desires young men not only as a lover but husband, so that the young man would still be strong enough to work and earn when she would be on the decline. Such type of character is drawn powerfully by Ekwensi in his novel *Jagua Nana*.

Jagua Nana is an ageing women of 45, still sensuously attractive desires to marry Freddie the young man, for her old age security. Through prostitution she feels she can generously support Freddie and offer to finance his education abroad. But she nevertheless yearns for lavish living. So she belittles Freddie and continues to offer herself to other men who can satisfy her yearning.

Thus she is a type of women who wants luxury riches and comfort all time and has no moral scruples and feeling for Freddie while pursuing her individual desires. Ekwensi sketches her as a self-interested women who pursues her desires without having any moral and social consideration. Further Ekwensi shows how such women never hesitate to leave a violent step of revenge when her aspirations and ambitions are thwarted by some other competing counterpart. Jagua Nana plans to take revenge against politically ambitious Freddie, who rejects her to marry Nancy. A clash between her and Nancy is also witnessed. Nancy slashes her saying. "Harlot, you got no shame I so you use to run after man who you can born. I don' blame you, your womb done dried up. You old had I, you kin never born any more"<sup>58</sup>.

---

<sup>58</sup> Ekwensi cyprian, *Jagna Nana*, London, Heinmann, 1968, p.76.

Such form of social corruption accompanied with violence, hatred and jealousy suggest loss of moral values and respect for fellow being. The delicate balance between the material and spiritual pursuits, seems to be disrupted. It reflects the moral degeneration in the woman who can go to any extent to get her desires fulfilled. But she is nevertheless exploited. She is dependent on men and she is also used by them.

Those women who have no other option for earning a livelihood are sometimes compelled out of frustration to yield before the lucrative offers advanced by a man. Who knows her helplessness. In post independent Africa it was very difficult for a woman to sustain in a job without being converted into somebody's 'sugar girl'. Ngugi WaThiongo in his novels Petals of Blood, Devil in the cross and Matigari has given a large space to their problems and exploitation. 'Wanja' of Petals of Blood, Jacintha Waringa of Devil on the Cross and Guthera of Matigari represent such section of exploited women who due to different circumstances are forced to part with their morality and ethics. 'Wanja' the principal Character in the novel Petals of Blood, used to earn her livelihood satisfactorily, through her business of Theng' eta. But suddenly she had to sell her business to redeem her grandmother's mortgaged land. Her

licence to brew Theng'eta had been taken away from her by Nderi Wa Riera who had set up Theng'eta Breweries. It was then she realised the most important law in new Africa : "eat or you are eaten"<sup>59</sup>. So she decided to exploit her sexual power and opened a brothel to be even with the world. Taking to prostitution was not only for earning a living but also to take revenge on those who exploited her and compelled her to choose such path. For her:

It has been the only way I can get my own back on Chui, Mzigo and Kimeria... I go with all of them now ... I play them against one another... It is because if only receive them by appointment... each wants to make me his sole women... As for me, its game ... of money...you eat or you are eaten<sup>60</sup>

Jacintha Waringa of Devil on the Cross in the other hand, is forced to exploitation in the hands of Rich old man, who had dumped her after making her pregnant. When her Boss Kihava makes advances towards her, she refuses to submit herself to be his 'Sugar girl'. She loses her job, and she is dumped into

---

<sup>59</sup> WaThiongo. Ngugi, 'Petals of Bloods'. London. Heinemann, p.302

<sup>60</sup> Ibid. p.293.

difficulties. This the author states in most forthright manner, seems to be the fact of most urban Kenyan women:

'She enters office. She finds there another Mr. Boss. The smiles are the same, the questions are the same, the rendezvous is the same- and the target is still Kaveend's thighs. The Modern Love Bars and Lodgings has become the main employment bureau for girls and women's thighs are the table on which contracts are signed'<sup>61</sup>. Boss Kiharas, The Rich Old Man, Waigokas, Kamoogoynes who all together represent a fair sample of Kenyan males- are all out to convert them into their 'sugar girls'.

Ngugi also shows that such corruption spread wide because there was no law or an effective mechanism, or any form of social sanction, which could check it. The law enforcement body is corrupt. We find policemen themselves involved in such form of social corruption. In his novel Matigari Ngugi portrays how Guthera- a barmaid -cum-prostitute- being tortured by police men and their dogs for not offering herself to them for free. It reflects, how state repressive forces are allowed and in fact propelled such form of corruption to take a larger shape and intensity.

---

<sup>61</sup> WaThiongo, Ngugi, "Devil on the Cross", London, Heinemann, 1988, p. 19.

So wide has this malaise spread that when Wangari-an old woman character in the novel Devil on the Cross, Who is already a grand mother and who has been a freedom fighter is desperately looking for a job, one of the black owners of a shop tells her that ‘the only job he could offer me was that of spreading my legs that women with mature bodies were experts at, that job<sup>62</sup>’. Ngugi shows that there is no depth of depravity to which such men do not sink. And there is no end to the sexual exploitation of women, as long as they are economically deprived.

Equally vulnerable are the children and workers in Africa who are poor and weak. Hungry and poor children of streets, are not even allowed free access to the garbage dumps to search for left over foods. Its sad and amazing that their entry into the garbage dumps have to be taxed by policemen. Ngugi WaThiongo in his novel Matigori reflects upon such form of social corruption, where small children are taken advantage of by policemen. Matigari finds that children have to first pay the fees to gain entry and their fight each other for ‘goodies’ among the trash:

---

<sup>62</sup> WaThiongo, Ngugi, ‘Devil on the Cross’, London, Heinemann, 1982, p. 42.

'The driver tipped the rubbish in three heaps. No sooner had he finished than the dogs, the vultures and the children went scrambling for the heaps of rubbish. He now understood what was going on. Each child had to pay a fee to enter. A ticket to enable them to fight it out with dogs, vultures, rats, all sorts of scavengers and vermin, for pieces of string, patches of cloth, old bits of leather, shoes, soles', rubber bands, threads, rotten tomatoes, sugarcane chaff, banana peels, bones, anything<sup>63</sup>

So a handful of people still profited from the suffering of the majority. This form of exploitation of innocent, poor and weak children only suggests, the social decay and degradation of human values in post independent Africa. The above depicted instance is into the only one. There are many such instances of social corruption where the weak is always taken advantage of. As for instance house boys by their masters, workers by their owners, patients by the doctors and students by their teachers are always taken advantage of in some way or other.

---

<sup>63</sup> WaThiongo, Ngugi, 'Matigari', London, Heinemann, 1989, p. 11.

Workers being exploited by the factory owner is a very common phenomenon of social corruption in the urban African social reality. The owner tries to take advantage of them as much as they can. Sembane Ousmane's novel God's Bits of Wood very powerfully portrays such form of social corruption. In this novel Ousmane depicts how the workers are struggling to gain a living wage that would lift them out of the abyss of poverty, provide them with compensation when they were sick and unable to work, a retiring pension for their aged. It is not only that they are treated inhumanely in the working field. But also in other social institutions like hospital, schools and other educational institutions, they are often neglected. Their wives and children are deprived of the health facilities, and their children from educational facilities. While the rich on the other hand are found enjoying the best health and education services in government hospitals and schools.

In Africa as doctors are involved in money making so also academicians. Writers in most of their novels have satirised them as much as the politicians. They contribute a lot in the social corruption which is decaying the African society. Characteristic representative of this class are Dr. Faseyi and professor Oguazor of the Interpreter, written by Wole Soyinka. For Faseyi and Oguazor,



academic jobs are a stepping stone to managerial and political appointments, which is why they invest so much money in social gatherings to which they invite politicians and directors of foreign terms. But the most disgraceful of the academics is Dr Lumoye, who performs illegal abortions after he has had sexual intercourse with the girls as part of his fees. When one of the university students refuse to participate in this immoral arrangement Dr Lumoye spreads damaging gossip about her around the university campus. Here Soyinka satirizes and cynically states, the deplorable state of educational institutions reeling under corruption. An educational institution, which seems to be the upholder of moral and human values is itself under the debilitating effect of corruption.

Soyinka in his novel The Interpreter not only satirises the elite. For him the villagers are no better than the educated city dwellers. Dehinwa's mother who arrives at her daughters flat in the middle of the night with a gang of relations to admonish her about the dangers of marrying a man from another tribe is as absurd and corrupt as anyone in the novel. Feeling of tribalism inspired in the institution of marriage is also a form of social corruption that existed in the traditional African society 'Tribalism' in fact has to a certain extent has

bred social corruption in different shares of social life. One such form of social corruption based on tribalism and kinship loyalties is 'nepotism'.

Nepotism has become so established in the system that it can be cheered at public meetings. If the people are told that it is wrong for a man to use his position to enrich himself or to help his friends and supporters they will ask if a sensible man would spit out the juicy morsel that good fortune placed in his mouth? For men like Chief Nanga in A Man of the People the nation is a cake from which each group should try to get as large a share as possible. As A.Y. Andon has pointed out, a successful politician in a modern African state is regarded as an investment by his tribal group:

'The wide extension of kinship bond mean that a chief (or any other official) is frequently put into the position of having to choose between his obligations to favour particular kinsmen and his official duty to act disinterestedly, this type of conflict of obligation is quite real for the politician, civil servant, policemen or even a judge. For a successful political candidate is regarded by many of his

constituents (frequently his kinsmen) as an investment, and will be asked for his jobs or scholarships, or for help in local disputes<sup>64</sup>.

This analysis is also supported by E. Wallerstein in his essay 'Ethnicity and National Integration in West Africa'. He states:

'The dysfunctional aspects of ethnicity for national integration are obvious. They are basically two. The first is that ethnic groups are still particularistic in their Orientation and diffuse in their obligation, even if they are less so than the extended family. The ethnic rules are insufficiently segregated from the occupational and political roles because of the extensiveness of the ethnic group. Hence we have the resulting familiar problems to nepotism and corruption<sup>65</sup>

So 'nepotism', as a form of social corruption, is an acceptable feature and also sometimes encouraged in African society. With Kinship ties and loyalties being stronger, such form of corruption is quite natural to prevail. Obligations

---

<sup>64</sup> Wren, Robert, 'Achebe's World', *The Newshrine: A Man of the People*, Longman, 1980 p. 106

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid*, p. 107.

towards one's tribe prevents a competent and an efficient person from getting a job or any other, offer. A person here misuses a social institution like kinship to get one's work done or desires fulfilled.

What we find is that, social corruption is a major destructive force operating in the African society. With social institutions being misused for getting one's interest fulfilled, imbalance is created in the society. There is erosion of moral and human values. But primarily the cause behind such corruption the onslaught of foreign values in Africa and their gradual inculcation by the people. Apart from that the nature of society which calls upon man's baser part of nature, is responsible for such corruption. Social sanctions, human affections and responsibilities to one's community, which imposes restraint on men does no longer persist. So social corruption is growing and its menace spreading further. Society therefore under its debilitating effect is in the process of decay, with greed, violence, selfishness, and disregard for human suffering and human values given free rein. Writers, who have written about post independent African society and its various forms of social corruptions, have only shown the society as one riddled with greed, violence apparent escape. It remains to be seen whether social corruption and its menace could ever be checked in the African society.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION

Corruption as discussed in this dissertation, is considered to be such behaviour, which is guided by self interest and which act against the interest of the public and society and large. It basically involves the misuse of authority for personal gain, which need not be monetary. It has been persisting since ages. Buts after world war II, its intensity has increased to a great extent. Geographically it is now widespread. It has now taken the shape of social menace, whose eradication is very necessary.

Countries all over the world are under the grip of its menace. In all sectors of life-economic, political and social, people are experiencing this grave social ill.

Writers all over the world have written, on this theme of corruption quite extensively. But creative writers of Africa have very boldly dealt upon this theme in their writings, through they have not affered much of a solution to eradicate such ills in the society, yet their attempt has remained to make the

reader aware of it and raise their consciousness towards it. These writers have lived and experienced the various forms of corruption perpetuated by the colonial masters and have raised voice against it. Even now after independence they have been continuing the same, work by exposing to the readers, their own men who are involved in it. Their fictions reflects different forms of corruption persisting there.

In this dissertation, three forms of corruption – economic, social and political – which African writers have portrayed in their creative writings, have been discussed. Economic corruption is shown to be operating in complex network. The politicians, entrepreneurs are involved in it, Ngugi WaThiongo, Chinua Achebe and Sembane Ousmane have thrown light on economic corruption and its resultant effect on society and the people. Bureaucrats are found accepting bribes, form entrepreneurs for availing them in return, licenses, quotas and other from of allocation form state resources. The entrepreneurs are found bribing the politicians for some illegitimate advance, by which they can maintain monopoly in the market. The politician in the other hand is found receiving bribes and continuing to monopolise the source of legislation. Sometimes all of them together with the help of outside forces are involved in corrupt economic

activities. As for instance in **Petals of Blood**, Nderi Wariera the local M.P. and businessmen Chui, Mzigo, with the help of foreign enterprise dupe the innocent people, by giving them loans and then confiscating their lands when they fail to return in loans. In the name of development, they open massage parlours, shopping arcades, which do nothing to help the people to come out from the abyss of poverty. But make them poorer while enriching the perpetrators of such form of corruption. Other forms of economic corruption like embezzling away food grains coming for relief purposes, during drought and famine and selling them on high prices and indulging in black marketing by hoarding food stuffs and selling later with increased prices, happening in African have not been addressing this dissertation. Writers have portrayed such type of corrupt activities in their works but unfortunately such writings have not been analysed for its non-availability.

Political corruption is given much space in the writings of Achebe, Ekwensi, Ngugi WaThinongo and Armah. Violence, terror corrupt electioneering process with booth rigging, blocking of nomination papers, and execution accompanying it has been very widely delineated in different creative writings. Incompetent, self-seeking, unscrupulous politicians through the act of bribery purchase

security of seat, or else unleash violence and terror to sustain in positions and power. They have been coming to power again and again and continuing milking the public system. The press, and administration machinery are not effective and peoples voice are suppressed either through money, or execution. The political climate seems to be surfeited with violence, terror and bribery. Democratic institutions have been crumbled. People's cynicall attitude and apathy have aggravated it further. Perhaps the writers through their works are attempting at raising the consciousness of the people to fight against it. They are in fact lamenting at the degenerative state of African politics, which have created situations of chronic instability, tragitety, impermanence and economic depravity.

Coupled with political corruption, social corruption have made matter worse. Society is on the brink of collapse under its effect. The western acquisitive and competitive values which are being slowly inculcated by the people, have led to increase of various forms of corruption in the society. Individual profit or gain remains the prime motine of people. Corruption in social sphere is occurring due to such motive and the changed value system. Women, peasants, workers children, who belong to the marginalised section of society, are mostly affected



by it. Writers show that they are exploited in various places- home, working places, roads, hospitals, police stations etc.

Women are sexually harassed generally in working places. They being economically weak, sometimes succumb to it or otherwise face hardships of hunger and shelter if they resist it. Children are exploited by cruel and inhuman employers by extracting cheap labour from them. Peasants are displaced from their lands and workers are not paid deserving wages. In the hospitals the doctors don't address the poor, while policemen are found harassing and punishing the innocent instead of the culprit who bribes them. Selection to jobs and entry into academic institutions is restricted for competent people who don't have any relative, kith or kin of their tribe in the respective institutions, to give them entry. Nepotism is the widely spread form of social corruption. Creative writers like, Achebe Ekwensi, have very boldy and elaborately thrown light upon in their writings.

Sexual exploitation of women which writers like Ngugi WaThiongo have given so much space in their writings, show the degradation of human and moral values in the society. Apart from the above forms of social corruption that have been discussed in this dissertation, there are many others which have not been

referred and analysed. As for instance the continuing role of witchcraft, magic for personal gain, crime and violence.

The various forms of corruption operating in the society that is discussed have a debilitating effect on African society. It has perpetrated economic stagnation, political instability, undemocratic system of functioning of administrative body. Social crisis like exploitation of women, children and workers, theft has been increasing, since independence, without any effective checks and measures taken against it. This social ill is penetrating more and more deeper into society and will further go deep if no efficient machinery is set up to check.

The menace of corruption in the post – independent era have left people disillusioned, their aspiration to live a highly moral life has all crumbled down. Writers by highlighting such form of corruption and their evil consequences are not only questioning the essence of independence, which they fought for, but also doing a bold job of raising peoples consciousness toward the evils generated by this phenomenon. In doing that they are doing service to their country and their people. But question still remains whether the readers spirit are awakened to fight against it and eradicate such ills from the society.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### PRIMARY SOURCES:

**Ayi Kwei. Armah**, *Beautiful Ones are Not Yet Born*, (London : Heinemann), 1969.

**Chinua Achebe**, *A man of the People*, (London : Heinemann)1961.

- *No Longer at Ease*, (London : Heinemann), 1960.

**Cyprian Ekwensi**, *Jagua Nana*, (London : Heinemann), 1961

- *People of the City*, (London : Heinemann), 1964

**Ngugi Wathiongo**, *Petals of Blood*, (London : Heinemann), 1977.

- *Devil on the Cross*, (London, Heinenann), 1982

- *Matigari*, (London : Heinemann), 1989.

- *Detained A Writer's Prison Diary*, (London : Heinemann), 1981

**Sembane Ousmane**, *Xala*, (London : Heine mann), 1974.

- *God's Bits of Wood*, (London : Heinemann), 1978.

**Wole Soyinka**, *The Interpreters* , (London : Heinemann), 1964.

## SECONDARY SOURCES

### BOOKS

**Achebe, Chinua**, *The Trouble with Nigeria*, (London : Heinemann) 1984.

**Amutu, Chidi**, *The Theory of African Literature*, (London : zed Books), 1989.

**Becker, G.S.** "To Root Out Corruption, Boot out Big Government," *Business Week*, (London ), 31 Jan 1994: 18.

**Brown, J.M.**, *Kenyatta*, ( London : Allen and Unwin), 1972.

**Bulhan, Hussein Abdilahi**, *Frantz Fanon and the Psychology of oppression*, (New York and London : Plenum Press), 1985.

**Cartey, W.**, *Whispers from a Continent*, (London : Heinemann), 1971.

**Chinweizu, et.al**, *Toward the Decolonisation of African Literature*, (Enugu : Fourth Dimension), 1980.

**Dathrone, O.R.**, *African Literature In Twentieth Century*, (London : Heinemann), 1976.

**Duignanand Jacksons**, *Politics And Government In African States. 1960-85*, (London : Groom Helm), 1986.

**Eagleton, T.**, *Marxism And Literary Criticism* : (London : Methun And Company), 1976.

- Elders, D.**, "The Price Of Independence" *Criticism And Ideology*, Peterson, Kirstenltelst(Ed)( Upsaala: Scandianavian Institute Of African Studies), 1988.
- Etzionl – Halevy, W.** *Political Manipulation & Administrative Power*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1979.
- Farah, Nuruddin**, "The Creative Writer And The African Politician" *The Guardian* (Logos) , 9 Sep (1983).
- Freund, Bill**, "The Making Of Contemporary Africa, Of Ngugi" (Indian University Press, Blodmington), 1984.
- Gould, D.J.**, "Bureaucratic Corruption Underdevelopment In The Third World" : *The Case Of Zaine*, (New York, -Pergamon Press), 1980.
- Gupta Vijay Kenya** : *Politics Of (In)Dependence*, (New Delhi ),People's Publishing House, 1981.
- Gupta, Anirudh**, *Government And Politics In Africa* (New Delhi), 1980.
- Haily, Lord**, *An African Survey. A Study Of Problems Arising In Africa South Of Sahara*, ( London : Oxford University Press), 1957.
- Harlow, Barbara**, *Resistance Literature*, (London : Methun), 1977.
- Heidenheimar, AT, Johnsion, M., And Levine, V.T.** (Eds) *Political Corruption: A Handbook*, (New Brunswick, N.J. Transaction Publishers), 1990.

**Herkovits, Melville**, *The Human Factor In Changing Africa*,(London: Routledge and Kegan Paul), 1962.

**Heywood, C**,(ed.), *Perspectives On African Literature*, (London : Heinemann), 1971.

**Huntington, S.P**,*Political order in changing societies*, (New Haven), 1968

**Ikonne, Chidi**, et.al (ed.), *Black Culture And Black Consciousness In Literature*, (Calabar : University Of Calabar), 1987.

**James, Adeola**, *In Their Own Voices*, (London : Heinemann), 1990

**Joseph, Richard**, *Democracy And Prebendal Politics On Nigeria ; The Rise and Fall Of Second Republic*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge), 1987.

**Kapundeh, Sahr. John**, *Politics And Corruption In Africa*, (New York, University Press Of America), 1995.

**Kenyatta, Jomo**, *Challenging Of Uhuru: The Progress Of Kenya 1968-70*, Kenya Ministry Of Information And Broadcasting, 1971.

- *Facing Mount Kenya*, (London, Heinemann), 1979.

**Lazarus, Neil**, *Research In Post-Colonial African Fiction*, (New York,: University Press). 1977.

- Leys, C.,** *Underdevelopment In Kenya : The Political Economy Of Colonialism,* (London : Heinemann), 1975.
- Leys, Norman,** *Kenya,* (London, Leonard And Virginia Woolf), 1920.
- Lukacs, George,** *The Historical Novel,* (London : The Merlin Press), 1962.
- Mazrui, Ali,** *The African Condition,* (London : Heinemann), 1980.
- Mwangi, M,** *Kill Me Quick,*( London : Heinemann), 1975
- *Cockroach Dance,* (London : Heinemann), 1980.
- Narang, Harish,** *Politics As Fiction: The Novels Of Ngugi WaThiongo* (New Delhi, Creative Books), 1995.
- Nazreth, Peter,** *Literature And Society In Modern Africa* Nairobi, East African Literature Bureau, 1972.
- Ngugi WaThiong'o ,** *Writers In Politics,* (London, New Beacon Books Ltd.), 1983.
- Soyinka, Wole ,** *Myth Literature And The African World,* (Cambridge ; Oxford University Press), 1968.
- Theobald, Robin,** *Corruption, Development and Underdevelopment,* (London), 1990, P. 158.
- Wauthier, C.,** *The Literature and Thought Of Modern Africa* Trans, (London : Pall Mall Library Of African Affairs), 1966.

## ARTICLES

**Achebe, Chinua**, "The Novelist as Teacher", *Commonwealth Literature ed*,

John Press,(London : Heinemann), 1965

- "The Writers and his community", *Hopes and Impediments, Selected Essay*, (London : Heinemann),1965-87.

**Aminu, Abdullan**, "Interview with Ngugi" *In African Writers Talking*, (ed)

Duendrera and Pietrse, (London : Heinemann),1972

**Arman, Ayikwei**, "African Socialism Utopian or Scientific", *Presence Africaine*,

1997, 64: 6-30.

**BayLey, D.H.** "The effects of Corruption on a Developing Nation" *The Western*

*Political Science Quarterly*,(London), 1966, 19,4, 719-32

**Britterin, Victoria**, "Town that tells a third world story? *Gaurdian*, (Lagos),

26<sup>th</sup> July 977.

**Beenstock Michael**, 'Corruption and Development' in *World Development*

(Oxford), 7,1,1979, P. 22.

**Brown Maughan**, "Review of Cook and Okenimkpe: Ngugi WaThiongo. An

Exploration of his Writings" *Research in African Literatures*, (New York), 16,

1985.



- Couch, J.F., Atkinson, K.E., and Shughart, W.F.,** "Ethics Laws and the outside Earnings of Politicians : The Case of Alabama' legislator – Educators", *Public Choice*, ( New York),73,2, 1992, 134-45.
- Crowder, M,** "Whose dream was it anyway? Twenty five years of African Independence," *African Affairs*,(London), 86, 342, 1987, 7-24.
- Dobel, J.P.,** "The Corruptoin Of A State," *American Political Science Review*,(New York), 72, September 1978, 958-73.
- Ellis, Stephen,** "Africa and International Corruption.: The Strange Case Of South Africa And Sychellis" *African Affairs*(London), 95, 1996, 165-196.
- Fatton, R.Jr.** "Liberal Democracy In Africa, " *Political Science Quarterly* (London), 105, 3, 1990, 455-73.
- Friedrich,C.J.** "Corruption Concepts In Historical Prespective" *In Hedenheimer et. at*, 1990. 15-24.
- Gachukia, E.,** "The role Of Women in the Novels of Ngugi", *Busara*3,4,1980.
- Ganguist Raout,** "Interview With Ngugi" *Kunapipi* 5,1, 1983.
- Gillespie, K.And Okruntik, G,** "The Political Dimensions of Corruption Cleanups: A Framework For Analysis": *Comparative Politics* (New York),24,1,1991,77-95.
- Guodwin,Ken,** "Nationality Chuvanist Must Burn – Visions In Petals Of Blood And Matigari", *The Literary Criterion*,(London), 26, 3, 1991,1-4.

**Gould, D.J., and Mukendi,T.B.,** “Bureaucratic Corruption In Africa Causes, Consequences And Remedies” *International Journal Of Public Administration*, (New York), 12,3, 1989, 427-57.

**Gupta Vijay** “Prospects Of Democracy” *World Focus*, (New Delhi), June 1997.

**Harch, E,** “Accumulators And Democrats: Challenging State Corruption In Africa” *Journal Of Modern African Studies* (London), , 31,1,1993, 31-48.

**Howard, W.J.** “Themes And Development In The Novels Of Ngugi”, *The Critical Evaluation Of African Literature*, (London: Heinemann), 1973.

**Ihonvbere, J.O., And Ekekwe,E.,** “Dependent Capitalism Structural Adjustment And Democratic Possibilities In Nigeria’s Third Republic,” *Africa Spectrum*, (London), 1,1, 1988, 273-92.

**Jabbara, J.G.,** “Bureacratic Corruption In The Third World : Causes And Remeides” *Indian Journal Of Public Administration* (New Delhi), 22, 1976, 673-91.

**Klaveren, Vanj.** “The Concept Of Corruption” *In Heidenhermer et at*, 1990, 25-28.

**Kubayan, Josphat,** “Dictatorship, Oppression And New Realism” *Research In African Literature*,(London), 21, 2, 1990.

- Lett, N.H.** , “Economic Developemnt Through Bureaucratic Corruption”.  
*American Behavioral Scientist*, (New York), 8,3,1967, 8-14.
- Leys, C.**, “What Is The Problem About Corruption?” *Journal Of Modern African Studies*,(London),\_ 3, 2, 1965, 215-24.
- Macrae, J** “Underdevelopment and The Economics Of Corruption “ A Game Theory Approach” *World Development*(New York), 10, August 1982, 677-87.
- Mbaku, J.M.**”Bureaucratic Corruption as Rent Seeking Behaviour”,  
*KonJunktur Politic* (Germany), 38.4, 1992, 247-65.
- McMullan, M.** “A Theory Of Corruption”, *Sociological Review*,  
(London),9,2,1961, 181-201.
- Mphalele, Es'kia**, “The Function Of Literature At Present Time”, *Transition*,  
(New York),9,2, 1974, 47-53.
- Nye, J.S.** “Corruption And Political Development A Cost Benefit Analysis”  
*American Political Science Review*, (Washington, DC),6,2, 1967, 417-27.
- Obeichina, Emmanuel**, “Post-Independence Disillusionment In Three African Novels”, *Nsukka Studies In African Literature*, Cambridge,1,1, 1978, 54-78.
- United Nations**, *Practical Measures Against Corruption*, (New York), A /  
CONF. 144 / 8, 29 May 1990, PP. 5-6.

**Serumaga, Robert**, "Interview With Achebe" *Cultural Events In Africa*, (London),2, 1967.

**Wade, R.** "The System Of Administrative And Political Corruption : Canal Irrigation In South India", *Journal Of Development Studies*,(London),18 April 1982, 321.