Diagnostics on the Implementation of the Public Procurement Act

LASEC CONSULTING LTD

(Law, Social and Economic Change Consultants)

Diagnostics on the Implementation of the Public Procurement Act

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First published in July 2010

By

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List of Acronyms

Act BPP CBN CIPSM Council CSJ CSO EFCC EXCOF FAAN FCT	Public Procurement Act Bureau of Public Procurement Central Bank of Nigeria Chartered Institute of Purchasing and Supply Management National Council on Public Procurement Centre for Social Justice Civil Society Organisation Economic and Financial Crimes Commission Executive Council of the Federation Federal Airports Authority of Nigeria Federal Capital Territory
ICPC MDAs	Independent Corrupt Practices Commission Ministries, Departments and Agencies of Government
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
OAGF	Office of the Accountant General of the Federation
PPA	Public Procurement Act
UBE	Universal Basic Education

Acknowledgement

LASEC Consulting Ltd acknowledges the support of Heinrich Boll Foundation towards the research and publication of this Diagnostic Study. The research support of Armstrong Ukwuoma Esq is acknowledged.

Executive Summary

hapter One introduced the Study and stated its overall goal of monitoring public procurement implementation at the federal level since the commencement of the PPA and holding the government to account for the implementation of the Act. The objective is to identify successes, challenges and bottlenecks in the implementation of the PPA with recommendations on how the successes can be replicated and the challenges surmounted. It seeks to examine the critical issues and provide answers to the following:

- What are the best practices that have emerged that can be replicated?
- What are the weak points and greatest challenges?
- What are the factors militating against the successful implementation of the Act?
- What can be done to surmount the challenges?
- What recommendations can be made to fine-tune the system?

It reviewed the implementation strategies of the Diagnostic Study which include desk and field work. From this perspective, good intervention strategies that address the real and not imaginary problems of PPA implementation will be available to policy makers in the executive and legislature, MDAs, the private sector and civil society. The product of this Diagnostic Study will therefore be used as a contribution to the realisation of the objects of the PPA.

Chapter Two addressed the mandate of the National Council on Public Procurement as the policy making organ for public procurements at the federal level. It discussed the implications of the failure of the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria to constitute the Council. The outcome is illegality and clear violations of major provisions of the Act. The mandate of the Bureau including its functions and powers are reviewed in the chapter.

Implementation of the Act reveals giant strides from the Bureau of Public Procurement. The strides include the development and review of manuals and standard bidding documents, sensitization of MDA staff, capacity building for professionals and MDA procurement officers, information dissemination and naming and shaming of some violators of the PPA. However, the Bureau has not been able to undertake procurement audits and has not established an internet portal to serve as the definitive source of all information on federal procurements.

The House of Representatives Committee on Public Procurement has taken steps for the effective implementation of the Act. The Committee has developed a Legislative Agenda, held sectoral consultative forums, investigative hearings and oversight visits, etc.

Chapter Three documents the role of civil society organizations, their work and the challenges they face. CSOs have been engaged in information dissemination, awareness raising and sensitisation, capacity building, observation and monitoring, action research, action advocacy. A procurement monitoring manual, checklist, newsletters, etc, have been produced. The challenges they face include the half-hearted attempt to involve CSOs in procurement observation and denial of access to information.

Chapter Four discusses capital budget implementation. It was noted that despite the exceptions in the law, the late President Yar'Adua made the Act applicable to all procurements. The outcome(s) of the implementation of the capital budget in the year 2008 were varied depending on the source of the outcome information. While the report of the Budget Office of the Federation after initial acknowledgements of poor capital budget implementation ended up stating that the capital budget was almost 100% implemented. However, the report emanating from the House of Representatives Committee on Public Procurement showed poor capital budget implementation. For the year 2009, there was a controversy between the Budget Office of the Federation and the Ministry of Finance. While the Minister of Finance states the capital budget implementation figure as at December 31, 2009 at 54.26%, the BOF states the figure to be 60.6%. The actual figure is more likely to be lower than the Minister's estimate considering the poor performance of the first, second and third quarters-20.68%, 42.94% and 44.46% respectively.

The Director-General of the Bureau, Engineer Emeka Ezeh had proffered reasons informing poor capital budget implementation. He was reported to have attributed it to lack of integrity and transparency in awarding contracts; the reluctance to award contracts to contractors who are not in the good books of MDAs, even if the contractor met the necessary qualifications. Demands for gratification are rampant and budgetary request for money not needed by the MDAs is the order of the day. He concluded that MDAs have the capacity to implement the budget but what they lack is integrity. Engineer Emeka Ezeh debunked allegations that the Bureau through delays in processing the certificate of 'No Objection to Contract Award' was responsible for the poor implementation of capital projects. According to him

The BPP certified 566 projects worth N1.94 trillion out of the 602 requests by the MDAs in 2009. 36 are still awaiting response while 10 were rejected. It is unfortunate that less than 300 of the 566 contracts certified have been presented to the Federal Executive

Council for ratification and award.Most of the challenges are caused by the contractors who go around and submit fake papers, bribe officials and get politicians to get them pre-qualified. It is a circulated fact that they pay N5 million to get prequalification

There were cases of contract scams including the Siemens bribery scam and the ensuing presidential pardon, Rural Electrification Agency N5 billion fraud, Universal Basic Education scam, Haliburton bribery and the lukewarm attitude of the Federal Government to prosecute offenders, etc.

Chapter Five is on violations and implementation challenges. The major violations include the fact that MDAs are still doing prequalification for projects below N300 million for works and N100 million for non works, the system throws up contractors with unequal capacity, or that do not possess the capacity to do the work. There is the burden of reconfirming unrealistic rates before certification, delayed payment, agencies utilise funds meant for particular projects for so called priority projects, refusal to hand over projects, delayed award after certificate of no objection, improper disengagement of contractors, extension of time and variation/review of contract rate. MDAs that are involved in the abuses include the Ministries of Aviation, Defence, Education, Health, Interior, Niger Delta, Petroleum Resources, Works, Housing, Science and Technology; Nigeria Customs, etc.

The abuses and challenges include the fact that the Executive Council of the Federation (EXCOF) constituted itself into an approving authority in violation of the Act, some submitted bids are not secured in tamper proof bid box, procuring entities abridging the time between invitation for bids and submission of bids.

Proposed amendments to the Act which did not succeed were discussed. They include the attempt to remove civil society and the Society of Engineers from the Council, liberalisation of mobilisation fees, including the EXCOF as an approving authority, etc.

Chapter Six is on conclusions and recommendations. Notable recommendations are made to the President, the BPP, the legislature, MDAs, civil society including the media and academia. They are detailed as follows:

A. The President

The President leads the executive arm of government and provides direction for overall governance in the country. He should lead by example through the:

- Immediate constitution of the National Council on Public Procurement;
- De-commissioning the EXCOF as an approving authority for procurements above a certain threshold;
- Clear instructions to the executive on access to procurement information according to the PPA. This may entail amendments and repeals of relevant

sections of the Public Service Rules through the Head of Service and the Financial Regulations through the Minister of Finance;

- Withdraw the Amendment Bill of the PPA at the National Assembly;
- Periodic review of the implementation of the Act.

B. The Bureau

The Bureau needs to be more proactive to facilitate the implementation of the Act through the following measures:

- Establishment of the internet portal which is the definitive source of all information on government procurement;
- Enhance access to information by publishing procurement records on its website as stipulated by law;
- Engage in procurement audit of MDAs;
- Direct MDAs to give at least one week notice to CSOs who monitor bid opening sessions; grant access to procurement plans, bid solicitation documents, bid opening documentation and information on contract award to CSOs to enable them properly monitor procurement proceedings;
- Begin to exercise its powers to debar suppliers, contractors and service providers that manifestly contravene the PPA;
- Exercise disciplinary sanctions against erring accounting officers and other staff of MDAs. This will facilitate greater capital budget implementation and reduction of procurement misdemeanours;
- Further engage in the development and revision of manuals and standard bidding documents for areas not presently covered;
- Continued public sensitisation on the provisions of the law.

C. The Attorney General of the Federation, Economic and Financial Crimes Commission and Independent Corrupt Practices Commission

Ensure the diligent investigation and prosecution of all reported procurement offences.

D. Ministries, Departments and Agencies

- MDAs should decentralise their procurement process and allow parastatals under them to undertake procurements related to their agency;
- MDAs should proactively seek to acquire knowledge on procurement reforms and plan their procurements in advance of cash releases.

E. The National Assembly

In view of its powers of lawmaking, appropriation and oversight, the legislature should:

- Stop the proposed amendments to the PPA;
- Develop a framework through collaboration with the executive to ensure that appropriate amounts are appropriated for capital projects. This could be done by the legislature taking more interest in the development of Medium Term Sector Strategies of the respective MDAs and the overall Medium Term Expenditure Framework;
- The passage of the Freedom of Information Bill to enhance access to procurement information;
- Enhanced oversight over capital project implementation;
- Improve collaboration with CSOs in the exercise of oversight functions;
- More regular updating of the Procurement Committee's website.

F. Civil Society including the Media and Academia

- Engage in detailed studies and action research for the enhancement of the implementation of the Act;
- Engage in advocacy against violations of the Act including litigation;
- Engage in capacity building of the populace for a better understanding of procurement reforms;
- The media should devote more time to investigations of procurement malfeasance and its related matters;
- The academia should consider the introduction of courses on public procurement in legal, economic, social and business related courses.

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Governments all over the world use public procurement policy and implementation mechanisms to address a number of issues including budget implementation, service delivery, social, economic, environmental, human rights and general developmental concerns. Thus, public procurement reforms in Nigeria were meant to address a number of developmental and governance challenges that faced the nation.

The Public Procurement Act 2007 ("PPA" or "Act") is made as an Act to establish the National Council on Public Procurement ("Council") and the Bureau of Public Procurement ("BPP") as the regulatory authorities responsible for the monitoring and oversight of public procurement, harmonising the existing government policies and practices by regulating, setting standards and developing the legal framework and professional capacity for public procurement in Nigeria and for related matters. The Act seeks to introduce the application of accountable, fair, competitive, cost effective, professional, transparent, value for money standards for procurements and disposal of public assets.

It has been three years since the PPA became operational. However, most of the provisions of the Act have been implemented for over four years because the Obasanjo administration started implementing some of the pillars of the Act before the enactment of the Act. For instance, the Due Process Certification Mechanism was started by the Budget Monitoring and Price Intelligence Unit under Madam Obiageli Ezekwesili in 2001. While the BPP has been constituted, the National Council on Public Procurement is yet to be set up. A number of new rules and standards have been put in place by the BPP while there have been efforts at sensitising stakeholders on the demands of the PPA. Different stakeholders have reacted differently to the reforms and engaged it from their peculiar positions: Ministries, Departments and Agencies of government (MDAs) are charged with processing and awarding contracts, members of the private sector execute as contractors while the civil society engage in monitoring and observation.

There has been no independent effort at assessing and evaluating the journey so far to determine whether the reforms are moving in the right direction. The capital components of the 2007, 2008 and 2009 federal budgets were not implemented in full, monies were returned to the Treasury at the end of the years, fiscal corruption is rife, the standard of living of the majority is falling and there is an admission in governmental circles that Nigeria will not meet most of the Millennium Development Goals ("MDGs").

For continued stakeholder engagement of the procurement process, it is imperative to understand the dynamics and trajectory of unfolding developments and to engage from an informed position. In designing a strategy for continued engagement, there is the need for Diagnostics, some form of review of the implementation so far, the results produced and the successes and challenges. The Diagnostics will interrogate the causes and factors that produced the results so far. It will examine the critical issues and provide answers to the following:

- What are the best practices that have emerged that can be replicated?
- What are the weak points and greatest challenges?
- What are the factors militating against the successful implementation of the Act?
- What can be done to surmount the challenges?
- What recommendations can be made to fine-tune the system?

From this perspective, good intervention strategies that address the real and not imaginary problems of PPA's implementation will be available to policy makers in the executive and legislature, MDAs, the private sector and civil society. The product of this Diagnostic Study will therefore be used as a contribution to the realisation of the objects of the PPA.

1.2 GOAL AND OBJECTIVES

The Diagnostic Study therefore has the central goal of monitoring public procurement implementation at the federal level since the commencement of the PPA and holding the government to account for the implementation of the Act. The objective is to identify successes, challenges and bottlenecks in the implementation of the PPA with recommendations on how the successes can be replicated and the challenges surmounted.

1.3 IMPLEMENTATION STRATEGIES

The Diagnostic Study involved literature review of existing reports on PPA implementation, review of the monitoring reports of CSOs, review of current public procurement documentation of international financial institutions on Nigeria, media reports on the implementation of the PPA. The Diagnostic Study also reviewed the work of the BPP; Financial Regulations of the Federal Government, Treasury Circulars and other extant rules and laws to determine their compatibility with the PPA. For instance while the PPA seeks to liberalise access to procurement information, the extant Civil Service Rules are still shrouded with secrecy mandates for public officers. It further reviewed parliamentary procedures and outcomes on public procurement and its compliance with the demands of the PPA. The Diagnostic Study conducted interviews with practitioners in the public and private sectors on their experiences in the

implementation of the PPA and ended with recommendations including laws to be amended and re-evaluation of roles for government, civil society and the private sector.

1.4 OUTLINE OF THE CHAPTERS

Chapter One deals with the introduction, the goals and objectives of the Study and is generally about what the Study sets out to achieve. It ends with an executive summary.

Chapter Two deals with the work of public procurement policy and regulatory agencies. It reviews the mandate of the Council and the implications of the non constitution of the Council. The mandate of the Bureau and the implementation of the mandate so far are reviewed. It was observed that the Bureau has embarked on development of manuals and standard biding documents, sensitisation and capacity building events, information dissemination, etc. The work of the House of Representatives Committee on Public Procurement is further reviewed in the chapter.

Civil society and public procurement reforms is the subject of Chapter Three. The roles of the civil society in information dissemination, awareness raising and sensitisation are reported. Their further roles in capacity building, action research and advocacy are reported. The chapter notes the reluctance of MDAs and the Bureau to fully involve CSOs in procurement proceedings; denial of access to information and the misdirected steps that have been taken to purportedly open up the space for CSO participation.

Chapter Four reviews the implementation of the capital budget in the years 2008 and 2009. It notes the poor capital budget implementation which was less than 60% in the two years. The factors responsible for this development include corruption and the lack of absorptive capacity. It also reviewed delayed payments to contractors and contract scams within the period of the PPA.

Chapter Five is on violations and implementation challenges. It documents the usurpation of the powers of the Council and abuses of procurement process and agencies where these are most prevalent. Other abuses recorded in the chapter relate to advertisements, bids not put in a tamper proof box, etc. The gender dimensions of procurement were reviewed and the verdict is that the PPA and its implementation appear to be gender blind. Review of the proposed amendments to the PPA was the last part of the chapter.

The Sixth and final chapter drew conclusions from the Study and made several recommendations to the President, the Bureau, National Assembly, MDAs, Attorney General of the Federation, EFCC and ICPC and the civil society including the media and the academia, etc.

Chapter Two

PUBLIC PROCUREMENT POLICY AND REGULATORY AGENCIES

2.1 MANDATE OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON PUBLIC PROCUREMENT AND THE FAILURE OF THE PRESIDENT TO CONSTITUTE THE COUNCIL

The PPA in section 1 made provision for the establishment of the National Council on Public Procurement which should serve as the policy making body on federal public procurement. Specifically, the Council has the following functions under section 2 of the PPA:

- consider, approve and amend the monetary and prior review thresholds for the application of the provisions of this Act by procuring entities;
- consider and approve policies on public procurement;
- approve the appointment of the Directors of the Bureau;
- receive and consider, for approval, the audited accounts of the Bureau of Public Procurement; and
- approve changes in the procurement process to adapt to improvements in modern technology
- give such other directives and perform such other functions as may be necessary to achieve the objectives of this Act.

The PPA is suffused with roles and functions for the Council which is at the apex of procurement policy formulation and regulation. However, since the commencement of the PPA on the 4th day of June 2007, the President has failed, refused and neglected to constitute the Council. But procurement policies and regulations have been formulated and implemented since the commencement of the Act. It is imperative to detail some of the other mandates of the Council. They include general policy direction for the Bureau of Public Procurement¹, recommendation of the Director General of the Bureau to the President for appointment (section 7 of the Act), appointment of the principal officers and other staff of the Bureau (sections 8 and 9 of the Act), receiving and approving the accounts of the BPP at the end of the year (Section 13 of the Act).

¹ Sections 18 and 19 start with "Subject to regulations as may from time to time be made by the Bureau under the direction of Council".

The refusal of the President to constitute the Council is not a matter of negligence but a deliberate state policy to ensure that the law is not respected. CSJ had by its letter of September 8 2009 drawn the attention of the former President Umaru Yar'Adua and the former Attorney General and Minister of Justice Mike Aondoakaa to this situation but the letters received no response beyond the acknowledgement of receipt. Also, by another letter dated April 16 2010 addressed to the then Acting President Goodluck Jonathan and Mohammed Bello Adoke, the Attorney General of the Federation, CSJ reminded them of the implication(s) of the non-constitution of the Council. Excerpts of CSJ's letter to the Acting President reads:

We are disturbed that since June 4 2007 when the PPA became law, the President has failed, refused and neglected to constitute the National Council on Public Procurement ("Council") as envisaged under section 1 of the PPA. The functions, duties and powers of the Council are clearly stated in sections 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, etc of the PPA. Essentially the Council approves procurement policy on the recommendation of the Bureau of Public Procurement ("Bureau") including the monetary and prior review thresholds for the application of the PPA. The Council also has the power to appoint principal officers of the Bureau and recommend a candidate to the President for appointment as the Director General of the Bureau after competitive selection. The Council is further empowered to appoint staff for the Bureau, make staff regulations, approve the fund of the Bureau, receive financial and other reports from the Bureau, etc.

The implication of the non constitution of the Council two years ten months after the coming into force of the PPA is obvious. The policies, prior review and monetary thresholds set by the Bureau for the implementation of the PPA did not receive the blessing of the approving authorities envisaged by the PPA. Suffice to state that if the above policies are challenged in a court of law, they run the risk of being nullified. Further, the refusal to constitute the Council plucks feathers off the rule of law posture of the present administration and portrays it as one that deliberately violates laws which it enacted.

Those letters were not dignified with a reply. Voices from the Field² indicate that the refusal to set up the Council was a deliberate governmental policy. High level political office holders believe that the moment the Council is established, its policies will definitively remove procurements from political control. Most politicians believe that their being in politics or contesting elections cannot be justified if award of contracts are taken away from their domain.

2.2 IMPLICATIONS OF NON-CONSTITUTION OF THE COUNCIL ON PUBLIC PROCUREMENT REFORMS

The failure of the President to constitute the Council has far reaching negative implications on the implementation of the PPA and public procurement reforms. It could be asserted in law that actions that were supposed to be taken by Council and because of the absence of Council, usurped by another body are illegal and ultra vires the bodies that took the action. Essentially, it provides a chain reaction for open and consistent

² Our discussions with high level political office holders and senior civil servants, who prefer anonymity.

violation of the letters and spirit of the PPA. This is manifested through the following scenarios.

A. Appointment of Director-General, Principal Officers and Hiring of Staff for the Bureau in Contravention of the Act

On the appointment of the Director-General, principal officers and hiring of staff for the Bureau, section 7(1) of the Act provides as follows:

"There shall be for the Bureau, a Director-General who shall be appointed by the President, on the recommendation of the Council after competitive selections".

However, the current Director-General of the BPP was appointed and confirmed by the President without a Council. This appointment in the light of the above cited provisions of the Act was ultra vires the powers of the President and therefore void in the eyes of the law.

The illegality committed against this explicit provision of the PPA extends also to the appointment of principal officers of the Bureau and other officers and staff of the Bureau in the absence of a Council. This is because Section 8(1) of the Act mandates the Council to appoint the principal officers for the Bureau after competitive selection process. The transparency and competitiveness that should have accompanied and characterised the process of appointment were lacking as the law was deliberately violated. The violations further extend to section 9 of the Act which requires the Council to appoint such officers and other employees as may from time to time be deemed necessary to enhance the performance of the Bureau's duties and functions. Pray, who appointed the officers of the Bureau when there is no Council?

Going by these factual positions, the element of competition, due process and transparency, popular participation which are critical to the procurement reforms process have been compromised from the beginning. When the chief priests of due process, competition, transparency and accountability are recruited through a process that violates these basic tenets, nay an "undue process", then procurement reforms are imperiled.

B. Denial of Platform for Enhanced Popular Participation and Greater Professional Input to Public Procurement Reforms

Part 1, section 1(2) of the PPA provides that the National Council on Public Procurement shall consist of:

- a) the Minister of Finance as Chairman;
- b) the Attorney-General and Minister of Justice of the Federation;
- c) the Secretary to the Government of the Federation;
- d) the Head of Service of the Federation;
- e) the Economic Adviser to the President;

- f) Six Part-Time members to represent:
 - (i) Nigeria Institute of Purchasing and Supply Management;
 - (ii) Nigeria Bar Association;
 - (iii) Nigeria Association of Chambers of Commerce, Industry, Mines and Agriculture;
 - (iv) Nigeria Society of Engineers;
 - (v) Civil Society;

the Media and

g) the Director-General of the Bureau who shall be the Secretary of the Council.

The dereliction of duty by the President in constituting the Council which provides a platform for professional bodies, the media and the civil society to work in synergy with government representatives towards the emergence of a functional, sound, and reformed public procurement system in Nigeria is antithetical to the faithful implementation of the PPA and in achieving the desired public procurement reforms.

2.3 MANDATE OF THE BUREAU OF PUBLIC PROCUREMENT

In conferring wide ranging functions on the Bureau, Section 5 of the PPA provides as follows: The Bureau shall:

- a) formulate the general policies and guidelines relating to public sector procurement for the approval of the Council;
- b) publicize and explain the provisions of this Act;
- c) subject to thresholds as may be set by the Council, certify Federal procurement prior to the award of contract;
- d) supervise the implementation of established procurement policies;
- e) monitor the prices of tendered items and keep a national database of standard prices;
- f) publish the details of major contracts in the procurement journal;
- g) publish paper and electronic editions of the procurement journal and maintain an archival system for the procurement journal;
- *h)* maintain a national database of the particulars and classification and categorization of federal contractors and service providers;
- i) collate and maintain in an archival system all federal procurement plans and information;
- *j)* undertake procurement research and surveys;
- *k)* organize training and development programmes for procurement professionals;

- *I)* periodically review the socio-economic effect of the policies on procurement and advise the Council accordingly;
- *m)* prepare and update standard bidding and contract documents;
- n) prevent fraudulent and unfair procurement and where necessary, apply administrative sanctions;
- o) review the procurement and award of contract procedure of every entity to which this Act applies;
- p) perform procurement audits and submit such report to the National Assembly biannually;
- q) introduce, develop, update and maintain related database and technology;
- establish a single internet portal that shall, subject to section 16(21) of this Act, serve as a primary and definitive source of all information on government procurement containing and displaying all public sector procurement information at all times and;
- s) coordinate relevant training programmes to build institutional capacity; and maintain related database

Section 6 of the Act elaborates on the powers of the Bureau.

(1) The Bureau shall have the power to:

(a) enforce the monetary and prior review thresholds set by the Council for the application of the provisions of this Act by the procuring entities;

(b) subject to the paragraph (a) of this subsection, issue certificate of "No Objection" for Contract Award" within the prior review threshold for all procurements within the purview of this Act:

(c) from time to time stipulate to all procuring entities, the procedures and documentation pre-requisite for the issuance of Certificate of 'No Objection' under this Act;

(d) where a reason exist:

(i) cause to be inspected or reviewed any procurement transaction to ensure compliance with the provision of this Act,

(ii) review and determine whether any procuring entity has violated any provision of this Act;

(e) debar any supplier, contractor or service provider that contravenes any provision of this Act and regulations made pursuant to this Act;

(f) maintain a national database of federal contractors and service providers and to the exclusion of all procuring entities prescribe classifications and categorisations for the companies on the register;

(g) maintain a list of firms and persons that have been debarred from participating in public procurement activity and publish them in the procurement journal;

(h) call for such information, documents, records and reports in respect of any aspect of any procurement proceeding where a breach, wrongdoing, default, mismanagement and or collusion has been alleged, reported or proved against a procuring entity or service provider;

(i) recommend to the Council, where there are persistent or serious breaches of this Act or regulations or guidelines made under this Act for:

(i) the suspension of officers concerned with the procurement or disposal proceeding in issue;

(ii) the replacement of the head or any of the members of the procuring or disposal unit of any entity or the Chairperson of the Tenders Board as the case may be;

(iii) the discipline of the Accounting Officer of any procuring entity;

(iv) the temporary transfer of the procuring and disposal functions of a procuring and disposing entity to a third party procurement agency or consultant; or

(v) any other sanction that the Bureau may consider appropriate;

(*j*) call for the production of books of accounts, plans, documents, and examine persons or parties in connection with any procurement proceeding;

(k) act upon complaints in accordance with the procedures set out in this Act;

(I) nullify the whole or any part of any procurement proceeding or award which is in contravention of this Act;

(*m*) do such other things as are necessary for the efficient performance of its functions under this Act;

(2) The Bureau shall serve as the Secretariat for the Council.

(3) The Bureau shall, subject to the approval of the Council, have power to:

(a) enter into contract or partnership with any company, firm or person which in its opinion will facilitate the discharge of its functions;

(b) request for and obtain from any procurement entity information including reports, memoranda and audited accounts and other information relevant to its functions under this Act; and (c) liaise with relevant bodies or institutions, national and international for effective performance of its functions under this Act.

The functions and powers provided in the Act are broad and wide enough to ensure that the Bureau regulates a reformed procurement system.

2.4 IMPLEMENTATION SO FAR

The Bureau has so far recorded some positive and remarkable achievements in the exercise of its powers and the discharge of its duties and functions under the PPA. It has formulated so many policies which guide public procurement, unfortunately without a Council in place to approve them. The achievements so far recorded are in the following areas.

A. Development and Review of Manuals, Standard Bidding Documents, etc

The Bureau has developed a Procurement Procedures Manual for Public Procurement in Nigeria. It is instructive to note that the manual is intended to give advice and assistance to public procurement staff to help them in the performance of their procurement responsibilities, and explains in detail how specific aspects of procurement should be handled in line with the PPA. The manual serves as a-know-how information source about the tasks and elements that comprise the procurement process.³ The Bureau has also produced standard bidding documents, procurement templates, approved thresholds for service wide application, complaints procedure, a code of conduct and other documentation that will facilitate the procurement process. The standard bidding documents already prepared by the Bureau include those for the procurement of: works, small works and goods, etc. There are also Standard Request for Proposals for the selection of individual consultants and the selection of consulting firms based on any of complex lump-sum, complex time based, small assignment lumpsum and small assignment time-based. Other documents include procurement reform project sample document for national shopping, public procurement regulations for goods and works and for consultancy services. The use of the documents by MDAs has contributed to the little progress made in the federal public procurement process.

A contractor interviewed by the Study described the documents produced by the Bureau in the following words:

The manuals, standard bidding documents and other materials produced by the BPP have helped to simplify bidders' participation in the procurement process. It will help remove the procurement process from undue manipulation of the civil service operators. However, a bidder still needs to take out time to study and understand their contents.

³ Procurement Procedures Manual for Public Procurement in Nigeria by the Bureau of Public Procurement at page1.

B. MDA Staff and Public Sensitisation

The Bureau, during the period under review kept up civil service and public sensitisation and education on the provisions of the Act and the need for sound public procurement system as a basis for national development. It has also requested MDAs to engage civil society organisations working on transparency and anti corruption issues in their bid opening processes. The Bureau has also organised sector specific training for the respective MDAs to ensure that the demands of the PPA are met in their respective procurement functions. Sensitisation workshops have also been organised in the six geo-political zones of the country wherein contractors, the media, non-governmental organisations, public servants etc, were generally invited to participate. Procurement planning and review workshops were also featured in the Bureau's sensitisation programmes⁴.

C. Capacity Building for Professional and MDA's Procurement Officers

The Bureau has also within the period of this report, conducted training programmes for professionals in purchasing and supply, business management, law, accounting and procurement officers in MDAs, in fulfillment of one of its statutory objectives as enshrined in Part 11, section 5 (k) of the Public Procurement Act, 2007. This exercise was targeted at enhancing the competence and skills of the professionals and public officers in playing their roles in public procurement reforms. This has certainly increased public knowledge of the role of the Bureau and the workings of public procurement reform in Nigeria.

D. Outright Indictment, Naming and Shaming of Some Violators of the PPA

In its bid to mainstream procurement best practices in MDAs, the Bureau has openly indicted the Ministries of Defense and Education⁵ for various forms of violation of the PPA in their procurement proceedings. This revelation brings to the fore the awareness that irregularities have been existing in the procurement process and also that the Bureau is beaming a search light on the conduct of the procurement process. It is also commendable that the EFCC is also in the crusade against procurement related fraud, which is evident in the recent sentence slammed on some prominent Nigerians for procurement related offences⁶. This posture would serve as a deterrent to those contemplating fraud and embezzlement.

E. Information Dissemination

The Act is very clear on the importance of openness in procurement information collation, storage and dissemination. In this respect, the PPA in Section 5 (r) mandates the Bureau to:

⁴ See Daily Trust Newspaper of Friday May 21 2010 at page 60 for the advertisements inviting MDA officers to a procurement planning workshop. ⁵ Daily Sun newspaper, Friday, October 2, 2009 at page 49.

⁶ The Bode George imprisonment case.

establish a single internet portal that shall, subject to section 16 (21) of this Act serve as a primary and definitive source of all information on government procurement containing and displaying all public sector procurement information at all times;

This mandate of the Bureau is vital for public procurement information dissemination. An internet portal is a site that serves as a point of access to information within the entire system. A proper upload of data on the portal should present unified information from various units, departments, procuring entities and other sources. In essence, the portal will point users from a single point to all the information available on public procurement, which they might otherwise be unable to access or track. The portal should make it possible and practicable for bidders, contractors, interested members of the public and CSOs monitoring public procurement to access vital information which they need.⁷

The BPP has established a website; <u>www.bpp.gov.ng</u> for effective and efficient dissemination of public procurement information pursuant to it mandate. The homepage of the website displays inter alia, electronic copy of the Act, Federal Tender Journal (containing Federal Government Procurement Notices), list of Federal Government Approved Contracts; Status Report, Information for Practitioners (containing budget implementation process handbook); Public Procurement Documents etc. Provision is also made on the website for Frequently Asked Question (FAQs) which seeks to provide a two-way question and answer mechanism and enhance communication between the stakeholders, the general public and the Bureau on public procurement issues.

The poser is: Can this website and its contents equate an internet portal properly so called which is a definitive source of all federal procurement information? Does it contain and display all public sector procurement information at all times? How comprehensive and up to date is the portal? Does it serve as a one stop shop for procurement information? Does it display a comprehensive record of procurement proceedings generated by all procuring entities within each financial year? A critical examination of the internet portal of the Bureau should speak for itself to ascertain its compliance level with the requirements of the PPA. The procurement records on the website is essentially:

Procurement Record for Federal Capital Territory Administration for FY 2009

In accordance with Part II Section 5 (r) of the Public Procurement Act, 2007 the Bureau hereby releases the Procurement Record for Federal Capital Territory Administration (Education Department) for FY 2009 as submitted.

The sub-heads of procurement records from MDAs highlighted above are as follows:

⁷ Taken on the background of an article: Examining the Access to Information Provisions of the PPA, 2007, by Chibuzor Ekwekwuo, in Public Procurement Journal of the BPP, April-June 2009, page 18.

- Budget Classification Code: this provides the code of classification of the procurement in the budget;
- The provision for the procurement: this seems to be the budgetary appropriations for the procurement;
- The project title: this describes the project undertaken;
- The location indicating the project sites though not the specific location;
- The name and address of the contractor;
- The actual contract sum;
- The payment made or actual disbursement;
- The outstanding payment certified;
- The physical progress of the work in percentage;
- The original and actual completion date;
- The remark which indicates whether the work is fully paid for, completed but not paid for;
- Some MDAs also indicated the procurement methods adopted and whether there was a certificate of the No Objection by the Bureau.

It is instructive to note that the records such as primary information on advertisement for the procurement, time line between advertisement and bid opening, the procedure adopted at the various stages of the procurement, qualifications of the bidders, contractors, consultants and other basic information necessary to ascertain the compliance of the procurement processes with the due process, transparency and popular participation requirements of the PPA are not uploaded on the portal. As such, the portal has not yet satisfied the requirements of Part II Section 5 (r) of the PPA.

Granted that this is a herculean task for the Bureau; however, where the minutes of the procurement proceedings at each stage of the procurement process namely prebidding, bid opening, examination of bids, evaluation of bids, acceptance of bids and award are diligently documented by the procuring entities and submitted to the Bureau, the task would be accomplished by uploading same to the portal. This is particularly pertinent in the light of section 16 (13) (a) - (d) of PPA which provides:

(13) Copies of all procurement records shall be transmitted to the Bureau not later than 3 months after the end of the financial year and shall show:

(a) information identifying the procuring entity and the contractors;

- (b) the date of the contract award;
- (c) the value of the contract; and
- (d) the detailed records of the procurement proceedings.

Further, the procurement records are primarily on procurement of goods and works. Visitors to the site looking for records on procurement of services are bound to make a vain search. It is expected that a constant update of the website with relevant and detailed information will to a very large extent serve as a one-stop source of public procurement information for interested members of the public.

The Bureau is also under obligation to publish the paper and electronic editions of the procurement journal. The journal is published on a quarterly basis. The Bureau also runs a televisions programme on public procurement.

F. Explaining the Provisions of the Act

Section 5 (b) requires that the Bureau shall publicise and explain the provisions of the Act. To explain the provisions of the PPA would involve an analysis of its contents for easy understanding. This function is vital to the proper understanding and implementation of the PPA. Against the background of the complex nature of the Act and the tendency for the emergence of divergent and conflicting interpretations from both informed and uninformed members of the public, an explanation of the Act emanating from the Bureau becomes very desirable. This will further generate research and stimulate intellectual discourse on the real meanings and intendments of the provisions of the Act with the end result of providing the relevant publics with a wide range of resource material to which recourse could be had in engaging the public procurement process.

The Bureau has only reproduced the Act in hard and electronic copies. Besides the conduct of training worships, the Bureau is yet to undertake the task of explaining and analysing the provisions of the Act.

G. National Database of Standard Prices

The Bureau maintains a database of standard prices on it website. But the database needs constant updating and the inclusion of more goods.

H. Performance of Procurement Audit

There are no indications that the Bureau has commenced the performance of procurement audits as required by section 5 (p) of the Act. Procurement audits refer to an objective investigation or examination or inspection or observation, inquiry, perusal, search, survey, scrutiny, interrogation, studying or testing of a government procuring entity's environment, objectives, and tactics in a bid to identify challenges, opportunities and facilitate the development of appropriate action plans or express independent

opinion⁸. It involves the systematic or comprehensive examination of public procurement proceedings. It is also the requirement of the PPA that the procurement audit reports which are also public documents shall be submitted to the National Assembly bi-annually. It is highly imperative that the Bureau lives up to this duty to further ensure probity in public procurement process.

2.4 THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC PROCUREMENT

The House of Representatives Committee on Public Procurement exercises oversight over the Public Procurement Act; the Bureau of Public Procurement; monitoring the implementation of all capital projects in the Appropriation Act; ensuring due process and transparency in the procurement of goods and services. It also receives complaints and petitions arising from procurement of goods and services and liaises with NGOs, donors and the international community to ensure the implementation of government reform programmes related to procurement.

The Committee developed a 15 month Legislative Agenda for the years 2008 and 2009 with a view to engender a transparent governance structure through accountable, reliable and trustworthy public procurement practices in Nigeria. The objective is to institute a proactive and all inclusive oversight strategy on matters of public procurement at the federal level. Highlights of the activities and outputs from the Legislative Agenda include a monthly public procurement review report, quarterly sectoral consultative forums, implementation reports, workshops, study tour/training, public hearings and national procurement summit.

It has established a website <u>www.nasspubproc.org</u> to communicate its activities and programme priorities. It holds quarterly sectoral consultative forums on procurements of selected MDAs. The first session which was held in March 2009 focused on the education sector whilst the second held in August 2009 focused on the health sector. The third forum had agriculture and water resources as its theme. The Committee carries out oversight visits and has also held investigative hearings based on complaints received from aggrieved contractors and service providers⁹.

⁸ *Public Procurement Audit in Nigeria - the Theory and Practice*, being a paper presented by Engr. Ibiam Ogujiofor at the CIPSMN National Seminar in Abuja 20-21 August 2009.

⁹ See the Committee's website on the report of the Investigative Hearing carried out in response to the petition of Rolls Royce/IPDC-MORPOL.

Chapter Three

CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS AND PUBLIC PROCUREMENT REFORMS

3.1 THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS IN THE PPA

vivil Society Organisations ("CSOs") include the traditional Non-Governmental Organisations ("NGOs"), the media, professional groups, the academia and other I non-governmental stakeholders but excludes the private sector. Depending on the competencies and capacity of different segments of civil society, they can contribute to the work of promoting the rights enshrined in the PPA while ensuring that obligations are respected by duty holders.¹⁰ CSOs played a crucial role in the advocacy for the enactment of the Act, starting from providing inputs into the call for memoranda by the Budget Monitoring and Price Intelligence Unit of the Presidency,¹¹ up to public hearings in the legislature, the clause by clause analysis and lobby when it became evident that the legislature had developed cold feet in the passage of the law.

CSOs are therefore expected to effectively engage the public procurement system in a number of ways including information dissemination, sensitisation and awareness raising, capacity building, observation and monitoring, action research and advocacy, etc. The central objective of CSO interventions is to improve the system, enhance value for money and governmental service delivery.

A. Information Dissemination, Awareness Raising and Sensitisation

In playing this role, CSOs are to compliment the efforts of the Bureau in creating massive awareness of the provisions of the PPA for public procurement reforms. The conduct of seminars, publications and discussions in the print and electronic media, dissemination of information through websites, newsletters and pamphlets are vital avenues of public awareness creation that could be adopted by CSOs. Setting up dedicated columns in the print media and special discussions focused on the procurement function in the electronic media is an option that could be adopted by the media in public sensitisation since the media are indispensable stakeholders in procurement reforms. While the NGOs could utilise stickers, posters and fliers to reach out to the communities on the issues, professional bodies could include courses on public procurement in their professional training package or in their compulsory

¹⁰ See *Insisting on Due Process*, being a Public Procurement Monitoring Manual, by Centre for Social Justice, page 10 ¹¹ Socio Economic Rights Initiative led the process with the support of the Heinrich Boll Foundation.

refresher and continuous training courses. Notably, the general thrust is to raise consciousness in the society of the inextricable link between public procurement, service delivery, and the well being of society particularly the poor and vulnerable.

The efforts of three NGOs stand out so far - Centre for Social Justice ("CSJ"), the Public and Private Development Centre ("PPDC") and Civil Society Legislative Advocacy Centre ("CISLAC"). CSJ with the support of Misereor has established a Nigeria Public Procurement Observatory which has enlisted over 100 NGOs into its listserv pem_ngr@yahoo.com. Its website <u>www.csj-ng.org</u> contains a number of materials on the PPA and its implementation. The listserv disseminates regular procurement information and serves as a discussion forum on public procurement. It also publishes a biannual procurement newsletter - *Observatory News*. CSJ has also authored and published over twenty print media articles in support of procurement reforms.

PPDC disseminates procurement information through its PPDC news. It has also established a procurement observatory and internet monitoring portal <u>www.procurementmonitor.org</u>. CISLAC has organised a number of training sessions for CSOs on the PPA.

The print media have also been instrumental to creating awareness on the provisions of the PPA. Several editorials and columns have been written on procurement reforms including issues of the non constitution of the Council, poor budget implementation, over-invoicing of contracts, late payment of contractors, etc¹².

B. Capacity Building

Having a level of capacity sufficient to understand the issues and challenges of the public procurement system is a prerequisite for effective engagement of the process by CSOs. Thus, the first challenge is to raise capacity through training, development of manuals, checklists and other requisite tools. These would facilitate the monitoring process and ensure that CSO reports are relevant to the procurement issues at stake. Publishing simplified versions of the Act in ordinary English devoid of the technical legalese and even in street/pidgin and local languages could provide a sure way of reaching the populace with the provisions of the Act. CSJ published the first comprehensive manual on procurement monitoring - *Insisting on Due Process*. CSJ has also designed the procurement observers' checklist and code of conduct. The Code of Conduct has been adopted and published by the BPP to guide civil society. CSJ has also organized a capacity building workshop at the federal level and one state specific workshop in Nasarawa State.

Some NGOs have been recently supported by donors to conduct training sessions on public procurement. They include Development Alternatives and Resource Centre supported by the World Bank and the Centre for African Settlement Studies and Development (CASSAD) supported by the United Nations Development Programme. PPDC has also been supported by PACT of USAID and the United Nations Democracy

¹² Daily Trust, September 25, 2009 at page 13 and April 22 2010 at page 16 ; Punch Editorial of March 25 2010,etc.

Fund to run capacity building training whilst CISLAC has also run training workshops in collaboration with the BPP.

C. Observation and Monitoring

Civil society groups can focus on specific aspects of the procurement of MDAs or sectors, observe and monitor the process over a period of time and issue reports of their findings. It may not be possible to focus on all agencies because of the limited human and financial capabilities. Thus, strategic thinking makes some form of structured intervention for results necessary. The idea is to monitor from cradle to grave, that is to say, from the procurement plan to implementation and achievement of results. Observation should proceed from the angle of ensuring that the PPA and due process of procurement reforms are followed by the MDAs in letter and spirit. It should also include both violations and result based approaches. It is expected that CSOs could raise red flags for violations particularly those violations that seek to distort the fundamentals of procurement. Engagement of the accounting officer of the procuring entity, the Bureau, anti corruption agencies and legislative oversight committees may follow such violations. CSOs could consider resort to the altar of public opinion and the courts as a last resort.

CSJ researches and publishes half yearly reports on the implementation of the PPA and makes the result available to policy makers, implementing agencies and the legislature. It has so far published *Half Hearted Attempts and Continuation of the Norm.* PPDC is also engaged in procurement monitoring and has established an electronic monitoring portal to guide its activities.

D. Action Research

The concept of action research is to design research methodology and implementation in such a way that it will produce results to improve the system. Thus, the research should not be a pure academic exercise, but a functional research linked to improvement of the system and ultimately the improvement of service delivery. It may be some form of diagnostic study leading to the identification of strengths, weaknesses, challenges, threats and replicable best practices. The participation and the buy in of practitioners in the field – MDAs, contractors, service providers and civil society, etc would be imperative and this would lead to a shared vision of reform among all the stakeholders. Essentially, the findings will lead to recommendations which will lead to action for positive change. It is interesting to note that in recognition of these vital roles of the civil society in implementing the Act for public procurement reforms, the PPA makes provision for a representative of the civil society in the yet to be constituted National Council on Public Procurement. It appears that the present work is the first action research to be recorded by civil society since the coming into force of the PPA.

E. Action Advocacy

CSJ had written letters to the President and the Attorney General on the non constitution of the Council and its implications for procurement reforms. On two

occasions, the letters were not dignified with a response. We have concluded our drafts and will be filing originating processes for a declaration of the duties of the President in respect of the law and an order of mandamus to compel the performance of the public duty to constitute the Council. We will also test the law by filing suits to compel some identified MDAs to release information about completed procurement proceedings to us in accordance with section 38 of the Act. These MDAs have refused to oblige our requests for access to information despite the clear provisions of the Act. The idea behind these litigations is to test the law and give the courts an opportunity to infuse vigour and rigour to the dry letters of the law.

3.2 HALF- HEARTED INVOLVEMENT OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS BY PROCUREMENT ENTITIES

Section 19 of the Act clearly stipulates the guidelines for public entities in the implementation of their procurement plans. It states:

Subject to regulations as may from time to time be made by the Bureau under direction of Council, a procuring entity shall, in implementing its procurement plans:

(a) advertise and solicit for bids in adherence to this Act and guidelines as may be issued by the Bureau from time to time;

(b) to invite credible persons as observers in every procurement process, one person each representing a recognized;

- *(i) private sector professional organisation whose expertise is relevant to the particular goods or services being procured, and*
- (ii) non-governmental organisation working in transparency, accountability and anticorruption areas, and the observers shall not intervene in the procurement process but shall have right to submit their observation report to any relevant agency or body including their own organisations or associations;

According to the regulations of the Bureau, invitations come to non-governmental organisations when bids are being opened and beyond that, NGOs are not allowed to observe any other part of the process. CSJ have monitored bid opening processes in the National Primary Health Care Development Agency, Universal Basic Education Commission, Ministry of Works, Ministry of Women Affairs, Teachers Registration Council, Fiscal Responsibility Commission, Federal Character Commission, Federal Medical Centre, Lokoja, etc.

Considering CSOs restriction to the bid opening process, the poser is; since the requirement for invitation to credible observers like the NGOs is to enhance transparency in the entire procurement process, can the Bureau make any regulation to defeat this important principle of procurement especially when there is no Council to direct the Bureau on such regulations? What is the interpretation being given to the

words "procurement process" by the Bureau? The Act did not define "procurement process" but it defined the word "procurement" and "procurement proceeding".

By the provisions of the interpretative section 60 of the Act, procurement means acquisition. Thus, this would contextually mean the acquisition of goods, works and services as stipulated in the annual budget by procuring entities. Procurement proceedings have been defined in the Act to mean the initiation of the process of effecting procurement up to award of a procurement contract. The Blacks Law Dictionary defines "process" as a mode, method or operation whereby a result is produced; a series of actions, motions or occurrences; progressive act or transactions¹³, etc. In view of these definitions, the Act has permitted CSOs to observe the procurement process which means the entire proceedings plus execution, indeed everything about public procurement.

Despite the fact that NGOs have prepared a monitoring checklist and submitting same to the Bureau, the Bureau still insists in the limited and restrictive construction of a section of the law which is very clear and devoid of any controversy. NGOs are merely demanding to observe the process from conception to the award of contract in accordance with the letters and spirit of the law. Pray, do MDAs and the Bureau have something to hide? Why are they afraid of allowing proper observation of the procurement process?

To compound matters, most invitations by procuring entities for bid opening observation come to CSOs at very short notices and without any formal letter of invitation or other necessary information as regards the bid to be observed. In several instances, CSJ and other CSOs have been given oral invitation to bid opening observation less than three hours to the bid opening exercise. Sometimes a text message is sent to a CSO and when letters do come, they come in less than 3 days before bid opening.

For CSOs to properly participate in bid observation sessions, they would need prior access to the solicitation documents that have been issued up to the time of bid opening and these include call for tender, advertisements, report of pre-qualification proceedings, etc. CSOs also need access to procurement plans.

The Office of the Special Adviser to the President on Relations with Civil Society, through a consulting firm¹⁴ conducted a study on the level of MDAs involvement of CSOs in public procurement processes as part of its project on improving CSOs' involvement in public procurement. The report of its finding on willingness of MDAs to engage CSOs in public procurement processes reads thus:

Majority of the respondents (MDAs) reached by the study admitted willingness to involve CSOs at various levels of public procurement processes. The percentage representation by States is:

✤ FCT - 95.2%

¹³ Blacks Law Dictionary, Centennial Edition at page,1205.

¹⁴ Ado Investment Limited.

- Bauchi 94.3%
- ✤ Lagos 92.3%
- ✤ Niger 85.4%
- Sokoto 82.6%
- Anambra 76.7% and
- ✤ Edo 72.1%

A critical look at the near perfect score of the Federal Capital Territory to which the PPA applies leaves one at a loss as to the criteria used in the assessment of the MDAs. Involvement of the CSOs at various levels of public procurement processes implies that the MDAs engage the CSOs to observe the entire procurement processes beyond bid opening up to the award of contract as required by the PPA. It is already pointed out in 3.2 of this report that contrary to the PPA but *"According to the regulations of the Bureau, invitations come to non-governmental organizations when bids are being opened and beyond that, NGOs are not allowed to observe any other part of the process."*

Worst still, most MDAs that deem it fit to invite CSOs to bid opening observation bring such invitations far less than three days and in most cases, few hours to the date and time fixed for the bid opening. Thus, the 95.2% score of the FCT as representing its level of willingness to involve CSOs at various levels of public procurement processes is unmerited. It is obvious that the report was based solely on the claims of the MDAs without a further step to test the veracity of such claims.

3.3 MISDIRECTED STEPS AT IMPROVING CSOs INVOLVEMENT IN PUBLIC PROCUREMENT BY THE OFFICE OF THE SPECIAL ADVISER TO THE PRESIDENT ON RELATIONS WITH CIVIL SOCIETY

Recognising the fact that involving non state actors in public procurement processes in Nigeria will go a long way to deepen and sustain the gains of a sound and functional public procurement regime; institutionalise the efficient implementation of the PPA and ipso facto, engender transparency, value for money, popular participation and accountability in public procurement, the Office of the Special Adviser to the President on Relations with the Civil Society with the support of the World Bank embarked on a project aimed at improving civil society involvement in public procurement.

Essentially, the project seeks to:

- Increase Government-Civil Society partnership in the achievement of current economic policies through effective implementation, tracking and monitoring of public procurements in Nigeria;
- Build the capacity of relevant actors to improve integrity and accountability in the development and management of public procurement system through tracking and monitoring;
- Advocate and engage critical stakeholders to replicate the PPA of the Federal Government at the States and Local Government level of the project coverage.

Ten MDAs of the FCT and six States of the Federation representing the six geo-political zones were chosen as pilot targets of the project. However, the steps taken to execute this project question the sincere commitment of the implementation organisation¹⁵ and the supervising agency¹⁶ to effectively execute the project.

First, the process leading to the selection of the project implementing organisation contravened the provisions of the PPA. Sections 44 (a) 45 (1) (2) and 48 (1) of Part VIII of the PPA dealing on procurement of consultant (services) provide as follows:

44. Where a procuring entity wishes to procure services for its needs which are precise and ascertainable:

(a) it shall solicit for expression of interest or applications to pre-qualify to provide the services by publishing a notice to that effect in at least 2 national newspapers and the procurement journal;

45. (1) A procuring entity wishing to procure services for its needs may do so by requesting for proposals when it intends to enter into a contract for the purpose of research, experiment, study or development, except where the contract includes the production of goods in quantities sufficient to establish their commercial viability or to recover research and development cost.

(2) The procuring entity shall procure the services of consultants by soliciting for expressions of interest by publishing a notice to that effect in 2 national newspapers and the procurement journal.

S. 48. (1) The procuring entity shall allow sufficient time for the preparation and submission of the requested proposals but shall in no case give less than 30 days between the issue of the notice or request and the deadline for submission.

Available records obtained from the implementing organization and the representatives of the supervising agency show that:

- The advertisement for the procurement of services of the implementing organisation was published only in one national newspaper¹⁷ on December, 31, 2009. Thus the requirement for publication in two national newspapers and the procurement journal was therefore treated with disdain;
- Selection of the management/ implementing organization was concluded on January 21, 2010;
- Conclusion of Management Documentation Process, was done by January 25, 2010.

It is therefore apparent from the foregoing that the process was commenced and concluded within such a very short period of time than the PPA envisaged. And which

¹⁵ Ado Investment Nigeria Ltd, a consulting firm

¹⁶ Office of the Special Adviser to the President on Relations with Civil Society. OSAP---CS.

¹⁷ Leadership Newspaper to be precise.

consultants and service providers were expected to be reading and applying for consulting services by December 31, the eve of the New Year, except they were prearranged?

Definitely, the process of procuring the consultant for the project shut its doors against popular, competitive and fair participation of other possible consultants with better competence for the job. This opaque procurement process would have been avoided by a simple obedience to the sections of the PPA as reproduced above.

Secondly, the vague process of procuring the consultant/service provider for the implementation of the project dovetailed into the improper and inefficient mapping of the civil society groups and as such the field data collection failed to elicit the responses of most CSOs with the requisite competence for the project. It is instructive to accentuate the point that one of the goals of the project is to

Increase Government-Civil Society partnership in the achievement of current economic policies through effective implementation, tracking and monitoring of Public Procurements in Nigeria.

Driving by the operative expression, "*effective implementation, tracking and monitoring of Public Procurements in Nigeria*", three core and broad areas were expected to be used in assessing CSOs and Networks to implement components of the projects at various levels namely:

- Organizational Structure and Legal Status;
- Thematic Foci and Programmatic Experience;
- Involvement in Public Procurement and Ancillary Activities.

Interestingly, there are a number of well organized and registered CSOs, whose domain of activities on good governance advocacy lies with the PPA as one of their basic working tools. A few among this class of CSOs have produced Public Procurement manuals, checklists, public procurement newsletters etc. They have also carried out national and sub-national level capacity building on Public Procurement and have also engaged the government and its MDAs at various platforms towards the implementation of the PPA¹⁸.

Consequently, the natural expectation is that any sincere process of enhancing Government-Civil Society engagement of the public procurement process in Nigeria shall engage such organized CSOs that have so far distinguished themselves in the field. Unfortunately however, the Office of the Special Adviser to the President on Relations with Civil Society and the implementing organisation selected in contravention of the PPA, have failed to properly inform themselves as to diligently engage the best available hands for the project in keeping with the stipulated criteria.

¹⁸ CSJ is a force to be reckoned with in this field.
3.4 DENIAL OF ACCESS TO RECORDS OF PROCUREMENT PROCEEDINGS

One of the very important principles of the PPA is that all public procurement shall be conducted in a manner which is transparent, timely, equitable for ensuring accountability and conformity with the Act and regulations deriving therefrom.¹⁹ These principles of transparency and accountability also extend to the keeping of procurement records and allowing public access to them upon request. Specifically, Sections 16(12) and (14) of the PPA provide as follows:

16 (12): Every procuring entity shall maintain both file and electronic records of all procurement proceedings made within each financial year and the procurement records shall be maintained for a period of ten years from the date of the award.

16 (14) All unclassified procurement records shall be open to inspection by the public at the cost of copying and certifying the documents plus an administrative charge as may be prescribed from time to time by the Bureau.

Further, section 38 of the Act guarantees access to procurement records after the conclusion of proceedings.

Notwithstanding these clear transparency and accountability provisions of the Act, procuring entities (MDAs) still rely on their oaths of secrecy and refuse CSOs request for access to records of procurement proceedings. The Federal Government Public Service Rules ("Rules") 2008 in Rule 020209 provides that it is the duty of every accounting officer to ensure that officers in his ministry or extra ministerial department sign an oath of secrecy on security form 1 and that the oaths so signed are carefully preserved. Again in Rule 030415, this duty is reaffirmed by the Rules. In accordance with the Official Secrets Act and Rule 030416, every officer is subject to the Official Secrets Act and is prohibited at the pain of punishment from disclosing to any person, except in accordance with official routine or with the special permission of government, any article, note, documents or information entrusted to him or her in confidence by any person holding office under any government in the Federal Republic of Nigeria or which he has obtained in the course of his official duties and shall exercise due care and diligence to prevent the knowledge of any person against the interest of the government. Further, by Rule 030417, every officer is prohibited from abstracting or copying official minutes, records or other documents except in accordance with official routine or with the special permission of his accounting officer. Civil servants are more at home with the Rules and tend to follow it.

The implication of the foregoing is that every request for information or records of procurement proceedings (whether classified or unclassified including published gazettes, books, journals, reports, etc) by a non civil servant from any staff in an MDA is usually to be put in writing and the request addressed to the accounting officer who is the

¹⁹ Section 16 (1) (d), PPA.

sole authority to approve or reject the application. This is a laborious process and most at times, there are no replies to such requests. Admitted that there may be need to classify some official information, but this should not pertain to the routine records of procurement proceedings.

The response of MDAs to harmless requests for comprehensive records of procurement proceedings calls to question the basis of the enactment of the PPA especially the provisions touching on transparency, accountability and probity. CSJ and other CSOs sent various letters and followed up with visits to several MDAs to get access to basic comprehensive records of procurement proceedings to no avail. Specific instances of such request include:

A. CSJ's request for Access to Comprehensive Records of Procurement Proceedings dated November 21, 2009. The letter was addressed to the Director –General, National Primary Health Care Development Agency, Plot 681/682 Port Harcourt Crescent, off Gimbiya Street, Area 11, Abuja, requesting for the records of procurement proceedings in respect of:

- Lot/2009/6/1 for computer accessories and consumables; Lot 2009/6/2 for printing of non security documents; Lot 2009/6/3 for general store items; Lot 2009/6/4 for fire prevention equipment; Lot 2009/6/5 for automobile batteries and tyres; Lot/2009/6/6 or Hajj vaccines/CSM (ACWY 135).
- Lot/2009/1/1MSS for TBA Kits and Mama KITS; Lot/2009/1/2MSS for medical and laboratory equipment; Lot/2009/1/3/MSS for registers, record/log books, family health record books.

All these invitation for tender were advertised in the Nation Newspapers of Wednesday, July 1, 2009 at page 10.

Reminder was also sent via a letter dated 18/01/2010. In response, the National Primary Health Care Development Agency, through its procurement officer called for a meeting with CSJ wherein the Agency clearly stated that it will not make the requested records available and further directed CSJ to make its request to the Bureau. Present at the meeting were Eze Onyekpere and Henry Unongo from the CSJ side while Bernard Oyahire, the procurement officer, Tajudeen Oyaowei the procurement facilitator and Seyi Taiwo represented the National Primary Health Care Development Agency.

B. CSJ also requested to have access to comprehensive record of procurement proceedings from the Ministry of Works, Housing and Urban Development in respect of procurement contract for the rehabilitation and expansion of the Aba Owerri road, and the Abuja Airport Express Way Lots 1 and 2 awarded Messrs Niger Construction Company Ltd and Julius Berger (Nigeria) Plc respectively which were approved by the Federal Executive Council on 29/04/09. The first letter and the reminder were dated November 21, 2009 and January 18, 2010 respectively and addressed to the

Permanent Secretary of the Ministry. CSJ waited in vain up till the date of writing this report.

C. Another request was made to the Universal Basic Education Commission on November 21, 2009 through the Executive Secretary for the comprehensive records of procurement proceedings generated on the Self-Help Community Initiative project which was advertised in This Day Newspaper of July 30, 2009. The Commission merely replied on December, 11, 2009 stating that the projects were still on-going and had since then, not made the documents available to CSJ as requested.

D. CSJ also made a request dated February 2, 2010 and addressed to the Project Coordinator, Malaria Booster Project, National Malaria Control Programme, Federal Ministry of Health, 1st Floor, Kalu House, 1st Avenue, off Shehu Shagari Way, Central Area, Abuja requesting for access to comprehensive records of procurement proceedings in respect of 1,800,000 units of mosquito nets hangers kits: IFB N0: ICB/NMCBP/HANGERS KITS/001/08 which bid was conducted through International Competitive Bidding(ICB) in 2008. No response was received by CSJ till the date of this report.

On February 16, 2010 CSJ addressed a letter to the office of Director-General, calling for the intervention of the Bureau in such a way that the records would be made available to CSJ as requested. The Bureau, via, a reply dated February 24, 2010, eventually referred CSJ to its website for the information on the records requested. However contrary to the Bureau's letter, the requested records were not available on the BPP website.

The Bureau has the powers to call for the production of books of accounts, plans, documents, and examine persons or parties in connection with any procurement proceeding.²⁰ Also, every procuring entity is duty bound to transmit to the Bureau copies of all procurement records not later than 3 months after the end of the financial year showing as noted earlier:

- information identifying the procuring entity and the contractors;
- the date of the contract award;
- the value of the contract; and
- the detailed records of the procurement proceedings.²¹

The Financial Year Act²² prescribes Nigeria's financial year as the period between 1st January to the 31st of December and the records of procurement proceedings requested for by CSJ were generated in 2008 and 2009. It is therefore presumed that the Bureau is either in possession of those records but does not want to make them available to the public on request to enhance transparency in public procurement or that

²⁰ Section 6(1) (j) of PPA.

²¹ Section 16(12), PPA.

²² Cap F.27, LFN, 2004; See also Section 13, PPA which provides that the financial year of the Bureau shall be the same as that of the Federal Government.

the Bureau is not exercising its powers in that area thereby allowing procuring entities to frustrate the transparency provisions of the Act.

Chapter Four

IMPLEMENTATION OF CAPITAL BUDGETS

4.1 THE ACT APPLIES TO ALL PROCUREMENTS

t is gratifying to note that the Act has been made to apply to all procurements by the order of the late President Umaru Yar'Adua. Subsection (2) of section 15 of the Act had given the leeway for the authorities to make exceptions to the general rule:

The provisions of this Act shall not apply to the procurement of special goods, works and services involving national defence or national security unless the President's express approval has been first sought and obtained.

Special purpose goods are defined in the interpretative section 60 of the Act to mean:

any objects of armaments, ammunition, mechanical, electrical equipment or other thing as may be determined by the President needed by the Armed Forces or Police Force as well as the services incidental to the supply of these objects.

4.2 2008 CAPITAL BUDGET IMPLEMENTATION OUTCOMES

The outcome(s) of the implementation of the capital budget in the year 2008 are varied depending on the source of the outcome information. While the report of the Budget Office of the Federation after initial acknowledgements of poor capital budget implementation ended up stating that the capital budget was almost 100% implemented. However, part of the report emanating from the House of Representatives Committee on Public Procurement is presented below²³.

With the exception of four MDAs, the study revealed under-utilisation of allocations made in 2008 Appropriation Act by virtually all the other MDAs in varying degree. For instance, the following seven Federal Executive Bodies²⁴ have had 75% of their 2008 Budget released to them as at November 28 2008 (exception Public Complaints, which has no allocations for capital budget). However, from the report of the BPP on spending as at November 28, 2008, none of them have spent a Kobo out of the released amount.

²³ Report on Quarterly Sectoral Consultative Forum (Education Sector) and Capital Projects Budget Performance of MDAs in 2008.

²⁴ Code of Conduct, Federal Civil Service Commission, INEC, Police Service, Population Commission, Public Complaints, Revenue Mobilization

Fund utilisation ranges from 0% to 48% in the non-spending MDAs. Only four MDAs spent above 50% of what was released to them while another three overspent what was released to them by 1%. One MDA overspent what was allocated to it in the 2008 budget by 56%! The study also revealed that the under utilization of funds by MDAs is not as a result of non-release of funds, all the MDAs had 75% of their budgetary allocation released to them as at the time of the study.

There are many challenges facing MDAs and the BPP in implementing the PPA.

All the thirty-one (31) Federal MDAs studied had 75% of their 2008 Budget released to them as at November 28, 2008.

The following four (4) Federal MDAs (out of 31 studied) or 13% overspent on the 75% released to them:

- 1. Agriculture and Water Resource (overspent by 1%)
- 2. Finance (overspent by 18%)
- 3. Foreign Affairs (overspent by 104%)
- 4. Information and Communication (overspent by 1%)

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs not only overspent on what was released to them but also overspent on their budgetary allocation by 56%. This means that they have, as at November 28, 2008, spent 156% of their 2008 budgetary provision.

Thirteen (13) (out of 31) or 42% of the Federal MDAs are yet to spend a kobo out of what has been released to them. These are:

- 1. Auditor General
- 2. Culture and NOA
- 3. Federal Character
- 4. HOS
- 5. ICPC
- 6. Justice
- 7. Labour
- 8. NSA
- 9. Population Commission
- 10. Salaries and Wages
- 11. Sports Commission
- 12. Women Affairs
- 13. Youth

Budget releases made to Salaries and Wages commission was 34% higher than the budgetary allocation!

In addition (to Agriculture, Finance, Foreign Affairs and Information and Communication mentioned above), only 4 (out of 31) or 13% have spent above 50% of what has been released to them. These are:

- 1. Defense (62%0
- 2. Environment and Housing (89%)
- 3. FCTA (78%)

4. SGF (71%)

Eleven (11) (out of 31) or 35% of the Federal MDAs have spent less than 50% of the amount disbursed to them. These are:

- 1. Commerce and Industry (48%)
- 2. Education (32%)
- 3. Energy (46%)
- 4. Health (30%)
- 5. Interior (15%)
- 6. Mines and Steel (33%)
- 7. National Planning (10%)
- 8. Presidency (47%)
- 9. Science and Technology (41%)
- 10. Transport (40%)

On average, only eight (8) out of 31 or 26% of the Federal MDAs studied, have performed above average in terms of spending on their mandates. The remaining 23 or 74% of MDAs have performed below average. This performance is worse when the 31 MDAs are combined with the 7 Federal Executive Bodies. The performance will then be only eight (8) MDAs out of thirty-eight (38) or 21% of all MDAs studied performed above average in terms of spending on their mandate. The remaining thirty (30) or 79% performed below average.

Key service MDAs, such as Health, Education and Water Resources performed poorly in terms of spending. Health utilised only 30% of its budgetary allocation so far; Education utilised only 32% and 0% was utilised in the case of Water.

Similar poor performance was recorded by MDAs that are expected to facilitate economic growth, such as Commerce and Industry (48%), Energy (46%) and Transportation (40%).

The immediate implication of these findings is that the 2008 Budget policy objectives outlined in the president's speech will not be achieved. There may be many reasons for the general poor performance recorded in the implementation of the 2008 budget, which this Honourable Committee may wish to look into. In looking into the matter, it is important that the aim is to enhance the capacity of MDAs, Federal Executive Bodies and all government agencies to be able to meet the expectations of Nigerians and to be able to manage and administer resources allocated to them.

4.3 2009 CAPITAL BUDGET IMPLEMENTATION²⁵

By the end of the Third Quarter, the Budget Implementation Report stated as follows:²⁶

Capital budget implementation averaged 44.46% by the end of the third quarter of 2009 indicating a gross utilisation of N327.94 billion of the N737.53 billion cash-backed by the office of the Accountant-General of the Federation (OAGF). Though marginally higher than the second quarter's performance, it falls below expectations. Of the 43 MDAs

²⁵ This section is taken from *Obedience in the Breach - Report on the Implementation of the Fiscal Responsibility Act in the y ear 2009.*

²⁶ 2009, 3rd Quarter Budget Implementation Report at page vi

reported on by the OAGF as at the end of the third quarter, 25 (or 58%) of the MDAs (including Power, Education, Health and Works) had utilisation rates below the overall average of 44.46%. It is noteworthy that these MDAs which are critical to the achievement of this administration's 7-Point Agenda have consistently performed below average over the period under review.

Budgets are meant to inter-alia, provide fund for MDAs to carry out capital projects, facilitate the running of their affairs and through these, government policies are transformed into concrete realities for the benefit of the citizenry. It is against the principle of social justice and development for funds approved for projects to be lying idle without any substantial reasons only to be returned to the Treasury at the end of the financial year in the face of infrastructural decay and grave social needs. It is even disheartening to know that the biggest culprits include the Ministries of Education, Health, Power and Works which are no doubts key ministries that have the greatest impact on human and social indicators; the standard of living and upgrading of infrastructure for economic growth. All the performance indicators in these ministries would qualify them for a declaration of state of emergency in the sectors.

The Minister of State for Finance on October 24 2009 stated that the \$5.3 billion Power Emergency Fund was lying idle at the CBN.²⁷This sum was removed from the Excess Crude Account as Power Sector Intervention Fund and each State and the Federal Government was to seek the approval of their respective legislature for the expenditure of their contribution. He stated that 11 (eleven) states were delaying the project by not forwarding the approval of their legislature. That Nigeria missed the targeted 6000 megawatts of electricity by the end of December 2009 was therefore no surprise, considering the poor capital budget implementation and the funds that were idle at the CBN.

There is a controversy between the Budget Office of the Federation ("BOF") and the Ministry of Finance. While the Minister of Finance states the capital budget implementation figure as at December 31, 2009 at 54.26%, the BOF states the figure to be 60.6%. The actual figure is more likely to be lower than the Minister's estimate considering the poor performance of the first, second and third quarters-20.68%, 42.94% and 44.46% respectively.

The Director-General of the Bureau, Engineer Emeka Ezeh has proffered reasons informing poor capital budget implementation.²⁸ He was reported to have attributed it to lack of integrity and transparency in awarding contracts. He alleged that MDAs would normally not award contracts to contractors who are not in their good books, even if the contractor met the necessary qualifications. Demands for gratification are rampant and budgetary request for money not needed by the MDAs is the order of the day. He concluded that MDAs have the capacity to implement the budget but what they lack is integrity.

²⁷ Daily Trust, Wednesday, October 14, 2009.

²⁸ This Day Newspapers of February 16 2010 as reported by Kunle Aderinokun.

Engineer Emeka Ezeh debunked allegations that the Bureau through delays in processing the certificate of 'No Objection to Contract Award' was responsible for the poor implementation of capital projects. According to him²⁹

The BPP certified 566 projects worth N1.94 trillion out of the 602 requests by the MDAs in 2009. 36 are still awaiting response while 10 were rejected. It is unfortunate that less than 300 of the 566 contracts certified have been presented to the Federal Executive Council for ratification and award.Most of the challenges are caused by the contractors who go around and submit fake papers, bribe officials and get politicians to get them pre-qualified. It is a circulated fact that they pay N5 million to get pre-qualification.

The Director-General of the BPP is right in his analysis. The MDAs have been encouraged to enhance capital budget implementation through the fact that the procurement process has been simplified with higher executive approval thresholds and the decentralization of the procurement procedures in the MDAs.

The former Minister of State for the Ministry for Works and Housing added her perspective that government contracts are concentrated in the hands of a few cronies of those with responsibility to pre-qualify contractors for contracts and it has been observed that these contractors lack the capacity to handle jobs of such magnitude. A contractor with limited equipment may be handling contracts in different parts of the country. There are also cases where genuine contractors who have been pre-qualified are not informed of the certification of such contracts. In such cases, contracts are left unattended to despite the allocation and availability of funds for the project.³⁰

4.4 DELAYED PAYMENT TO CONTRACTORS

Section 37(1) - (4) of the PPA reads thus:

(1) payments for procurement of goods, works and services shall be settled promptly and diligently.

(2) any payment due for more than sixty days from the date of the submission of the invoice, valuation certificate or confirmation or authentication by the Ministry, extra Ministerial office, Government Agency, Parastatal or corporation shall be deemed a delayed payment.

(3), all delayed payments shall attract interest at the rate specified in the contract document.

(4) all contracts shall include terms specifying the interest rate for late payment of more than sixty days.

The above scenario outlines the implication of delayed payment for executed contracts. Yet MDAs for unknown reasons still delay payments. Ordinarily, they would have incurred more costs for their MDAs, but available information has not disclosed any contractor or service provider who has insisted on interest being paid for delayed

²⁹ Business Day, Tuesday February 16,2010.

³⁰ Business Day, supra.

payment in accordance with the law, except where the matter has become a subject of litigation in court. The present centralised system of payment by some MDAs including the Ministry of Education is unproductive and must be stopped to allow for timely payments for executed contracts and to avoid accumulation of interest.

It would be recalled that immediately after the commencement of the Act, the Federal Government arbitrarily suspended the implementation of projects under the Nigeria Integrated Power Supply Project. This led to suspension of payments on projects with approved certificates and of course suspension of further work by the contractors. However, when the government decided to continue with the project, no interests were paid on delayed payments.

A contractor interviewed in the course of this study indicated that:

Government officials still expect and demand to be bribed to facilitate the processing of payments to contractors. If you insist on not paying bribes, your documents will still be processed but at a very slow speed. However, if you play ball, then you get your dues at the right time.

4.5 CONTRACT SCAMS IN PUBLIC PROCUREMENT

PPA provides for the conduct of all public procurement in such a manner as to ensure transparency; value for money, accountability, etc.³¹. It went further to provide in section 57(4) of Part XI under the Code of Conduct for Public Procurement that:

All persons in whose hands public funds may be entrusted for whatever purpose should bear in mind that its utilisation should be judicious.

However, contract scams perpetuated by trustees of public resources have violated the letters and spirit of these principles of public procurement. Some of these scams are examined hereunder.

A. Siemens Bribery Scandal and Presidential Pardon

Nigerians were shocked to realise that a German telecommunications company, Siemens gave over 10 million Euros as bribes to top government officials in former President Obasanjo's government. A German court in Munich had named some past Nigerian Ministers of Communications as well as a Senator as having received bribes of about 10 million Euros from the German engineering conglomerate. A lot of high ranking Nigerians currently occupying public office and previous office holders were named in the scandal as bribe recipients. Late President Umaru Musa-Yar'Adua had told the nation through his Media Adviser, Segun Adeniyi that those involved in the scandal would be investigated and prosecuted. Only recently, the new Attorney General and Minister of Justice and the EFFC have started new "noises" by inviting some suspects for quizzing and vowing to bring the culprits to books.

³¹ Section 16 (1)

Contrary to this earlier position, what the nation has seen is that presidential pardon has been granted the company – SIEMENS by President Umaru Musa -Yardua and they are back in Nigeria prospecting and procuring contracts, even when the parent country Germany has since prosecuted the operators of the telecom giant involved in the bribery according to their laws. This pardon granted this company is in violation of the provisions of the PPA. Part XII Section 58 sub-section 4 (a)–(c)

"The following shall also constitute offences under this Act:

(a) entering or attempting to enter into a collusive agreement, whether enforceable or not, with a supplier, contractor or consultant where the prices quoted in their respective tenders, proposals or quotations are or would be higher than would have been the case have there not been collusion between the persons concerned;

(b) conducting or attempting to conduct procurement fraud by means of fraudulent and corrupt acts, unlawful influence, undue interest, favour, agreement bribery or corruption;

(c) directly, indirectly or attempting to influence in any manner the procurement process to obtain an unfair advantage in the award of a procurement contract"

Nigerians had expected our President to allow justice to run its full course by implementing the provisions in section 58, sub-sections (6) and (7) of the Public Procurement Act which states:

Any legal person that contravenes any provision of this Act commits an offence and is liable on conviction to a cumulative penalty of

(a) debarment from all public procurements for a period not less than 5 calendar years; and

(b) a fine equivalent to 25% of the value of the procurement in issue.

Sub-section (7) of section 58 states that:

Where any legal person shall be convicted pursuant to sub-section (4) of this section, every director of the company as listed on its records at the Corporate Affairs Commission shall be guilty of an offence and is liable on conviction to a term of imprisonment not less than 3 calendar years but not exceeding 5 calendar years without an option of fine."

This manner of fighting corruption where those whose names were mentioned in the Siemens bribery scandal and the company itself have been allowed to walk the streets as free men and legal persons does not make room for development, nor national progress. It contradicts in its entirety, the whole essence of enacting the PPA and fails to provide a deterrent benchmark for future offenders.

B. Rural Electrification Agency and the N5 Billion Fraud

In an irony of fate, during the period under review, the Chairmen of Committees on Power in both Senate and House of Representatives, 7 senior officials of the Ministry of Power are currently standing trial on a 157 count charge bordering on alleged over 5 billion Naira frauds at the Rural Electrification Agency. What makes this case worrisome is that the chairman of the House of Representatives Power Probe now turned out to be one of the persons accused of looting power sector funds. How can the legislature exercise oversight over executive implementation of the budget and other laws when its members are deep in the cesspool of corruption, in close collaboration with the institutions they are supposed to oversight? The bizarre manner of looting the public treasury is antithetical to national development and runs contrary to the position of the laws against corruption in Nigeria. The only way to ensure that public procurement serves the public good is when corruption in all its ramifications is eradicated in the procurement system in Nigeria.

C. Universal Basic Education Commission Scam

One of the objective standards of measuring the impact of PPA on the citizenry is not the amount of resources available to governments to carry out budget implementation but on the impact of the spending particularly in critical areas that will facilitate the attainment of the MDGs. The second among the eight- time bound goals is that of achieving primary education and literacy in Nigeria by 2015. However, this may end up as a mirage if what goes on in the Universal Basic Education Commission is something to go by. The Commission has become a centre for frauds. N850 million contracts scam for the supply of only plastic seats for Junior Secondary Schools in Nigeria was recently recorded in UBE. If a huge amount of up to N850 million ends up in private pockets in the name of plastic seats, you can imagine the cesspit of fraud and looting going on in a sector central to national development and the contradictions of this development with the essence of the PPA.

D. Halliburton Bribery Scandal and the Lukewarm Attitude of the Federal Government

The outbreak of the Halliburton bribe scandal in Nigeria is one of the greatest revelations of procurement abuses and financial malfeasance in official places in the recent history of the continent of Africa. The three Nigerian leaders and top government functionaries mentioned in the scandal are from the regime of late General Sanni Abacha through General Abudusallam Abubakar to General Olusegun Obasanjo. However, General Obasanjo's mantra in office from 1999 to 2007 was *war against corruption*". Cumulatively, the suspects are reported to have received at least N27 billion in bribes from foreign companies in exchange for billions of dollars in contract to build Nigeria's liquefied natural gas plant. This is a scandalous series of events which commenced with the 1994 initiative to build Africa's first liquefied natural gas plant in Bonny, Rivers State, at a price of \$6 billion.

According to a cover story in a Nigerian newspaper, *Next on Sunday of the 29th March 2009,* American authorities are now pursuing their own citizens and corporations, notably the oil services company Halliburton, in connection with the scandal. Halliburton has agreed to pay \$579 million in fines and many of its agents face long jail terms. Nigeria's law enforcement authorities notably the former Attorney-General Michael Aaondoaka and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, have lately been making noises but have in reality done little to pursue those indicted in this scandal. This scandal reveals Nigeria as a nation that fully justifies its reputation as one of the world's leading cesspits for corruption and unrestrained graft.

Most Nigerians believe that government is paying lip service to the rule of law mantra. What kind of rule of law policy is it that till now, the Mike Okiro Panel on Halliburton has not given Nigeria any headway in terms of who are to be prosecuted and who are not? Halliburton Company is still carrying on business as usual in Nigeria, in a manner it is not even allowed in its parent country, the United States. The United States has even convicted two of their nationals involved in the Halliburton scandal and has gone further to say that the Federal Government has "enough information" to act on the Halliburton bribery scandal as Nigerian laws and nation deems fit.³² Yet the matter has been swept under the carpet.

The PPA has been grossly violated by this company and we hereby call on the Attorney–General and Minister of Justice to prosecute both the company and all individuals involved in this scandal no matter how highly placed.

E. House of Representatives Probe in the Power Sector- Wasting Public Resources

It is no longer news to the Nigerian people that the House of Representatives Power Committee probed the ways and means contracts were awarded by former President Obasanjo's government in the power sector. The Nigeria Independent Power Project (NIPP) became a slush fund for politicians and their cronies. The mind-boggling revelations showed how over 10 billion dollars invested in the sector ended in private pockets of contractors and politicians. Two former Ministers of Power, Segun Agagu and Livel Imoke, the former President Obasanio and many contractors and senior government officials were indicted by the Ndudi Elumelu Committee on Power. The report was politicised and rubbished by the House of Representatives for no just cause. This was after tax payers moneys have been spent on the hearings including public sittings and trips across the federation. Can that exercise of the House Committee on Power pass a value for money test? Till today, no natural or artificial person has been prosecuted due to the findings and revelations of the Committee. It is embarrassing to note that most of the companies that were involved in the power sector contracts scandals are still working in the country. It is apparent the political will to take action is lacking.

³² Ms. Robin Rene Sanders, US Ambassador to Nigeria, in This Day News Paper as reported by Tokunbo Adedoja in Washington D.C, April 9.2010.

F. Central Bank of Nigeria/Australian Firm Polymer Note Scam

The Nigerian people woke up in the last week of September 2009 to the reality of the news of bribery scandal rocking the Central Bank of Nigeria and an Australian currency printing firm that won the contract for the printing of the various denominations of Nigeria's polymer notes under the Chukwuma Soludo led Central Bank. The Australian company was alleged to have paid N750 million as inducement to top Nigerian government and CBN officials to aid the securing of the contract. This is in gross violation of the spirit and letters of the Public Procurement Act 2007. Up till now, nothing concrete has been done to unravel the corrupt mysteries surrounding the scam. Although the new CBN Governor, Sanusi Lamido has blown so hot and vowed to unmask the characters involved in the scam; no convincing steps have so far been taken by the authorities to uncover those behind the scam. This pattern of investigation is at variance with the ongoing procurement reforms meant to revitalise and engender best procurement values in the public contract system in Nigeria. In Australia unlike Nigeria, crack detectives have been reviewing case files in Canberra, the administrative capital of Australia, trying to unravel those involved in the N750 million bribe scandal.

4.6 80% OF CORRUPTION IS THROUGH PUBLIC PROCUREMENT

During the period under review, the Minister of Justice and Attorney General for the Federation revealed that 80% of the corrupt activities in the country were perpetuated through public procurement³³. He noted contract inflations, non delivery of contracted items, etc as the banes of the procurement.

Confirming the above scenario, the BPP boss on his part further said:

There were abuses of financial rules and regulations in the award and execution of government contracts in Nigeria. Such abuses included over invoicing, reckless inflation of cost of contract, abandonment or partial execution of projects already paid for, award of contracts to non-competent contractors and other serious abuses that led to loss of billions of Naira and non-provision of infrastructural development, some of these abuses were due to ignorance while major part of it was to make money³⁴.

4.7 SCHEMING OUT OF NIGERIAN INDIGENOUS COMPANY FROM A \$43 MILLION PRODUCTION SHARING CONTRACT (PSC)

During the period under review, the House of Representatives Committee on Public Procurement indicted Total Upstream Nigeria Limited (TUPNI) over the award of contracts worth \$43million in its Akpo Oil Field Development Project, to a foreign firm, Oceaneering International, instead of Tilone Nigeria Limited, an indigenous firm. The Akpo Field Development Project on the Oil Mining Lease No. 130 (OML130) is a

³³ At a forum organised by the Bureau and the World Bank Economic Reform and Governance Project.

³⁴ Engineer Emeka Ezeh, Director-General, BPP, in the news column, Public Procurement Journal April to June 2009, Page 4.

Production Sharing Contract (PSC) venture between the Federal Government of Nigeria (as represented by the NNPC) and TUPNI.

It was observed that the contract bid was originally won by the local firm, but was awarded to Oceaneering in contravention of the Public Procurement Act and local content policy in the oil and gas industry in Nigeria. This scheme-out design masterminded by TUPNI runs contrary to the spirit and letters of the PPA which envisions the participation of Nigerians in the procurement of goods, works and services for national development.

The Act provides in section 34 (1) as follows:

34. (1) A procuring entity may grant a margin of preference in the evaluation of tenders, when comparing tenders from domestic bidders with those from foreign bidders or when comparing tenders from domestic suppliers offering goods manufactured locally with those offering goods manufactured abroad.

(2) Where a procuring entity intends to allow domestic preferences, the bidding documents shall clearly indicate any preference to be granted to domestic suppliers and contractors and the information required to establish the eligibility of a bid for such preference.

(3) Margins of preference shall apply only to tenders under international competitive bidding.

The investigation revealed that TUPNI organised the call for tender marked: APO/CO4/05 for provision of Remotely Operated Vehicles (ROVs) services to the Akpo Field Development Project out of which Tilone Nigeria Limited, Oceaneering International AG and SUB-SEA 7 indicated interest and were subsequently prequalified. SUB-SEA later opted out of the bidding process and on June 13, 2006, a competitive bid exercise was conducted between Oceaneering International and Tilone Nigeria Limited, wherein Tilone Nigeria Limited emerged the winner.

However, in the course of sorting the bids for the contract, TUPNI allegedly inflated the bid of Tilone Nigeria by about \$10.975 million to make it higher than the bid of Oceaneering Limited, the foreign firm and only competitor on the job. TUPNI therefore automatically disqualified Tilone and proceeded to award the contract to Oceaneering International, contrary to earlier directive of the NNPC Board to the effect that the contract be awarded to Tilone.

It is interesting to report that consequent upon its the findings on the allegations, the House of Representative Committee on Procurement demanded immediate demobilisation of Oceaneering International from the project and directed Total Upstream Nigeria to comply immediately with the directive of the Board of the NNPC, by awarding the contract to Tilone Nigeria Limited at the current commercial rates and pay compensation to it for undue financial exposure during the period it was denied the contract.

This directive of the House of Representative Committee on Procurement is a positive action towards the implementation of the PPA. It is further expected that Oceaneerig International and TUPNI be visited with appropriate sanctions in line with section 58 of PPA.

4.8 N64 BILLION AIRPORT RUNWAY CONTRACT SCAM

The Federal Airports Authority of Nigeria (FAAN) and the Ministry of Aviation are reported to have sharply manipulated the procurement process leading to the inflation of the contract for the construction of a second runway at the Nnamdi Azikiwe International Airport, Abuja following the depreciation discovered on the old runway built about twenty years ago. The House of Representatives Committee on aviation which probed the procurement noted the secrecy and undue haste that preceded the award of the contract. It appeared that FAAN had decided from the beginning to award the contract to Julius Berger Construction Company and was merely working from the answer to the question. The contract was awarded on selective tendering instead of open competitive bidding. At the end of the hearings, the House Committee on Aviation recommended the revocation of the contract and a new tendering process while the Presidential Projects Assessment Committee recommended the reduction of the contract fee by N13.5 billion. However, the Presidency has finally directed the cancellation of the contract and a new tendering process to be undertaken.

Chapter Five

VIOLATIONS AND IMPLEMENTATION CHALLENGES

5.1 USURPING THE POWERS OF THE COUNCIL TO SET PRIOR REVIEW THRESHOLDS

ection 2 (a) of the PPA provides that the Council shall:

a) consider, approve and amend the monetary and prior review thresholds for the application of the provisions of this Act by procuring entities;

Similarly, section 16 (2), (3) and (4) provides as follows:

(2) Where the Bureau has set prior review thresholds in the procurement regulations, no funds shall be disbursed from the Treasury or Federation Account or any bank account of any procuring entity for any procurement falling above the set thresholds unless the cheque, payments or other form of request for payment is accompanied by a certificate of "No Objection" to an award of contract duly issued by the Bureau.

(3) For all cases where the Bureau shall set a prior review threshold, the Bureau shall prescribe by regulation, guidelines and the conditions precedent to the award of Certificate of "No Objection" under this Act.

(4) Subject to the prior review thresholds as may be set by the Bureau, any procurement purported to be awarded without a "Certificate of 'No Objection' to Contract Award" duly issued by the Bureau shall be null and void.

The reproduced sections clearly show that the duty to set prior review thresholds in the procurement regulations lies on the Bureau with the approval of Council. Essentially, the Bureau proposes while the Council approves.

The Bureau has purportedly, already set and revised the thresholds³⁵. It has also set procedures and documentation pre-requisite for the issuance of a Certificate of No Objection to MDAs in a handbook published and distributed to MDAs and CSOs³⁶. The word "purportedly" is used because the circular prescribing these thresholds emanated from the Office of the Secretary to the Government of the Federation. It is a circular with reference no. SGF/OP/I/S.3/VIII/57 dated March 11 2009 and signed by Mahmud Yayale Ahmed, the current Secretary to the Government of the Federation. Strictly speaking, the Secretary to the Government of the Federation is not an authority

³⁵ See the Approved Revised Thresholds for Service Wide Application and Special Thresholds for Procurement in Oil Sector.

³⁶ The Bureau has developed a handbook titled "*Procedures and Documentation Pre-requisite for the Issuance of a Certificate of 'No Objection' to MDAs".*

recognized by the Act to issue instructions and regulations for the purpose of implementing the PPA. The vacuum created by the absence of the Council is manifesting in this illegality. However, it appears that the reviewed thresholds were in reaction to the general MDA complaint that BPP's procedures were slowing down budget implementation. However, it appears that in the process of fast tracking budget implementation, the prior review powers of the BPP have been whittled down and most of its powers confined to post mortem procurement reviews which suffer from the poverty of remedial justice.

From Table 1 below, the bulk of government procurements do not require BPP's no objection certificate. The major documentation on thresholds is as shown below.

Table 1: Procurement Approval Thresholds for Bureau of Public Procurement, Tenders Boards and Accounting Officers (PSs and CEOs) for All Ministries, Departments and Agencies

Approving Authority/ "No Objection" to award	Goods	Works	Non- Consultant Services	Consultant Services
BPP issues "No Objection" to award/ FEC approves	N100 million and above	N1.0 billion and above	N100 million and above	N100 million and above
Ministerial Tenders Board	N5 million and above but less than N100 million	N10 million and above but less than N1.0 billion	N5 million and above but less than N100 million	N5 million and above but less than N100 million
Parastatal Tenders Board	N2.50 million and above but less than N50 million	N5 million and above but less than N250 million	N2.50 million and above but less than N50 million	N2.50 million and above but less than N50 million
Accounting Officer: Permanent Secretary	Less than N5 million	Less than N10 million	Less than N5 million	Less than N5 million
Accounting Officer: Director General/CEO	Less than N2.50 million	Less than N5 million	Less than N2.50 million	Less than N2.50 million

A list of other relevant Federal Government Circulars on public procurement processes (as shown in Table 2) shows that virtually all of them did not come from the appropriate authority recognized by the Act.

S/N	TITLE	REF. NUMBER	DATE
1	Compliance with the Principle of Due Process in Public Procurement by Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs)	Ref. No. SGF/OP/1/S.3/VII/918	16 th December, 2007
2	Immediate Commencement of the implementation of Procurement activities for new projects and programmes in the 2008 Budget Bill by Ministries, Departments and Agencies	Ref. No. SGF/OP/I/S.3/VII	6 th March, 2008
3	Due Process Review of Procurements in the 2008 Budget Bill by Ministries, Departments and Agencies	Ref. No. SGF/OP/I/S.3/VII	6 th March, 2008
4	Establishment of the Procurement Officer Cadre in the Federal Civil Service	Ref. No. HCSF/PSO/155/1/3	31 st March, 2008
5	Requirement for the completion of final designs before contract awards for rehabilitation/construction projects to obviate requests for variation of costs	Ref. No. SGF/OP/1/S.3/VII/964	7 th April, 2008
6	Implementation of Approved Revised Thresholds for Service Wide Application and Special Application to the Federal Ministry of Petroleum for Expenditure related to the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) Procurement Methods and Thresholds of Application and the composition of Tenders Boards.	Ref. No. SGF/OPI/S.3/VIII/57	11 th March, 2009
7	Implementation of Projects Approved in the 2009 Appropriation.	Ref. No. SGF/OP/I/S.3/VIII/75	28 th April, 2009
8	Implementation of Revised Procurement Thresholds as it Affects Parastatals	Ref. No. SGF/OP/I/S.3/VIII/77	3 rd June, 2009
9	Implementation of Revised Procurement Thresholds Regarding Projects with Variations	Ref. No. SGF/OP/I/S.3/VIII	19 th August, 2009
10	Procurement Plans for 2010	Ref. No. SGF/OP/I/S.3/VIII/177	31 st December, 2009

5.2 ABUSES IN PROCUREMENT PROCESSES

The following patterns of procurement abuse have been identified by the Bureau based on petitions it receives from contractors³⁷.

Prequalification

- Agencies are still doing prequalification for projects below N300 million for works and N100 million for non works;
- Integrity of the exercise- proper due diligence not done;
- Throws up contractors with unequal capacity, or that do not possess the capacity to do the work.

Lowest Bidder/Evaluation

- This is a direct consequence of the prequalification exercise;
- Burden of reconfirming unrealistic rates before certification;
- Lowest bidder means lowest evaluated responsive bid.

Delayed Payment

- Processing of approvals;
- Need to have templates to fast track payments;
- Interest on delayed payments (60 days);
- Submission of interim certificates for payment;
- Agencies utilise funds meant for particular projects for so called priority projects

Post Qualification Award

- Refusal to hand over project;
- Non execution of contract agreement;
- Delayed award after certificate of no objection;
- Improper disengagement of contractors;
- Extension of time;
- Variation/review of contract rate.

³⁷ See page 39 of the Public Procurement Journal, 4th Edition, October to December 2009, published by BPP.

The list of abuses and MDAs that are prevalent in the abuses are as stated in Table 3 below.

S/N	MDAs	AREAS OF ABUSE	
1	EDUCATION	1. Lowest bidder/evaluation	
		2. Post qualification award	
2	HEALTH	1. Lowest bidder/evaluation	
		2. Post qualification award	
3	POWER	1. Prequalification	
4	WORKS, HOUSING AND URBAN	1.Lowest bidder/evaluation	
	DEVELOPMENT		
5	AGRICULTURE & WATER RESOURCES	1. Post qualification award	
		2. Prequalification	
		3. Lowest bidder/evaluation	
6	TRANSPORT	1.Post qualification	
7	AVIATION	1.Post qualification	
8	FED. INLAND REVENUE SERVICE	1. Post qualification	
9	PETROLEUM RESOURCES	1. Post qualification award	
		2. Prequalification	
		3. Lowest bidder/evaluation	
10	MIN. OF NIGER DELTA AFFAIRS	1.Prequalification	
11	FINANCE	1.Post qualification	
12	DEFENCE	1.Post qualification	
13	FCDA	1.Lowest bidder/evaluation	
14	NIGERIA CUSTOMS SERVICE	1.Post qualification	
15	INTERIOR	1.Post qualification	
16	HEAD OF CIVIL SERVICE OF THE	1. Lowest bidder/evaluation	
	FEDERATION		
17	NATIONAL SPORTS COMMISSOION	1.Prequalification	
18	TOURISM	1.Lowest bidder/evaluation	
19	SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY	1.Delayed payment	

Table 3: Areas Of Abuses In Procurement Processes

Source: Petitions from Contractors/Consultants to the Bureau published in the Procurement Journal, 4th Edition.

It was also noted that some contractors after being awarded a contract ended up selling the contract award papers to third parties without disclosure to the procuring entity. The third party would now be responsible for contract execution. The implication is that the contractor who buys the contract may not have been qualified in the first place to win a bid if he had been a bidder in the competitive selection process.

A contractor interviewed was of the view:

Abuses and violations keep re-occurring in the procurement process because no one has been successfully prosecuted and there is no deterrence. There is impunity in the system because the penal provisions of the Act have been ignored. A bidder was of the view that:

It is too early in the day to start prosecution of supposed offenders. Rather, the emphasis should be on education, sensitisation and capacity building of MDA personnel and that of contractors and potential bidders. The Act has been operated for less than three years.

5.3 EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE FEDERATION BECOMES AN APPROVING AUTHORITY

Contrary to section 17 of the Act, which stipulates a Parastatal Tenders Board and a Ministerial Tenders Board as the approving authorities for public procurement, the Executive Council of the Federation (EXCOF) insists on appointing itself as an approving authority. This is without legal backing and a naked usurpation of the powers of the approving authorities designated in the Act. The current state of affairs informs the executive's decision to send an amendment bill to the legislature to include the EXCOF as an approving authority. Considering that the Act is yet to be amended, the actions of the EXCOF in this respect are manifestly illegal.³⁸ According to a learned commentator:

Even the EXCOF is aware of the illegality of its action considering that the Attorney-General, Minister of Justice and the chief Law officer of the Federation is a member of EXCOF³⁹.

5.4 ADVERTISEMENT FOR BIDS AFTER FIVE MONTHS OF BUDGET RELEASE

The Budget Implementation Handbook issued by the Bureau states that all planning processes should be finalised within two months after the release of the budget, and the actual award of contracts should be made not later than three months thereafter, i.e., not later than five months from the date of the release of budget. All requests for clarifications to MDAs by the BPP are expected to be responded to within two weeks⁴⁰.

The current practice whereby advertisements for bids are published in October and November, several months after the release of budget, runs contrary to the Handbook's stipulations. This also raises the issue of the time for the implementation of the procurement - whether it will be done within the financial year.

5.5 PROCURING ENTITIES STILL FALL SHORT OF THE TIME LINE BETWEEN THE INVITATION AND DEADLINE FOR SUBMISSION OF BIDS AND PROPOSALS/EXPRESSION OF INTEREST

Section 25 (2) of the PPA provides that every invitation to an open competitive bid shall:

³⁸ See the Procurement Approval Thresholds in Table 1 above.

³⁹ Kalu Onuoha Esq in an interview with the author.

⁴⁰ See BPP's Budget Implementation Handbook at page 8.

(i) in the case of goods and works under International Competitive Bidding, the invitation for bids shall be advertised in at least two national newspapers and one relevant internationally recognized publication, any official websites of the procuring entity and the Bureau as well as the procurement journal not less than six weeks before the deadline for submission of the bids for the goods and works.

(ii) in the case of goods and works valued under National Competitive Bidding, the invitation for bids shall be advertised on the notice board of the procuring entity, any official websites of the procuring entity, at least two national newspapers, and in the procurement journal not less than six weeks before the deadline for submission of the bids for the goods and works.

On the time frame for procurement for services, section 48 (1) of the Act provides:

(1) The procuring entity shall allow sufficient time for the preparation and submission of the requested proposals but shall in no case give less than 30 days between the issue of the notice or request and the deadline for submission.

Observation of bid opening sessions have revealed that one of the major areas of non compliance is the six weeks timeframe required after advertisement in open competitive bidding before the deadline for submission of bids. The average time line given by MDAs is now about two weeks⁴¹. MDAs claim that the Bureau had by a circular shortened the advertisement time to facilitate capital budget implementation. If that is the true position, it is still a violation of the Act as the Bureau lacks the power to amend the Act without resort to the legislature. The word used in section 25 (2) that provides for the six weeks timeline is the mandatory "shall" and not the discretionary "may".

5.6 SUBMITTED BIDS NOT SECURED IN TAMPER - PROOF BID BOX

It is the provision of Section 27 (2) that: "All submitted bids shall be deposited in a secured tamper-proof box." This provision of the PPA seeks to secure the bids and ensure that public procurement is conducted in a transparent atmosphere. However, at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the 6th of April 2010, the CSJ observer noticed that the bids were displayed on the table at the time the observers and bidders were allowed into the room. Thus, some procuring entities do not comply with this provision.

⁴¹ Independent National Electoral Commission advert at page 7 of Daily Champion of February 18 2010 gave two weeks; Customs Service advert of February 1 2010 at page 54 of This Day gave three weeks; BPP on February 5 at page 11 of this Day gave two weeks; Central Bank of Nigeria on February 4 in Daily Trust gave one week; Federal Ministry of Health in Daily Trust of February 9 2010 gave less than 2 weeks, etc,.

5.7 PUTTING THE CART BEFORE THE HORSE

The procurement records displayed on the website of the Bureau reveal that some contracts were awarded by some MDAs⁴² for certain construction works without first securing the sites for the projects. This is antithetical to timeliness in procurement. It may lead to cost or budget overruns and demands for review and variation of the contract pursuant to the economic realities at the time the site is eventually secured. Improper handling of this issue may lead to underperformance.

5.8 DISPUTE RESOLUTION MECHANISM AND CAPITAL BUDGET DELAYS

The dispute resolution mechanism in procurement proceedings may lead to undue delays and even outright project cancellation. In the petition of Roll Royce IPDC-MORPOL, the 2008 petition was not resolved before the end of the year 2008 leading to the unspent funds being returned to the Treasury. And to make matters worse, the particular project was not recaptured in the 2009 budget of the Energy Ministry. This development raises a number of issues including whether the Ministry had a Medium Term Sector Strategy and how it was implementing that strategy.

Some stakeholders have questioned the role of legislative committees in resolving procurement disputes considering that the Act makes explicit provisions on the recourse mechanism. However, the legislature's oversight functions are based on the 1999 Constitution (sections 88 and 89) which takes precedence over any other legislation.

5.9 NON-GENDER MAINSTREAMING

Popular participation and fairness in the procurement of goods, works and services for the public are among the basic principles of public procurement. Certainly, popular participation is meaningless in the absence of gender equality both at the supply and demand sides. A disaggregation of the membership of Public Procurement Committees/Board of most MDAs in the FCT by gender reveals that while the male gender has 81% representation in the Committees, the female gender membership of Committees/Boards is represented by 19%.⁴³ This poor representation of the female gender in the Committees/ Boards does not enhance the desired gender mainstreaming and popular participation in public procurement.

It is fundamentally flawed to assert that procurement contains no gender dimensions. A gender blind procurement policy discriminates against the non dominant societal gender. Therefore, it is imperative in formulating procurement policy and taking procurement decisions to consider its likely impact on men, women, children, boys and girls. It is also imperative in procurement audits, research and studies to find out how particular procurements affect different segments of society. The experience of previous

⁴² See for example procurement records of the Education Secretariat at page 7.

⁴³ Data from key findings: situation analysis on the membership of Public Procurement Committees/Board by Gender conducted by the Office of the Special Adviser to the President on Relations with Civil Society, through a consulting firm as part of its assessment of the level of implementation of the PPA and for its project of improving Civil Society involvement in Public Procurement at page 7.

procurements can be used to project and forecast how new and proposed procurements will affect the different social segments. Further, public procurements should address the specific and special needs of all segments of society. Unfortunately the extant PPA appears gender blind.

5.10 PROPOSALS TO LEGALISE VIOLATIONS THROUGH AMENDMENTS TO THE LAW

A. The Idea of Amending an Untested Act

The PPA became imperative because public procurement is one of the biggest channels of government expenditure, and is easily prone to abuse and accompanying corruption, as past experience has shown. The overall impact of public procurement in governance and national development cannot be overemphasized, because if mishandled, it can impact negatively on the lives of ordinary Nigerians. To that extent, the passage and signing into law of the Act was a positive development for all stakeholders and public authorities. It stands to reason that the Act as enacted in 2007 would have been operational and given opportunity to manifest its weaknesses and loopholes before issues of amendment would come up.

Proposing amendments to an untested Act is therefore surprising and appears to be in bad faith. This is so, because there is no justification for it beyond the whims and caprices of procuring authorities and public office holders who feel that the Act and its contents constitutes a hindrance to their desire to create opportunities for looting the Treasury by weakening the Act. The following details will prove the retrogressive nature of the proposals for amendment:

B. Proposed Amendment to Section 1(2) (A-G) Of The Act

Section 1 (2) (a-g) of the Act provides that the Council shall consist of:

- a) the Minister of Finance as Chairman;
- b) the Attorney-General and Minister of Justice of the Federation;
- c) the Secretary to the Government of the Federation;
- (d) the Head of Service of the Federation;
- e) the Economic Adviser to the President;
- f) Six part-time members to represent;
 - (i) Nigeria Institute of Purchasing and Supply Management;
 - (ii) Nigeria Bar Association;
 - *(iii) Nigeria Association of Chambers of Commerce, Industry, Mines and Agriculture;*
 - (iv) Nigeria Society of Engineers;

(v) Civil Society;

(vi) the Media and

(g) the Director-General of the Bureau who shall be the Secretary of the Council.

The proposed amendment on the other hand [provides in paragraph (a) of section 1(2)], seeks to make provision for the President to appoint a person other than the Minister of Finance as the Chairman of the Council. Who ever leads the Council goes to no issue. By S.5 of the 1999 Constitution, the executive powers of the Federation are vested in the President. Whether it is the Minister of Finance or a chairman appointed by the President that leads the Council, each will be exercising powers delegated by the President.

The second part of the proposed amendment seeks to remove the Nigerian Society of Engineers, Civil Society and the Media from the membership of the Council. The Senate version of the amendment however did not remove Nigerian Society of Engineers, Civil Society and the Media as members of the Council but it rather went further to increase the membership of the Council by including the Institute of Quantity Surveyors. The House of Representatives version went ahead and removed these pillars of integrity.

It is instructive to note that the Nigerian Society of Engineers is a professional group that can make critical inputs to procurement policy considering the diverse nature of their profession and the fact that engineering jobs form a critical mass of government procurement in the execution of capital projects in the budget. Quantity Surveyors are also relevant to procurement policy formulation. Civil Society and the Media have the potential of ensuring the ideals of accountability, transparency, due process, value for money and popular participation in the public procurement process. Best practices encourage alternative viewpoints in procurement policy formulation. Civil society and the media as major pillars of integrity can provide the alternative view point. Thus, the Senate version of the proposed amendment is preferred and any attempt or actual removal of any of these vitally important groups from the membership of the Council will be counter-productive to the realization of public procurement reforms in Nigeria.

C. Proposed Amendment to Section 7 (1) Of The Act

Section 7(1) of PPA provides as follows: "There shall be for the Bureau, a Director-General who shall be appointed by the President, on the recommendation of the Council after competitive selections."

The proposed amendment reads thus: "There shall be for the Bureau, a Director-General who shall be appointed by the President, on the recommendation of the Council."

It is crystal clear that the proposed amendment is simply set out to remove competiveness in the process that will produce the Director-General of the Bureau. Ensuring competition in public procurement is one of the principal objects of the Act and by S.4 (c) and (d), to ensure competition is also one of the objectives of the Bureau. It therefore makes eminent sense that the Director General of the Bureau, the chief priest

of competition in government commerce should be selected from a competitive process. To do away with the original provision of that important section of the Act will indeed be insidious to any meaningful public procurement reforms.

D. Proposed Amendment to Section 17 Of The Act

Section 17 of the PPA provides as follows:

Subject to the monetary and prior thresholds for procurements in this Act as may from time to time be determined by the Council, the following shall be the approving authority for the conduct of public procurement;

(a) In the case of:

(i) a government agency, parastatal or corporation, a Parastatal's Tender Board; and,

(ii) a ministry or extra-ministerial entity, the Ministerial Tenders Board.

The proposed amendment version on the other hand provides:

Subject to the monetary and prior review thresholds for procurements in this Act as may from time to time be determined by the President, the following shall be the approving authority for the conduct of public procurement:

(a) for a government agency, parastatal, or corporation, a Parastatals Tenders Board; and,

(b) for a ministry or extra-ministerial entity, the Ministerial Tenders Board;

(c) for procurements in excess of the thresholds set out in subsection (b) of this section, the Federal Executive Council.

Stripping the Council of the power to determine the monetary and prior review thresholds and conferring it on the President smacks of a determination to turn what should be a purely administrative and economic decision guided by empirical indices into a political one which may be determined more by political than by other considerations. By amending section 17 without touching the powers of the Council in section 2, section 17 specifically contradicts section 2(a) of the Act.

Also making the Federal Executive Council an approving authority runs counter to best practices. Nigeria's Country Procurement Assessment Report June 2000⁴⁴ had warned against this. The Report had recommended as follows:

⁴⁴ Undertaken by the Federal Government with the support of the World Bank.

"Once a law on public procurement has been enacted and regulations, manuals and standard bidding documents issued, carrying out public procurement including contract awards will clearly be an administrative function, the mechanics of which should be disengaged from the executive. Currently, high level politicians such as Governors, Ministers and Commissioners are operationally involved in the procurement process. However, under the reformed procurement system, high level politicians should maintain their overall managerial oversight responsibilities while leaving administrative and operational matters (including procurement) to the civil servants."

When this recommendation is juxtaposed with the intended amendment, it becomes quite easy to assert that this amendment is not in line with best practices.

E. Proposed Amendment of Section 35 (1)

Section 35 (1) of PPA provides:

"In addition to any other regulations as may be prescribed by the Bureau, a mobilization fee of not more than 15% may be paid to a supplier or contractor supported by the following:"

The version intending to amend the section reads thus:

"In addition to any other regulations as may be prescribed by the Bureau, a mobilization fee of an amount to be prescribed in the bid document may be paid to a supplier or contractor supported by the following:"

The Senate version of the amendment reads "In addition to any other regulations as may be prescribed by the Bureau, a mobilization fee of 30% for construction works and 50% for technical items may be paid to a supplier or contractor supported by the following:"

The proposed amendment lifts the limitation on mobilization fees from 15% of total contract sum to an amount prescribed in the bid document which could be higher than 15% or 30% or 50% in the Senate version. However, the Act in section 16 (6) (a) (ii) on the Fundamental Principles of Procurement states that bidders shall possess the necessary financial capacity. Accompanying the bid in accordance with section 16 (6) (f) is an affidavit that the information presented in the bid are true and correct in all particulars. If a bidder has financial capacity, why should he need more than 15% mobilization fees? And this amendment is proposed in a country where contractors have been known to collect mobilization fees and disappear from project sites. Giving procuring entities the discretion to fix mobilization fees or increasing the quantum will incur more losses to the Treasury and encourage enhanced contract abandonment.

The Public Procurement Act 2007 was signed into law by President Yar'Adua on June 4 2007. It is about three years since it was signed and the system is still grappling to be at home with its provisions. Other provisions of the Act have been observed in breach as has so far been demonstrated in this report. Amendments make sense when a law has been tested through implementation and its shortcomings and mischief are discovered.

Then an empirical basis for amendments will arise. Apparently, there is no justification for the attempt to amend the Act especially when the proposed amendments are inimical to the desired public procurement reforms.

Chapter Six

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 CONCLUSIONS

This Diagnostic Study was based on the need for an independent review of the implementation of the PPA so far, to determine whether it is on the right track. It is also based on the need to identify strengths, weaknesses and best practices and to correct any flaws in implementation. It is designed as a policy guide to all actors in the executive, legislature, civil society and the private sectors.

The Act has given policy making roles to the National Council on Public Procurement. Unfortunately, the Council has not been constituted by the President after three years of implementation. The implications of this development is the usurpation of the powers of the Council by other bodies and authorities, denial of a platform for enhanced popular participation and greater professional input to public procurement reforms. The powers and functions of the Bureau are broad enough to guarantee the reforms needed to take Nigerian procurement to the next level. They include capacity building, promotional and protection powers. Essentially, the Bureau has developed manuals and standard biding documents, undertaken public sensitisation and information dissemination, built the capacity of MDA personnel, hosted a website, etc. However, all actions taken by the Bureau which the law indicated should have been with the approval of Council are of doubtful legal validity. The Bureau is yet to engage in procurement audits.

The House of Representatives Committee on Public Procurement has played a crucial role in the implementation of the Act. They have devised a legislative agenda to enhance the oversight functions of the Committee. The Committee has also hosted a website and engaged in investigative hearings and oversight visits.

Civil society organizations played crucial roles in the campaign for the enactment of the Act. Since the commencement of the Act, they have been involved in awareness raising and sensitisation, capacity building, observation and monitoring and action research. The Act envisages the involvement of civil society in the procurement process. However, the Bureau and MDAs have reduced CSOs to mere observers of bid opening sessions. MDAs have also restricted access to procurement information despite the clear provisions of the Act. Their reliance on Civil Service Rules and Financial Instructions to deny access to information, cannot absolve them when faced with the unambiguous provisions of the PPA which overrides those subordinate legislation. Steps so far taken by some governmental agencies to deepen the involvement of CSOs have been fraught with irregularities and the lack of transparency in selecting pilot stakeholders. There is however, the need for more advocacy, capacity building and civil society action to hold the state accountable to its obligations under the PPA.

The PPA governs the implementation of the capital budget. Late President Yar'Adua had directed that the PPA should apply to all procurements including special goods and services. Weak capital budget implementation has been recorded by MDAs in the years 2008 and 2009. During the two years, the capital budget was not implemented above 60%. Some of the challenges are institutional and due to lack of capacity while others can be attributed to corruption. Return of monies to the Treasury was the norm over the reporting period. Budget implementation also witnessed delayed payment to contractors. A number of procurement scams were recorded or continued during the review period. They include the Siemens bribery scandal and the unimaginable presidential pardon, Rural Electrification Agency N5 billion Scam, Universal Basic Education and the Haliburton scandals, and the CBN/Australian Firm Polymer Note scam and the latest N64 billion Airport Runway Scam. The unfortunate thing about these scandals is the lack of political will to diligently prosecute the offenders and bring them to justice. This has reinforced the culture of impunity.

There have been a number of violations and implementation challenges. These include usurping the power of Council to make policy regulations. In the implementation side, MDAs are still doing prequalification for projects below N300 million for works and N100 million for non works; the system throws up contractors with unequal capacity, or that do not possess the capacity to do the work; interest on delayed payments (60 days) is still not the norm; MDAs utilise funds meant for particular projects for so called priority projects; delayed award after certificate of no objection; and variation/review of contract rate,etc.

Other challenges include the fact that the EXCOF has constituted itself into an approving authority in defiance of the law; timelines for advertisement and preparation of bids are honoured in the breach; activation of dispute resolution mechanism could frustrate procurement implementation; the gender blind nature of the PPA and extant procurement proceedings.

Most of the proposals for the amendment of the PPA are apparently made in bad faith. The proposal to remove the media, CSOs and the Nigeria society of Engineers from the yet to be constituted Council would not add value to procurement policy formulation. Also hiring the Director General of the Bureau in a non-competitive process would not facilitate transparency and value for money. Increasing mobilisation fees or leaving it at the discretion of the procuring entity is a sure way to enhance corruption and contract abandonment.

Procurement reforms under the PPA have started and are making impacts on the public expenditure management system. There are however institutional resistance and failure of some authorities to perform their assigned roles. What is needed is the extra push and measures that will ensure that the full gamut of the reforms is in place. The push has to come from a number of actors i.e. civil society including the media, academia, NGOs, the legislature, the Bureau, contractors and service providers. And this extra push is addressed under recommendations.

6.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations flow from the analysis in this report.

G. The President

The President leads the executive arm of government and provides direction for overall governance in the country. He should lead by example through the:

- Immediate constitution of the National Council on Public Procurement;
- De-commissioning the EXCOF as an approving authority for procurements above a certain threshold;
- Clear instructions to the executive on access to procurement information according to the PPA. This may entail amendments and repeals of relevant sections of the Public Service Rules through the Head of Service and the Financial Regulations through the Minister of Finance;
- Withdraw the Amendment Bill of the PPA at the National Assembly;
- Periodic review of the implementation of the Act.

H. The Bureau

The Bureau needs to be more proactive to facilitate the implementation of the Act through the following measures:

- Establishment of the internet portal which is the definitive source of all information on government procurement;
- Enhance access to information by publishing procurement records on its website as stipulated by law;
- Engage in procurement audit of MDAs;
- Direct MDAs to give at least one week notice to CSOs who monitor bid opening sessions; grant access to procurement plans, bid solicitation documents, bid opening documentation and information on contract award to CSOs to enable them properly monitor procurement proceedings;
- Begin to exercise its powers to debar suppliers, contractors and service providers that manifestly contravene the PPA;

- Exercise disciplinary sanctions against erring accounting officers and other staff of MDAs. This will facilitate greater capital budget implementation and reduction of procurement misdemeanours;
- Further engage in the development and revision of manuals and standard bidding documents for areas not presently covered;
- Continued public sensitisation on the provisions of the law.

I. The Attorney General of the Federation, Economic and Financial Crimes Commission and Independent Corrupt Practices Commission

Ensure the diligent investigation and prosecution of all reported procurement offences.

J. Ministries, Departments and Agencies

- MDAs should decentralise their procurement process and allow parastatals under them to undertake procurements related to their agency;
- MDAs should proactively seek to acquire knowledge on procurement reforms and plan their procurements in advance of cash releases.

K. The National Assembly

In view of its powers of lawmaking, appropriation and oversight, the legislature should:

- Stop the proposed amendments to the PPA;
- Develop a framework through collaboration with the executive to ensure that appropriate amounts are appropriated for capital projects. This could be done by the legislature taking more interest in the development of Medium Term Sector Strategies of the respective MDAs and the overall Medium Term Expenditure Framework;
- The passage of the Freedom of Information Bill to enhance access to procurement information;
- Enhanced oversight over capital project implementation;
- Improve collaboration with CSOs in the exercise of oversight functions;
- More regular updating of the Procurement Committee's website.

L. Civil Society including the Media and Academia

- Engage in detailed studies and action research for the enhancement of the implementation of the Act;
- Engage in advocacy against violations of the Act including litigation;
- Engage in capacity building of the populace for a better understanding of procurement reforms;
- The media should devote more time to investigations of procurement malfeasance and its related matters;
- The academia should consider the introduction of courses on public procurement in legal, economic, social and business related courses.

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ISBN: 978-978-909-504-9