



MANIFESTO OF  
**AFRICAN  
ACTION  
CONGRESS  
(AAC)**



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# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Nigeria is blessed with creative, intelligent and enterprising people, as well as abundant natural resources. However, in almost six decades of independence, successive governments have failed to create an enabling environment that can unleash the creative and entrepreneurial energy of the Nigerian people. Nepotism, corruption, lack of vision and poor leadership have continually robbed our nation and its peoples of reaching their full potential.

AFRICAN ACTION CONGRESS will unleash productivity and growth in Nigeria through a strategic focus on three (3) main pillars and 10 economic sectors. The three main pillars that unify the broad and ambitious plans that we are proposing to implement are:

1. Enhancing National Security,
2. Promoting sustainable growth, and
3. Enabling self sufficiency in key areas of the economy such as Agriculture and petroleum products.

Although Nigeria faces extensive challenges, we have focused on those specific areas which we believe are key to realizing our goal of prosperity, growth and sustainable development. Our strategic focus will be on Security, Power, Infrastructure, Corruption, Economy & Jobs, Restructuring, Healthcare, Education, Agriculture and Tourism (SPICER HEAT).

Our plan will provide the following benefits within a single term of office, providing a platform for growth that future governments can leverage upon.

- Expand economic growth and create 5 million new jobs across various sectors
- Expand Nigeria's power generation and transmission infrastructure to provide an additional 17,000 MW of energy
- Expand Nigeria's road and rail infrastructure to unleash productivity and growth
- Enhance health care access for all Nigerians with Universal Basic Health Coverage
- Provide access to affordable housing for 17 million Nigerian Households
- Pay Workers and Youth Corpers a living wage by establishing a Federal Minimum Wage of N100,000



# PREAMBLE

This platform document is a sacred covenant with the Nigerian people. It is not a manifesto in the traditional form. It is rather, a solemn pledge that Take It Back movement makes to the Nigerian nation about the priorities that the government that we will lead will be focused upon when elected to office.

The Nigerian nation has been independent for about 58 years. In all that time, we have been led by a series of governments that have failed to tap into, nurture or bring to the fore, the immense capabilities of the Nigerian people. All that can change. Our movement will provide purposeful and visionary leadership to the Nigerian people. This document outlines what we believe to be the priorities that need to be addressed in order to set Nigeria on an irreversible path to prosperity and growth.

Our plans call for almost \$500 Billion in spending. How can we fund such programs when Nigeria's annual budget is currently in the \$35-40 Billion range? This document does not just set out the priorities that will be steadfastly worked upon within the first four years of the government that we will lead, it also outlines how we will fund the implementation of the proposed programs.

# MOVING NIGERIA FORWARD - 3 PILLARS, 10 AGENDA ITEMS

For 58 years, Nigeria has remained stunted in its development. We have been called a sleeping giant, and the rest of the world has joined Nigerians in wondering when this nation that is full of dynamic, intelligent and creative individuals will rise to its full potential. This giant must be awakened. Nigeria must arise.

Our plan for driving growth and prosperity for all Nigerians is based on three strategic pillars:

1. Enhancing National Security
2. Promoting Sustainable Growth and
3. Enabling Self Sufficiency

All of our ten agenda items, tie back into these three strategic pillars, which for convenience, we refer to as, SPICER-HEAT

- a) Security
- b) Power
- c) Infrastructure
- d) Corruption & Public-Sector Reforms
- e) Economy and jobs
- f) Restructuring
- g) Healthcare
- h) Education
- i) Agriculture
- j) Tourism & Culture

We aim to create a Nigeria that all of its citizens can be proud of. A Nigeria that will create an enabling environment that will allow entrepreneurs and workers to thrive. A Nigeria that will provide a conducive environment for all of its sons and daughters to flourish and realize their full potentials, within its own shores. A Nigeria that will provide leadership to the Black Race and take its rightful position of leadership in the comity of nations.

We will now provide more details on the 3 pillars and the 10 agenda items.

# 3 PILLARS

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# Enhancing National Security

For the last three decades, Nigeria has become an increasingly dangerous place. Militancy, kidnappings and terrorism have been on the rise. No one is safe from this growing menace. Too many of our people are dying due to conflicts between herdsmen and farmers. Boko Haram continues to be a menace, terrorising large sections of Nigeria and causing people to flee their homes, farms and livelihood. Today, the North Eastern part of Nigeria, once a thriving and vibrant area has been reduced to a shadow of its former self, and citizens from that area who proudly had their own homes and livelihoods are now internally displaced persons, living as refugees in their own nation. The Niger Delta remains a hotbed of militancy, and a fragile peace is currently being maintained in that region.

Security cannot be adequately addressed without also considering the root causes of insecurity. Some of the underpinning factors that have led to this state of affairs are rooted in a history of economic deprivation, long held feelings of injustice and agitation over fair and equitable access to resources.

Our plans address these issues and concerns. We also believe that any serious plans that address National Security must also consider the welfare, resourcing and training of those who manage the nation's security apparatus and law enforcement agencies.

Furthermore, many of the challenges that we face are trans-border in nature. Boko Haram is aligned with ISIS – a global terror group. There is a dimension of the Farmer – Herdsmen conflicts that is rooted in the flow of arms from conflict areas in the North of Africa across Nigeria's porous borders. This international dimension to Nigeria's security challenges will impact our government's foreign policy focus. While global issues are fluid and dynamic, we will maintain a foreign policy strategy that seeks at all times to enhance Nigeria's National Security and set our nation on the path to sustainable growth.



# Promoting Sustainable Growth

Nigerians will do better if the economy does better. We believe in the truism that a rising tide lifts all boats. Our goal is to unleash an era of major economic growth in our nation that will lift and enhance the economic well being of all Nigerians. Given Nigeria's abundant resources and the ingenuity and work ethic of its people, we can obtain high levels of economic growth that will allow us to create well paying jobs for our citizens.

Our plans and policies will create an enabling environment for growth; support the development of infrastructure such as power, roads and rail networks that will aid the timely movement of goods and people; provide and facilitate access to capital through affordable loans; and support the emergence of a strong, adaptable and well-trained work force.

Economic growth requires the presence of an enabling environment. There must be good roads that can help to connect markets. There must be airports that function. Our seaports must be able to support trade. Our inland waterways must facilitate the movement of persons and goods. And while the engine of economic growth revs, our environment must be sustained. Our rivers must remain pure and unpolluted – able to provide healthy drinking water and support those who utilize them for their livelihood and recreation. Our skies must be free of particulates and harmful emissions, and our lands must be spared from contamination. Growth does not have to be attained at the expense of the health of our people or our air, water or land. We will enforce policies that grow our manufacturing base and create jobs in the petrochemical sector, pharmaceuticals, industrial gases and fine chemicals chemical sector, while also ensuring that the environment is protected.

Sustainability is not just about the environment. It is also about the levels of debt that are tolerable. Nigeria bears a heavy and unsustainable debt burden. For far too long, Nigeria's governments have gone on a borrowing spree, using as collateral, the potential of what we



could be, or do, as a nation, rather than what we are actually doing. The result of this irresponsible approach to borrowing from the federal to state governments has been an unsustainable increase in debt. Growth will require investment. However those investments must not be funded by unsustainable debt. They must be funded by money that is available to us, through cautious borrowing where necessary, but increasingly through public private partnerships (PPP) that allow all Nigerians to benefit from the immense opportunities that are available, and enables businesses to invest in those opportunities.

We believe that growth is sustainable when the benefits that are created from investments in infrastructure and human capital development, sufficiently cover the liabilities that result. Our goal will be to foster investments that fuel economic growth and contribute to the enhancement of social welfare and well being. Above all, these investments must create jobs and lead to economic benefits that will allow the liabilities to be covered without a resource to public funds on an ongoing basis.



# Enabling Self Sufficiency

We are not just aiming for growth of any kind. We seek growth that ultimately allows us to create a self-sufficient nation. Nigeria is blessed with arable lands that can transform us into a nation that produces food in quantities that are sufficient for its citizens and enough to sell to the rest of the world. We are blessed with resources that will allow us not just to be a trader in raw materials, but a powerhouse for the local production of petrochemicals, pharmaceuticals and textiles.

Our enterprising and technology savvy citizens should be supported so that Nigeria becomes a hub for the creation of the technology innovations of the future and the provider of the next wave of disruptive applications and technologies.

Our policies will be crafted and designed to improve our trade balance and turn Nigeria into a net exporter of goods and services to the world. We have a lot to offer to the world and it is time to unleash the passion, ingenuity, intelligence and creativity of Nigeria and Nigerians onto the global stage.

We must wean ourselves of dependency on oil and create a fully diversified economy. Oil should be blessing, but we have allowed it to become a drug that has seemingly robbed our governments and leaders of all initiative and drive. The challenge of oil is the fact that it has some intrinsic value without anything else being done to it. Our problem is not oil, but our inability to even think about some of the things that we can do with oil. Entire industrial sectors like Petrochemicals, Plastic, Pharmaceuticals, Textiles, Agro-chemicals and Construction, rely on oil and its derivatives. We must grow those industries in Nigeria. Our government will require that at least 20 per cent of the Oil produced in Nigeria must be refined in Nigeria starting with allotments from the Federal Government's 55 per cent share of Petroleum resources under the current joint venture agreements. We will guarantee that our partners in that endeavor will be able to sell their products at market rates within the Nigerian market.

# 10 AGENDA ITEMS

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# SECURITY

Nigeria's security situation has been plagued by four major issues –militancy in the Niger Delta, terrorism by Boko Haram, the intensification of the Farmer – Herdsmen conflicts across Nigeria, and a general spread in violence, kidnappings and lawlessness.

To compound matters. Nigeria's military and law enforcement agencies have suffered from neglect for far too long. As a result, Boko Haram continues to thrive, and avoidable conflicts like the Farmer – Herdsmen conflict continue to fester.

## **Niger Delta Militancy:**

Our government will remain supportive of the amnesty program with a view towards emphasising the creation of sustainable job opportunities for participants. We believe that the underlying causes of the conflict are the lack of opportunities in the oil producing regions, the wanton neglect of the communities by successive governments and the abuse of the environment.

We pledge that the long delayed environmental restoration of the oil-induced pollution in the Niger Delta will commence and all parties with an obligation for the clean up of the environment in the Niger Delta will have to discharge their duties in a timely manner.

Previous commitments to the elimination of flaring will be implemented and the questions of resource control will be key issues that will be resolved under our restructuring plan. Every multi-national company operating in Nigeria will be held to the same global standards that they adhere to in their operations in other nations. We will ensure the enforcement of statutes and laws on environmental compliance that currently exist in Nigeria, and work to expand the compliance regime where existing laws do not offer sufficient protections to people and the environment.

### Farmer – Herdsmen Conflicts

Thousands of Nigerians have lost their lives to the Farmer – Herdsmen conflict over the last decade. In the past few years, this conflict has continued to intensify. The responses to this conflict has ranged from ignoring it and hoping it goes away, to recommending solutions such as the establishment of grazing corridors that would simply formalize the fault lines between Nigeria's communities and intensify the conflicts.

The law enforcement response to this conflict has been lacking in fervor or focus. Despite the thousands that have been killed across the nation, few arrests have been made and no notable convictions have been realized. Communities that are under siege have been left un-protected and vulnerable. Many communities have now formed militia, that operate outside of the ambits of the law. We will move to quickly stem this crisis by creating a special unit drawn from the military and law enforcement agencies to combat the menace of militant herdsmen across the nation. This unit will utilize air and land reconnaissance tools to provide national coverage with a view towards neutralizing and neutering violence. Perpetrators of the crisis will also be brought to book and made to account for their crimes.

We believe that at the heart of the conflict is a conflict over resources. Nigeria has about 22 million cows. These animals require extensive forage and water resources. It is our fundamental belief that the Farmer – Herdsmen conflicts at their core, are rooted in disputes over how these animals which are currently exclusively fed by foraging, can access resources which are to be found on lands that are increasingly being utilized as farms and homesteads across the country.

Over the last two decades, three factors have impacted the availability of forage lands, forage crops and water resources across Nigeria.

1. The Boko Haram conflicts in the North East have closed off extensive tracts of foraging lands to Herdsmen.
2. Cattle rustling and desertification in the North West have placed downwards, more southern migratory pressures on Herdsmen.

3. Finally, climate change has affected water resources and has reduced yields by about 20 per cent on average.

The result has been an intensification of the resource conflicts between migratory herdsmen and the communities that their cattle forage through.

Comprehensive solutions to the crisis will require the transformation of the cattle rearing business in Nigeria from a pastoral approach to a commercial ranching model. To this end, our government will work to support the establishment of commercial ranches, proximate to hydrological zones that can provide access to the year-round water resources required for use by the animals as well as for the irrigation of the land to plant forage crops and grass during the dry season.

Significant benefits will accrue from the conversion of cattle rearing practices to the commercial ranching model. We estimate that as much as 2.5 million acres of land will be required for commercial ranching with about 10 animals be allotted per acre. Ranches will be broken up into 10-acre allotments, making a total of 250,000 such allotment. Each allotment will be managed by at least one farm hand, creating about 250,000 jobs in the process.

The cattle manure can be collected and used as feedstock for anaerobic digesters. About 40 million m3 of biogas can be generated, which can yield about 700 MW of power, enough to power over 100,000 Nigerian homes. The stabilized solids from the digestion process is a highly valuable organic manure product that has a value of about 50-100 \$/ton., with the potential to yield about \$2 Billion in revenues.

We see opportunity in this crisis, and we will move to quickly implement policies that will secure lives and property and unleash the immense economic potential that exists in creating a modernized agricultural sector.

Although extensive governmental support will be provided to get the ranches off the ground, long term commercial ranching solutions must be private sector driven.

### Boko Haram

For almost a decade, Boko Haram has terrorized Nigerians. Concerned Nigerians have watched in dismay as the sect has grown more brazen in its attacks. Nigerians have been dislocated and massacred by this terrorist group. Our gallant soldiers have been sent into battle, ill equipped. Communities like Dapchi and Chibok, have been left unguarded and vulnerable to attack and the result of this abandonment and neglect by their own government has been the capture of our young sons and daughters by lecherous terrorists who see them as no more than bargaining chips and sex slaves.

We will intensify the war against Boko Haram. We will provide better security to communities that are susceptible to attack by Boko Haram. We will enhance collaboration with neighboring nations and countries that are engaged in the global war on terror. No stone will be left unturned, and no potential partnership will be ignored in the battle against Boko Haram. We

will use technology like drones and satellite monitoring to ensure that there are eyes on all vulnerable areas at all times, to prevent tragedies such as what happened at Chibok and Dapchi from ever occurring again.

We will ensure that morale is restored within the ranks of the military. Our fighting men and women will be provided with the resources they need to fight effectively. As they have demonstrated in campaigns from Congo to Lebanon, Liberia and Sierra Leone, Nigeria's military is a world class military, and with the right resources, no rag tag army of terrorists will be able to best them in the battle field.

### General Security

Nigeria continues to experience an unacceptably high level of insecurity. Kidnappings and Armed robbery are on the rise. Deadly assaults on banking institutions are becoming a worrisome feature of national life.

The dislocations caused by crises like Boko Haram and Farmer – Herdsmen clashes, and a number of natural disasters that have occurred over the last few years are also revealing the grossly inadequate disaster management and preparedness measures in place.

We must work to make Nigeria more secure. We must strengthen our emergency readiness through the provision of adequate resources and training. We must enhance our ability to prevent and prosecute crimes using technology. We will work to align the existing Biometric databases available through the Banking sector (BVN), voter registration, telecommunications databases and national identification scheme as a tool for law enforcement.

We will also work to police our borders more vigorously leveraging human personnel and technology.

As criminals and crime networks become more sophisticated, increasingly utilizing cyber technologies, our government's capacity to respond should be equally sophisticated. We will promote the development of advanced cyber crimes law enforcement capabilities.





# POWER

Successive governments have failed to deliver on the promise of providing electric power to Nigerians. Electric power is not a convenience that allows us to watch television sets and turn on cooling fans. It is the engine for economic growth.

Lighted streets enhance security. Stable power allows businesses to focus on creating products and services, thereby boosting the economy and leading to job creation. Power lights up classrooms allowing students to learn. Power ensures that players in the agricultural and retail sector can maintain a cold chain that keeps agricultural produce from rotting – thereby avoiding economic losses and enhancing health.

Our power sector policy will be driven by the following key principles:

1. Set targets for power capacity that reflect our desire to leverage energy for generating rapid and sustainable growth
2. Diversify Nigeria's energy mix to enhance sustainability
3. Decentralize new power asset generation to bring development quicker to

communities and break projects into smaller bits that can be funded rapidly through private public partnerships

4. Drive the enactment of policies that will attract and retain private investment in the electric power sector
5. Mitigate the exposure of Nigeria's electric power sector to pipeline vandalization

## Transforming the Power Sector

### Setting targets for Power Generation and Transmission

For the last two decades, successive governments have failed to deliver on the promise of providing reliable, uninterrupted power to the Nigerian people. A key question that must be answered is what level of power infrastructure is needed not just to provide uninterrupted power, but to ensure that we have enough energy to drive rapid economic growth in Nigeria. We must also determine what needs to be done from a policy perspective as well as with regards to reforms to make the Nigerian electric power sector attractive to investments. Targets cannot be set until a benchmark is established for what the objective of any effort is.

How do we determine how much power Nigeria really needs? To do this we must look to what is going on in the rest of the world. What level of power do the most successful nations have, and why

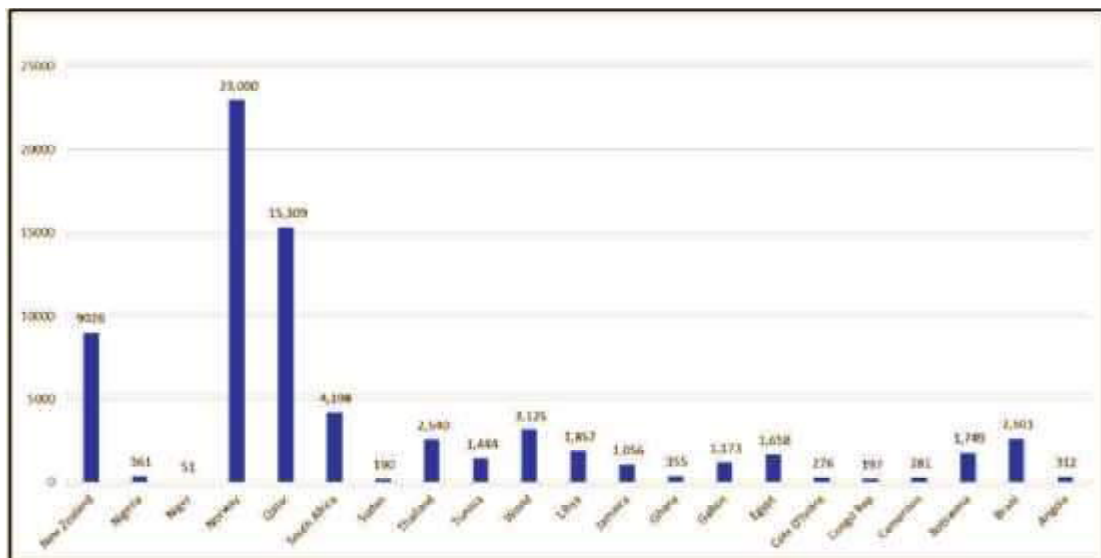


Table 1: Power usage per capita – latest Nigerian numbers vs other countries

Based on the 7,000 MW of generation capacity available through the central grid in Nigeria, the nation's current power usage per capita is estimated to be about 361 kWh/capita. When compared to other nations (see Table 1) this number is abysmally low.

Nations like South Africa have a per capita energy utilization rate of 4,198 kWh/capita –almost 1,200 per cent of what Nigeria's capacity is. The global average is 3,125 kWh/capita. We are setting as a target a moderate goal of reaching just 40 per cent of the global average value of 3,125 kWh/capita. This will take Nigeria to a power capacity of about 1,250 kWh/capita – moving us into parity with nations such as Egypt, Gabon, Botswana, Libya and Tunisia. More importantly, this will provide us with enough electricity to comprehensively meet commercial and domestic energy requirements.

To achieve this modest goal, Nigeria will require about 24,000 MW of power, which would imply that there is a deficit of 17,000 MW using the current generation capacity of 7,000 MW as a baseline. The cost of building out the power generation infrastructure to address the 17,000 MW shortfall is about \$70 Billion.

Nigeria also has an electric power transmission problem. Increasing electric power generation capacity without expanding the capacity of the transmission network that will evacuate power from the generation point and transport it around the country will be futile. Currently there is about 20,000 km of transmission capacity to support 5,300 MW of wheeling capacity i.e., an average of about 3.77 km/MW transmission assets.

With the current installed transmission asset base, we estimate that about \$40 Billion of investments in transmission infrastructure will be required to support the incremental 17,000 MW of power generation capacity that will be built.

### Diversifying Nigeria's energy sector mix

Our power sector strategy will seek to expand the energy mix to include other sources like wind, solar, coal, biogas and potentially nuclear energy – given that Niger, our neighbor to the north is one of the largest global producers of nuclear fuels.

We will leverage international funds and capital programs such as the United Nations' environmental funds to ensure that at least 2,000 MW of the planned increment of 17,000 MW will be dedicated to renewable sources of power.

### Decentralization of power generation

Nigeria's power sector activities have been mostly focused on putting new power generation capacity in place which is then ported to a centralized national grid. We intend to decentralize a significant part of new power infrastructure so that many smaller facilities, dedicated to servicing local communities and dedicated industrial zones & parks, can be established across the country.

Besides the immense potential that such decentralization would offer for the rapid build out of power infrastructure, it would also reduce the burden of building a matching increase in transmission capacity. In addition, locally situated power assets will be better viewed as a common resource to be guarded and secured by the entire community, and this could potentially mitigate the rampant cases of sabotage of power sector assets.

### Drive enactment of policies that will attract and retain investment

Extensive resources are required to adequately address Nigeria's power sector needs. We have estimated almost \$110 Billion in costs for new power infrastructure, broken up into about \$70 billion for an incremental 17,000 MW of generation capacity and about \$40 Billion for additional transmission capacity.

The government will not have the resources to exclusively fund such projects by itself. We will be leveraging Public Private Partnerships (PPP) as a model for funding and driving new projects in the power sector. We will review all existing statutes and laws that govern the power sector to ensure that they provide adequate incentives to investors, while also protecting the rights of the Nigerian citizen. This will include comprehensive reviews of the tariff regime with the input of all stakeholder groups.

We will seek private sector partners that will be committed to Nigeria for the long term, and that are seeking to make decent returns on their investment. The duty of government will be to ensure that the uncertainties in the policy area that have stalled investment into Nigeria's valuable power sector will be addressed. We will urgently address through policy, the issues of power sector asset ownership and structure, provide long term stability in the tariff structure, and better integrate industry stakeholders such as generator distributors and oil marketers with significant sales of fuels for private power generation into the power sector's growth plans.

### Mitigate exposure of power sector to pipeline vandalization

Nigeria's current power sector strategy is hinged on the use of natural gas. Natural gas is produced exclusively in the southern parts of Nigeria and transported via an extensive network of pipeline trunks to power generation facilities across the country. A single act of vandalism can compromise an entire trunk causing all the facilities that rely on that trunk to be unable to function until the pipeline is repaired.

While the government will continue to ensure that all the pipeline assets are secure, the vulnerability of our existing gas fired assets to pipeline vandalization will be mitigated by building a strategic virtual pipeline comprising of trailers and rail cars, that will transport LNG via truck or rail to power generation facilities across the country.





# INFRASTRUCTURE

Economic growth is facilitated and enabled by robust infrastructure. A well functioning and growing economy must have good roads and well functioning airports and sea ports for the transport of goods and people. An efficient rail system allows for the rapid transport of heavy goods and raw materials. A modern nation must have housing for its people and drinking water and sewage treatment plants that will ensure that citizens have access to clean water in their homes and a pollution free environment.

Infrastructural development is a key plank of our national development plan. Over the first four years of our government we aim to implement a program that will double Nigeria's rail and road infrastructure. The cost of our ambitious infrastructure development programs is estimated to be about \$485 Billion over four years.

<sup>1</sup>It is assumed that about 10.5 per cent of the project costs go to labor ,and that the average project duration is about 2 years.

Key elements of this infrastructure plan are itemised in Table 2

	Current	2019-2023 Programs	Total	Cost (\$ Billion)	Job Potential
Road (km)	202,000.00	202,000.00	404,000.00	282.80	2,078,580.00
Rail (km)	3,557.00	3,557.00	7,114.00	71.14	522,879.00
Housing (million Units)		17		97.14	714,000.00
Sewage (Million Gallons/day)		1,347.42		13.47	99,035.67
Drinking Water (Million Gallons Per Day)		2,021.14		20.21	148,553.50
<b>Total Infrastructure Costs</b>				<b>484.77</b>	<b>3,563,048.17</b>

Table 2: Infrastructure development and spending<sup>1</sup>.

## Road Infrastructure

Nigeria currently has about 202,000 km of road network. This translates to about 0.57 km of roads per sq. mile of land mass. When our road infrastructure is compared to a relevant developmental peer such as South Africa which has a road network of about 1.59 km per sq. mile, the gross inadequacy of our infrastructure is laid bare.

It is the goal of our government to double Nigeria's road infrastructure within four years. The associated costs will be about \$283 Billion, at an assumed cost of \$1.4 million per Km. Although prior construction costs for most Nigerian roads have been higher than the benchmark value we are using (see Table 3), we are convinced that this inflation adjusted cost, can be met with the judicious use of funds, the elimination of corruption and graft in the award of contracts, and the diligent management of projects.

Priority will be given to road projects that enhance commerce, link farms to markets and facilitate the seamless and timely movement of persons and goods across Nigeria. We will emphasise the creation of dual carriage ways that will enhance safety and expand the capacity to use roads for supporting trade and commerce. Our infrastructure development program will strongly emphasise inter – regional connectivity.

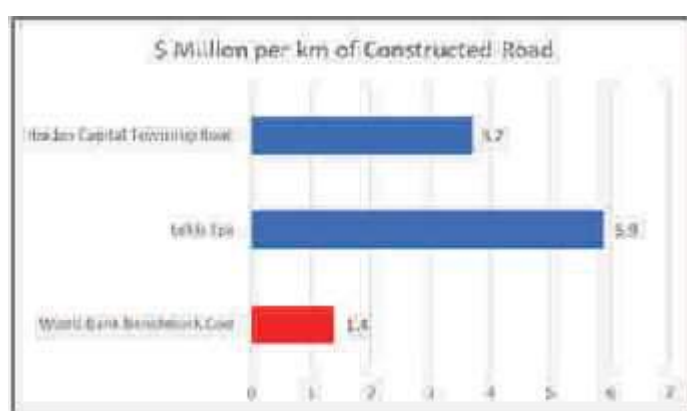


Table 3: Road construction costs. World Bank benchmark vs two Nigerian road construction projects

<sup>1</sup><http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTROADSHIGHWAYS/Resources/338993-1122496826968/kmcosts.pdf>

<sup>2</sup><http://www.roadsevolution.com/news-and-media/media-centre/news/item/in-nigeria-a-kilometre-of-road-costs-n1bn-against-world-bank-s-n238m-benchmark>

## Rail Infrastructure

Nigeria currently has about 3,557 km of rail network. This translates to about 0.01 km of rail infrastructure per sq. mile of land mass. When our road infrastructure is compared to a relevant developmental peer such as South Africa, which has 0.04 km per sq. mile for South Africa – four times what we have, the gross inadequacy of our rail infrastructure is laid bare. It is the goal of our government to double Nigeria's rail infrastructure within four years.

The associated costs will be about \$71 Billion, at an assumed cost of \$20 million per Km. Priority will be given to rail projects that enhance commerce, link farms to markets and facilitate the ready movements of persons and goods across Nigeria.

## Housing

Nigeria has a housing deficit of about 17 million units. Affordable housing units at an average cost of N2 Million each will be built across the country to close this gap. Mortgage terms of 20 years at no more than a 10 per cent rate will be offered to enrollees.

Fair and equitable methods will be used for the selection of enrollees and participants. Average annual payments for the N2 Million units will be affordable and will range from about N211k to N235k per annum depending on whether a 10 per cent deposit is provided or not.

We estimate that this massive building project will cover as much as 8.5 million acres across the country, with an estimated market value of about N1.275 Trillion (\$3.64 Billion). The \$3.64 Billion value of the land for construction will be provided as seed investment by the government and used to capitalize an investment fund that all Nigerians can invest in. Our housing sector programs will be enabled by government but driven by partnerships between the private and public sectors.

A broad range of financing options such as Bonds, exchange floated Real Estate Investment Trusts (REIT) and privately held Private Public Partnerships will be explored for the financing of the housing program.

## Sanitation – Drinking Water & Sewage Treatment

Nigeria continues to lag in its ability to provide clean drinking water and sewage treatment facilities to its people. Today, only 61 per cent of Nigeria's inhabitants have access to clean drinking water, and less than one third have access to improved sanitation facilities. The result has been the exposure of Nigerians to diseases such as cholera, diarrhea, dysentery and other ailments that are linked to the absence of clean water, sanitation and hygienic conditions.

In our first four years, we aim to provide drinking water to an additional 30 per cent of Nigerians, and sewage treatment to 20 per cent of Nigerians. At an assumed per capita water usage rate of about 40 gallons per day, we estimate that 1,347 Million gallons per day of sewage capacity and 2,021 Million gallons per day of drinking water capacity would be required.

<sup>4</sup>[www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2014/07/10/cost-of-high-speed-rail-in-china-one-third-lower-than-in-other-countries](http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2014/07/10/cost-of-high-speed-rail-in-china-one-third-lower-than-in-other-countries)

<sup>5</sup><https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2017/09/27/osinbajo-nigerias-housing-deficit-too-high-unacceptable/>





# CORRUPTION & PUBLIC SECTOR REFORMS

Corruption is a cancer that has eaten away at the moral core of the Nigerian nation. Politicians and civil servants have turned Nigeria's common wealth into their private coffers. Like a ravaging virus, corruption has spread across every facet of national life. Justice is sold to the highest bidder. Civil servants will not perform their statutory responsibilities unless mobilized with a bribe. Policemen brazenly demand for payments from citizens. For a fee, some teachers will make examination papers available to their students.

Money intended for healthcare centers, road projects, new schools and safer streets is being cornered by a few. Left unchecked, corruption will stifle and kill off all that is good, moral and just about us as a people. For Nigeria to survive, corruption must die.

The strategy for eradicating corruption will involve the following steps:

- Leverage technology to fight corruption and to allow anti-corruption agencies to function in an unfettered manner

- Provide support to the whistle-blower program and expand it beyond just being utilized in EFCC prosecutions, to cover utilization of resources in all public service parastatals
- Pay a living wage to government workers to mitigate the temptation for corruption
- Reform the judicial process
- Vigorously enforce every law on the books aimed at eradicating corruption and aggressive partnering with foreign governments to close off all foreign safe havens for corrupt proceeds

### Using Technology to Fight Corruption

We will utilize a technology aided preventative approach to fighting corruption. We will work to build processes and systems that will close the loopholes that enable corruption and enhance the methods that can be used to effectively curb corrupt practices. We will promote transparency in all government procurement. Our government will immediately commission through an open innovation competition, the development of two technology applications that can be downloaded to cell phones as tools to be used in the fight against corruption. These tools will be used in the following ways:

1. Procurement monitoring: Every company that does business with federal, state and local governments will be identified, and the size of every contract allocated to them will be stated. All of the companies' details with the corporate affairs commission will also be uploaded to the site and viewable by all Nigerians with the aid of the APP. Nigerians will be able to track specific contracts, report those with conflicts of interest, identify who was awarded specific government contracts, search for the names of specific individuals and see what companies they are linked with.
2. Whistleblowing to curb corruption, terrorism and kidnapping: We will enhance whistleblowing as a tool for curbing corruption by supporting the creation of an APP that can also be downloaded to cell phones and can be used to provide tips and information on corrupt practices.

This should make it easy to provide information to law enforcement and anti corruption agencies. It will also ensure that there is transparency and visibility in the manner that tips are accessed. We will track the conversion from tip receipt to verification and prosecution, and law enforcement officers will be assessed based on the timeliness and effectiveness of their responses. The APP will also allow for citizens who have suspicions about possible terroristic inclinations of specific individuals or are suspicious that particular homes are being used as a haven by kidnappers, to anonymously identify such individuals, homes and locations, triggering law enforcement action.

The APP will allow whistleblowers to establish an encrypted and anonymized means for providing information on corrupt individuals. They will be able to utilize the tool to access a database of elected and appointed officials as well as civil servants and upload any evidence they have about their corrupt activities to a centralized national intelligence database, e.g., taking pictures of files, account statements, etc. that are used in facilitating corrupt and illegal activities.

### Pay a living wage

A living wage is critical for ensuring that those who work in the public sector are shielded from the temptations of corruption. It is unreasonable to expect that people who cannot afford to put a roof over their own heads, place food on the table for their families or afford to send their children to school, will be expected to guard against corruption. We will ensure that a living wage is paid to all federal civil servants, the overwhelming majority of whom earn less than N100,000 per month. We must professionalize the civil service and make it an attractive destination for our best students and job seekers. As we work to improve the conditions of service we will require in turn that those who serve in the civil service do the work they are employed to do. Laziness, and dereliction of duty will not be tolerated and will be addressed vigorously.

### Pay Youth Corpers a Living Wage

Since its inception, the national youth service scheme has been a significant unifying force in Nigeria. Millions of young Nigerians have participated in this scheme, and many communities across the country continue to rely on the NYSC for their supply of doctors, engineers and teachers. Nigeria currently mobilizes about 300,000 corpers per year.

In addition to the roles that they play as stop gap teachers, medical personnel and community workers, youth corpers are also routinely pressed into service as electoral officers, supporting the registration of voters and the conduct of elections.

Despite the many ways in which they serve the nation and support the communities to which they are posted, our nation's youth corpers are paid just N19,800 per month as allowances by the Federal Government. Although some states provide supplemental payments to corpers, this practice is not uniform.

Our government will increase the payments to youth corpers to N100,000 per month. This will lead to an increase in the government's annual wage bill to corpers of \$825million (or N289Billion)

### Pay Workers a Living Wage

For too long the Nigerian worker has been left behind. While elected officials and senior civil servants have rewarded themselves with generous allowances, the Nigerian worker has been given nothing but platitudes. Almost 75 per cent of Nigeria's federal servants earn less than N100,000 per month.

The average Nigerian household comprises of about five people – a father, mother and three children. A fair and living wage must allow for a conscientious worker to meet the basic needs of their family – clothes, housing and food, while also allowing the children to attend school, and allowing the family to have reasonable access to good healthcare.

We believe that a major factor that enables corruption and creates a culture that is tolerant of that social malaise is the payment of starvation wages to workers. To effectively fight corruption, it is essential that every obvious contributory factor to the tolerance for corruption is addressed.

While recession and inflationary pressures have significantly reduced the purchasing power of the Nigerian worker, few, if any real changes have been made to their wages. The minimum wage (amendment) act of 2011 raised the minimum wage to N18,000 per month. Our government will move to raise the minimum wage paid to Federal Workers to N100,000 per month.

About 70 per cent of Nigeria's 900,000 Federal Civil Servants would potentially be impacted by this proposed revision to the wage structure. Currently, about N1.64 Trillion is spent annually on wages and allowances for Federal Civil Servants. This comes to a cost of about N2 million per worker. The table below outlines some typical salary structures for Nigerian civil servants based on their Grade Levels in a Federal Government parastatal. As can be seen, a GL 17 Officer earns almost 1,840 per cent of what an entry level official in the service takes home (see Table 4).

	Monthly (N)	Deficit (N/Month)	% workers
GL01_CONPSS	20,141.42	79,858.58	0.15%
GL02_CONPSS	21,648.18	78,351.82	0.15%
GL03_CONPSS	23,154.94	76,845.06	0.20%
GL04_CONPSS	25,282.86	74,717.14	0.37%
GL05_CONPSS	27,622.29	72,377.71	0.37%
GL06_CONPSS	37,653.33	62,346.67	1.50%
GL07_CONPSS	51,483.53	48,516.47	19.10%
GL08_CONPSS	60,556.40	39,443.60	25.87%
GL09_CONPSS	72,084.93	27,915.07	13.92%
GL10_CONPSS	85,004.85	14,995.15	8.35%
GL11_CONPSS	92,181.99	7,818.01	9.71%
GL12_CONPSS	99,359.12	640.88	11.07%
GL13_CONPSS	115,741.44	-	5.38%
GL14_CONPSS	129,112.44	-	3.44%
GL15_CONPSS	174,856.48	-	0.20%
GL16_CONPSS	227,045.75	-	0.10%
GL17_CONPSS	388,275.08	-	0.15%

Table4: Wage Structure in a Federal Parastatal with Estimated Deficits that Government will Pay if N100k/month minimum wage is applied. This does not show adjustments for relativity across pay scales

Our best estimates at the current time are that the incremental wage liability for the Federal Government will cost at least N490 Billion (\$1.4 Billion) to close the deficit, as well as provide step increases across the board so that a reasonable wage difference continues to exist between Grade Levels and the principle of relativity across pay scales is maintained.

### Legal Reforms – Ensuring Equity in the Administration of Justice

For too long Nigeria's judicial process has failed to work for the Nigerian people. Justice – which should be the objective refuge of the common people has become the exclusive preserve of the

rich and the wealthy.

Our movement believes that the judicial process should work for all Nigerians regardless of their wealth status or their ethnic and religious leanings. Nigeria's detention centers and prisons are filled with people whose cases have been dragging on for months and in some cases even years.

Two major legal reforms will be instituted by our government, with the goal of ensuring that

- 1) Justice is served without fear or favor and
- 2) Justice is dispensed in a timely manner.

The reforms that will be instituted will strengthen the oversight of the judicial sector, rewarding those who dispense justice and judgments fairly, and punish those who bring dishonor and disrepute to the bench.

The reforms will include:

- Formation of Legal Review Units: These units will be established within every national assembly district. They will work with the police and be empowered to review all fresh cases of arrests, and provide recommendations to magistrates, in open court or via CCTV, to allow for hearings to be held within 24-48 hours.
- Public Defender Initiative: Too many Nigerians languish in jail because of the lack of funds to procure legal representation. A cadre of public defenders will be hired, whose job will be to provide legal representation to those who otherwise cannot afford to pay for the service
- Increase in the number of judges and magistrates: More resources will be provided to ensure that there is an adequate number of judges and magistrates across the country.





# ECONOMIC GROWTH

Nigeria is a rich and blessed nation. However, our economy has not performed at a level that is commensurate with the energy and abilities of our people. Businesses must not only find resources to provide the products and service that they offer to the market, but they must also generate their own electric power, and in many cases, find and treat their own water and dispose their own sewage.

There are three (3) major planks of economic growth that we will focus on:

- Leveraging Technology for growth
- Promoting Small Businesses
- Strengthening the Manufacturing sector

## Leveraging Technology for Growth

Modern economies rely on technology. Nigeria must exit its commodity driven economy and enter the modern technology economy. Nigeria will become a globally acclaimed center for applications and software development, outsourced back office support and data management services

We will support the emergence of globally relevant software and ICT technology markets in Nigeria. Nigeria will be positioned as the next hub for Applications development and technology support services. Our power sector plan will identify industrial and technology hubs that will be the priority areas for our decentralized power plan. These areas will also be extensively resourced with resources to ensure 24/7 connectivity with the rest of the world.

One technology hub will be created in each of the geopolitical zones. These hubs will provide highly subsidized rents to ICT firms and encourage the emergence of creativity ecosystems. The location of the hubs in each zone will be selected based on where the institution(s) likely to be the primary providers of talent (e.g., ICT focused universities and tertiary institutions) are located.

### Promoting Small Businesses

Small businesses are the engine for economic growth. We define small businesses as those enterprises that employ less than 50 people and believe that such companies will provide the primary mode of employment for most Nigerians.

Our government will promote small business enterprises through:

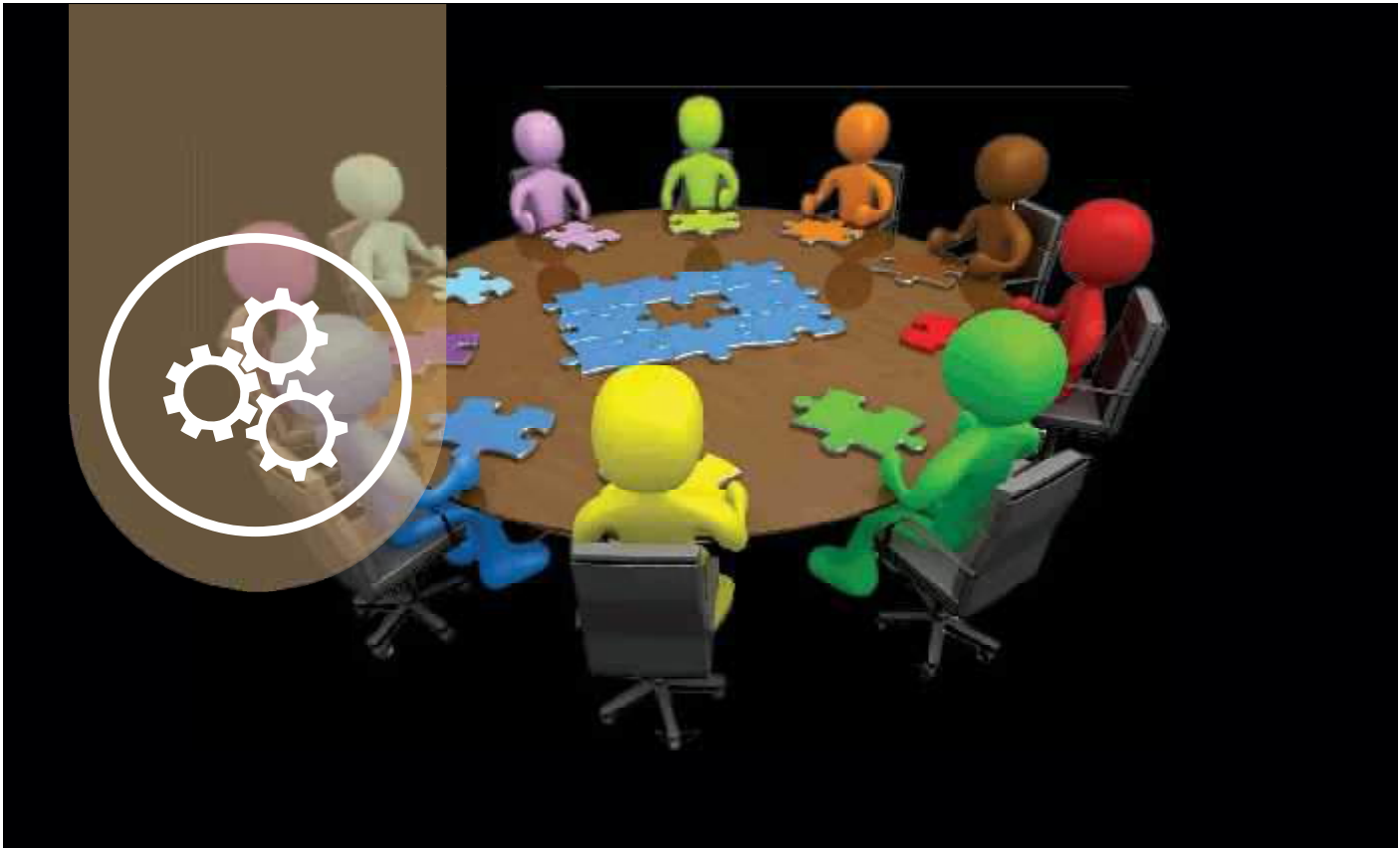
- 1) Provision of affordable loans
- 2) Development of a small business innovation fund that will provide up to N 1Million in non-dilutive equity funding for breakthrough ideas
- 3) Provision of training for small businesses through partnerships with business schools and the establishment of mentorship programs
- 4) Creation of a new Bureau for Small Business Enterprises to be charged with the task of driving the growth of small business enterprises
- 5) Support of small business enterprises through tax breaks and other incentives

### Strengthening the Manufacturing Sector

Nigeria's manufacturing sector is in shambles. A viable manufacturing sector cannot exist without solid infrastructure – good rail, road and inland waterway networks - that will facilitate the movement of raw materials, goods and persons.

Manufacturing thrives on stable power availability. In most manufacturing enterprises, power is a major input into the production process. While Nigerian manufacturers have to generate their own power at costs that approach \$0.10-\$0.20/kWh, their counterparts in China and South Africa can access reliable power at about \$0.05 /kWh or less. This implies that even before the goods are manufactured, the Nigerian manufacturer is at a great disadvantage compared to his global peers.

Local manufacturing will never grow in an environment where comparatively strong local manufacturing isn't protected through sensible policy initiatives from stronger external market sources for the same products. While we will encourage Continental and Global Agreements that promote trade across nations, we will ensure that the Nigerian manufacturer and the Nigerian economy get a fair deal out of any trans national trade agreements.



# RESTRUCTURING

Restructuring is an issue that many Nigerians are passionate about. To love something is to seek to make it better. Those who fear restructuring, are concerned that it will be a prelude to the dismemberment of the Nigerian nation. However, it is our fervent belief that majority of those who seek changes made to the structural make up of our nation, do not seek Nigeria's end, but its strengthening. They want to see fairness and equity for all Nigerians.

We can all agree that a truly Federal system of government works for Nigeria. What has been in contention are questions regarding the role that the various levers of government – Federal, State and Local Authorities – should play in a true Federation.

We cannot gloss over the fact that there are also many deep concerns about the structure of a Federation that has many states, some of which are non-viable. Many states have resources that remain untapped because the key to unlocking and tapping these resources is tied to the federal government, and therefore they suffer because the center is dysfunctional. While others might be too small to ever be able to stand on their own economically.



True restructuring should unfetter the states and allow them to flourish at their own pace. True restructuring should allow states to unlock the value of their own resources by themselves. However, true restructuring must also ensure that governance at the state and local government levels are not run like the private businesses of individuals, who unfettered from the oversight of the central government, do as they please.

How do we enable a restructuring that strengthens the states economically? How do we ensure that small and medium scale business enterprises are unleashed across the land, and that free enterprise and economic growth is not bridled by ineptitude at the local level?

Restructuring must eliminate the factors that slow down economic growth in states and put up barriers to development. It must also instill and strengthen structures that allow the central government to effectively channel resources and information about investment opportunities to appropriate agencies and institutions in various parts of the country.

With more power must come greater responsibility. The federating units – the states - must cut their coats according to their cloth. They must strive towards viability. As more power is devolved to the states, their responsibilities will and must also increase. States cannot be allowed to borrow indiscriminately. Their budgets must be balanced. They must prioritize education, and their taxes must not be onerous. The short sightedness or cynicism of transient governments must not be allowed to damage the future of the states. e.g., an excessive level of taxation which will drive businesses away, cannot be allowed, even though it might net Internally Generated Revenue (IGR) gains in the short run. These questions must be comprehensively addressed as we move towards true federalism.

We believe many of the problems that Nigerians worry about can and should be addressed with a constitutional review initiative. Our government commits itself to the rapid formation of a constitutional review initiative that will analyze all the prior work done by the numerous constitutional conferences that have been held over the last 30 years, harmonize positions, and put the question of restructuring before the Nigerian people in a referendum. For far too long, the political class has played games with the question of restructuring. Far too many people have used the question of restructuring as political leverage, exploiting the emotive responses it garners as a tool for winning elections, or gaining concessions from the federal government.

We commit to putting the question of restructuring before the Nigerian people in a referendum to be held within our first year in office.

The following are some of the key questions that will be addressed in the referendum:

1. Determine what it means to be a true Federation. We must address issues such as the extent of devolution of powers desired by Nigerians, the responsibilities for governance that will reside at each level of governance, and the oversight functions that the Federal government will have in ensuring that the quality of governance does not suffer at the local level

2. What security powers and functions should reside at the Federal, State and Local Government level? Should states and local governments have their own police force and paramilitary units?
3. Should more of the responsibility for development be passed on to local authorities that are closest to the issues and the people? What is the appropriate level of oversight and monitoring from the state and federal authorities, that should occur to ensure that local authorities do not abdicate their responsibilities without accountability for their failures?
4. What rights and controls should states have over the resources that they are blessed with?
5. What type of legislative systems should we have in Nigeria? Does our bloated bicameral national assembly need reform?
6. Should Nigeria adopt a regional six zone geopolitical structure as the basis for the federating units?

These are germane and legitimate issues that can and must be addressed if Nigeria is to make progress. I commit to instituting a constitutional review effort that will lead to the emergence of a true people's constitution.



# HEALTHCARE

Nigeria's healthcare system is in shambles. Hospitals are poorly equipped. There is a chronic shortage of health care personnel across the country. Even our elected leaders do not trust their own health and well being to the Nigerian health care system.

Maternal, child and infant mortality levels are all unacceptably high. Life expectancy for Nigerians continues to be unacceptably low and amongst the lowest in the world. The Health Architecture in Nigeria is epileptic at best. Failed hospitals and limited resources plague the sector.

Health care access is unavailable for most Nigerians. Too many of our citizens cannot afford to go to hospital until the pains they feel become unbearable, and sadly by then, it could be too late to cure them. Even when they can afford to pay for health care, there is a significant dearth of hospitals and personnel, especially at the rural level.

While there are pockets of innovation and brilliance, the Nigerian healthcare system has

effectively failed its people. Health is wealth. Health is strength. As health outcomes improve, Gross Domestic Product (GDP) increases. Healthy workers are more productive workers. Healthy students are better learners. Healthy citizens live longer and contribute more to their societies. This has been the trend in the last 100 years in most developed countries. The current decay of our health system is an enabler of poverty.

The goals of our health care policy would be to enhance access and Improve quality. The impact of an urgent injection of life into the health system will lead to measurable improved outcomes. The focus areas of our government's health care policies will be:

- 1) **Improve healthcare access:** The distribution of, and access to health care resources is lopsided. The few doctors and medical resources that we have are concentrated in the urban areas. Primary Healthcare Centers (PHCs) where most of our rural populations access their health care tend to be grossly underserved and under resourced. As a matter of National Urgency our government will immediately deploy 160,000 new primary health care workers across Nigeria's 774 local government areas. This will ensure that each LGA has at least about 207 new primary health care personnel.
- 2) **Close the gap in the quality of healthcare:** Currently, the Federal Government has jurisdiction over the tertiary health care centres, expending a significant portion of the national Health budget on a few institutions and centers. The balance of the funding for healthcare is administered by individual states, in widely varying forms, causing a wide variation in the quality of care. We will set minimum resource standards at the state and local levels and ensure that these requirements are used as a basis for deploying resources and benchmarking performance across the entire sector
- 3) **Improving Healthcare financing:** Healthcare financing must be urgently reviewed, and the private and religious sector must play a more significant role. In addition to finding a greater role for public – private – partnerships (PPP), we will evaluate the following additional means for funding healthcare based on contributions from the private sector and religious organizations.
- 4) **Drive towards Universal Healthcare by 2020 by enrolling all Nigerians in NHIS in 2019:** Healthcare by 2020 as proposed in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) is currently unachievable at the pace that current and past governments have grown health care access in Nigeria. Currently only about 30 million of Nigeria's 170 million peoples are covered by health insurance of one form or the other. About 7 million of these are people that are covered through Federal and State health insurance schemes for civil servants and their families. While the balance is mostly based on individual and private sector driven enrollments. Private, out of pocket health spend accounts for 74 per cent of all health expenditure in Nigeria, sometimes sending families into poverty. Health insurance is the only way to shield families from poverty, while also promoting health care access. Health Insurance allows individuals to pay some amounts of money into the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS) with the potential to access up to 10-25 times the



amounts that are paid as fees in medical care and access costs. We propose that, using contributions from the private sector and religious organizations, a minimum capitation fee of N2,000 will be used to enrol the balance of 140 million Nigerians not currently covered by NHIS. The coverage will be basic, but it will be a start and we will strive to improve the level of coverage over time.

- 5) **Reform the National Health Insurance Scheme:** The National Health Insurance scheme is not fit for purpose as it pays healthcare providers very little for services rendered. Many private hospitals decline to accept patients on NHIS. Working with all stakeholders in the health care sector we will institute urgent reforms that will assure high quality access to enrollees and ensure that providers are fairly rewarded for all services rendered.
- 6) **Enhance Primary Healthcare Training:** The primary healthcare centres (PHCs) should be the place to access all basic healthcare needs. Unfortunately, they are manned by low skilled and poorly trained workers. As a result, Secondary and Tertiary hospitals are burdened by uncomplicated ailments which should be managed in a robust primary care system. The lack of effective Primary care further complicates the disease profile as late presentation is the norm. We will urgently review the Family Health curriculum and set minimum certification requirements that will ensure that no private clinic should be providing primary care without their personnel being rigorously trained first. All of the 160,000 new primary health care workers that will be hired will also be provided this basic training.
- 7) **Electronic Health records:** Nigeria is data poor and this is partly due to the use of the old system of paper records across most government health institution. We propose that all health institutions are paper-free by 2025. All participants in the NHIS will be required to utilize electronic health management systems
- 8) **Enhance quality of Medical Training:** We must bring our teaching hospitals to international standards. High minimum health delivery standards must be established, and training must cover functional medical skills and ethical matters.
- 9) **Rapidly address maternal and child mortality:** Nigeria continues to have unacceptably high levels of poor maternal health outcomes and high infant and child mortality rates. There is an urgent need to improve maternal healthcare as well as Infant and child mortality rates. Because a significant amount of maternal health care delivery occurs at the PHC level, a significant effort will be expended by our government towards providing robust training at the PHC level to shore up the capabilities and skills of our front-line health care workers.





# EDUCATION

Nigeria's educational system is in crisis. Public schools have been diminished and many of our universities and tertiary institutions are places where functional illiterates are trained. Far too many Nigerian children are out of school. Nigeria's once illustrious and accomplished public school system is now a shadow of its former self. Schools are grossly underfunded. Whatever little funding exists is very often not judiciously utilized.

Enrollment rates at the primary school level remain relatively low at about 64 per cent compared to a global average of about 89 per cent. The youth literacy rate in Nigeria continues to be low and shows a disturbing gender trend with about 76 per cent for males and 58 per cent for females. The global average is about 94 per cent.

On paper, a number of laudable initiatives have been instituted. For instance, the Universal Basic Education program was instituted in 1999 and backed by law with the National Policy on Education (2004). The program is intended to provide free primary and secondary education for all Nigerians and expands the role of local authorities in the delivery of

education. Yet, Nigeria continues to rank poorly on most metrics that track progress within the education sector. Millions of Nigeria's children still remain out of school. The expectations that the enhanced involvement of local authorities in the delivery of basic education would allow for more resources to reach areas where they are most needed has not materialized. Schools remain terribly under-resourced, and the resulting effect has been a worsening of educational outcomes at all levels.

Nigeria must educate all of its children. There is a clear correlation between the opportunities that are available to people to realize their full potential and their educational exposure and attainments. We are concerned that in the north, millions of children, the almajirai, receive no formal education at all. If this is allowed to continue, we would have disadvantaged large numbers of our children from having a decent chance at being competitive in the Nigeria of the future, with dire consequences for them and for our nation.

Vocational schools have all but disappeared. And it is increasingly the case that businesses that are seeking solid technical skills will have to look beyond Nigeria to neighboring countries for decently skilled technical labor.

At the tertiary level, the quality of graduates remains unacceptably poor. In several states, tertiary institutions have been closed for extended periods of time, due to funding issues. The lack of resources and the incessant closures have taken a toll. Far too many of Nigeria's students graduate without the requisite skills needed to make meaningful contributions in work places. Education cannot be an afterthought. It cannot be an item that is funded out of convenience. Extended tertiary school closures and the rampant diversion of funding from schools to other areas during budgetary shortfalls, cannot be allowed to continue in a nation that is serious about development.

Our government's educational sector programs will address the following:

- 1) Aim for full enrollment for all children at the primary and secondary school level
- 2) Integrate almajirai institutions into the mainstream educational system
- 3) Assure sufficient and adequate funding for schools
- 4) Restore high standards in the educational system through the strict enforcement of inspectorate oversight and national performance benchmarks for students and teaching staff
- 5) Invest in research & development and utilize universities and other tertiary institutions for driving economic growth through innovation
- 6) Restore vocational training and instructional institutions to provide required technical skills for a growing economy as well as to offer a viable alternative career path for our youth and children

<sup>7</sup>[https://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/nigeria\\_statistics.html](https://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/nigeria_statistics.html)



# AGRICULTURE

Prior to the discovery of oil, agriculture was the mainstay of Nigeria's economy. Our nation was once renowned for its groundnut pyramids, as well as for its remarkable output of cocoa and oil palm. Sadly, those times have long gone and we are reminded of that once productive period only through pictures in social studies text books and on currency notes.

Our government will focus on attaining self sufficiency in food production through the support for and development of widescale commercial agriculture.

## Strategic goals for agriculture sector policy

Our agricultural policy will have three strategic goals:

- a) Create employment opportunities
- b) Promote and boost the production of agricultural produce as a major foreign income earner and
- c) Enhance food security

## Policy focus areas

- 1) Provide access to factors of production at affordable rates: Farmers and other players in the agricultural sector struggle to access affordable loans. We will facilitate access to affordable loans and review the existing land use laws to ease the use of farmed government owned lands as collateral for loans
- 2) Leverage the Federal Government's bargaining power to enable access to preferential purchase terms from agricultural equipment and product suppliers: We will ensure that participants in the agricultural sector will continue to find access to capital. We will promote the dissemination of information about available opportunities and provide institutional support structures that will guide the deployment of the capital provided towards the most effective usage e.g., the creation of a matching program that will pair farmers wishing to take loans to purchase products and equipment such as tractors, fertilizers, etc., to suppliers that will provide them with such desired assets at preferential rates. This will ensure that funds are used for what they are intended, and enable farmers to access the best terms possible from suppliers
- 3) Strengthen extension services: A virile agricultural sector relies on a network of strong extension services allied with agricultural educational institutions and targeted research institutions and organizations that develop advanced methods for cultivating crops and animals and bring such knowledge to the attention of farmers and other players in the agricultural sector. We will strengthen funding for agricultural research and extension support through existing agricultural research centers and agricultural departments in tertiary institutions. We will also extensively leverage technology to ensure that farmers receive timely and relevant information for enhancing crop production and output.
- 4) Create a platform for Agricultural Entrepreneurs to Emerge: We will provide training and access to start up funds for 1,000 agricultural entrepreneurs in each of Nigeria's 774 local government areas thereby creating 774,000 new agricultural jobs. We have projected that the training of these individuals will cost about N50,000 per person. They will also be paid N50,000 per month for the first year after they graduate from the training course, while their businesses take off. These seed monies will be repaid by them from the proceeds of their endeavors.
- 5) Create a platform to facilitate market access for Farmers: We will enable the creation of supply and logistic networks that will ensure that farmers have access to local and foreign markets in a timely fashion. This will include the creation of marketing boards that will facilitate the establishment of trading networks and futures markets for agricultural produce in Nigeria.
- 6) Leverage infrastructural plan to support the emergence of a strong agricultural sector: Our infrastructural plan is intended to support the emergence of a strong agricultural economy. New road and rail networks will ease the movement of agricultural produce and stable power will allow the maintenance of cold chains that will minimize spoilage
- 7) Guarantee access to fertilizer products: Access to fertilizers has become a politicized issue in Nigeria. We will work to remove every restriction to the free and unfettered access to fertilizer organic and inorganic fertilizer products in Nigeria.





# TOURISM & CULTURE

Nigeria's greatest asset is the diversity of its lands and peoples. With over 150 individual and unique ethnic groups, Nigeria has a diversity of cultures that is unrivalled anywhere in the world. Nigeria's sons and daughters continue to be trail blazers in music, film, literature and fine arts. Already, Nigeria's film industry is one of the most prolific and creative globally.

Nigeria's musicians continue to be great ambassadors of the rich and unique musical traditions of the Nigerian people. Entire genres of music like Afrobeat and highlife owe their emergence to the ingenuity and creativity of Nigerians.

Nigeria also has a massive diaspora community – not just comprising of people who have left the nation within the last 58 years (native diaspora), since independence, but also our brothers and sisters who were forcibly removed from our shores during the Trans-Saharan and Trans – Atlantic slave trade (ethnic diaspora). Although the ethnic diaspora have been separated from us for hundreds of years, new tools such as DNA analysis is allowing them to discover their cultural and ethnic affinities to Nigeria.



Our Tourism and Culture policies will leverage the large cultural footprint that Nigeria has, and tap into its massive native and ethnic diaspora communities to promote the growth of a strong and virile tourism sector.

Our Tourism and Culture policies will address the following:

1. Support the growth of cultural and artistic projects through generous Public and Private sector supported endowments in arts & culture
2. Promote tourism by working to provide a global outlook for existing cultural celebrations such as Argungu Fishing Festival, Calabar Carnival, Lagos Carnival, Durbar, Iri Ji (New Yam Festival), etc.
3. Providing the security support needed for a tourism enterprise and facilitating the creation of Tourist resorts and dedicated tourism villages that will facilitate the secure, rapid and sustainable growth of a tourism and culture industry
4. Establish annual selections for Poet Laureate, Arts Laureate, Film Laureate and Cultural Laureate to enhance the visibility and prestige of arts & culture in national life
5. Provide lasting connections to Nigeria for members of the ethnic diaspora – e.g., through visa free access to Nigeria for citizens of EU, US and South American nations that have validated DNA evidence confirming that they have significant ethnic affinities to Nigerian communities.

### Job Creation & Funding Requirements

The previous sections of this document have provided a clear outline of what we aim to achieve in each of the sectors that have been addressed. Our plans will lead to the creation of about five million new jobs over a four year time frame. This will grow the ranks of employed persons in Nigeria and mark a substantial reduction in the number of unemployed Nigerians, and help fuel reductions from Nigeria's currently elevated unemployment rate of about 18 per cent out of a workforce of 84 million.

However, implementing those plans will require about \$500 Billion in spending. Furthermore, the implementation of these new programs will add \$1.55 Billion in recurrent expenditure to the Federal Government's wage bill (see Table 5).

ECONOMIC GROWTH PROGRAM - JOBS and PROJECTED COSTS			
	Jobs Created	Wages Annual (\$ Bn)	Capital (\$ Billion)
Road Infrastructure	2,078,600.00		282.80
Rail Infrastructure	522,900.00		71.14
Housing	714,000.00		97.14
Sewage	99,100.00		13.47
Drinking Water	148,600.00		20.21
Teachers	200,000.00	0.69	0.03
Primary Health Care Workers	160,000.00	0.55	0.02
Cattle Ranching	250,000.00	0.31	2.29
Agricultural Empowerment Program	774,000.00		2.11
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,947,200.00</b>	<b>1.55</b>	<b>489.22</b>

Table 5: Summary of Jobs created, Operating expense (recurrent expenditure) and Capital expense required for program implementation

## Boosting Government Revenue

Our agenda for growth is big and ambitious, yet practical and achievable. For Nigeria to be set on the path to growth and prosperity, we must make vital investments in our people and in infrastructure.

How can a nation that has maintained an annual budget of under \$40 Billion for the last two decades, begin to contemplate doubling its road and rail infrastructure, rolling out millions of new affordable housing units, supporting the establishment of cattle ranches, supporting small businesses and building drinking and sewage treatment plants at a cost of almost \$500 Billion?

In addition to the expansion of the wage bill by \$1.55 Billion based on the new projects, we have also made a commitment to pay youth corpsers and federal civil servants more money – a commitment that will lead to about \$1.7 Billion increment in the annual wage bill. Nigerians will be justified in asking where we expect to obtain the \$3.25 Billion in new wages that our plans call for, or the \$500 Billion in capital expenditures needed to actualize our programs.

We will fund our programs in three major ways:

1. Closing leakages of about \$5-6 Billion per year due to corruption. It has been estimated that Nigeria loses about \$5-6 Billion per year to corruption. Closing leakages from corruption and empowering the anti-corruption agencies to function in an unfettered manner will help to provide monies that can be deployed towards servicing the \$3.25 Billion incremental wage bill
2. Boosting Revenues from six per cent to 15 per cent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP): Our strategy for obtaining the funds that will be used to finance the government's people-oriented programs go beyond a reliance on recoveries from anti-corruption activities. The collection of taxes will be a major means by which our Government will fund its people-oriented programs. We estimate that we will be able to raise tax revenues from about \$25 Billion currently to almost \$76 billion by 2022.
3. Leverage Public Private Partnerships (PPP): Public Private Partnerships are a great way to finance infrastructure development. Using this model of financing, private sector players fund government programs in return for long term concessionary rights to manage those assets. For instance, a private entity might fund a road construction project and in return obtain rights to manage the road and collect tolls that will pay down the investment that they (the private entity) placed in the project, as well as provide the funds needed to maintain the asset. Naturally, private entities participate in such projects because they are interested in finding opportunities for investments that will yield a healthy return. Governments on the other hand utilize such arrangements to fund projects that they would otherwise not be able to afford. A good PPP arrangement allows investors to make reasonable returns, while allowing governments ensure that their citizens can enjoy world class infrastructure, without being overly burdened with unjustifiably high tolls and fees. Nations like Brazil, China, India, South Africa, and the USA have utilized PPP arrangements for funding infrastructural and growth projects. Our investments in agriculture, energy and healthcare will involve significant PPP arrangements.

<sup>a</sup><http://dailypost.ng/2017/12/12/dfid-reveals-much-nigeria-lost-corruption-jonathan/>

Our PPP projects will be guided by the following principles

- a. Transparency in project implementation
- b. Development of comprehensive policy framework to guide funding, concession terms, sovereign risk coverage, economic impact of project, terms of concession, costs to citizens and obligations of government

### Increasing Revenue Collection

Taxes are the funding vehicle used by governments to provide basic services such as security and an enabling business environment for their citizens. In Nigeria, tax revenue collection amounts to just about six per cent of GDP. This is less than half of the global average (15 per cent) or even the Sub Saharan African average tax receipts (16 per cent) relative to GDP. It is the goal of our Government to incrementally raise the tax receipts from six per cent to 15 per cent of GDP over a four-year time frame (See Table 6). We note that these are taxes that are already on the books in Nigeria, but collection is not being implemented in a fair or equitable manner.

Incremental collections are expected to total \$11.25 Billion in 2019 and reach \$51.7 Billion in 2022, by which time, we fully expect that the tax receipts as a percentage of GDP would have reached about 15 per cent. Our plan is to increase the level of tax receipts by about two-to-three per cent on average on a year to year basis until the target of 15 per cent is reached by 2022 (See Table 7).

For far too long, the revenue collection agencies have failed to drive for comprehensive collection of due taxes. The rich pay small amounts in bribes, to get their tax liabilities overlooked, ignored or falsified. All this will change.

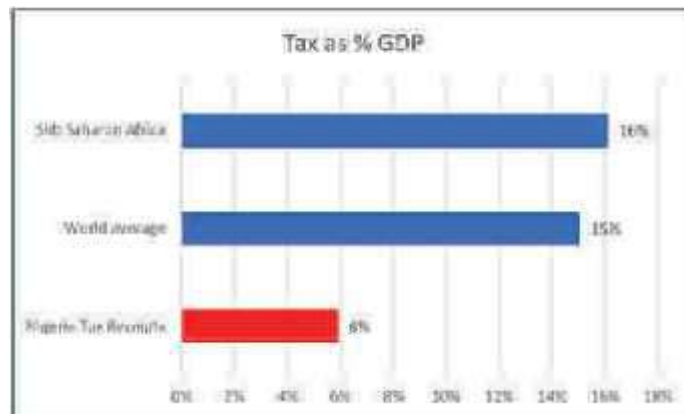


Table 6: Tax receipts as per cent of GDP for select regions

An efficient, corruption free drive to raise tax receipts will be sufficient to pay for the modest raises that we propose to the allowances and wages of corporers and low cadre workers in the Federal Civil Service as well as fund many of our programs.

While we would encourage the States to follow the lead of the Federal Government in paying a

living wage to their workers, we will not be calling for a forced roll-out of this initiative to the states, given the precarious financial position many states are in. However, we pledge that a matching program of wage enhancements will be implemented in any state that is run by our movement.

Under our leadership, the Federal Government will provide technical support to all the states to ensure that they are able to realize commensurate gains in revenue generation and collection.

We also expect that there will be a major economic boost that will be derived from the infrastructure projects that will be implemented – especially due to improvements in the power sector. On average, there is a global GDP per kWh ratio of about \$4.3/kWh. This implies that there is an economic output of about \$4.3 associated with every incremental kWh usage of energy in an economy. When applied to Nigeria this could translate into a \$650 Billion boost to the Nigerian economy through increased output and productivity – raising the GDP to about \$1 Trillion and boosting the potential tax receipts of the Nigerian government to about \$150 Billion per year.

	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
% Target achieved	0	25%	50%	75%	100%
Tax Rate	6%	8%	10%	13%	15%
GDP Growth	3%	5%	5%	5%	5%
GDP	417.15	438.01	459.91	482.90	507.05
Tax Revenue (\$ Billion)	24.60	35.85	48.16	61.61	76.29
Budgetary Inflation (%)	0%	10%	10%	10%	10%
Budget (\$ Billion)	24.61	27.07	29.77	32.75	36.03
Budget (N Trillion)	8.61	9.47	10.42	11.46	12.61
Oil Price (\$/BBL)	49.73	49.73	49.73	49.73	49.73
Oil Revenues (\$ Billion)	12.46	12.46	12.46	12.46	12.46
Total Revenues	24.60	35.85	48.16	61.61	76.29
Incremental Revenue vs 2018 Base (\$ Billion)	-	11.25	23.56	37.01	51.69
Incremental Revenue vs 2018 Base (N Trillion)	-	3.94	8.25	12.95	18.09
<b>Deficit/Surplus (\$ Billion)</b>	<b>\$0.00</b>	<b>\$8.78</b>	<b>\$18.39</b>	<b>\$28.86</b>	<b>\$40.27</b>
<b>New Recurrent Spending</b>					
NYSC Increase (\$ Billion)		0.82	0.82	0.82	0.82
Worker Salaries (\$ Billion)		1.40	1.54	1.69	1.86
New Health Care Workers (\$ Billion)		0.55	0.55	0.55	0.55
Health care worker training (\$ Billion)		0.02			
New Teachers (\$ Billion)		0.69	0.69	0.69	0.69
New Teacher Training (\$ Billion)		0.03			
Cattle Ranching			0.31	0.31	0.31
Universal Basic Healthcare		0.8	0.8	0.8	0.8
<b>Total New Recurrent (\$ Billion)</b>		<b>4.31</b>	<b>4.71</b>	<b>4.86</b>	<b>5.03</b>
<b>Deficit/Surplus (\$ Billion)</b>		<b>\$4.48</b>	<b>\$13.68</b>	<b>\$24.00</b>	<b>\$35.24</b>

Table 7: Assumptions on GDP growth & Incremental Tax Revenues

## Discussing the Moving Nigeria Forward plan

We look forward to engaging in further discussions with all Nigerians, as we bring the MOVING NIGERIA FORWARD plan directly to you in town hall sessions, institutions of learning, places of worship, market squares and community gatherings across our great nation. At those sessions, we will continue to share our vision for a prosperous and united Nigerian nation. We look forward with excitement to the opportunity to continue our discussions.

Nigeria MUST progress!



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