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OF NIGERIA

Project **RESCUE NIGERIA**

THE MANIFESTO

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Obiageli Ezekwesili



PROJECT RESCUE NIGERIA

Obiageli Ezekwesili

#Hope2019 #Oby2019

My Journey to Running for Presidency

I have never liked politics; that is well known to people far and close to me. That I have been fighting for, and doing work to promote good governance for over three decades of my professional life is also known to many around the world. They can attest that in my time out, in and again out of government, I have been a consistent voice and model for quality and sacrificial leadership. This is pivotal to take Nigeria to the zenith of her potentials. Like many of our citizens today, I bear a deep level of disappointment in the Nigerian political class for evident nonchalance in the face of degenerating conditions of our country.

At no time did this deep angst become more manifest than the early days of January 2018 when our country, government, leadership and people appeared to, once again, watch on helplessly and hopelessly as a new round of massacring of innocent citizens went on, almost daily, in the North Central region of Nigeria. The contours of the consequences of bad leadership, poor governance and paralysing failure were etched on the distressed faces of Nigerians as the world watched in wonderment at how a country so potentially great could be so dysfunctional. That the country found itself yet again at the mercy of a new set of killers of innocent citizens, under a new administration, drives home the fact that our political class is the problem. It also makes it clearer that the solution lies with us: the citizens. And that we must urgently solve the problem, should Nigeria be rescued from collapse.

Plato was right all along. The philosopher had said in 347BC that “one of the penalties for refusing to

participate in politics is that you end up being governed by your inferiors.” The arrogance that may be implied in this assertion is mitigated by the fact that most Nigerians agree with this obvious fact—if politics were football, we have consistently failed to play with our A-Team. The legendary Prime Minister of Singapore, Lee Kwan Yew—who led his country from third world country to first—was known to assert that “no country can develop beyond the quality of its political leadership.” Nigeria is a poster country for the truism in Mr Lee’s assertion.

It was in becoming spurred on to a new kind of citizen action by this critical awakening of my political consciousness that I began to work with other concerned Nigerians to mobilise the public to issue a “red card” to the status quo dominant political class. The metaphor of a red card which is issued to one who in the field of play runs foul of the game, is a powerful one for Nigerians who are well known lovers of football. Our existing political class—regardless of which of the two dominant acronyms have held sway in office—have without any doubt, earned a red card for remaining indifferent to the security, economic, social, humanitarian and other distresses that envelop the people they were elected to govern. For all of us who were determined to act out our new political consciousness, a new dawn had broken.

With the Red Card Movement, we started a vigorous campaign across the six geopolitical zones enlightening citizens’ on the dangers of continuing to vote for the same class of political Siamese Twins of bad politics and governance failure. With the analytical, factual and

empirical evidence of the failures—also validated by the masses—we decried a politics and governance that has offered nothing but economic misery and social chaos to our citizens. Concurrently, we began to encourage the emergence of a new type of political actors who possess significant leadership skills—character, competence and capacity—necessary to chart a new direction for Nigeria. In our quest to midwife the “Disruptive Political Class”, we convened a “Summit of The Alternatives”—a two-day series of lectures and panel sessions in Abuja for all new, and relatively new, political actors and parties. The vision was to build a coalition prepared to work together, to present a strong and formidable counter-narrative to the cyclical nation-building failures of the dominant political order. We went on to build a political movement of citizens working with those who have a passion to run for office to stand up against the entrenched political class. Our vision is the #NewNigeriaOfOurDream.

The citizen-led process proceeded with plans to next host technical sessions among the parties and candidates to begin negotiating alliances and coalitions for a successful bid by citizens and the new political order. At the same time, there was a parallel initiative among some of the “new politicians” to work together was on. It was from this parallel initiative that I received an invitation from the Presidential Aspirants Acting Together (PACT) which stated that “in recognition of your support to develop a functional democratic system in Nigeria, we are pleased to invite you to oversee the election of a credible consensus presidential candidate for the 2019 election. We believe that you have a major role to play in making this project a success. We shall follow a transparent democratic process to produce a consensus presidential candidate and we (all new breed presidential aspirants) have agreed to work together with the emergent consensus candidate.” I accepted to be the independent observer of their process, elated at the fact that the emerging new political class was, on its own, taking and showing leadership for the same ideals of our citizens’ movement.

On the set date, the PACT initiators held their process which I transparently observed and reported to the

media and public. To my eternal regret, what followed among the PACT initiators was a tragic reminder of the same ailment that afflicts the old order political class that we seek to dislodge. That one was wilfully dragged by some of the PACT initiators and maliciously maligned was profoundly disappointing but what cost can one not pay for nation building? The significance of the PACT fiasco was how closely the old order politicians followed the process and mocked citizens with taunts: “I thought you said the ‘New Ones’ are different from us”, “Please show us your credible alternatives”. The height of the unsavoury state that our citizens movements found ourselves was when an expectedly exhausted Nigerian public gradually began to resign themselves to “choosing between the ‘lesser’ of two evils” in the 2019 elections. By this statement we had basically regressed to the 2015 elections because, the same was said at that time by many people on the 2015 elections that produced the present administration. The prospect that this was the end of the road for our movement for a new kind of politics that put citizens’ wellbeing above that of their politicians was too distressful to accept. It was at that instant that I whose detest for politics is widely known began to critically analyse what options one had concerning my congenial and restless passion to see Nigeria and Nigerians attain our greatness.

On the morning of 25 June 2018, when global news reports conveyed that Nigeria has overtaken India as the country with the most EXTREMELY POOR people in the world, despite India’s population being seven times larger ours, I crossed into a Rubicon moment. The news that 86.9 million Nigerians assessed to be living in extreme poverty, 44% of Nigeria’s estimated 197.5 million citizens are extremely poor was the straw that broke the camel’s back. I detest politics, true. But I detest more governance failure and arrested development, which have made almost half of the country extremely poor. There should have been a fierce governance response to, the poverty news. In fact, there should have been an urgent presentation on the Federal Government’s plan to not only lift those already part of the 86.9million in extreme poverty but to reverse the trend of many more falling into poverty, and finally, to grow a prosperous Nigeria with equal opportunity for all citizens to thrive.

As had been the case with the last administration and with the current one there was a tepid reaction and buck passing. In effect the people would risk electing in 2019 another set of politicians from the same pool, those who still do not show any form of regret for the failure any form of regret at the failure that made us overtake India on the 2017 World Poverty Map 2017. This non-chalant attitude in the face of the most embarrassing evidence of government failure, by our old order political class had enough force to compel me to make my decision to run for the office of the President in 2019. I carry within my bones the fiercest sense of urgency for us to lift those millions of our citizens out of crippling poverty and since one does not see anyone within the horizon that can, with character, competence and capacity, lead the #ProjectRescueNigeria that is required to reverse the poverty trend, I arose to do so.

With Nigeria's population projected to rise to 264.1 million (2030) and 410.6 million (2050), and given that Nigeria's median age in 2050 will only be 22.4 years old (slightly up from 17.9 in 2018), Nigeria, especially its young people (most of them unborn), faces an increasingly bleak future unless its citizens stand up and halt its decline. Nigerians cannot afford to wait four more years for another perceived strong man, nor to settle for a lesser of two evils that is neither focused on convincing Nigerians that they have a roadmap to the future they deserve, nor possess any reformist credentials to

their name. It is evident that Nigerians patience for 'business as usual' regarding the politics of this country has worn thin and they have begun the search for an alternative: a credible, untainted, and passionate leader with a track record for success at the highest levels of leadership.

The #HOPE2019 agenda of the Obiageli Ezekwesili candidacy for President on the platform of Allied Congress Party of Nigeria (ACPN) is therefore predicated on the necessity for urgent rescue of the country from further descent into economic, social, and political failure. This manifesto document presents how the ACPN Government under the leadership of Obiageli Ezekwesili will tackle the myriad of issues that Nigeria and Nigerians face. The Development Agenda is made up of costed solutions. This document not static. It is a document that solicits the input of all citizens who desire to enter the #NewNigeriaOfOurDream—a prosperous, stable and harmonious nation. Our manifesto is a living document for you, the citizen that has decided to activate your powerful #OfficeOfTheCitizen and join us to #Fight4Naija in preparation to realise our collective dream of a Great Nigeria.

Welcome!

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The OBY2019 Governance Trend Dashboard



The #NewNigeriaOfOurDreams which we will build from 2019 will be measured on five planks of progress.

As your president, I shall daily focus my gaze on these five specific and measurable outcome indicators of development:

1. Rising standard of living driven by productivity, competence, the creation of jobs which we shall measure by real GDP per capita accompanied by the GNI coefficients to ensure lowest inequality levels. It is a pity that Singapore which got its independence five years after Nigeria now has a real GDP per capita of \$57,722, while Nigeria's GDP per capita as at 2017 was \$1,951. The key plank shall be the lifting of 80 million Nigerians out of poverty through raising productivity and competitiveness of the economy.

2. Growing knowledge capital which we shall measure by adult literacy. Today, adult literacy in Singapore is 98%, while adult literacy in Nigeria is just 57%. Our emphasis on universal access to quality education,

consistent with SDG4 at all levels and phases, will translate to a highest score of knowledge capital.

3. Increasing rate of longevity which we shall measure by life expectancy at birth. Today, Singapore's life expectancy is 85 years, Nigeria's life expectancy is a mere 52 years. Our agenda to overhaul the health system, ranging from community, secondary and tertiary health care, will have positive effects on Nigeria's life expectancy.

4. Improving state of human security conditions which we shall measure by improving our scores on the Global Fragility Index. Today, we are the 14th most fragile country in the 2018 Fragile States Index by The Fund for Peace. This is beyond unacceptable.

5. Improving equality of rights and opportunities which we shall measure by the Universal Human Rights Index and the Freedom in the World Index. Today, we maintain a dismal aggregate score of 50/100 in the latter report.

Diagnosing the Nigerian Development Problem

1. Productivity and competitiveness of the Nigerian economy:

For a nation of our size and potential, our low real Gross Domestic Product of \$375.77 billion after 58 years of independence is terribly underwhelming. Unlike China which grew in double digits over almost three decades to become a \$14 trillion GDP economy, Nigeria's growth has been trapped in cycles of boom and bust in the classic evidence of oil price volatility and effects of Dutch disease, which has led to the decline of other sectors in favor of oil. We need a bold economic vision to define a pathway of double-digit inclusive economic growth over the next decade. That is exactly what an ACPN administration will ensure.

Low real Gross Domestic Product of \$375.77 billion after 58 years of independence

■ NIGERIA'S GROWTH HAS BEEN TRAPPED IN CYCLES OF BOOM AND BUST

2. POVERTY AND INEQUALITY:

Extreme poverty in Nigeria is increasing by nearly six people every minute. But that is not even the worst part. According to the World Poverty Clock, if the current trends continue—or to put it another way, if we continue to elect this poverty-bringing APC/PDP leadership—the number of people living in extreme poverty in Nigeria would increase from about 88 million today to 120 million in 2030. That means that in the next 12 years, over 30 million more Nigerians will join the infamous number of extremely poor people who live on less than N700 per day. When a country has a GINI coefficient above 35 percent, it means its income inequality is very high. Nigeria's GINI coefficient is between 46 and 60 percent. Such levels of extreme inequality have destabilising implications for the country. Tackling the inequality and lifting 80 million Nigerians out of poverty will be the mission of my presidency. We need to start the deliberate hard work of pulling ourselves, our friends, our families and our communities from this destructive poverty tsunami sweeping through our nation. Time is not on our side.



88,000,000 NIGERIANS LIVING IN EXTREME POVERTY TODAY.

30,000,000 MORE NIGERIANS BY 2030



That means that in the next 12 years, over 30 million more Nigerians will join the infamous number of extremely poor people who live on less than N700 per day.

3. INSECURITY AND CONFLICTS:

Nigeria is now the 14th most fragile nation in the world on the Fragile States Index, and the 16th most dangerous country to live in the world, according to the Global Peace Index. The country faces at least 14 major security threats—terrorism, herders-farmers clashes, kidnappings, organised crime, trafficking, and more—across different regions. Our young girls go to school in the morning to pursue dreams of a better life, but end up at night in terrorists' dens, raped and traumatised. Entire communities and even local government areas in this country have been driven into hunger and poverty, as their sources of livelihoods are completely wiped out due to insecurity. The value of a Nigerian life has been devalued and cheapened. This has to stop.

NIGERIA IS NOW THE

14th

**MOST FRAGILE ECONOMY
IN THE WORLD ON THE
FRAGILE STATES INDEX**



16th

**MOST DANGEROUS COUNTRY
IN THE WORLD ACCORDING TO
THE GLOBAL PEACE INDEX**

4. ILLITERACY:

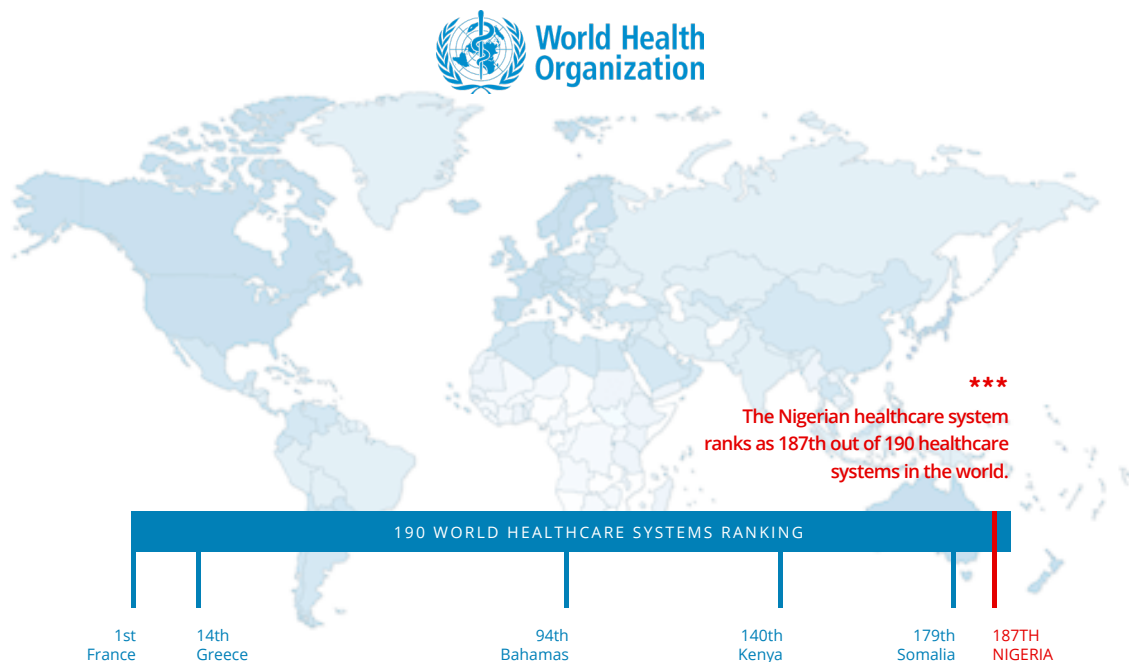
13.2 million children, and counting, are out-of-school. That is more than the entire population of Benin Republic. Even those who have the 'privilege' of attending our schools these days receive an education that is unfit for purpose and the competitive and productive country we intend to build. Education will be the number one priority of my government. As Bill Gates, the founder of one of the most innovative companies in the world, said, "Education is like a master switch that opens up all sorts of opportunities for individuals and societies." I intend to turn on that switch if elected your president.

**13,200,000 children
and counting are
out-of-school**

**THAT IS MORE THAN THE
ENTIRE POPULATION OF
BENIN REPUBLIC.**

5. HEALTH AND WELLBEING CHALLENGES:

The World Health Organization (WHO) ranks the Nigerian healthcare system as 187th out of 190 healthcare systems in the world. Just last month, the World Bank released its first ever Human Capital Index, and Nigeria was in the bottom 6 out of 157 countries ranked. Health is that it is a fundamental human right. Nigeria loses too much when its human capital do not live healthy lives. Health is central to lifting our people out of poverty; it is central to ensuring that we have a competitive and productive economy. And in my government, it will occupy a central place.



6. INFRASTRUCTURAL DEFICIT:

Our country has become notorious for its horrible infrastructure—roads that are simply death traps, epileptic electricity supply, insufficient broadband connectivity, underwhelming rail and ports development. There is little physical links and connectivity for development due to infrastructure deficit in both urban and rural centres. We must heed the lesson in the well-known Chinese mantra: “if you want to improve the lives of your people, connect them to markets by giving them roads.” This is what we will do.

7. STRUCTURAL FAULTS:

Our current federal structure simply does not work. The structure of a federation is its skeleton. A functional structure gives shape, support, and aids the movement of the federation. No wonder Nigeria is handicapped under this dysfunctional structure. There was a time when the APC agreed on the need to restructure the federation and devolve more powers to the regions and states. The party campaigned in 2015 on a manifesto that propagated the doctrine of restructuring. President Buhari went along with it every step of the way because it is all about getting into power for him. He won and then began to renege on his promises, including restructuring. He suddenly remembered all the reasons why “structure is not the problem” with Nigeria.

Fundamental Economic Beliefs, Principles and Applications

- A strong belief in the dominant economic role of the private sector and a commitment of our government to launch vigorous market economy reforms. Through policy, effective regulation and catalytic public investment in the provision of basic services for people and businesses, we will accelerate and expand the sources of growth in the economy.
- A massive deregulation programme of the Nigerian economy to unleash the depth of competition and efficiencies necessary for higher and deeper economic growth and expansion. The division and rebalancing of roles between business and government will reduce opportunities for corruption and bottlenecks that limit the competitiveness of the Nigerian economy.
- A commitment to pursuing inclusive growth which is a necessity for lifting the poor to an improved state of well-being. Research, including the economic miracle of China, in the last three decades have provided strong evidence that the poor are faster lifted out of poverty in a market economy cushioned by relevant safety nets.
- A dedication to improving the productivity and competitiveness of Nigeria and Nigerians in every sector of economic activity by removing barriers and providing a menu of sound policy measures.
- A deliberateness in easing the Doing Business environment, not just for major businesses in Nigeria, but for Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs), which are the lifeblood of our economy.

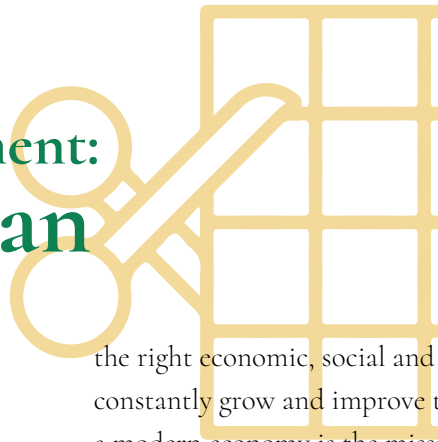
The principal way for people to earn income is by doing profitable work. Social safety nets like cash transfers to the poorest and most vulnerable may be necessary, but they must only be a negligible complement to the core agenda of governing to enable private sector be the engine room of inclusive economic growth through massive job creation. When people have profitable work to do, it further boosts the inclusive growth and productivity of our economy. Clearly, there is a link joining all our concepts together and it is sound economic thoughts in governance. Our country's growth and productivity can only resume and expand annually, when businesses invest massively in rewarding sectors of our economy. It is the role of government to signal the private sector through sound policies of a New Nigeria that enables

and rewards private capital and not one that retards and punishes effort. It is then that our people—young women, and men inclusive—will have massive job opportunities. When many more Nigerians attain improved income levels from jobs in the private sector or their own enterprise, millions of citizens will start being pulled out of poverty.

However, our people can only start earning improved levels of income when they have the capacity and skills that all modern economies offer the world of investors. That is why EDUCATION IS OUR NEW OIL. That is why, for our administration, Human Capital Development is the epicentre of our Vision of a New Direction for Nigeria.

That is why human capital is our new economy.

Human Capital Development: The Oby 2019 Plan



Education has proven itself as the bedrock of human progress. It improves the status of citizens of any society, providing individuals with the capacity to function and contribute to economic development with inter-generational benefits that stabilise the future.

Human development progress is therefore a key feature of stable societies. Little wonder that countries with lower Human Development Indicators tend to be more brittle and prone to conflict. The lower the human development score of a country, the higher the level of poverty, and in a viciously cyclical way, such widespread poverty becomes a causative factor itself for lower human development and a trigger for conflict and insecurity of all kinds.

The theory of human capital may have its limitations and criticisms but economic evidence throughout history has shown that nations which invested in and empowered their citizens as a matter of deliberate economic policies have performed better than those which approached development differently. These days more than at any other time in history, the economic health of a country depends upon the skills, knowledge, and capacities of its people. This transcends economic health, because research evidence abound that the overall stability and harmony of any nation is determined by how much equal access to quality education it offers her citizens.

Our administration will anchor our development vision on Human Capital-Centred Economic Development. Our vision shall be one that places primacy to the life of Nigerian citizens. Keeping citizens alive and taking

the right economic, social and political measures to constantly grow and improve their capacities to build a modern economy is the mission of our ACPN administration that I shall lead.

For our government, every citizen shall be accorded the highest premium. Our citizens are more important to us than oil, gas or any minerals.

Education is the New Oil, Human Capital is the New Economy.

The Reality Today:

Nigeria's education sector has long fallen into decay resulting in massive dysfunction with attendant effects of lowering the learning outcomes and relevance of knowledge and skills of its products to the society. Obiageli Ezekwesili as Minister of Education between 2006-2007 is generally acknowledged for the ambitious reform programme articulated to address the CRISIS (the theme of her reform agenda at that time). Dogged by many problems, the education sector is in systemic chaos. They range from poor educational planning, poor policy making processes devoid of use of evidence-based (data-backed) methods, poor inspections, monitoring, evaluations and quality assurance systems, inadequate and low quality teachers, irrelevance of curriculum, absence of instructional and teaching materials, low absorption and adoption of technology, poor physical infrastructure, poor governance of education across political systems, poor budgeting for education resulting in low investment in core educational items and hence mismatch between funding and performance.

Often the key challenge that the public raises on education is inadequate funding. However, funding is not the most critical problem of the education sector. There are serious structural and systemic issues which have made the educational sector in Nigeria dysfunctional. The sector will therefore need to improve its priorities, while ensuring that they do deliver value

for money from existing budgetary allocations. Rather than simply fund education, it is important that we begin investing in education. Research has shown that the quality of teachers and faculty determine learning outcomes more than any other variables in education; as such, we will focus more on the capital component of education including developing teachers.

1. REDUCE THE NUMBER OF OUT OF SCHOOL CHILDREN (OOSC) BY 20% ANNUALLY:

Cut this number down to 5.4 million by 2023, build teacher efficacy and teacher expertise.

Obiageli “Oby” Ezekwesili, in her ten-month tenure as minister of education ensured a reduction of (500,000) out-of-school children. Using the Universal Basic Education Commission’s incentivising funds to states once again as our handle, our ACPN administration will seek to attain gender parity in education concurrently with our goal of reducing the number of OOSC. This approach will embed the diversity of girl-child education initiatives within our obligation to SDG 4 on ensuring universal access to quality education to all citizens.

2. TEACHER ADEQUACY AND QUALITY:

a. Teachers Top Talent (TTT):

A programme focused on establishing and continuously expanding the practice standards of Nigeria’s teachers through vertically-oriented training which equips them with classroom management skills. The principal aim of this initiative is to both retrain teachers within the existing workforce and attract top talent into teaching by offering financial inducements.

b. Housing all teachers:

No teacher in full-time employment should be unable to live in comfortable accommodation, within

reasonable distance of their place of work. This initiative serves as a financial inducement towards teachers becoming house owners. Housing for teachers tackles poverty which currently plagues workers in this field and discourages most from aspiring to be teachers.

c. Teachers Regulatory Council:

In partnership with the National Union of Teachers, Academic Staff Union of Universities, state governments and other stakeholders in the education sector, there will be a creation of a unified payment package for teachers at all levels which allows for a progressive and adaptable structure for the allocation of rewards and benefits.

3. CURRICULUM UPGRADE:

Implement a review of the curriculum used to educate our nation’s future across all tiers of education, ensuring a focus on skills and trends significant to the evolving and growing economy. Areas such as the creative arts as well as Information Technology skills such as Artificial Intelligence and Big Data are sectors that students at all tiers should at least possess a foundational knowledge of.

4. EARLY CHILD CARE:

Decades of research have provided evidence that it is between birth and age three that the human brain develops most of its neurons. Unfortunately, more than 70% of Nigerians have pre-school children without

access to Early Child Care Education. Without the right policy response, society traps itself deeper into inequality. Research has also shown that the educational outcomes available to children born to uneducated parents are stunted even before they begin education. For a nation with an illiteracy rate of close to half the adult population, this poses a challenge for a generation, before their birth. Mitigating this will require innovative public and community-funded schemes to enable the children of the poor have solid early child care and pre-school education.

5. SPECIAL NEEDS EDUCATION:

The knowledge that between 15-20% of children who attend public schools have one type of learning defect or another which the poor segment of our country are seldom able to handle alone, will compel our administration to reopen the Policy on Special Needs Education which was first comprehensively formalised during the tenure of Obiageli Ezekwesili as minister of education.

6. TERTIARY INSTITUTIONS TRANSFORMATION:

a. TwentyToTheRanking:

One of the signature programmes of our administration would be TwentyToTheRanking. This initiative will focus on the transformation of 20 Nigerian universities to raise them up to the league of world class institutions within a seven-year period.

b. Grant Autonomy to Federal Universities:

A core policy change that can facilitate #TwentyToTheRanking is that our government will grant full autonomy to public universities. The 1997 UNESCO recommendation concerning the status of higher education teaching personnel defines university autonomy as “that degree of self-governance necessary for effective decision making by institutions of higher education regarding their academic work, standards, management and related activities consistent with systems of public accountability, especially in respect of

funding provided by the state, and respect for academic freedom and human rights.”

Therefore, our administration will end the current centralised control of universities by the federal government (or state governments over their own funded universities) which over the decades stifled their growth and performance. Most top-ranking government-owned universities around the world are known to thrive as a result of deft balancing of the need for accountability for public resources on the one hand and preservation of their academic freedom on the other. Granting autonomy to federal universities will enable institutional differentiations through a competitive race to the top of their performance in how they attract the best students and top faculty. The Federal Government’s current budgetary funding for such universities will be converted to annual grants that are indexed to accountability, performance, results. The overriding objective will be for our public universities to deliver quality tertiary education at cost effective tuition for their students. University autonomy incentivises individual universities to pursue innovative methods of raising funds beyond tuitions and government budgets. University autonomy will especially deepen research capabilities and building of partnerships within the tertiary education system. This policy will also change university leadership and governance thereby insulating the institutions from political appointment of vice chancellors that has, over the decades, compromised academic quality and performance.

c. Student Finance:

Our administration will ensure that no individual with the requisite qualification and desire to pursue a university education is deprived of such opportunity solely on account of their inability to pay tuition. Our government shall design and execute a solid financing model that allows for students that meet the requirements for a tertiary education to fund their education, relying on a mix of financial aids, scholarships and student loans.

d. Diaspora Education Network:

Nigeria's accomplished diaspora populace present a great opportunity to direct skill and expertise from various disciplines into strategic development initiatives, while simultaneously incentivising foreign-based Nigerians through a simplified return process which emphasises the benefits of mentorship.

e. Review the National Universities Commission mandate on institutions and courses accreditation processes to include private sector representation and involvement.

f. Maximise use of the National Council on Education (NCE) to share best practices on education reforms with state governments. For example, our administration will especially use the NCE to push for improvement in performance of Nigeria on the SDG4 specific indicators.

7. MASSIVE SKILLS DEVELOPMENT THROUGH GET-A-SKILL (GAS) PROGRAMME:

Produce a minimum of 300,000 market-relevant skills annually with an aim to triple the number to 900,000 in five years. Our government will push the GAS programme in partnership with the private sector to ensure more such institutions come on board.

Signature Policy:

Human Capital Development does not revolve around acquiring a university degree alone. Not everyone can or will attend universities, but every single Nigerian can get a skill. That's why the ACPN government will launch a massive national skills programme called Get-A-Skill. Our government will push the GAS programme in partnership with the private sector- industry, trade groups and professional bodies.

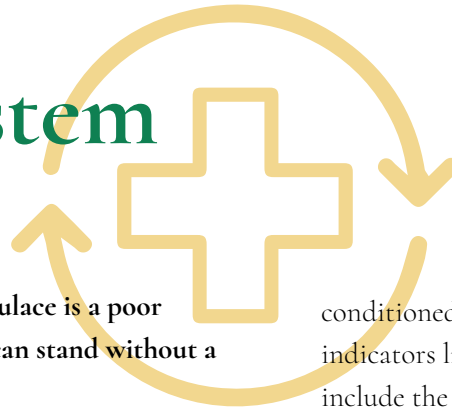
During my time as the minister of education, there was already serious challenge of a mismatch between youth burgeoning, unemployability and limited economic opportunities. To respond to the challenge at that time, a major skills development programme was designed, and a new level of certification introduced to our education system. There was a design and addition of Vocational Enterprise Institutions and Innovation Enterprise Institutions as national certifications accredited and regulated by the National Board for Technical Education (NBTE). There are currently over 200 Vocational Enterprise Institutions (VEIs) and Innovation Enterprise Institutions (IEIs) which are imparting skills in areas as diverse as cosmetology, welding, fashion design, electrical installation, paralegal studies, film & TV production, hospitality, among others.

Our government will push the Get-A-Skill (GAS) programme in partnership with the private sector - industry, trade groups and professional bodies.

-Obiageli Ezekwesili



Health System Reform



We all know that an unhealthy populace is a poor populace. No anti-poverty agenda can stand without a solid health strategy.

The central plank of our health agenda is to build a functional health system that serves the needs of different segments of our population. The specific objectives include to reverse and significantly reduce by 50% the negative trend of maternal and infant mortality rate, child mortality rate, as well as needless deaths caused by non-communicable diseases while also reversing the trend of medical tourism.

- **Our government will broaden the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS)** to ensure universal coverage in a decade. Every Nigerian will be migrated in the system, starting with those currently earning an income.

- **We will also support research and development for vaccines.** We will champion engagement with international pharmaceutical companies on cost-effective vaccines and medicines that will effectively tackle disease burdens especially malaria and other tropical diseases that hit us disproportionately.

- **At the level of primary health care, we will adopt a Public Private Partnership (PPP) model** that outsources the management of primary health centres to private providers whose payments by our government and supported by states and local governments will be

conditioned to negotiated performance indices. The indicators linking resources to performance would include the power of feedback on quality of service in the hands of those the private providers serve—the citizens. Through a sound result-based primary health care service, we will target the poor in our rural communities. To ensure ownership of their health services, our approach shall support a negligible but mandatory basic user fees by health beneficiaries with most of cost borne by federal and state governments under a burden sharing arrangement.

- **The ACPN government's deep reforms of the Nigerian health system, will also focus innovative ideas on improving secondary and tertiary healthcare.** We shall combine radical investment in the development of smart technologies for disruptive innovations in the delivery of medical services with a strong emphasis on standards to move toward international best practices.

“The central plank of our health agenda is to build a functional health system that serves the needs of different segments of our population.”

- **We will also attract at least three top-quality global health providers** to be linked with the Nigeria Health Insurance Scheme in each sub-region.
- **Mobile health has witnessed incredible take-up in comparable African nations, revolutionising the way medical counsel and intervention is sought and delivered.** This government will take a broad and intricate approach to improving access to healthcare by targeting communities most at risk of particular diseases, illnesses and emergencies by establishing small but efficient “teaching clinics” which provide general counsel, administer treatment for location-specific infirmities, such as river blindness, while training interested community members as potential medical practitioners who can better serve their communities and earn a living wage. Tele-health and virtual clinics will be implemented to improve access to healthcare while also significantly cutting costs.
- **An important part of improving the quality of health-care delivery in government-run hospitals will be the optimisation and automation of patient data collation.** By equipping major state facilities with strong technology capacity in order to record and analyse patient physiological and contextual data, doctors can make better decisions at critical moments and improve workflow efficiencies.
- **Over the years, there has been a disturbing rise in the number of healthcare professionals leaving Nigeria for other countries in search of better opportunities.** Our government will introduce a system of benefits which come into effect at various stages of a medical worker's career from their last year at university, while also increasing workplace security and accountability.
- **It is understood that the number of medical practitioners who may not have plans to seek employment elsewhere** are still insufficient to cater to a rapidly growing population. In addition to massive recruitment efforts from among currently unemployed, underemployed and the occupationally mobile, this government will create exchange programmes between Nigerian hospitals and that of other nations in order to build expertise and foster knowledge sharing channels which can be leveraged on by private and public health facilities.
- **Two matters of great concern which form critical parts of our government's health agenda are population management and malnutrition.** Nigeria, currently the 7th most populous country in the world, will increase with a projected 214.7 million in population to 411 million by 2050. The dangers are real and fast approaching. This government will work to reduce fertility rates to figures which are sustainable per household and community by providing compulsory family planning education for new couples while making resources for reproductive health available at local outlets and city centres.



The Economy

ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT APPROACH

Our focus shall be on building a rapidly expanding economy powered by the private sector based on an economic structural change agenda.

Our administration shall offer the country a sound mix of fiscal and complementary monetary policies of an independent Central Bank to achieve stable exchange rate, single digit inflation, real sector enabling interest rate, real GDP growth, and lowest levels of unemployment. Achieving macroeconomic stability necessary for consumer and investor confidence in the economy shall be the cornerstone of our Federal Government's fiscal strategy. We shall implement key sectoral and structural policies and undertake reforms that create strong institutions which are anchored on the rule of law. In view of the acute deficit of critical infrastructure and human capital, our administration will focus our budgetary resources on effective investment priorities to achieve more with less. We shall target a return to average annual growth rate of six to seven per cent per annum which was achieved over a decade and a half period until 2015 when growth fell to below three per cent and subsequently collapsed further into a recession. Our vision is to sustain and broaden an upward trend of growth buoyed by increasing productivity and competitiveness of the Nigerian economy until it begins to achieve double-digit levels in the outer years.

Our economic agenda stands on an urgent need to increase and accelerate growth of individual and household income as the pathway out of poverty. The most viable pathway to lift the 86.9 million Nigerians

living in extreme poverty is to provide them with two things: 1) the capacity and 2) the economic opportunities that, raise the income of this class of Nigerians by at least 50% above the international poverty line of \$1.90 (official equivalent estimate is N691.60 rounded up to N700 a day within four years. Economic management of our administration will channel a diversity of efforts at achieving this outcome. On the one hand, a strong mix of evidence-based set of policies that raise capacity and productivity of these millions of Nigerians to work or produce more so they can earn more. And on the other hand, market friendly policies that open-up new opportunities or deepen existing ones for private sector investments in the economy.

Our bold approach shall be to roll back the crippling control and over-regulation of the economy by government and its institutions. The curtailing of government from continuing to excise dominant discretionary powers which are often abused by public officials will not only help accelerate economic growth but also prevent opportunities for grand corruption. (Design)

PRODUCTIVITY

Produce More, Earn More Vision:

The government will partner with the private sector to identify critical measures necessary to increase Nigeria's productivity to at least N3,800/hour over the next four years. By introducing a range of policy measures, such as: cutting a wide variety of bureaucratic and regulatory bottlenecks in all sectors, providing the right mix of critical infrastructure and relevant training, skills and capacities for the business sector, which will unleash

higher labour productivity and consequently, improve the income growth for individuals, households, businesses and government.

Through the Productivity and Competitiveness initiative, our goal is to achieve sectoral economic structural transformation. This will lead to productivity boosts and expansion in new opportunities that create jobs in some key sectors like Agriculture, Fisheries, Livestock and Agribusiness where more than one-third of Nigeria's active labour population are found. There will be jobs from light manufacturing industries, construction, housing and public works, renewable solutions, services including trade, telecom and technology, domestic tourism, and creative industries. These industries not only hold the key to putting more Nigerians to work but provides a much-needed boost to the nation's productivity. Promoting and supporting these industries will occur through a mix of sound policies on trade, tax, infrastructure, skills, training, and; research and development.

INFORMAL SECTOR FOCUS

A majority of those operating in the economy are in the informal, low productivity sectors. While previous governments have focused largely on the formal sector in their poverty reduction and ease of doing business schemes, the informal sector, which International Monetary Fund (IMF) estimates as over 60% of the Nigerian economy (\$240bn) has been left to flounder. Unable to tackle the factors which lead to informality, such as low level of education, previous governments have chosen either to ignore the problem or militate against it. The informal sector suffers also low productivity due to high business costs which outstrip earnings. These barriers often mean that those that work the hardest in our economies fail to earn a decent living. Investments in the formal sector over the last couple of years, while significant, have not yielded the kind of growth rates achieved by the informal sector, which grew at an annual average rate of about 8.5% between 2015 and 2017, in comparison with the formal economy which grew by 0.8% in 2017.

However, increased informality left unchecked could lead to higher rates of poverty and inequality.

The Ezekwesili led government will move to embed the Productivity and Competitiveness agenda within initiatives that offer incentive for the nation's informal businesses and workers to, on their own, enter the regulatory framework which enables adequate access to government support, accounting, tax reform necessitated by a larger number of registered workers, and the capitalisation of investment in domestic industries. In order to revitalise key aspects of the economy and implement dramatic reform, the government will pay significant attention to the informal sector, as the principal creator of employment and as a catalyst for growth and development.

Furthermore, it is important to acknowledge the barriers to entry and expansion that exist even in the informal sector. This government will create platforms which connect entrepreneurs in vocational trade—which makes up a majority of informal sector work—to professionals who provide mentorship on how to scale and put them on the path to registering their businesses. But all this is only possible by vastly restructuring and increasing the capacity of the nation's MDAs (Ministries, Departments, Agencies) which will be a top priority of this government.

Our plan to take 80m out of poverty will be targeted at the following:

1. Deepen private sector role and investment in the economy through sectoral and structural economic transformation agenda.
2. Design and implement a high productivity and competitiveness agenda
3. Collaborate with the private sector for deliberateness in a massive job creation agenda.
4. Restructure Federal Government Budget to increase scale of capital investment and efficiency of public spending on basic services for citizens and businesses.
5. Effective productive safety net programmes targeting only the poorest and most vulnerable in the country.

MEDIUM AND SMALL-SCALE ENTERPRISES (MSMES)

Medium and Small-Scale Enterprises (MSMEs) play a key role in our economy. They account for almost half of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and employ over 80% of the labour force. However, a myriad of government regulations makes it impossible for these businesses to survive, from obscure rules and regulations hampering business operations to the undue complication of routine business issues. Outstripping outdated regulations and regular meetings with stakeholders in the informal economy to identify "government-created" barriers to their success so that they can be eliminated is a key initiative that will be embarked on.

Signature Policy:

The ACPN government will launch #BizLift, which will be an online portal and national telephone helpline that will offer guidance and advisory services to SMEs employing between 10 and 199 people.

Some of the Signature Economic Policy programmes that this administration will initiate are:

- **Light Manufacturing Industries & Renewable Energy Programme:** Our government will facilitate the attraction of at least 100 Asian manufacturing plants which have become non-competitive in countries of origin to install operations in Nigeria. The complementary policy, infrastructure and skills ecosystem necessary for success shall be part of the broader private sector deepening agenda of our administration. This initiative, alongside the rest of our economic structural change agenda, shall aim to raise the share of manufacturing in our GDP by at least five per cent annually starting from 2021.

- **Launch a Renewable Energy Market Growth Strategy in Nigeria:** The proliferation of renewable energy solutions and their regulatory framework are behind the global curve in Nigeria and our administration shall trigger bold policy measures to unleash the market and at same time reduce energy poverty in our communities.

Our vision is to spur the emergence of thousands of community providers of energy solutions all over the country.

- **Innovate a N50 Billion Catalytic Facility:** Through this, we will provide single-digit loans for businesses to promote structure for trade and micro businesses. Nigeria has a huge informal retail space which needs support using a private sector approach. The administration will, through low-cost entry fiscal incentives, capture 10m Nigerians engaged in informal trade/production activities in our database. Using the Catalytic Facility, our government will work with credible financial inclusion institutions to provide innovative bundled services of finance and business capacity development to beneficiaries of the programme. Our administration's source of funding for this programme shall be from a mix of development finance institutions. The expected indirect effect is to reach 30m Nigerians.

- **Small-scale Sustainable Mining:** Our administration will implement the economic linkages in mining sector through a "Making-The-Earth-Work-For-Us" programme in the Nigerian minerals sector. The programme shall, over four years, target 10,000 small-scale miners with a special focus on Women-in-Mining. The programme will be cognisant of the vast but largely unexplored opportunities in the 430 locations across Nigeria where there are occurrences of one or more 34

A myriad of government regulations makes it impossible for these businesses to survive, from obscure rules and regulations hampering business operations to the undue complication of routine business issues.

types of minerals. We shall launch a Beneficiation Support agenda for private sector to encourage domestic and export supplies of raw materials by our mining sector. We have a vision of increasing mining sector contribution to GDP from below one per cent to at least three per cent between 2020-2022 and then five per cent in the outer years with capacity to create at least 150,000 new jobs and income opportunities.

•
The Creatives, Sports and Nation Building: Tagged “Soft Power”, our programme will target Nigeria’s robust creative industry including motion picture, which has grown despite government investment and support. The plan will be to invest in academies that nurture talents in design, editing, directing, acting and other critical components. We will work with the private sector to deepen the quality of our output and craft a global appeal. The sports sector will be freed up from government interference to chart a new path of self-sustained

and revenue generating performances across all federations. The creative and sports sectors will have a funding window of support in the form of performance grants to the tune of N100 billion over a four-year period. The target is to reach 7.5m Nigerians directly and indirectly with this programme.

ECONOMIC TEAM

Our administration shall recruit the best cast of talents home and abroad to be responsible for delivering on the bold and ambitious programme of creating prosperity and lifting 80 million Nigerians out of poverty into our Presidential Economic Team. The technical competencies sets required from members of the economic team shall be complemented with the political economy skills of the non-core team members who shall represent various segments of the Nigerian public on the expanded team under the chair of the president.

Oil Sector Reform



- End Fuel Subsidy Regime and Fully Deregulate Sector: The most pressing reform is the immediate removal of the fuel subsidy. A subsidy that costs N1.3 trillion, yet provides little or no benefits to the most vulnerable members of society, must be discontinued. Cancelling the fuel subsidy allows the country to focus on the equally important task of deregulating the entire oil sector including the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC), ensuring that it is subject to the competition and discipline of the open market.

- Furthermore, an enhanced Federal Government led version of the Petroleum Industry Governance Bill shall be championed by our administration and complemented by a proposal for an amendment of the Nigeria Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative, (NEITI Act) to achieve better governance, transparency and accountability in the sector.

- Signalise structural shift in petroleum and gas sector for development of value chain productive activities as a key component of the Massive Jobs Agenda. Reforming the oil sector for structural productivity gains is critical, regardless of the vision of our government to move away from resource dependency.

- The monies saved from subsidies will go into the creation of a \$1.5 billion Infrastructure Fund accountable to the Nigerian people and also sign binding Service Level Agreements (SLAs) on performance and accountability.

- Our presidential candidate has no interest in becoming the “president of the NNPC” when there are more important national issues begging for attention.

■ The fuel subsidy costs every Nigerian **6,636 naira and 87 kobo**





Agriculture

A majority of those operating in this sector are in the informal, low productivity sectors. Our government will prioritise the creation of enabling ecosystems and platforms. These will increase access to financial services for smallholder farmers and agricultural SMEs who have for so long been unbanked; this is an important step in boosting productivity. Furthermore, it will be necessary to establish lending schemes such as Commercial Agricultural Credit Scheme (CACs) at state and local community levels which not only ensure wide reach to farmers and other actors, but also provide necessary financial management training.

SIGNATURE AGRICULTURE POLICY: The Agriculture Productivity “Boost” Programme.

• **Our focus will be to boost the productivity of at least 1 million smallholder farmers per state.** Our government will provide packaged interventions to be known as ‘BOOST’. Each intervention comprises high yield crops, low-cost new tech irrigation systems, access to more reliable fertiliser supply chain, land access and titling, improved market access, regulations and structure, access to and adoption of information technology for smallholder farmers. To promote agribusiness value-addition, a complementary scheme of guarantees and structured payment for scale investments by cooperatives will be initiated. Working with state governors, our government will activate the agribusiness development

project by tying it to the product of comparative advantage in each state of the federation. This project will enrol individual entities and processing cooperatives of at least 5000 per state involved in agro-processing, export management and storage management. With an average household of 6 persons, with an indirect effect, the goal will be to lift a minimum of 25m from poverty through agriculture with sustained BOOST in productivity and income over a 4-year period. Working with the Bank of Agriculture and the Central Bank, and by harmonising the existing multiple agricultural support schemes, the Federal Government will spread its the BOOST of agriculture and agribusiness productivity.

• **Raising the Rate of Technological Adoption in Agriculture:** As with everything else, technological advances have drastically altered the scale, methodology and implements required of various farming techniques, and called into question the usefulness of many still utilised on our farms. Most farmers do not have access to modern technology and are therefore forced to use obsolete tools and techniques that may have averse

“ The goal will be to lift a minimum of 25m from poverty through agriculture with sustained BOOST in productivity and income over a 4-year period.”

ecological effects. One of the plans of our government is to mitigate this by revamping the nation's agricultural infrastructure data in a way that allows for the widespread adoption of innovative solutions and more effective and efficient processes. A key aspect of this agenda is the capacity development of relevant institutions such as the Agricultural Research Council of Nigeria and agricultural tertiary institutions to bolster specialised academic inquiries which can then be translated to measurable improvements in practice and results for the smallholder farmers, create more jobs in the field and make farming interesting for the coming generation.

- **Advancing Women-in-Agriculture:** Our administration will advance the productivity of women in agriculture. Our core objective will be to empower women farmers to drive sustainable trades and earn a reliable income through schemes which include them in Federal Government trade operations and private sector value chain. This will include the formation of supplier groups that sell in bulk to large manufacturers and consumer markets within and outside Africa. This will also open channels for the acquisition of farming equipment which they are unlikely to find on their own. If more women can grow their businesses, and therefore contribute to a significant rise in household income, more families can escape the family trap.

LAND REFORMS

The arbitrary approach to land tenure administration, that allows it to be used as a political weapon by state governors has stifled development by denying a significant amount of citizens their right to represent their property to obtain capital for other economic endeavours. The first step in undertaking this land reform agenda begins with the amendment of the Land Use Act in order to facilitate the creation of an active land market and free transfer of titles. A successful implementation of land reform will help to unlock wealth and create new value chains in agriculture and real estate, particularly financing and creating a true mortgage system.

REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Developing economic competitiveness across the various geopolitical regions of the country is at the heart of the ACPN's diversification agenda. This intends to lead to a focus on optimising the economic performance and expanding the economies of the six geopolitical regions. The federal government will work with the regions and the private sector to produce and implement robust regional economic strategies that will foster sustainable growth.

The general strategy overview for each region are:

- **North East** – reconstruction and the reclamation of the Chad Basin for economic expansion.
- **North Central** – restore law and order while optimising agricultural productivity.
- **South South** – implement a regeneration agenda for land, communities and people for a Niger Delta beyond oil.
- **South East** – undertake reconstruction for innovation, enterprise and trade development.
- **South West** – optimise and position the region as a magnet for global talents with the aim of becoming a hub for manufacturing and services.
- **North West** – reignite the competitiveness of value-added leather and textile clustering by attracting light manufacturing industries to the comparative advantages of sources of raw materials for production.

Across board, an economy of agglomeration, whereby similar economic activities are clustered together to ensure that businesses and cities can scale and have good connectivity will be pursued.

Signature Policy: 12 CITIES PROJECT

Another component of the growth pole strategy is the 12-Cities Project. In the 21st century, cities across the world compete to attract investments, and to attract the best and brightest of talents. Our vision of 12-Cities is that over the next decade, 12 Nigerian cities will be transformed into global standard cities with a mix of the right size of population and density, literate dwellers, well-planned infrastructure, proper positioning as magnets for top talents, cultural and tech eco-system for creativity and innovation. Identifying cities with the potential to massively contribute towards economic growth and become homes to millions of new jobs, then rapidly developing these cities to provide the physical conditions for workers to be productive, because only productivity can pull people out of poverty and lead to prosperity.

National Roads to Wealth

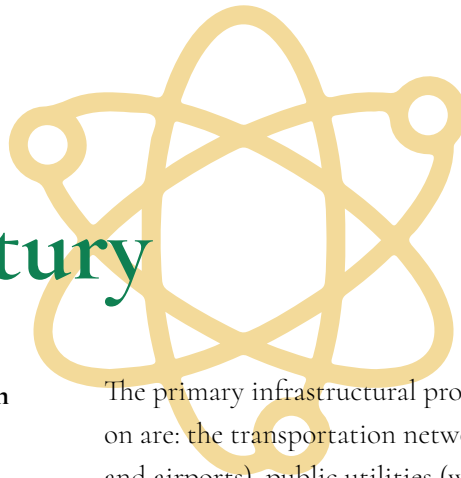
To combat the costly dearth of internal connectivity between the rural and urban Nigeria, our administration would seek to increase paved road network from 65,000km to 120,000km. Our agenda on major roads infrastructure is detailed under the Infrastructure for the 21st Century section of this document. Here, we lay out the programme of massive public works as related to the road infrastructure development vision.

Massive Public Works/Rural Roads and Market Connectivity Programme:

In partnership with communities, states and the financial sector, our administration shall embark on a “No Road Left Behind” (NRLB) programme. The goal of the NRLB programme will be to construct economic corridors in communities across Nigeria on a 5-roads-per-local-government basis in the 774 LGAs. The construction of 3,870 such roads reflects our vision to improve linkages to markets especially for rural Nigeria. It has the added benefit of providing opportunities for at least an average of 10000 youths per state. These youths will be trained on road construction under the Public Works Programme through our Get-A-Skill initiative. Each state would have at least 200 inner roads being fixed under this Public Works Programme. This programme will directly engage 400,000 Nigerians and it is expected to indirectly impact 3.5m Nigerians who will provide services for the “No Road Left Behind” project. The cost for this programme will require N300 billion over the four period. Our government shall provide 60% of investment required and raise the balance from partners of the initiative.

Our BizLift initiative which will support MSMEs in improving their access to markets will be interlocking with the NRLB programme in some cases. Infrastructural challenges often make it expensive and difficult to move goods and services from where they are to where they are needed and our rail, NRLB and BizLift initiatives will tackle this factor of high transaction cost finally.

Infrastructure for the 21st Century



Nigeria's huge infrastructure deficit is a major problem in urban and rural areas. It hinders economic growth and development, and it impacts negatively on the health and livelihoods of the population. The constant power failure, housing problems, and the inadequacies, as well as inefficiencies, in transport logistics such as roads, ports and rail transport diminish Nigerians' quality of life and makes some states unliveable. It is also a cause of death as inadequate infrastructure for water and sanitation is a major factor that contributes to myriad of health problems.

Inadequate infrastructure restricts the productivity of firms. This is particularly evident in rural and peri-urban areas. The lack of infrastructure is particularly a hindrance to rural economic development and is partly responsible for the mass migration to the cities and the exponential growth of slums. The availability of quality infrastructure has a direct effect on business productivity and growth. The level of investments in infrastructure development can be the basis of inequality between regions and countries, as it can significantly influence development of regions and countries.

Nigeria requires an estimated \$100 billion annually or \$3 trillion over the next 30 years to finance the infrastructure needs of its burgeoning population according to the African Development Bank (AfDB). With the nation's entire federal budget peaking at around \$30 billion—and less than 30% of that allocated to capital expenditure—the financing deficit is daunting and requires a prudent and aggressive strategy to bridge.

The primary infrastructural projects that will be focused on are: the transportation networks (road, rail, ports and airports), public utilities (water and renewable energy projects, digital communications technology mainly: a high-speed broadband network that cuts across the entire country, liquid and solid waste disposal networks) and housing.

Signature Policy:

Our solution to the financing of these much-needed infrastructural projects, is the creation of a N2.5 trillion InfraFund. The fund will consist of a combination of public and private sector resources totalling more than N2.5trillion to fund these projects. Cancelling the fuel subsidy and diverting a significant amount of those funds to building infrastructure is the first port of call for funding. This plan for funding these projects focuses on several funding options that bridge the deficit in the most efficient and timely manner.

Infrastructure Procurement Options

The creation of a framework that guarantees safety of investments, embeds bankability through creative turnkey funding strategies, and fosters credibly managed institutions to attract, reward and retain a sustainable stream of private capital to achieve our national development and existential objectives. These options are just a few within the broad scope of infrastructure procurement methods that will be employed to utilise Private Participation in Public Infrastructure and Services (PPIS). The focus on turnkey here is the delivery of 'ready to use' infrastructure with incentives for timely completion of projects in exchange for greater

compensation. These Turnkey Infrastructure Procurement methods include:

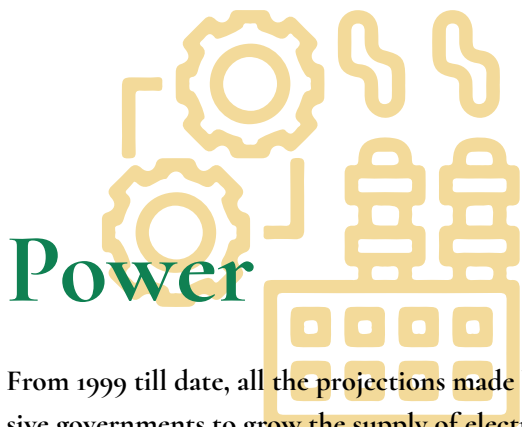
1. Design-Build, Finance (DBF), where the contractor is responsible for the entire process, subject to stipulated standards, of the project including financing, and is compensated usually in fixed instalments that commence upon completion and commissioning. This is typically funded by a financial institution based on the security of risk-free government debt. While this method merely defers payment by government to post-completion, it affords government the effective use of its Medium-Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF) to plan its finances and associated budgetary issues. It also directly catalyses private capital flow into infrastructure with the financial institutions also bearing the completion risk, thereby providing a second oversight body to incentivise timely delivery. A noteworthy feature of this method is the contrast between paying upfront, and in milestones, for contracts while awaiting completion amidst avoidable delays and, paying backend for Turnkey Infrastructure which is fully funded by

private capital, and delivered on time before government payment. This contrast on its own is compelling.

2. Design-Build, Finance, Operate & Maintain (DBFOM), where user pays. Here, the contractor is compensated by charges to users collected by the private partner. 30-year contracts of the like would significantly address the construction of desperately needed transportation networks across our nation.

3. Concessions for Ports, Hospitals, Power Plants, Water Treatment Plants and other infrastructure would also aggressively catalyse investments in these segments.

While the foregoing methods are by no means exhaustive, the prospects for these options to bridge the financing gap and the actual delivery of crucial infrastructure are very high. Executing these methods flawlessly will require the upscaling of institutions such as the Infrastructure Concession Regulatory Commission.



From 1999 till date, all the projections made by successive governments to grow the supply of electricity to Nigerians, to either 6,000MW, 10,000MW or 20,000MW have not been met. The Nigerian citizens' desire and willingness to pay an appropriate price of electricity consumed, is seen in the great demand for generators of all shapes and sizes, and how much they pay to operate and service these machines. The low power availability from the National Grid, has meant that corporate entities have to divert large amount of funds from their core productive areas of focus, to this critical area of reliable power supply. The price of this is paid in not being competitive and great loss of production capacities, which further impoverishes the populace. Our vision is to provide sustainable, affordable and uninterrupted electricity supply to all Nigerian towns and villages, starting with Nigerian cities. Our vision is to ensure that the Nigerian Electricity Supply Industry becomes fully functional, vibrant and employs hundreds of thousands of young Nigerians, in both the on-grid and off-grid segments.

Our immediate goal is to provide the following Nigerian towns, cutting across the following 6 geopolitical zones of Nigeria; Lagos, Kano, Enugu, Birnin Kebbi, Aba, Minna, Gombe, Lokoja, Gusau, Jos, Yola, Abuja, Ilorin, Keffi, Owerri, Ijebu-Ode, Calabar, Katsina, Benin, Warri, Ibadan, Ado-Ekiti, Maiduguri, Yenegoa, Damturu, Osogbo, Bauchi, Port Harcourt, Kaduna, Sokoto, Akure, Makurdi, Dutse, Abakaliki, Uyo, Jalingo and Onitsha, as well as the rural areas proximate to the towns, will have 24-hour, 365days a year, electricity, within the first 4 years of this administration. This

electricity will be aimed at facilitating and growing business, commercial and industrial activities, in a drive to create jobs and increase productivity. Nigeria's per capita electricity consumption is amongst the lowest in the world and far lower than many other African countries.

The plan that will be executed for the power sector recognises that the Nigerian Power Sector is in transition, from a government to a private-sector owned and operated industry; therefore, facing challenges, which include, political interference, lack of effective leadership, financial issues, distribution issues, transmission issues, gas supply issues, and generation issues. These issues account for the consistent underperformance witnessed in the last 58 years and will need to be effectively tackled, if the potential of the Nigerian Power Sector is to be realised.

To get electricity right, thus rapidly improve electricity performance and delivery gap to Nigerians, this plan outlines the change in approach, that the administration will adopt.

“ Our vision is to ensure that the Nigerian Electricity Supply Industry becomes fully functional, vibrant and employs hundreds of thousands of young Nigerians. ”

Signature Policy:

The implementation of a reversal of the top-down approach, to a localised data-based bottom-up approach. This will include centralised data gathering/planning, with a coordinated and harmonised decentralised implementation structure for electricity supply in Nigeria. Furthermore, there will be a simultaneous implementation of both off-grid and on-grid electricity solutions for urban and rural areas, which will harness carbon-based and renewable energy fuels, while defining and managing the commercial interface between the on-grid and off-grid segments.

The New Approach, which will build upon the ongoing Power Sector Reform Programme, will revolve around seven cardinal points:

1. Electricity supply solutions will be localised and data-driven. Off-grid electricity solutions (driven by Solar, LNG, LPG and CNG fuels), will be integrated into the on-grid urban electricity supply, to achieve rapid improvement in electricity supply.
2. Implement cost-reflective electricity tariffs, which MUST entail cost savings for ALL Nigerians. This implies that the cost of on-grid and off-grid electricity must be commercially competitive, compared to self-generation, for government to approve deployment.
3. The electricity industry must rely on a functional commercial market and no longer on government subventions. Government subventions via international commercial bonds, will be implemented immediately

and phased-out within 4 years. Development Banks will assume the role of providing internationally bankable guarantees for both on-grid and off-grid projects, where bankable guarantees are required, for the projects to be implemented.

4. Competent persons will be deployed in key positions, to provide effective sector leadership.
 5. Electricity sector discipline is fundamental and WILL be maintained.
 6. Sanctity of power sector transaction documents, as well as, deliverables stipulated within these documents, will be maintained.
 7. Energy mix of the Nigerian electricity industry will be deepened. The introduction of renewable energy into the off-grid/on-grid Nigerian energy mix, will be given priority.
- The implementation of the seven cardinal points detailed above, will entail the revision and update of the Power Sector Reform Programme, as well as, the underlying assumptions guiding the implementation of the Nigerian Power Sector Reforms.

It is envisaged that this new approach, will galvanise the Nigerian populace and the international community and thus serve as the springboard for the successful conclusion of the Nigerian Power Sector Reforms and thus provide sustainable electricity to Nigerian homes and businesses, under a competitive pricing structure.

Housing



Our plan for housing will involve partnering with the private sector to design and develop the “Basic Nigerian Home”. These homes will be modelled as starter homes—similar to those used in developing countries like China—to contain only the following:

- Two rooms and a living room
- One bathroom and one toilet
- One kitchen

The Housing Plan

- Within six months, our government will launch a competition for the best and cheapest design for the Basic Nigerian Home.
- This home will be specifically built as a starter home for those having their own home for the first time.

- Beneficiaries of the homes will be expected to graduate out of them after a few years. It will allow residents have a safe and secure living space with guaranteed tenure and stable rental costs.

- No deposit will be required but beneficiaries will be expected to make their monthly rental payments promptly and in full. Each beneficiary will be assessed relative to their income and a rental income calculated.

- When moving on to another home, residents will be entitled to between 15 and 20% of the total rental they paid as a lump sum rebate—dependent on how well they kept the home and how promptly they made their rental payments—to be used as a deposit on a new home.

The Basic Nigerian Home will allow us to reduce the cost of housing as well as lay the foundation for a functional mortgage market that will expand property ownership to millions of Nigerians.

Environment and Climate Change



It is estimated that Nigeria contributes about 490 metric tonnes of greenhouse emissions, annually, through its activities in land-use change and forestry (39%), energy production (33%), waste (14%), agriculture (13%), and industry (2%). With studies already pointing to the increasing rate of ecological anomalies caused by climate change on weather patterns, desertification, and plant species composition in the country, it can no longer remain a sideline issue. The reduction of arable land due to sea incursion and desert encroachment, for example, present an enormous challenge to agriculture and environmental stability. While one or two previous administrations have addressed the issue of climate

change at one point or another, lacking the political will and administrative capacity to confront it with full force, they have done nothing but wait for it to go away. It will not go away until action is taken. The Oby Ezekwesili government will pursue aggressive clean energy policies and decarbonised economy measures through divestment from fossil fuels, robust investment in renewable energy solutions such as wind, geothermal, and solar as a core element of a nationwide electrification agenda, and deployment of carbon capture and storage (CCS) and negative emissions technologies (NETs).

Claiming the Fourth Industrial Revolution: Science Technology and Innovation



Signature Policy:

The creation of a \$1 billion Science, Technology and Innovation (STI) fund to ensure that science, technology and innovation becomes the enabler for socio-economic development and structural transformation.

The goal is to kickstart the process of becoming Africa's number one innovation and knowledge economy. The STI fund will support the building of a robust national innovation system, carry out reforms and re-organisation of existing institutions, fund scale up of SMEs and startups in the technology space, research and development, knowledge transfer, among others. The fund will function as a partnership between the government and the private sector.

Signature Policy:

Set up an ICT programme with a focus on ensuring Nigerians are growing in the remote working and outsourcing global market. The plan will be to create centres of ICT advancement in all states with a focus on an average of 10,000 developers in each state. Simultaneously, a group of technology ambassadors will be engaging global sourcing centres providing them with comparative advantage of opening or expanding current operations in Nigeria. The ICT programme will partner with the private sector in investing the real estate that allows remote tech workers involved in tech development, data science, artificial intelligence and emerging technologies to comfortably work. 360,000 persons will

be impacted directly through this programme; N1.5m Nigerians will be indirect beneficiaries. This plan is costed at N100bn, which will be financed by the STI Fund, which is in turn financed from the oil subsidy savings.

TECHNOLOGY START UPS

Signature Policy:

The design and implementation of policies that ensure the increase of technology start-ups in the country by at least 500% in the next four years. This initiative will be supported through tax waivers to incentivise investments in technology. Part of the curriculum review in our schools will see the incorporation of coding and entrepreneurship into the education system. This will all be facilitated by the provision of a legal framework built in conjunction with stakeholders to create and boost investor confidence.

The focus is prioritising support to young people to unleash their creativity in the fields of new, smart, disruptive technologies from Artificial Intelligence to Quantum Computing to Big Data and the Internet of Things. The future is here already, and technology holds the key to solving our poverty crisis, environmental disasters, low level of productivity and competitiveness, healthcare crisis, infrastructure decay, and most especially corruption.



Tackling the Cancer of Corruption: Good Governance, Transparency, Accountability and Anti-Corruption

Corruption is arguably Nigeria's most visible problem, and a war against it has been a tool for opportunistic politicians who lack the track record, political will or even technical know-how to tackle this. The government understands that tackling corruption is a proactive process, that focuses on building strong impartial organisations that are staffed by utmost professionals, financially self-sufficient and act within the confines of the law to deliver justice in all investigations and cases. Tackling corruption requires a 3-pronged approach. Firstly, value reorientation: This will be led by the highest political authority in the land, being the president. Hence, ensuring the election of a credible untainted president is critical to tackling corruption. Secondly, prevention: This focuses on reducing opportunities for corruption through public sector reforms which improve public financial management and also reduce the role of government in the economy. This means reviving the role of the audit agencies and processes across the public sector. The reform of the Oil and Gas sector for example, uproots the endemic corruption in NNPC and the wider sector. Also strengthening agencies like the Bureau for Public Procurement (BPP) and The Nigeria Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (NEITI) by reviewing and updating their laws for effectiveness.

Finally, effective sanctions on corruption and impunity: This means reversing the aberrant status quo where there is freedom to engage in corrupt practices without consequences. This will require providing agencies the capacity to detect, investigate and prosecute corruption. Obiageli Ezekwesili was the pioneer head of the Budget

Monitoring and Price Intelligence Unit (aka Due Process Unit). It was in this position that she earned the title of "Madam Due Process" for the outstanding work she led a team of professionals to do in sanitising public procurement at the Federal level in Nigeria.

The major institutions that our proactive corruption plan focuses on strengthening are:

- The National Judicial Council
- The Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC)
- The Independent Corrupt Practices and other related Offences Commission (ICPC)
- The Code of Conduct Bureau
- The Code of Conduct Tribunal
- The Nigeria Police Force
- The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC)
- Service Compact with All Nigerians (SERVICOM)

“The government understands that tackling corruption is a proactive process, that focuses on building strong impartial organisations that are staffed by utmost professionals.”

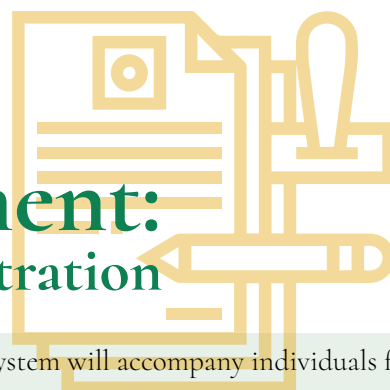
Reforming each and every one of these organisations, begins with ensuring that the laws by which they can function effectively and efficiently exist. These laws must allow them to be impartial, limit government interference, provide competitive salaries that allow for the recruitment of the best talent available and ensure the delivery of their primary mandate in the most effective manner. The end goal for each and every one of these institutions is achieving a high degree of effectiveness, accountability and responsiveness to Nigerians.

There are two laws that deserve significant focus because they hold significant potential to tackle corruption but have been hindered from functioning to their fullest capacity: the Freedom of Information Act and the Electoral Act. Ensuring that stringent penalties are placed on bodies that refuse to—or hinder the process—release information that the public request is critical to improving transparency and fighting corrupt practices. Simplifying the process of making an FOI request, by allowing online applications and tracking the

time that it takes to respond to them is an initiative that will be executed. The Electoral Act, empowers INEC to regulate the electoral process, however there are significant restrictions on INEC's ability to tackle the serious flaws in our electoral system. Most especially ensuring that the financing of political campaigns and activities are above board and legal. The opaque funding of political parties and individuals has led to politicians being beholden to special interests who pursue personal enrichment at the expense of the commonwealth.

Obiageli Ezekwesili was one of the co-founders of Transparency International, an international Non-Governmental Organisation that focuses on combating global corruption. As pioneer director of the organisation, Oby played a frontline role in ensuring the creation of the Corruption Perception Index, which is viewed as the most accurate measure of assessing a country's perceived level of corruption.

Intelligent Government: No Bureaucratic Stress Administration



The ACPN presidential candidate comes with hands-on experience on what it takes for countries to improve their Ease of Doing Business Ranking (DBR) on the World Bank annual DBR successfully advised countries on how to get ahead and be among Top Ten Most Reforming Countries on the index. Our administration will however go deeper to reform more critical issues that undermine the business climate not just generally but at sectoral level. We plan on improving by over 100 spots on the Ranking by 2021.

Our administration shall design and fully implement a deep public sector reform that uses an updated Stephen Orosonye Report of the Presidential Committee on Reform of Government Agencies as a baseline for improving the quality of service delivery to citizens and business entities. We shall reform in order to attract and retain top talents into the civil service. We shall invest in, and adopt, technologies and tools for governance that will make Nigeria a capable and intelligent state. Digital technology with emerging tools such as artificial intelligence, machine learning will handle mundane tasks and free up the people to improve the quality of public service delivery in which the citizen is an active and responsible user.

Signature Policy:

The creation of portals where individuals and businesses can go to obtain any government or administrative service. The goal is to link all state services and data in a back end that will be used to provide lifecycle services to people from registration at birth to issuing death certificates, and all the services in between including automatic registration for voting, registering businesses, getting a National Health Insurance Number, and more.

The system will accompany individuals from birth throughout their life.

Invest in technology that allows for a responsive government and provides an opportunity to build service-oriented technology companies in the e-governance space in Nigeria. The federal government will work with states to adopt a common standard, support development of tools which are compatible and can then be implemented at the state level.

A government performance unit will be established within the presidency and will encourage each state government to adopt the same or similar units. The platform will allow for day-to-day monitoring of government activities, budget and programme implementations, as well achievements. The performance unit will have a portal which is public and provide direct access for all to see what is happening and provide a mechanism for citizens to monitor government performance.

“ We shall reform in order to attract and retain top talents into the civil service. We shall invest in, and adopt, technologies and tools for governance that will make Nigeria a capable and intelligent state.”

Foreign Affairs



Nigeria has previously excelled in having Africa as the centrepiece of its foreign policy. Building on this movement, we will focus on “trade with Africa as the centrepiece of Nigeria’s foreign policy”. The African Continental Free Trade Agreement that Nigeria has abstained from will be a priority that we shall not only sign and ratify but play a leading role in implementing. Ensuring that proactive dialogue is created and maintained with all African countries on common and peculiar issues, ensuring that democratic norms such as: Universal human rights, a free press, universal adult suffrage, free and fair elections are upheld by African nations and their leaders.

The International Organisations we will focus on, and initiatives we shall execute within them are:



1. UN Security Council

Pushing for security council reform and a permanent seat for Nigeria on the council to represent Africa.

The seat allows Nigeria to:

- To prevent great powers from imposing policies on Nigeria.
- Ensure its status as the continent’s most populous country, as Sub-Saharan Africa’s largest economy and its role as Africa’s largest contributor to regional security, and as a contributor to peacekeeping globally.

- Have voice against unnecessary invasions by the great powers. A voice for world peace. A voice for disarmament.

To execute this: a programme to recruit the best ambassadors and representatives—those with the highest technocratic credentials in the world’s economic and financial centres—at the World Bank and IMF, the African Development Bank, the European Commission in Brussels, and in Beijing will be initiated.

A leader in economic diplomacy for Nigeria, for Africa, for A FAIRER WORLD. Oby knows what she stands for as a former Vice President of the World Bank.

- The complexities of international finance are not for time-servers.
- They are for young and dynamic people whose futures are tied up in a world economy that must be gotten right and made fair.

“*The African Continental Free Trade Agreement that Nigeria has abstained from will be a priority that we shall not only sign and ratify but play a leading role in implementing.*”



2. African Union (AU)

Lead efforts to upgrade the capacity of the African Union, so the African continent is seen as an equal to the European continent.

- Ensure that the best young Nigerian foreign service recruits spend a year on secondment to the commission of the African Union to build an expanding bank of knowledge of Africa.
- Provide administrative support to the Secretariat of the AU, as the secretariat is key to operationalising decisions. A stronger secretariat is central to a stronger union.
- Bill of Rights and tribunals need the support and the strength of Nigerian military might behind them as a signal that the AU arm has more than words. Ensuring that our military can be committed to restore law and order in erring states or to enforce the Responsibility to Protect.



3. Economic Committee of West African States (ECOWAS)

A deeper and more expansive military operation amongst member states across borders.

- Joint regional command with Chad and Cameroon to combat Boko Haram.
- Joint operational command within ECOWAS.
- Bring all neighbours into a comprehensive security framework.

Executing the foreign policy goals of our government will require SMARTER NEGOTIATIONS. At the crux of diplomatic tasks that will be embarked upon there will be a focus on operating with more sophisticated negotiating strategies, beyond the carrot and stick approach that has often been used. This will be coupled with respect and equity in bi-lateral and multilateral relationships.

Human Security



The constitutional mandate of the government to ensure the security of life and property has been the least satisfactory performance of the federal government in the past decade. Nigeria confronts and has been responding in the last few years, to at least 14 security threats in different regions: including terrorism (North East and North Central), armed insurgency (Niger Delta/North East), Kidnapping (mostly in the South East, but also prevalent in most urban centres/cities), armed robbery (more general), organised crime such as human and weapons trafficking, oil theft and bunkering (cross-cutting, but more pronounced in the South), herders violence in increasing tensions between pastoralists and farmers; ethno-religious and secessionist agitations and resource-based violence among others.

- Tackling these will require moving the security discourse and planning away from a narrow focus on military responses, to a more collective and participative conversation in which the public has a period in which to actively and authentically debate a new security vision; and by ensuring that the concerns expressed by the people make their way into a new security policy. The policy will be responsive to current and immediate challenges by revising the current containment measures to ensure efficiency, include effective public communication on security issues without compromising genuine national security concerns; and bringing citizens in as participants in their own security, through the establishment of local Peace Committees as part of the national security architecture.

AGENDA 2

There can be

**NO SUSTAINABLE
DEVELOPMENT
WITHOUT PEACE**

*and no peace without
sustainable development.*



- A systemic reform of the military and the justice system in Nigeria. The military will be reoriented to understand that the rights of Nigerian citizens must be respected. In addition, it will ensure that the military has the equipment needed to succeed in protecting the territorial integrity of Nigeria. The justice system will be reformed to ensure that the idea of justice and fairness informs all activities. This will be done through disincentives and transparency in the processes, and full reviews by independent panels of experts for all appeals. Building Nigeria will require that we ensure all are equal before the law and that no one is above the law.

- This administration's target in achieving human security is the total eradication of systematic violence against women highlighted mainly by Boko Haram which reached its peak after the kidnapping and abduction of girls and women. The 14 April 2014 abduction of 276 young girls from a government secondary school in Chibok town, Borno state is the highest profile of such cases. It has been kept in public consciousness, not least through the "#BringBackOurGirls" campaign. The remaining 112 #ChibokGirls, Leah Sharibu, Alice Loksha Ngaddah and other unidentified citizens deserve immediate justice of rescue. They will receive that commitment to deploy every means possible to secure their freedom should they still be in captivity in 2019. There are other isolated, less profile cases where the retinue of women and young girls left behind by fleeing or killed adults have been targeted for kidnap, rape and killing and our government shall place our human security agenda to immediate action for such Nigerians.

Signature Policy:

Our administration would ensure swift and coordinated responses to all acts of violence in regions that are vulnerable to attacks from armed groups. To achieve this, defense spending will be increased to 15% of the national budget, recruit 100,000 personnel into all services (Increase manpower by 80%) and create an armed forces capacity monitoring and evaluation unit under the president's direct supervision. Increased

spending will also be met with a drive to curb corruption and improve accountability by probing all former major defense contracts, sanctioning indicted officials and giving the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) a stronger mandate to investigate corruption in the defense sector. Furthermore, ensure a stronger mandate, funding and a capacity of the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) to investigate and report violations by military units and personnel.

- There will be a focus on preventive, preemptive and proactive strategy through a buildup of cutting-edge Intelligence Assets and Personnel for both internal and external surveillance. Partnering with our global allies and regional neighbors, and aggressively seeking security and intelligence sharing partnerships to coordinate intelligence gathering. This will require that we take the lead through the international organisations that Nigeria is a member of; from ECOWAS to the Africa Union and The United Nations.

- Policing: Nigeria currently has 187 policemen for every 100,000 Nigerians, the UN recommends a ratio of 300 police officers to 100,000 people.

To begin the process of transforming the police force, the Police Act of 1943 that establishes and defines the functions of the Nigeria Police Force will be repealed and replaced with a bill tailored towards redefining the powers, limits and units of operations. The version of the Act that we intend to replace the 1943 Act with is one that focuses on creating a force that is people-centered. This will require a total overhaul of the management, discipline, promotion and accountability arrangements of the force.

In addition, reforming the police means a decentralization of the force, to ensure community policing of lives and assets across the nation. Decentralising the police force allows for the issues of poor funding and inadequate equipment to be tackled by relatively smaller entities such as States or Cities who have a vested interest in ensuring that the force polices them, require all that they need to function.

Restructuring for Economic Prosperity, Stability and Harmony



The current structure of governance has led to long-term problems and failures of governance.

There is little or no debate that the country must be restructured in a way that allows all constituent parts to have control of the primary aspects of governance ranging from security, tax raising powers, economic development, education, health, policing, infrastructure and law making. At the core of the agitation for restructuring is ensuring equitable development, inclusion, justice, fairness and healthy competition among the various groupings within Nigeria.

Our vision of restructuring is one which places the economic prosperity of Nigeria and the twin objectives of a high productivity and competitiveness at the centre of the dialogues on distribution of responsibilities and resources. For our administration, structure follows function not the other way. “One nation, one economy fostering effective fiscal federalism with states and local governments” shall be the cornerstone of our relationship with the federating units even while restructuring is being discussed.

- Our ACPN administration shall lead a national dialogue recommending restructuring and further devolution of power and resources to the states with mitigating systems to prevent dismal results. The Federal Government shall actively lead the national conversation on restructuring and devolution of power. Although the excessive power of the federal government is partially responsible for the stunted growth, poverty and insecurity of the states and regions, more than half of the responsibility for failures must be placed within that secondary level. There is nothing stellar in the performance of any of the states or local governments of the federation on those items on the concurrent and residual lists on which the Constitution offers them absolute freedom to operate.
- Within six months of assuming office, the ACPN government will convene the first of two-part pre-dialogues on Restructuring The Nigerian Federation for Prosperity, Stability and Harmony. The first of the two dialogues will be economic-based to identify the structural rigidities and imbalances that have held back the progress of the federating units and the country as a single entity.

Relationship with the Media and Citizens Sector



The division of labour between the public, private sector and civil society can oftentimes lead to tension, yet it ought not to be so. Our administration will maximise the value of civil society in keeping our government honest. Those among the CSOs whose focus is on Governance, Transparency, Accountability and anti-Corruption can help us identify the best ways to improve performance. That does not mean that other CSOs cannot be collaborators in service delivery.

Signature Policy:

1. Our government shall work collaboratively with civil society groups. We shall also respond to demands for accountability and transparency by submitting our actions to the FOI Act whenever required.
2. As president, Oby Ezekwesili will hold monthly conversations with the community of CSOs.
3. Our Government shall embark on a comprehensive review of the service provider role of CSOs as part of our agenda for improving service delivery on all forms.
4. Collaborate through National Orientation Agency with CSOs, to revive a New National Narrative. Drive a national campaign on values with the support of CSOs to disseminate messaging that are designed for mass appeal around long lost values of family, character, hard-work, effort, excellence, honesty, service, sacrifice, patriotism, truth, consistency, contentment and such like.

An Oby Ezekwesili administration believes strongly in a media that self regulates with minimum intervention from regulatory bodies that guide the operations of media organisations. To ensure minimum government

intervention with media organisations and their activities, we shall allow for representatives selected by media organisations to sit on the board of the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation to ensure a body that allows for the views of the industry it regulates at the highest levels of governance. At every opportunity the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation will work within the confines of its legal mandate and adopt a general policy of media freedom over media repression. As a sign of good faith, any cases of media repression inherited or ongoing when the ACPN government is elected will be immediately discontinued and apologies will be issued on behalf of the government to the affected parties.

Social media in Nigeria has become a source of news and entertainment for a significant amount of the population, we shall seek to co-opt the most visible platforms that Nigerians engage with by ensuring their representation at press parleys, and a drive towards including this channel as a communication tool for the government. Our principles of media freedom will also be extended towards social media platforms, with a renewed drive to engage positively, truthfully and with clarity in all correspondences with the general public. Moreover, we shall seek collaborations at every given opportunity, most of which will be led by the National Orientation Agency which under our control will seek to drive a new national narrative of Nigeria. Driving this narrative will require partnering with members of the media, Civil Society Organisations and social media platforms. At the crux of our agenda with all of the bodies listed below is to deepen our democracy, support initiatives especially those that conform to the #OfficeOfTheCitizen agenda that has been championed by the presidential candidate of the ACPN, Obiageli Ezekwesili.



Tracking the Sustainable Development Goals

Nigeria's development has, for several decades, been marked by disregard for human development indices, environmental degradation and damage of natural ecosystems, most notably in the Delta region of the country. The absence of long-term thinking in previous administrations has resulted, not only in structural failures which hamper the well-being of present generations of Nigerians, but also endanger future generations. Consequently, a central objective of the ACPN government will be the creation of frameworks which adequately and consistently assess Nigeria's progress towards the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

Our administration will swiftly determine Nigeria's SDG baselines through mechanisms which monitor and report its progress on targets in our National Development Plan. We shall provide absolute support to the National Bureau of Statistics to fast track its progress into a global standard data collation and analysis agency with a comprehensive automated system for reflecting information on SDG indicators in real time, offering comparative insight into challenges facing the most out of reach communities.

Costing The #80MillionPeoplePovertyLift

The initiatives proposed to lift 80 million Nigerians out of extreme poverty and create a prosperous nation, requires plenty of money to finance it. Here is how this administration will source the additional funds required to complement the current annual average of four to five trillion naira actual federal revenue.

1. Gains from Oil Sector Deregulation:

We shall end the inefficient and corrupted fuel subsidy regime and target the gains from the sector toward building up our human capital and critical infrastructure. Nigeria spends at least N800bn on fuel subsidy with the oil price at \$60 – \$70 per barrel band. The Federal Government is entitled to an average of 50% of subsidy savings and this puts FG gains as N400bn.

2. Value Added Tax (VAT):

At five per cent rate, one of the lowest in the world, Nigeria collects N900bn revenues from VAT. The administration will double VAT to ten per cent and will use such funds to finance our “Out of Poverty” project. The new five per cent rate will be solely meant for the FG while the previous rate will be fully relinquished to states. The estimated project gains from VAT stand at N800bn.

3. Gains from Public Sector Efficiency: The administration will raise the revenue from independent agencies by N200bn. Nigeria has over 400 revenue generating agencies with a combined revenue of over N4tn. The administration using best practices will ensure efficiencies to boost the operating profit of these agencies by N200bn. This will be done with the support of: development partners and consultancy firms.

The plans above will be executed by:

- Public Private Partnerships investments
- Development Financing from multilateral and bilateral institutions
- Guided Debt Restructuring to achieve Debt Sustainability

The Three Arms in for National Development



The recent return to democratic rule from military administrations has led to skirmishes between all three arms of government, occasionally presenting effective governance from occurring. The principle of separation of powers and checks and balance have been, over the years, mis-applied, perverted and as a matter of fact, abused. From judicial orders being flouted by the executive to the legislature being unable to check excesses from the executive arm, to the legislative arm acting illegally. Each arm has one issue or the other that has hobbled its effectiveness in making our democracy as functional as it should making the task of national development difficult.

The long-term solution to the conflicts between these arms is an amendment to the Constitution to address those grey areas that trigger schisms between them. Checks and balances are inherent sources of tension between the three arms of government in even the most advanced democracies.

The first step to ensuring harmonious collaboration and respect for the principles of separation of powers is for each arm to abide by strict adherence to laws, processes and norms. The second is to establish an open

communication channel with the arms of government and individual members who are willing and able to share their opinions on issues that might lead to dispute amongst the arms. Our administration shall abide by these two.

Under the ACPN administration, the executive arm shall cooperate and collaborate with the other two arms of government to pursue its vision of rapid productivity and competitiveness for Nigeria. We shall absolutely respect the necessity for true independence and separation of powers amongst the three arms and encourage the other arms to do same.

The principles of separation and power and checks and balances cannot work on their own; they are ultimately determined by the professionalism, leadership style and vision of those at the head of each arm. The executive under ACPN leadership shall model the standard of democratic accountability that advances the interest and wellbeing of the Nigerian state and its people. Standing on the legitimacy of the mandate of the Nigerian people, our executive branch will mobilise support for our development agenda from the legislature and judiciary.

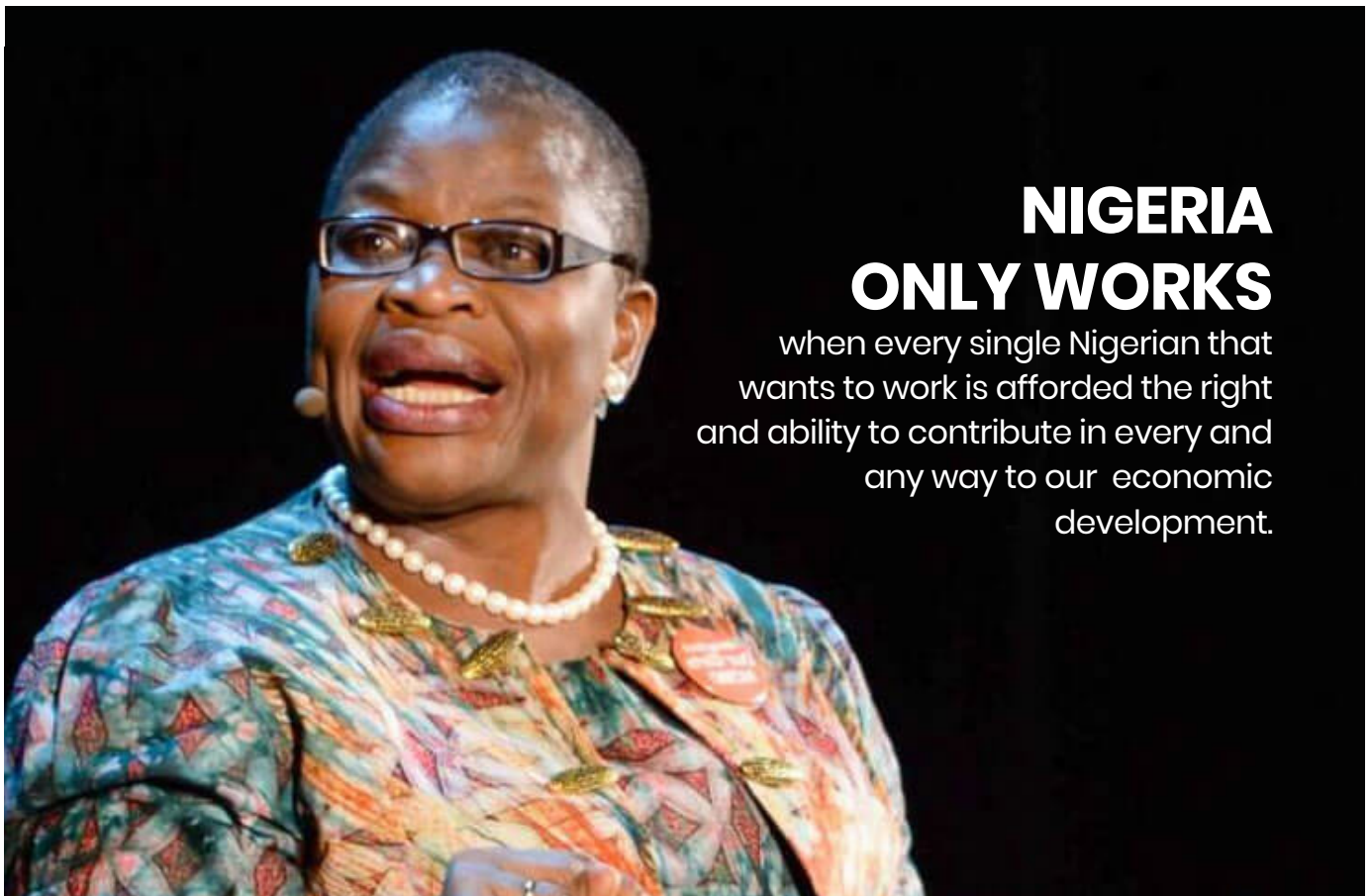


A Team of Equals: Inclusion: Persons Living With Disabilities

We believe that persons with disabilities in Nigeria are entitled to exercise their civil, political, social, economic, educational and cultural rights on an equal basis with others, and we will work to ensure this in every aspect of new or existing government policy and initiatives.

The Nigeria disability bill currently awaiting Presidential assent will be a priority for our government, ensuring the implementation of the bill through the creation of a dedicated commission to monitor progress. The Federal Ministry of Women Affairs which is

currently responsible for implementing government policy regarding citizens living with disabilities, does not offer the representation that the group requires. There will be a focus on the creation of a commission staffed wholly by persons living with disabled that is responsible for advocating for the inclusion of this group within broader government policies, strategies, programs and executing nationwide monitoring mechanisms. Nigeria only works when every single Nigerian that wants to work is afforded the right and ability to contribute in every and any way to our economic development.

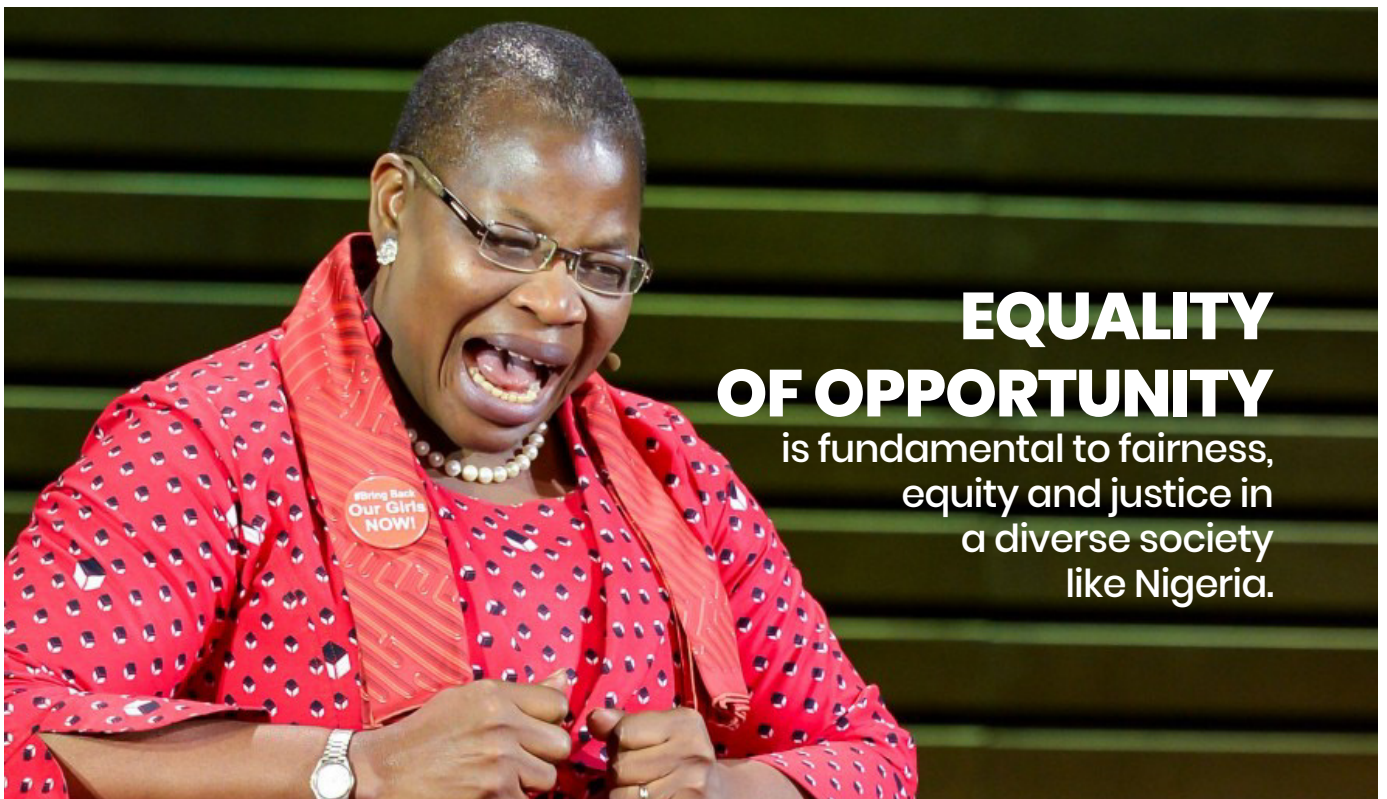


Constituting an Effective Cabinet to Deliver Results

The composition of the cabinet under our ACPN administration shall be guided by the troika criteria of character, competence and capacity, considering the level of policy leadership that our government would expect from ministers. Our cabinet shall reflect 50% inclusion for women and 50% for young people generally with no compromise of the three criteria.

The principles that girds the centrality of inclusion made by our ACPN administration centres on the fact that women and the youth, both of the largest demographic blocs of the nation are severely underrepresented in public life. Furthermore, the belief that a diverse makeup of government not only improves representation, but accountability to the public that these appointees are elected by underpins its importance. The path forward to Nigeria's future is ensuring that governance

is built on the diversity that runs through this country and a belief in the immense possibilities it inspires. Equality of opportunity is fundamental to fairness, equity and justice in a diverse society like Nigeria. That was what the writers of the 1979 constitution sought to achieve by entrenching the Federal Character Principle that guides appointments into public office. Everyone knows however that the FCP has been practiced in a manner that has led the country towards a "race to the bottom" thereby compromising merit in public appointments with attendant adverse impact on governance. Our administration shall propose amendment to the FCP to reverse the trend and in place propose an equality of opportunity principle that achieves both competition, merit, representation and inclusion without trading any off.



**EQUALITY
OF OPPORTUNITY**
is fundamental to fairness,
equity and justice in
a diverse society
like Nigeria.



Epilogue

BY2019
FOR PRESIDENT

I [WILL] WORK WITH OTHER CONCERNED NIGERIANS TO MOBILISE THE PUBLIC TO ISSUE A “RED CARD” TO THE STATUS QUO DOMINANT POLITICAL CLASS.

Nigerians cannot afford to wait four more years for another perceived strong man, nor to settle for a lesser of two evils that is neither focused on convincing Nigerians that they have a roadmap to the future they deserve, nor possess any reformist credentials to their name.”





ALLIED CONGRESS PARTY
OF NIGERIA

Project **RESCUE NIGERIA**

THE MANIFESTO

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EZEKWESILI