



IT'S POSSIBLE



**OBI / BABA-AHMED'S
PACT WITH NIGERIA**



Our Pact with Nigerians: Creating a New Nigeria



Our committment

To offer honest and competent leadership to deliver our 7 priorities:

- 1.** To secure Nigeria, end banditry and insurgency; and unite our dear nation, to manage our diversity such that no one is left behind.
- 2.** Shift emphasis from consumption to production by running a production-centered economy that is driven by an agrarian revolution and export-oriented industrialization.
- 3.** Restructure the polity through effective legal and institutional reforms to entrench the rule of law, aggressively fight corruption, reduce cost of governance, and establish an honest and efficient civil service.
- 4.** Leapfrog Nigeria into the 4th Industrial Revolution (4IR), through the application of scientific and technological innovations to create a digital economy.
- 5.** Build expansive and world-class infrastructure for efficient power supply, rail, road and air transportation, and pipeline network, through integrated public-private partnerships, and entrepreneurial public sector governance.
- 6.** Enhance the human capital of Nigerian youth for productivity and global competitiveness through investment in world-class scholarship and research, quality healthcare, and entrepreneurship education.
- 7.** Conduct an afro-centric diplomacy that protects the rights of Nigerian citizens abroad and advance the economic interests of Nigerians and Nigerian businesses in a changing world.





Our Action Plan



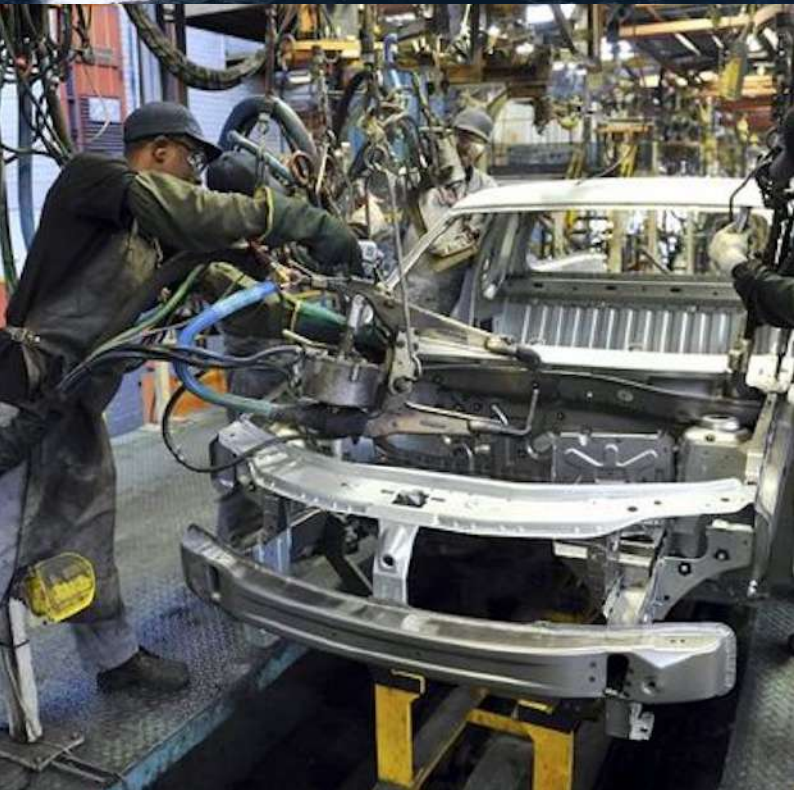
As your President, I Peter Gregory Onwubuasi Obi, my Vice President, Yusuf Datti Baba-Ahmed and our team pledge to:

- Secure and unite our dear nation, and manage our diversity such that no one is left behind in Nigeria.
- Move Nigeria from consumption to production.
- Embark on comprehensive legal and institutional reforms and practicable restructuring measures, to fight corruption; to ensure the enthronement of the rule of law, and decisively tackle all forms of corruption.
- Prioritize Human Capital Development through robust investments in STEM education, health, and infrastructural development, with emphasis on wealth creation, distribution and sustainable development.
- Engineer the transition of Nigeria from fossil fuel dependency to climate and eco-friendly energy use.
- Pursue holistic poverty eradication with emphasis on agricultural revolution through effective utilization of our vast arable lands, particularly in Northern Nigeria, and erase Nigeria's categorization as the poverty capital of the world.
- Improve access to finance, particularly to MSMEs, youths and women, to significantly reduce unemployment and insecurity.
- Ensure that in policy and practice, governance will be made more inclusive, cost-effective, transformative, and less transactional. No more sharing of the national wealth by a few.
- Ensure that our diversity will be leveraged to give women and youths, the aged and persons with disabilities, an unfettered voice in governance, and a renewed sense of patriotism and faith in Nigeria.
- Ensure that Nigeria is progressively better governed through legislative, executive, and judicial reforms, so that the constitutional separation of powers among the three arms of government is entrenched and the three tiers of government allowed to function independently and jointly for a more inclusive and sustainable Nigeria.





obi - baba - ahmed pact with Nigeria



A New Nigeria is **P**Ossible



Our vision is a secure, united and prosperous Nigeria that works for everyone and that realizes the hope of black people of the world as a city on the hill. We will run **a government of national unity**, bringing together for the task at hand, all competent, honest, and diligent Nigerians, irrespective of their political affiliations. The new Nigeria we build will be truly **“one nation bound in freedom, peace and unity”** where “peace and justice shall reign.”

For long, the dream of a secure, united and prosperous Nigeria has been betrayed by those who lack the character and competence to achieve the dream. Now, a new generation of Nigerian leadership has emerged, tested and tried, honest and dedicated, united in a common mission to reverse the current ugly trend of endemic poverty, insecurity, and create a better future for every Nigerian, a future defined by widespread prosperity based on high economic growth, equal access to health and educational facilities, and justice and fairness to all religious, ethnic, and social groups.

The new Nigeria that we will build is a society where political power will no longer be used to serve the interest of the ruling class and subject the people to chronic poverty and deprivation. We will build a new social order where political leaders will be PUBLIC SERVANTS working for the good of the people and not predators, flourishing in the midst of extreme poverty and



A New Nigeria is POSSible

misery. We are building a society where citizens are motivated to work hard, to innovate, to invent, fully assured that they will enjoy the fruits of their enterprise. We want to create wealth for Nigeria and for every household through diligence, frugality and enterprise. Our new Nigeria is a country all Nigerians will be proud to call home because it is an economic giant that can feed its citizens, defend them from any aggression and secure them in their homes and businesses.

We are coming to run an entrepreneurial state able to double Nigeria’s GDP in a short time and abolish extreme poverty like China that removed 740m from poverty through economic policy that emphasized social market. Our focus is to ensure that wealth is created through sectors that improve the well-being of all Nigerian citizens. Our theory of change is DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP. Therefore, we will prioritize economic and social rights under Chapter 2 of the Constitution and implement these rights through social programs and projects that empower the people and mainstream the poor first in access to critical services. To ensure poverty-reduction, based on fast economic growth, our governance principles, priority projects and programmes will be anchored on the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

Securing and uniting Nigeria and growing her economy requires steady and trusted hands. It is a full-time employment on behalf of Nigerian people. It is not time for rent-seeking or absenteeism. It is time to pull the sleeves, bend down and lift the weight off the shoulders of Nigerians.

I, Peter Gregory Onwubuasi Obi and my running mate, Yusuf Datti Baba-Ahmed, promise you that we will be the leaders you can trust to be honest, diligent, and ever-present to work for you. This is our promise to you: we will work for you with ‘pure hearts and skillful hands’.

So, help us God.





The Context

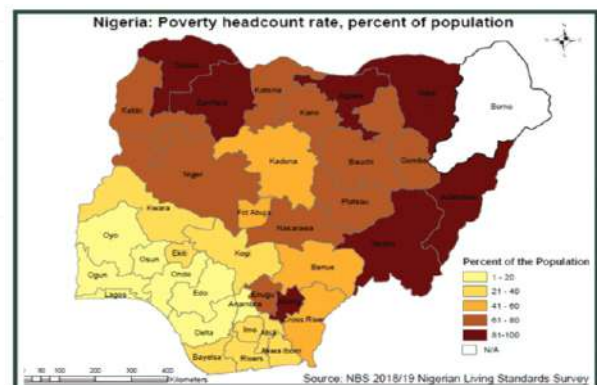
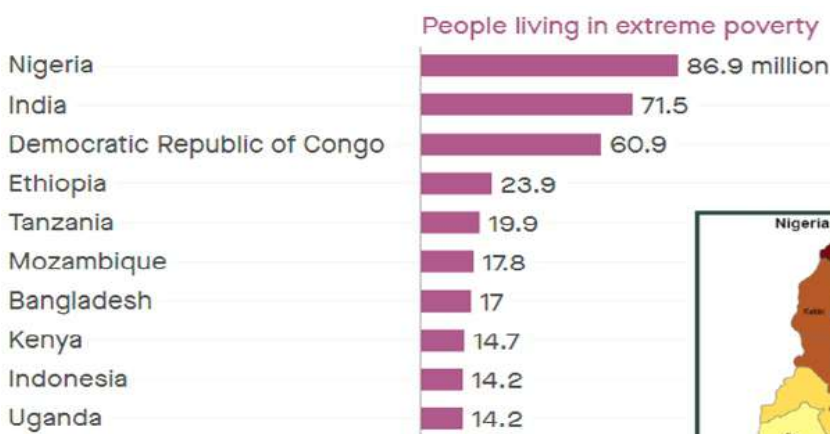


The Context

We are on a mission to disrupt the deterioration of our beloved country. We want to end the race to extreme poverty and state collapse under mercenaries who have posed as messiahs. Now is the time for new beginning. There is a strong determination of Nigerian peoples, especially the youths, to create a new future for themselves, a future of prosperity, safety, and freedom. The Obi-Baba-Ahmed team is committed to this mission.

We want to heal Nigeria. But to solve a problem you must understand its pathology. To heal Nigeria, we need a good diagnosis of its problems. The problem with Nigeria is elite capture. Nigeria has been captured by an elite that has shown no commitment to development. The result is that in spite of trillions of naira from oil revenue and the abundant human and natural endowments, the country has remained poor and unstable. This failure of development and political stability has worsened since the return of democracy in 1999. Although we made modest gains from 1999 to 2015, the culture of corruption, highlighted by plundering of state resources and insensitivity to the suffering of the people, continued to define statecraft and resulted in growth without development.

Since 2015, the crisis of leadership has worsened to the point that the Nigerian state is now generally described as a failed or failing state. A sizeable portion of Nigeria is under the control of either terrorists, bandits or insurgents. About 63% of Nigerians (133m) are so poor that they do not have access to basic sanitation, good nutrition, basic education and healthcare, or employment. In 2022 alone, N5.1m Nigerians entered into acute poverty, bringing the number of extremely poor Nigerians to 95m. The World Bank noted in its report on Nigeria that in spite of several social and economic reforms of the government, no single





The Context

Nigeria was lifted out of poverty, instead 5 million more Nigerians dropped into poverty. The report notes that this failure has nothing to do with the global health pandemic and the Russian-Ukraine war, but the failure of policy formulation and administration by the government.

The perennial failure of economic and social policies to grow Nigeria's economy and transform the lives of its people is not an accident. It is not a mere occurrence. It is the expected result of a faulty political economy that has concentrated political power in the hands of politicians who came to power through their contrivances and not through the affirmation of the people, and therefore, do not have the incentive to serve the people's interest.

Nigeria failed to realise its potentials because its leaders are mostly its criminals. In the 2023 presidential elections, we have to change this misfortune. We must create a new political culture and leadership class to lead Nigeria to a new direction. In the Obi-Baba-Ahmed movement we are committed to a new politics that starts with the ethics of SERVANT LEADERS and founded on the marriage of CLEAN HEARTS and SKILLFUL HANDS. We know that unless we change our politics by changing our political leadership, we are stuck with this terrible state of poverty and insecurity.

Our message to our fellow citizens is that Nigeria is endowed with talented men and women who are champions and have created wealth and excellence across the world. Nigeria is blessed with some of the most entrepreneurial youths in the world, in science, in business, in art and entertainment. What remains is to change the leadership class from predators to creators of values, from those whose wealth and power derive from the destitution of the nation and its peoples. Our message to the voters of Nigeria is that unless they use their votes to elect those with clear commitment to change the political game and are capable of doing things differently, Nigeria will continue in the path of failure. The good news is that the Nigerian people, led by their youths brutalized by bad leadership, are awoken and leading the movement to transform Nigerian politics and restart the engine of economic growth and social stability. We count ourselves honored to be trusted to lead this democratic revolution. We are determined to do everything that needs to be done to reverse the curse and lead our beloved country to prosperity, freedom and security.

We are preparing to deal with the crises that constrain Nigeria's development. We recognize that there are domestic and foreign challenges that we must confront before we can achieve the dream of economic development and social security. Domestically, we recognize that several years of self-serving and





The Context

incompetent leadership has divided the nation and played up religious and ethnic sentiment against nationalism and patriotism. Our diagnosis is that these centrifugal forces are products of the manipulation of religion and ethnicity and the failure of the Nigerian state to produce goods and services for its citizens. The lack of economic development means that Nigerians are trapped in the politics of competition for rents. This breeds resentment and conflict. The failure of these transactional leaders to respect constitutional due process and implement the federal character provisions has damaged trust in the Nigerian state and set up different resistances and even rebellion against the state. Although the Nigerian political class has applied authoritarian responses to these agitations, they have failed to rise up to exemplary leadership which is the panacea to distrust of the state.

We are a different breed. We are connected to the people. We are honest, competent, and humble, but determined to lock hands together with Nigerians and rebuild our economy, restore trust in government and give Nigerians reason to love and adore their country again. We share the pains of Nigerian citizens everywhere in Nigeria. Daily, we hear their stories of deprivation and degradation. We know that every part of Nigeria is blessed with men and women who can create wealth for themselves and for their society. We know that the problem is not ethnicity or religion, the problem is not geography, the problem is not our weather. The problem is leadership. The problem is a leadership that is not attuned to the people, does not believe in the people, and will never serve the people's interest. Myself and my Vice President are a different breed. We are honest. We are competent. We will save Nigeria from the slide, and we will create prosperity and unity through exemplary leadership.

Through our dedicated action on the 7 priorities on governance and development priorities that mainstream the principles of the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the aspirations of the Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy under Chapter 2 of our Constitution, we will transform Nigeria and realize the hope of our founding fathers and the heros and heroines of the nation.





Securing and Uniting Nigeria



1.

To secure Nigeria, end banditry and insurgency; and unite our dear nation, to manage our diversity such that no one is left behind.



To secure Nigeria, We shall:

I. Deal decisively with insecurity by putting a permanent end to the incessant banditry, insurgency, kidnapping and cross-border terrorism in our country today.

II. To achieve this, we shall take the following immediate actions:

- a. activate all** the necessary regional cooperations and arrangements for securing our borders with neighboring countries in west and central Africa, particularly Niger, Chad, and Cameroun;
- b. increase the** personnel of our armed forces, police and other security agencies and optimally equip, train, and fund them to respond adequately to security threats;
- c. deploy state-of-the-art** military technology to fight terrorists, bandits, insurgents and kidnappers; and
- d. recreate community** relations with security agencies in order to increase public trust and build human intelligence to restore law and order in the communities

III. Pursue deliberately and proactively policies that will implement the fundamental objectives and directive principles of state police in the constitution so as to create a secured society that reduces the social pressure for crimes and provides viable livelihood for the youths. This will be in fulfilment of the obligation of government to ensure the 'security and welfare of the people'.

IV. Engage, support, and partner, with national and subnational institutions and governments and network them into an integrated and reinforced



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onslaught against insecurity. This requires decentralized and professional management of security institutions and the use of grant-in-aid to encourage efficient criminal justice administration at subnational levels, namely, state, local government and community security administration. To deal with cross-border crimes, we will also adjust security modalities to address gaps and vulnerabilities arising from our obligations under the ECOWAS Protocol on the Movement of Persons.

V. Undertake institutional reforms to secure Nigerians, which consists of four initiatives pursued simultaneously:

- a. reforming the** security sector, with particular emphasis on re-focusing the military on external threats and border protection, and the police on internal security threats and law enforcement;
- b. swift, firm** and fair prosecution of criminals, bandits and terrorists to end impunity;
- c. enhanced coordination** among security agencies to enhance operational efficiency,
- d. fair and** transparent administration of justice hinged on the rule of law

VI. Improve the functioning and effectiveness of our security agencies particularly the police, by strengthening their civilian oversight as well as increasing their size, equipment, funding, and enhancing their professional training.

VII. Strengthen the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Police Affairs, and other regulatory and supervisory agencies to provide robust and regulatory oversight and enhance coordination and performance of statutory mandates of the security services.





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VIII. Ensure, in accordance with Section 33 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1999 as Amended), that every Nigerian life is protected at all cost. The basic minimum of DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP is that every Nigerian life is protected by the state. There shall be no more impunity. All criminals are equal and will be equally prosecuted and punished. No persecution; no privilege. The same law for the rich and the poor, the powerful and the powerless.

In uniting Nigeria and running an all-inclusive government, we shall:

I. Ensure that our administration's pronouncements, policies, and conduct reflect its strong commitment to fostering a united Nigeria, and the reaffirmation that achieving that objective requires securing the lives and property of Nigerians by creatively managing her diversity.

II. Make deliberate efforts to re-create a sense of patriotism, shared ownership, and responsibilities in matters of nation-building, integration, and cohesion.

III. Ensure transparency and strict adherence to the dictates of our constitution in all matters of governance and the allocation of resources and projects.

IV. Direct executive action and push for legislative mandate aimed at formulating a policy on Common Regimentation Emolument Structure Table (CREST) that will harmonize the wages of the federal public servants, so that public servants (whether elected or appointed) are not ranked or earn higher than career civil servants and the military such as those in the judiciary, academia, para-military, and federal statutory agencies. Those in these cadres should earn the same salary, and the same prescribed perquisites. This will aid in cutting the cost of governance while promoting amity. It will also address the incessant strikes that bedevil our country, particularly our tertiary institutions.

V. Resolve the national minimum wage problem by doing away with the extant salary structure and introducing an hourly productivity-based national minimum rate, by which public and private sector employers should pay employees based on their actual productivity. We will drive the legislation to retain a National Minimum Wage with a binding effect and application across all





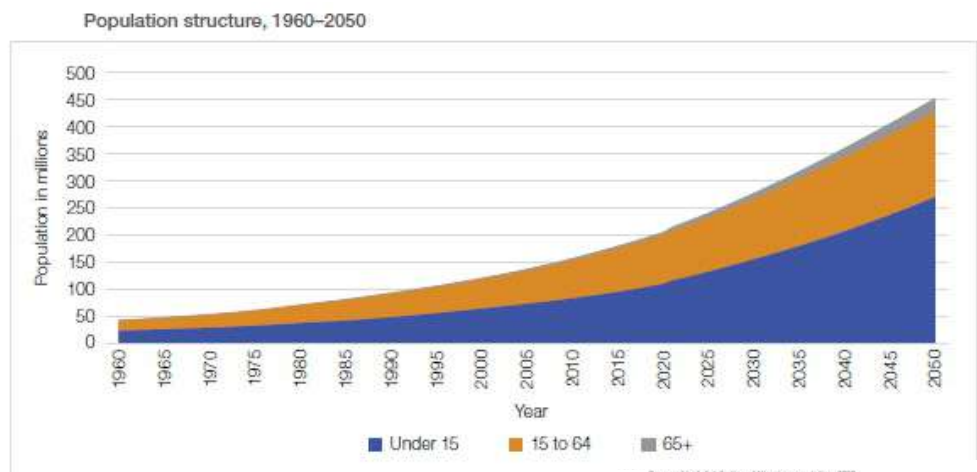
To secure Nigeria, end banditry and insurgency; and unite our dear nation, to manage our diversity such that no one is left behind.

the States and Local Governments of Nigeria. This shall include the criminalisation of non-payment of salaries, wages, pensions, entitlements, benefits, and violation of collective bargaining agreements. This will reduce poverty and inequality, and enhance social solidarity necessary for a development bargain.

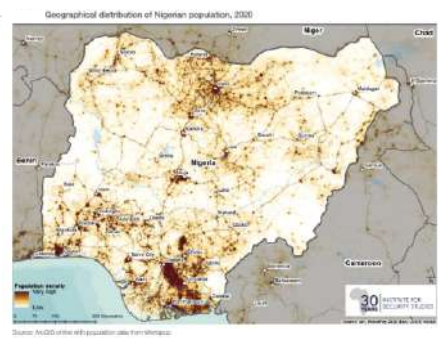
VI. Submit an Executive Bill to the National Assembly for a consolidated Occupational Health and Safety Act to revamp and improve on the 2012 Labour, Safety, Health, and Welfare (LSHW) Bill.

VII. Articulate a policy framework in line with the constitutional provisions of the Federal Character principle that offers opportunities to all Nigerians to serve in any capacity in the public sector anywhere in the country.

VIII. Operate a government of national unity by embracing competent Nigerians at home and in diaspora with proven integrity, honesty, diligence and commitment to governance irrespective of their political affiliation and disposition. Our government will be a melting pot of Nigeria’s best and brightest in character, competence and capacity.



Source: Forecast in IFS version 7.63; historical data from UN population division





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2.

Shift emphasis from consumption to production by running a production-centered economy that is driven by an agrarian revolution and export-oriented

I. In consideration of our current ranking as the least competitive economy in Africa with very low total factor productivity (TFP) and export competitiveness index (ECI), we will, with all sense of urgency, aggressively pursue policies and programmes that enhance the productivity and competitiveness of all the sectors of the Nigerian economy.

II. In addition to our strategic economic development plan, we have reviewed and selectively adopted critical elements in previous economic development plans in designing the bold and innovative development agenda for the new Nigeria that we shall birth.

III. While acknowledging the critical situation with our food security, we will, with the required sense of urgency, optimize all the comparative advantages of our 36 states and the FCT, across all the agricultural value chains through adequate and targeted investments, policies, and programmes. We shall address the identified impediments (banditry, kidnapping, terrorism, desertification, policies) and optimize the vast land and other resources in our northern region in order to enhance food security and advance toward agro-based industrialization.

IV. We shall grow the national economy quantitatively and qualitatively by devising programmes for re-skilling our youths to achieve a greater synergy between their skill-sets and our factor endowments; create mandatory national certification for blue-collar artisans; strengthen some of the existing tertiary schools of science and engineering to train the next generation of experts in the Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) field; and create a venture capital-like fund for young entrepreneurs.

V. To ensure that the country's economic production is equitably geared towards the net-zero emissions drive, we shall re-design incentives for present and prospective investors in the industrial sector coupled with an apprenticeship system to provide a ready-made source of technical expertise in the relevant areas.





Shift emphasis from consumption to production by running a production-centered economy that is driven by an agrarian revolution and export-oriented industrialization.

VI. It is recognized that high logistics costs at our ports, borders and roads drive the huge trade costs that make Nigeria's business environment uncompetitive. We will apply entrepreneurial governance to dismantle the impediments to free trade and ease of doing business.

VII. We will strive towards a zero-based national budget to overcome the mindset and reality of past non-performing national budgets that are routinely hampered by budgetary deficit overhang. We will pursue an aggressive technology-driven public sector financial management system anchored on a reformed, well-trained, and motivated civil service. We will undertake public sector reform as a priority in order to provide institutional support to entrepreneurial governance that will drive up efficiency and public value.

VIII. We will implement radical economic policies that will drastically reduce our debt-servicing ratio and debt to revenue ratio. Such a policy action is imperative since we are aware that presently (as of April, 2022), Nigeria has about 95 million people living below the poverty line; unemployment rate hovers around 32% with the youth component at about 53.4%; and tax contributes only about 6% to our GDP, well below the African average of 17%. Our national situation is made worse given that 116% of government revenue is now devoted to debt servicing. This means that 116 kobo out of every Naira (100 kobo) collected by government goes toward servicing of the country's debt (which means the additional 16 kobo is borrowed to service debt).

IX. We shall aggressively prioritize the mechanization of the huge endowment of arable land across our nation, particularly in our Northern region, to make agriculture the new oil of a prosperous Nigerian economy.

X. It has been established that Nigeria is among the top 10 countries most vulnerable to climate change, which poses the greatest economic, physical, financial, security, and developmental risks. But it also offers an enormous opportunity to unleash the green growth transition and boost prosperity. We shall establish a Green Army tasked with identifying all opportunities to tap into the 3 trillion dollars international climate finance to engineer economic growth and employment for millions of our youths and transition our country to the green epoch.





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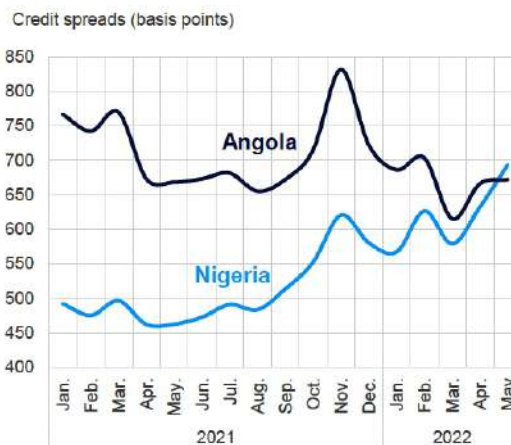
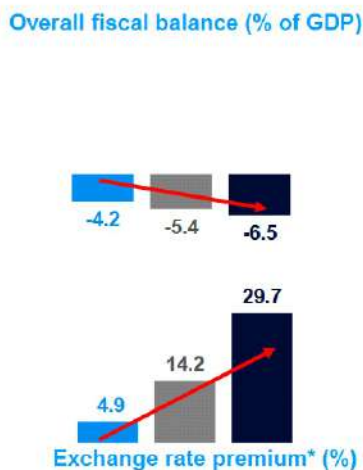
Selected macroeconomic indicators, 2014–2020

	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Budget deficit (% GDP)	-0.9	-1.6	-2.6	-3.1	-2.8	-3.3	-4.0
Debt (% GDP)	13.7	15.8	19.0	20.9	23.5	25.4	34.6
Foreign exchange reserves (billion US\$)	34.2	28.3	26.9	39.3	42.6	38.1	36.5
Official exchange rate (Naira/US\$1.00)	156.5	191.8	253.1	305.3	305.6	306.5	358.3
Inflation (%)	8.0	9.6	18.6	15.4	11.4	11.9	15.7
Current account balance (% GDP)	0.1	-3.1	0.6	2.7	0.9	-3.8	-3.6

Source: Central Bank of Nigeria; the IMF

The Nigerian economy is more vulnerable to shocks...

...and the market's perception of risk has increased.



Source: World Bank, NBS, OAGF, and CBN

*Note: Exchange rate premium in 2021-2022 is the average difference between the Investors and Exporters (I&E) rate and the parallel market rate between Jan 2021 and May 2022.





Shift emphasis from consumption to production by running a production-centered economy that is driven by an agrarian revolution and export-oriented industrialization.



XI. Although non-oil GDP has been marginally increasing in recent years, this growth has not translated to increased non-oil exports despite various national policies on economic diversification. We believe that diversification of the economy can be attained through increasing the value addition and export potential of our agriculture and natural resources value chain. We shall achieve this through targeted export incentives and deliberate actions in:

- a. Scaling up** the development of manufacturing and processing technological capabilities across the primary products value chains where we enjoy comparative advantage;
- b. A monitored** scheme of targeted funding to entrepreneurs taking advantage of the capacity development as outlined above.
- c. A radical** reform of our logistics and distribution systems including ports, customs, and trade facilitation instruments to raise the competitiveness of our products and ease of doing business and reduces high trade costs that have impeded our non-oil export competitiveness.
- d. Strengthening of** product quality support to ensure our products are of the right quality to gain market share with higher reputational advantage and branding opportunities to capture more values within AfCTA and global markets.
- e. Incentivising and** investing in agro-cluster and industrial cluster development across our geo-resource zones to take advantage of agglomeration and scale effects.

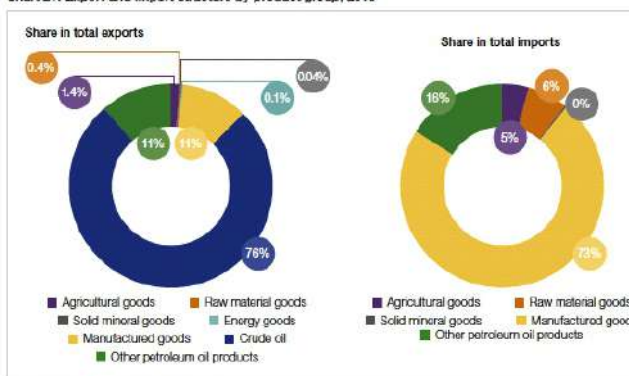


Shift emphasis from consumption to production by running a production-centered economy that is driven by an agrarian revolution and export-oriented industrialization.

XII. We will prioritize the exploration of the economic opportunities available through oceanic and marine resources around our country. Nigeria possesses one of the longest ocean lines in Africa, making it a littoral country endowed with Blue Economy resources. The Blue Economy is the sustainable use of ocean resources for economic growth, improved livelihoods and jobs while preserving the health of ocean ecosystems. It entails emerging renewable energy, seabed extractive activities, marine biotechnology, and bio-prospecting.

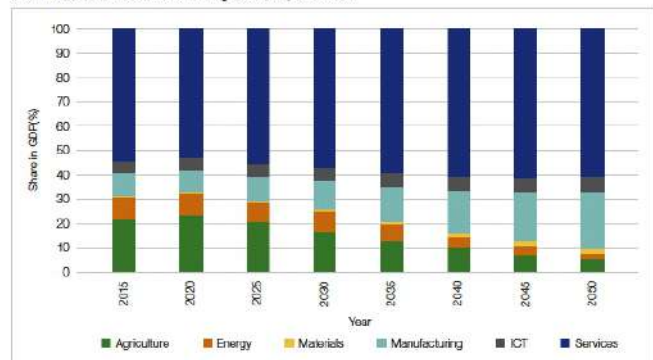
XIII. We will embark on radical reforms of our entire transport system including logistics and distribution, ports, customs, and other agencies connected to international trade. Conscious that when water, road and rail transport work together, the comparative advantage of each mode can be exploited optimally, our administration will build an integrated transport system; which will promote ports, road, rail and inland water interconnectivity. We will eradicate the practice of agencies in the sector operating in tight silos, working at cross-purposes and frustrating trade facilitation. We will immediately address policy incoherence and poor coordination among all the maritime and other agencies. We are determined to take full advantage of the African Continental Free Trade Agreement (AFCFTA) and will deploy trade facilitation instruments to raise the competitiveness of our products and ease of doing business, thus reducing high trade costs that have impeded our non-oil export competitiveness.

Chart 21: Export and import structure by product group, 2019



Source: Data from the Nigerian National Bureau of Statistics (NBS)

Chart 19: Sectoral contribution to Nigeria's GDP, 2015-2050



Source: Forecast in IF; historical data from the World Bank

Kouassi Yeboua, Jakkie Cilliers and Alize le Roux (2022) *Nigeria in 2050: Major player in the global economy or poverty capital?* ISS, Pretoria, SA





3.

Restructure the polity through effective legal and institutional reforms to entrench the rule of law, aggressively fight corruption, reduce cost of governance, and establish an honest and efficient civil service.

To achieve these:

I. We shall strengthen our federalism by critically reviewing the 68 items on the exclusive list of the Federal government and moving many items to the concurrent list, to ensure effective public action for growth and sustainable livelihood. Our drive towards restructuring of the federation shall follow a determined, functional, approach for efficiency, productivity, sustainability, and equity for a balanced national development where no component of the federation shall feel short-changed. We realise that nothing can be achieved in this area except we achieve a consensus. We understand that it is the responsibility of the leadership to help to stimulate and attain a genuine and long-lasting consensus on such matters.

II. Our determination to reduce cost of governance in Nigeria will start with the immediate implementation of the Orasanya Report which recommended the consolidation of agencies of government. This will be our top priority within the first year of our administration. We will review the recommendations of that, report while engaging with industry players to design the implementation of the proposed reforms. While we are focused on cost reduction and streamlining of government operations for efficiency and effectiveness, we will ensure that the implementation of the reforms is pursued in a way that protects the livelihood of our hardworking and efficient civil servants.

III. Pursue robust and aggressive reforms of our paramilitary agencies with a view to improving their synergy and functional effectiveness. Key recommendations of all previous reports on police and security sector reforms will be implemented. For instance, the three-level policing – local, state, and federal – will be promptly pursued with detailed guidelines to check abuse.

IV. Strengthen the supreme court of the federation by increasing the number of judges and equipping them with the capacity to clear the backlog of cases and enhance the speedy adjudication of cases.





Restructure the polity through effective legal and institutional reforms to entrench the rule of law, aggressively fight corruption, reduce cost of governance, and establish an honest and efficient civil service.

V. Review all the regulatory agencies of Nigeria with a plan to gradually move away from a bureaucratic approach to incentive-based regulation that is based on cost-benefit analysis. In this regard, we will establish the Office of Regulatory Review in the Executive Office of the President to review and harmonize proposed regulations to ensure they pass cost-benefit analysis, and enhance economic efficiency and social justice before they are enacted.

VI. Pursue more inclusion of our customary laws (norms and values - with respect to their compatibility with our constitution) in the contents of our formal law and in the administration of justice. For instance, reforms will be pursued for our traditional laws/rulers to be properly integrated in the formal legal/governance system.

VII. Pursue aggressive digitization of all judiciary, government and regulatory agencies to curb corruption and improve governance outcomes and service delivery.

VIII. Establish the Office of Special Counsel to investigate and prosecute every executive abuse of power and corrupt public practices that do not fall under the prosecutorial power of existing agencies or are bureaucratically concealed. We will seek constitutional amendment to exempt prosecution by the Special Counsel from the exercise of the power of Nolle Prosequi of the Attorney General of the Federation.

IX. With the view to fixing and cleaning up our broken politics and to empower Nigerians to demand for political accountability, matters requiring legislative attention will be pursued to include:

- a. speedy adjudication of cases;
- b. digitization of all court processes;
- c. allowing Nigerians in diaspora to vote;
- d. all election-related court cases to be concluded before swearing-in; and
- e. continuous reform of our electoral processes.

X. We shall install a new budgeting system founded on the cardinal principles of public accountability, objective setting, and program implementation. This is against the extant budgetary principles of revenue mobilization, expenditure allocation, borrowing, and lending, without emphasis on monitoring,





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evaluation, and feedbacking. We will enforce the principle of performance auditing to ensure a greater fungibility of government deployment of resources for projects and policies, and institutionalize monitoring and evaluation of the entire public service delivery as the primary means of actualizing our vision of a new Nigeria. This reform will institutionalize the personal involvement of the President in setting budgetary objectives of MDAs, and monitoring and evaluating the implementation process through the Office of Regulatory Review in the Executive Office of the President, while the members of the National Assembly control the discretion of the President in budgetary matters. Budget monitoring and evaluation capacity will be strengthened within the Presidency.

Macroeconomic Restructuring

XI. The following anomalies in the management of the macroeconomy have progressively plagued the Nigerian economy:

- a. The pursuit** of multiple objectives by CBN, some of which appeared to be in conflict with the Bank's core mandate of controlling inflation and its declared objective of achieving a measure of exchange rate stability;
- b. The loss** of fiscal viability by the Federal Government, as revenues are now consumed entirely by debt service, whilst the cost of the inflated petrol subsidy has risen to a level where it also threatens to consume the entire FG revenue;
- c. The financing** of excessive fiscal deficits through Ways and Means Advances in excess of N22 trillion as at August, 2022 i.e. a level well beyond the statutory limits set in the CBN Act, has helped fuel the spike in the inflation rate to close to 20 percent per annum.
- d. Exchange rate** stability has also become a mirage, as foreign exchange can only be accessed at the artificial official exchange rate by a handful of privileged persons and businesses, whilst the generality of Nigerians can only access forex via a parallel market in which the US Dollar now attracts a 75-80% premium over the official rate. The multiple exchange rate regime that is in place therefore presents a huge arbitrage opportunity for a few privileged persons;
- e. The prevalence** of repatriation risks and other supply side constraints have significantly dented investor confidence, whilst also encouraging capital flight.



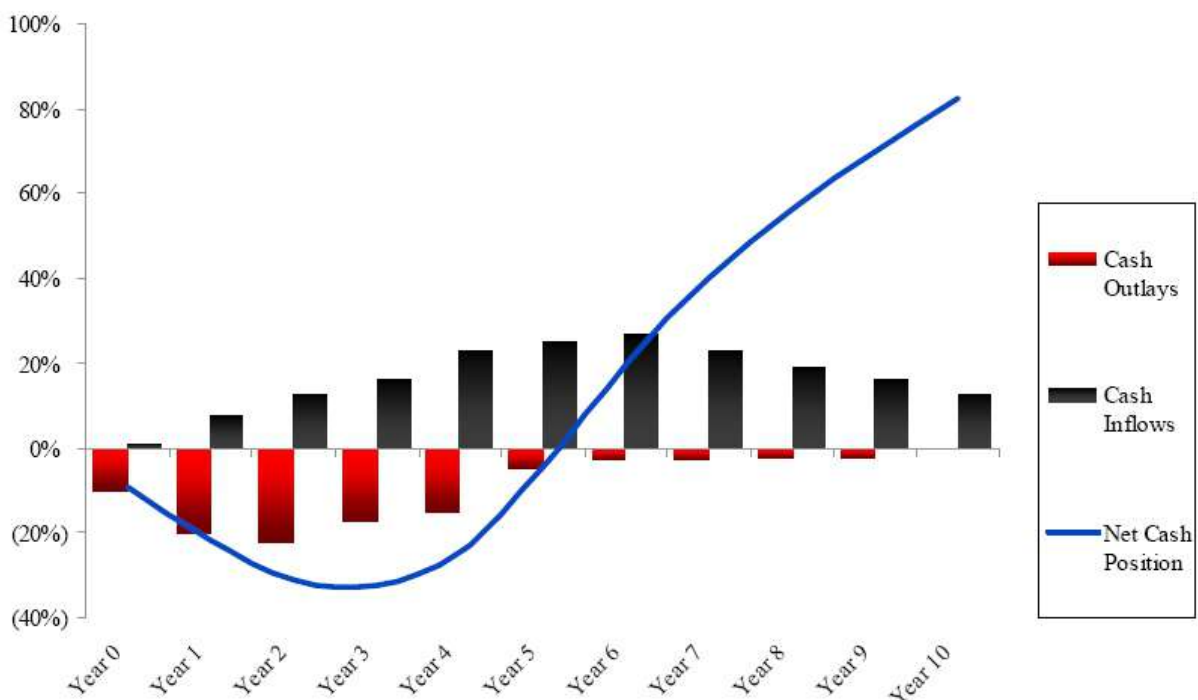


Restructure the polity through effective legal and institutional reforms to entrench the rule of law, aggressively fight corruption, reduce cost of governance, and establish an honest and efficient civil service.

Against this backdrop, the priority of our administration will be to quickly restore fiscal viability by discontinuing unaffordable subsidies which have left a black-hole in the government's finances. We will also seek a simplification of the exchange rate regime, whilst seeking to also boost the supply side, rather than continuing to concentrate exclusively on demand management.

Our administration will only support measures which ensure a level playing field and are in line with global best practices. If the competitiveness of a sector is to be boosted then that will be done via the enactment of transparent and specially targeted fiscal and trade policies designed to stimulate investment and growth. Revenue shortfalls and leakages such as oil theft will be dealt with decisively by holding persons in positions of authority fully accountable.

Fiscal and monetary policy will therefore be properly coordinated with each deploying conventional tools transparently instead of distorting markets to favour a few privileged persons. For the avoidance of doubt, we will demand the transparent liberalization of the foreign exchange market and the dismantling of the opaque multiple exchange rate regime which effectively subsidises a few privileged persons, whilst depriving government of badly needed revenues. When unaffordable subsidies are removed, some carefully calibrated transfers will be used to cushion any adverse impact on the economically weak.





Restructure the polity through effective legal and institutional reforms to entrench the rule of law, aggressively fight corruption, reduce cost of governance, and establish an honest and efficient civil service.

Fiscal Restructuring

XII. Governments at both federal and state levels are today plagued by the revenue crisis where, despite huge endowment of both human and material resources, they are unable to sustainably fund development or even pay salaries in some cases. With federation revenues currently contributing 65% of the total recurrent revenues of states, and the non-remittance by the NNPC to the federation account this year due to ballooning fuel subsidy payments, policy responses at both national and subnational levels have been severely constrained by the revenue crisis.

There is now a consensus that our inability to achieve fiscal sustainability is chiefly driven by our fiscal regime which is itself, the product of our political structure that prioritises sharing – rather than baking – the pie. The result is a perverse situation where neither the federal nor the states have strong incentive to maximize effort in growing the size of the pie for shared and inclusive prosperity.

We will functionally redesign our fiscal architecture such that revenue mobilisation and allocation will be bottom-up like most federations across the world, and the federal government will now rely on revenues from taxes collected by states to drive the right incentive for efficiency and optimal allocation of resources. This means restructuring the economic framework. It will allow the states to leverage their comparative advantages and contribute to national development thus, reducing states' dependence on the federation account to fund developmental projects, and empower them to become net contributors to the national economy.

We will drive good and effective governance to create a culture that influences the bureaucracy of government to support the private sector. We will instil a culture of full implementation of government policies and plans to incentivise the private sector and prevent activities that curtail the development of the society.

The mechanism for accountability will be established with public ownership of information, strong bureaucracy, high trust in government, and the right societal culture among policymakers and citizens. This situation will allow for





Restructure the polity through effective legal and institutional reforms to entrench the rule of law, aggressively fight corruption, reduce cost of governance, and establish an honest and efficient civil service.

good governance through the pipeline of accountability. Long-existing accountability institutions in Nigeria will be revitalised to meet the current realities threatening the country. We will reactivate and digitalise this all-important institution to drive responsible and accountable public financial management in governance.

Our government will expand the country's tax net and base. The tax system and database will be harmonised across states' internal revenue services and Federal Inland Revenue Service (FIRS). This move will improve tax compliance and efficiency in the country. In addition, the citizens will be educated and oriented towards perceiving paying taxes as a contribution to the development of the country. We shall vigorously explore every legitimate means to reduce the incidences of tax evasion and improve voluntary tax compliance.

Rather than creating multiple taxation, our focus will be on widening the tax net, which subsequently provides additional resources for states to embark on more projects. To achieve this, we will:

- a. Empower the** federal and state ministries of finance to harmonise taxes and the tax database.
- b. Authorise the** Joint Tax Board (FIRS and States' IRS) to identify all payable taxes and fees by companies and individuals;
- c. Consolidate all** tax databases into one centralised system;
- d. Determine the** tax delineation, i.e., which form of taxes is receivable by the states or federal government.
- e. Work with** states and communities to effectively combat the nefarious activities of non-state actors and institutionalised brigandage, notorious for huge revenue leakages, expropriation, and exploitation which undermine investment and development in the real sector.

Reducing the cost of governance is a necessary means to achieve fiscal sustainability and therefore, we shall promptly review the recommendations of the Steve Oronsaye Commission on the restructuring of the Federal Civil Service for implementation.



4.

Leapfrog Nigeria into the 4th Industrial Revolution (4IR), through the application of scientific and technological innovations to create a digital economy.

I. Building on the gains of the agriculture-led manufacturing and export, we will pursue the development of capacities to leverage on the emerging disruptive digital technologies, automation, Internet of Things (IoT), artificial intelligence, robotics, virtual reality, block chain technology, biotechnology and data science, all of which are at the heart of the fourth industrial revolution.

II. While the 4IR thrusts us into a new dimension of competition, we appreciate that our economy is still grappling with the challenges of fully leveraging the technologies of the second Industrial Revolution such as electricity and rail network in a multi-modal transportation system. While not losing sight of the new demands for competitiveness in the disruptive new technologies, we shall aggressively incentivise and facilitate investment to expand our power generation, transmission and distribution. Being a crosscutting sector, Nigerian Transport System will be remodeled to play a more important role in our efforts towards achievement of sustainable development goals (SDGs). We will benchmark progress across the five dimensions of sustainable transport – access (to mobility of individuals, goods and for societies), affordability (of transport for individuals, goods and society), safety, security and environmental impact (of transport and on transport).

III. We will prioritize a structured approach to developing the digital skills of our young population to give them the competitive advantage to receive offshore jobs in the new gig economy, while also improving the efficiency and productivity level of our economy.

IV. We will incentivize the mid-stream segment of the petroleum sector by facilitating gas processing plants and privately-owned small and medium scale boutique refineries, with a view to reducing importation of refined petroleum products, and eliminating the petrol subsidy regime, which has become a huge burden on the budget.





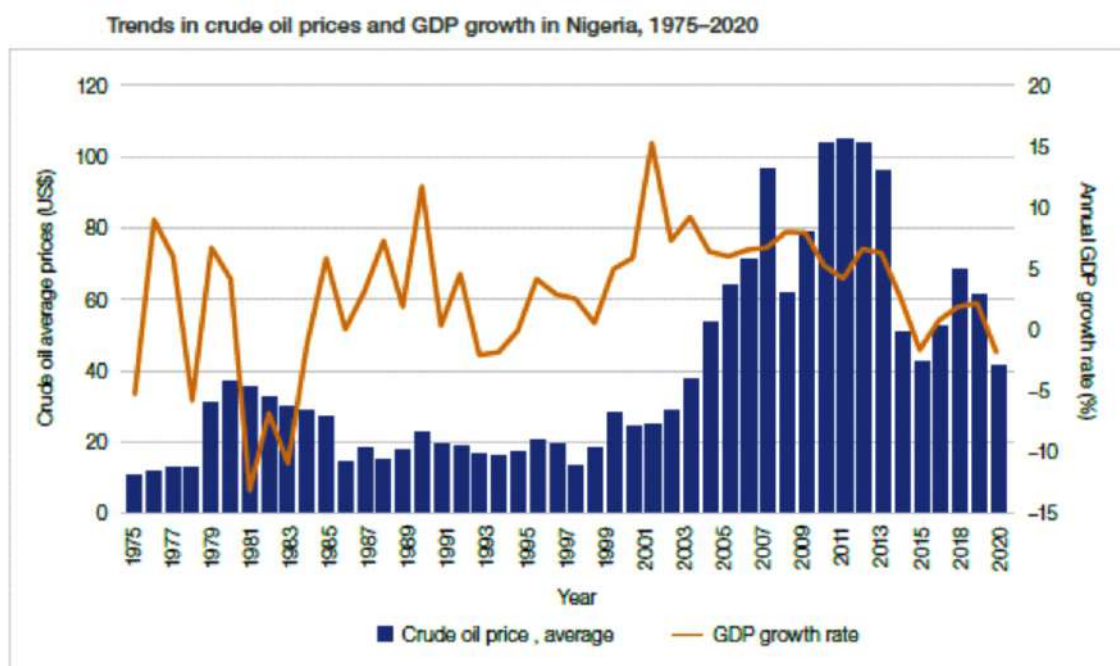
Leapfrog Nigeria into the 4th Industrial Revolution (4IR), through the application of scientific and technological innovations to create a digital economy.

V. Our government will pursue a combination of state-led and public-private initiatives to drive the penetration of broadband infrastructure and information superhighway necessary to empower smart industrialization.

VI. We will ensure that the Federal Government offers meaningful incentives to corporate entities and industries that make discernible efforts to transit to clean and alternative energy, not only for local consumption but also for export. Our priority is the preservation of our environmental integrity, using a carrot-and-stick approach to ensure that industrial production and oil production do not damage our environment and livelihood systems.

VII. We will review and enforce the mandatory National Strategic Reserve of Premium Motor Spirit (PMS), Diesel (AGO), aviation fuel, and cooking gas to reduce our national vulnerability to sudden disruptions to the supply of these fuels.

VIII. We will strengthen the incentive regimes for new growth industries, in particular, the culture and creative industry, and technology-oriented industries.



Source: World Development Indicators, World Bank Commodity Price Data

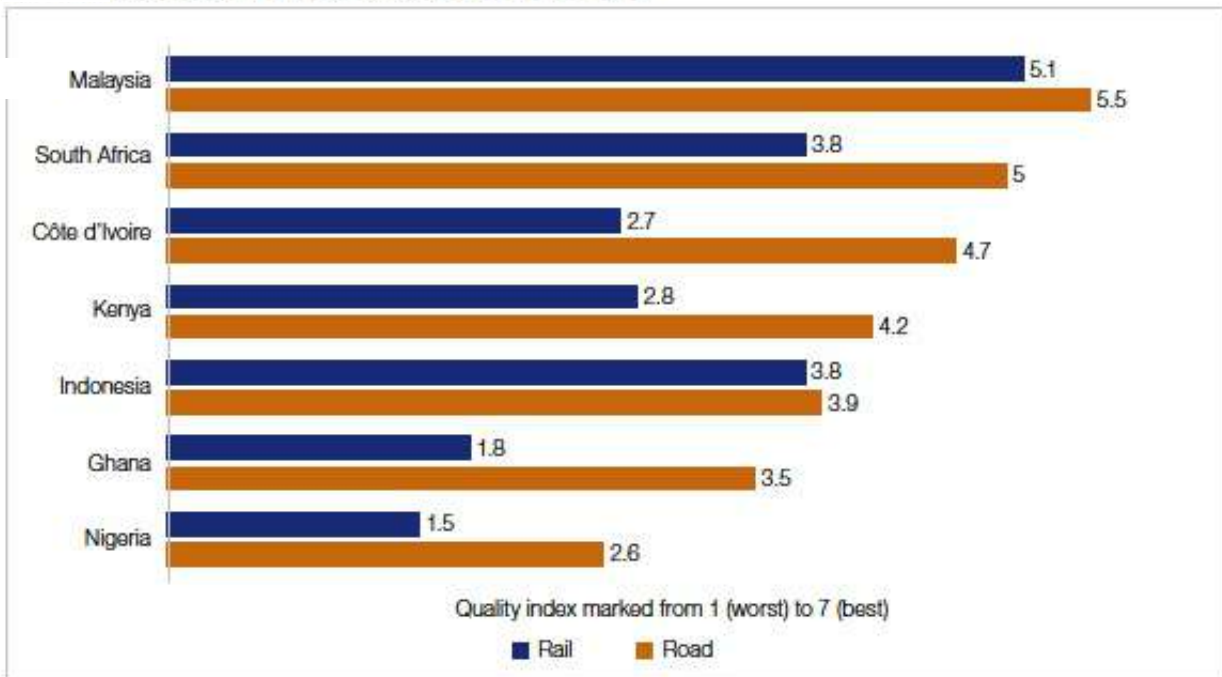
Kouassi Yeboua, Jakkie Cilliers and Alize le Roux (2022) *Nigeria in 2050: Major player in the global economy or poverty capital?* ISS, Pretoria, SA





Leapfrog Nigeria into the 4th Industrial Revolution (4IR), through the application of scientific and technological innovations to create a digital economy.

Road and rail quality in selected countries, 2016



Quality index ranked from 1 (worst) to 7 (best)

Source: Data from the World Economic Forum Global Competitiveness Report 2016–2017



Leapfrog Nigeria into the 4th Industrial Revolution (4IR), through the application of scientific and technological innovations to create a digital economy.

X. We will prioritize the development of MSMEs through a boutique of incentives which include new structures, new capital access, new legislation to support small business growth and strategic centres of excellence for small businesses such as Enterprise Hubs, Business Incubators and MSME Industrial clusters across all the geopolitical zones.

XI. We will drive the expansion of Nigerian content initiative with emphasis on the promotion of made-in-Nigeria goods and services as a pillar of our administration. This will be accomplished by expanding the success of Nigeria Content legislation implemented in Nigeria's Oil and Gas sector, to other sectors of the economy.





5.

Build expansive and world-class infrastructure for efficient power supply, rail, road and air transportation, and pipeline network, through integrated public-private partnerships, and entrepreneurial public sector

I. We will address current bottlenecks in extant national policies and frameworks with the view to unlock resources for investment in critical physical and social infrastructure.

II. We will seek to harmonize agencies involved in the infrastructure space to address coordination failures that impede effectiveness and efficiency.

III. We will explore innovative solutions to address the shortcomings in the current PPP regime. The World Bank recognizes this in its recent switch to blended finance as a means to improve PPPs and market-based approaches to infrastructure provisioning in developing countries like ours. Our government shall go beyond blended finance to create mechanisms to scale infrastructure financing, incentivizing not only corporate tax credit application to infrastructure, but also, philanthropy, and community-based infrastructure bonds.

IV. We will integrate existing masterplans for infrastructure – gas, road, railway, urban mass transit, telecommunications (broadband), water, sewage, and electricity to create national multi-utility transport tunnels (MUT) for co-location of subsurface infrastructure development with the objective of achieving cost efficiency and a one-stop solution to right-of-way issues for accelerated infrastructure development.

V. We will sign into law the National Transport Commission Act passed into law in 2018 and refused assent by the president, and establish the National Transport Commission as an integrated economic regulator to make the transport sector efficient bankable for private sector investment



Build expansive and world-class infrastructure for efficient power supply, rail, road and air transportation, and pipeline network, through integrated public-private partnerships, and entrepreneurial public sector



VI. We will upgrade and vigorously further reform the country's power generation, transmission, and distribution network with the aim of achieving in the next four years, the generation and distribution of about 20,000 megawatts. We will liberalize the transmission component of the electricity value chain to complement the already privatized generation and distribution sub-sectors to significantly increase the generation and distribution of electricity to Nigerians. To achieve this, our power sector agenda, we will:

- a. Review the** Nigerian Electric Power Policy (NEPP) to adapt its fundamental premises to the changes in global economics and align its pro-market policies to the experiences of pragmatic economic management;
- b. Revise the** current barrier of 1 Megawatt and below for licensing to up to 10mws to enable decentralized and off-grid solutions to complement grid energy and to incentivize more investment in the power value chain;
- c. Promote a** healthy energy mix that increases the share of renewable and clean energy in line with global trends (hydro, wind, thermal, solar etc.);
- d. Improve** transmission services by establishing the Independent System Operator (ISO) and the Transmission Service Provider (TSP) from the current TCN in order to enhance efficient and non-discriminatory dispatch and coordination;
- e. Establish a** presidential task force on immediate power improvement to pressure utility operators to deliver weekly improvements on quality and quantity of electrical services to homes and businesses across Nigeria;
- f. Execute full** metering of customers within a reasonable period to entrench accountability in the electricity market.
- g. To rebuild** investors' confidence in the Nigerian electricity market, we will engage customers and the public in transparent communication backed up with quick wins to support full commercialization of the sector on the basis of value for money.



Build expansive and world-class infrastructure for efficient power supply, rail, road and air transportation, and pipeline network, through integrated public-private partnerships, and entrepreneurial public sector

VII. The current barrier of 1 Megawatt and below for licensing shall be revised upwards to incentivize more investment in the power value chain. We will promote a healthy energy mix that increases the share of renewable and clean energy in line with global trends (hydro, wind, thermal, solar etc.)

VIII. We will diversify the funding for our national surface transportation system (roads, rail, bridges, and mass transit) and programmes with the creation of the Highway Trust Fund Account. This account will be funded jointly by federal government, states, and private sector on a ratio to be agreed with government participation limited to those areas where there is a clear market failure.

IX. We will vigorously support the private sector to construct fibreoptic backbone connecting all tertiary institutions and state capitals, to enable free broadband access for accelerated digital transformation of the economy.

X. We will deploy Nigeria's enormous natural gas reserves to incentivize our gas-based industries to drive industrial revolution and provide 24-Hour electricity for the entire nation.

XI. We will create financing incentives to unlock private capital provision of affordable social housing for Nigerian workers and people in proximity to their businesses and workplaces.

XII. We will build a Nigerian Maritime sector that will leverage on In-Country Value Creation/Addition; optimizing Shipping and Shipbuilding Value Chain and unleash positive spillover effects on other sectors of the economy. In this regard, the Cabotage Vessels Finance Fund (CVFF) will be enhanced and channeled to catalyze ship/boat building and repairs, open up the inland waterways (river ports and jetties) and link our rivers and creeks with coastal trade including goods and passenger movement; provide for physical security and proper maritime safety in our coastal and inland waterways, effective dredging mappings, markings and management of the waterways, identification of routes based on passenger and cargo concentrations, and finally building, maintenance and repairs of the watercrafts that are specific to all these considerations.

XIII. A comprehensive plan for livestock production will be worked out for nomadic rearers. Through innovation and the erection of dams and irrigation facilities in arid-prone areas, forage production would be accessible to farmers.





6.

Enhance the human capital of Nigerian youth for productivity and global competitiveness through investment in world-class scholarship and research, quality healthcare, and entrepreneurship education.



I. The World Bank's Human Capital Development Index ranks Nigeria 168 out of 173 countries. To move Nigeria to right to the top bracket of the index, we will pursue a Marshall plan-type programme on education that incorporates compulsory technical and vocational skills, sports, entrepreneurship, programming, and digital skills from the primary to the secondary level. In line with this commitment to transform our educational sector, we will prioritize the funding of this critical sector. Our tertiary institutions will be remodeled to serve as hubs or centres for research, development, and commercialisation of ideas for the quick industrialization of Nigeria.

II. Following from these, our government shall prioritize education to serve the following functions: technical and industry relevance; alignment with local comparative advantages and factor endowments; modern skills proficiency, critical thinking, ethical citizenship values, global competitiveness, and talent export. Our government will enter into strategic partnerships with states governments, private-led groups and international partners to establish incubators that will train young Nigerians in the latest digital and technological skills, provide workspaces, access to seed funding and mentorship by industry experts.





Enhance the human capital of Nigerian youth for productivity and global competitiveness through investment in world-class scholarship and research, quality healthcare, and entrepreneurship education.

III. Achieving the revolution we envisage for the educational sector would require bold initiatives including:

- a. Retraining, retooling and re-certification of teachers
- b. Incentivising industry experts to take up teaching roles in partnership with universities
- c. Curriculum overhaul, and
- d. Policy and institutional review.

IV. We will prioritize scaling up Nigeria's Human Capital Index (HCI), through significant and sustainable funding for the health, education, sports, and social welfare sectors, with the imperative of improving the remuneration and conditions of service for our teachers, health workers, and administrators.

V. We will introduce a mandatory "No Child left Behind" educational policy, mindful that Nigeria's inadequate investment in the social sectors – health, education, and housing – has resulted in the current dismal social and demographic trends reflected in low life expectancy, teenage pregnancies, high maternal mortality rate, large number of out-of-school children, huge unmet housing needs, as well as high youth unemployment.

VI. We will address the gaps in the legislation guiding the funding access modalities to Universal Basic Education Commission (UBEC), and the Tertiary Education Trust Fund (TETFund), to remove prevailing bottlenecks, create greater transparency and ensure increased flexibility, and optimum availability of funds required to meet the educational need of the Nigerian students whom they are meant to serve. The Ministry of Education will work out a Public-Private model that involves private corporations assuming funding and managerial responsibilities in a specially restructured taxation plan. This design will see some private corporations pay their taxes in the form of taking management of a school while the Ministry continues to retain ownership, set the national curriculum and manage other oversight functions. This will reduce the bottlenecks and burden of the government and ensure that education is delivered with consistent high quality.

VII. We will provide health insurance cover to 133 million poorest Nigerians including pregnant women, the aged and the disabled. This shall be without discrimination by socio-economic status in line with constitutional provisions as captured in Chapter 2 Section 17 (3)(d) of our constitution. The NHIS shall be





Enhance the human capital of Nigerian youth for productivity and global competitiveness through investment in world-class scholarship and research, quality healthcare, and entrepreneurship education.

strengthened in an efficient manner to stimulate private sector-driven health provision driven by accessibility and affordability to cover informal sector workers, the weak and the vulnerable.

VIII. We will strive to honour Nigeria's commitment pursuant to the 2001 African Union Abuja Declaration on HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and Other related Infectious Diseases, which set the target of allocating at least 15 percent of annual budgets to the improvement of the health sector in African countries.

IX. We will put to an end the financial resources-depleting practice of medical tourism, by supporting national teaching hospitals to specialize in niche areas of medicine, thus enjoying expeditious faculty and facilities enhancement and the attendant comparative advantage. We will implement the National Health Act of 2014 to the letter, and enforce the provision of its Section 46. This will be followed with further actions to improve the quality and service delivery of our health care system as follows:

- a. Strengthening the leadership, coordination and integration of the health system, while simultaneously improving its regulation, standardisation and quality of service;
- b. Comprehensive mapping of Nigeria's healthcare system occupational categories, to generate relevant data on human capacity and resources for healthcare training, with a view to reversing brain drain and stopping medical tourism while tapping into our huge diaspora capacity in healthcare.
- c. Effective overhaul and restructuring of training for all cadre of healthcare system providers.
- d. Stepwise scaling up of the healthcare system budget in line with Abuja Declaration, while devolving PHC Funding directly to a revamped National Primary Healthcare Agency.
- e. Increase NHIS uptake, with a robust healthcare insurance scheme at the basic healthcare level with a goal to provide cover for the 133 million poorest Nigerians including pregnant women, children, elderly and people living with disabilities.
- f. Generate innovative healthcare financing by encouraging public private healthcare sector initiatives, implementing special taxes and duty waivers. This will include special incentives to encourage the domestic production of pharmaceuticals, drugs, vaccines and medical consumables. The incentives shall also be targeted at boosting research and development in the healthcare system, together with their commercialisation within a process that will be carefully audited, monitored, and evaluated.





Enhance the human capital of Nigerian youth for productivity and global competitiveness through investment in world-class scholarship and research, quality healthcare, and entrepreneurship education.

X. Our government will enforce the requirements of the National Gender Policy, aimed at promoting gender equity, affirmative action, and good governance across the three tiers of government. We shall enforce an equitable distribution of appointments to men, women, youths, and people living with disabilities.

XI. We will facilitate both public and private sector investments to reactivate and reposition our sports sector to become globally competitive. The sports ministry shall be strengthened to attract investments through blended financial mechanisms towards developing sporting talents, revamping sporting facilities and recreation centres across the nation. We will work with state governments to introduce state leagues in key sports such as football and basketball to enhance the growth and professionalization of grassroots sports. This would create thousands of jobs for the youth.

XII. We will encourage the establishment of integrated health training institutions and provide the necessary incentives for active private sector participation.

XIII. We will deploy available national resources combined with extant policies and programmes to tackle and reduce the high rate of youth unemployment; and address the high prevalence of our national youth population that are categorized as NEET (not in education, employment or training).

XIV. We will vigorously support the creative industries (fashion, music, arts, film, entertainment) to become significant areas of our comparative advantage and also sources of job creation for our youths and tourism. We will support the establishment of institutions to provide training and certification for our youths in the creative industries.

XV. In pursuing our goal of not leaving anyone behind and birthing a Nigeria that works for all, our government will cater to the specific needs of people living with disabilities (PLWDs), be they physical, learning or psychological – for example, through the provision of appropriate alternative access to public buildings and spaces. Our national policy on PLWDs will be based on a recognition that they are bona fide members of society and that they can be productively engaged; we will therefore guarantee them equitable rights, in line with our Constitution. Any unjust discrimination against such persons will be criminalized.





Enhance the human capital of Nigerian youth for productivity and global competitiveness through investment in world-class scholarship and research, quality healthcare, and entrepreneurship education.

Addressing Multidimensional Poverty

XVI. The prevalence of multidimensional poverty in Nigeria today is unarguably the outcome of failed government policies and rigged prosperity, resulting from oil theft, poverty-inducing fuel subsidy program, and woeful macroeconomic policies. These have resulted in a few wealthy households having disproportionate access to economic opportunities, whereas millions of Nigerians languish in absolute and degenerate poverty.

While government policies have exacerbated poverty, the policy responses to tackling it has fared worse. Attempts over the past years to directly target poverty through various pro-poor developmental programmes have yielded little or no result. We shall not continue on the same track. Our approach to poverty alleviation is to engineer massive economic growth that will create jobs, grow incomes, build capacities and capabilities across the breadth of the socio-economic divide. We will bake a larger pie and ensure that the prosperity is shared in an all-inclusive and equal opportunity basis.

Our approach to tackling poverty will discourage citizens from the Stockholm syndrome, where they become slaves to the same political elites that immersed them in poverty in the first place.

Poor policy choices and massive distortion of the operation of the private sector by the government, e.g., multiple exchange rates, multiple taxation, and capital control, contribute to Nigeria's current poor economic condition. More so, the ineffective communication of government decisions amplifies uncertainty about the country's economic prospects and thereby discouraging both local and foreign investment. We will create massive economic opportunities to ensure that individuals not only bootstrap themselves out of poverty, but begin to aspire to the lofty heights of the good life as enshrined in our Constitution.

Poverty breeds insecurity which in turn, worsens poverty. Our commitment to tackle insecurity head-on will guarantee peace and security of citizens and property, which is a necessary condition for development and growth that solve the problem of poverty.

We will resource the generation of quality data on livelihoods to monitor poverty. Poverty is lack of capacity and capability. Our human capital





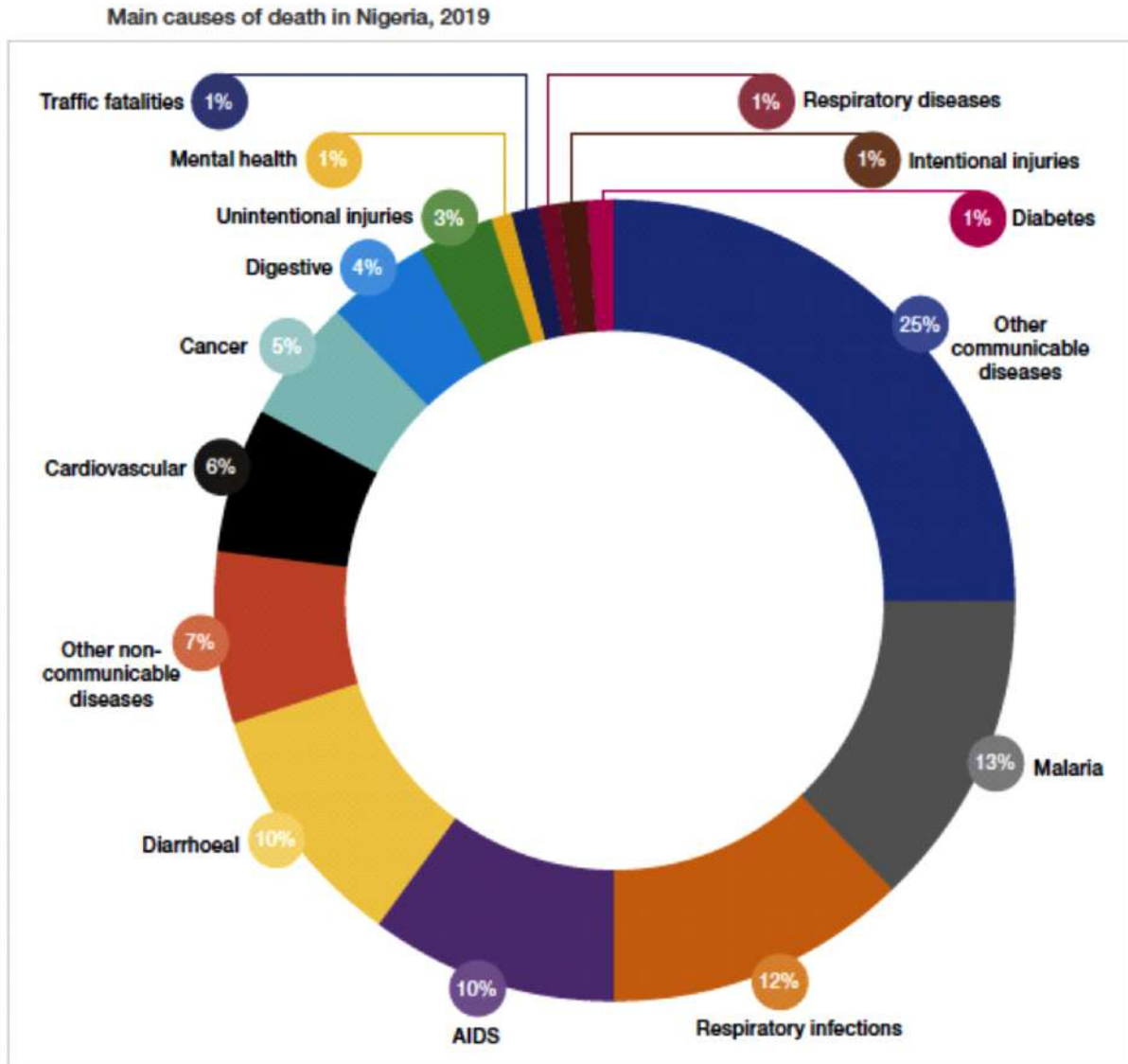
Enhance the human capital of Nigerian youth for productivity and global competitiveness through investment in world-class scholarship and research, quality healthcare, and entrepreneurship education.

development strategy will ensure that all Nigerians are equipped with skills and talents to fend for themselves. These interventions will focus on expanding access to quality health and nutrition, education, and labour force participation of every Nigerian and especially, youths, women, and people living with disability. Our agricultural intervention will increase the productivity of agriculture, ensuring food security and meaningful jobs.





Enhance the human capital of Nigerian youth for productivity and global competitiveness through investment in world-class scholarship and research, quality healthcare, and entrepreneurship education.

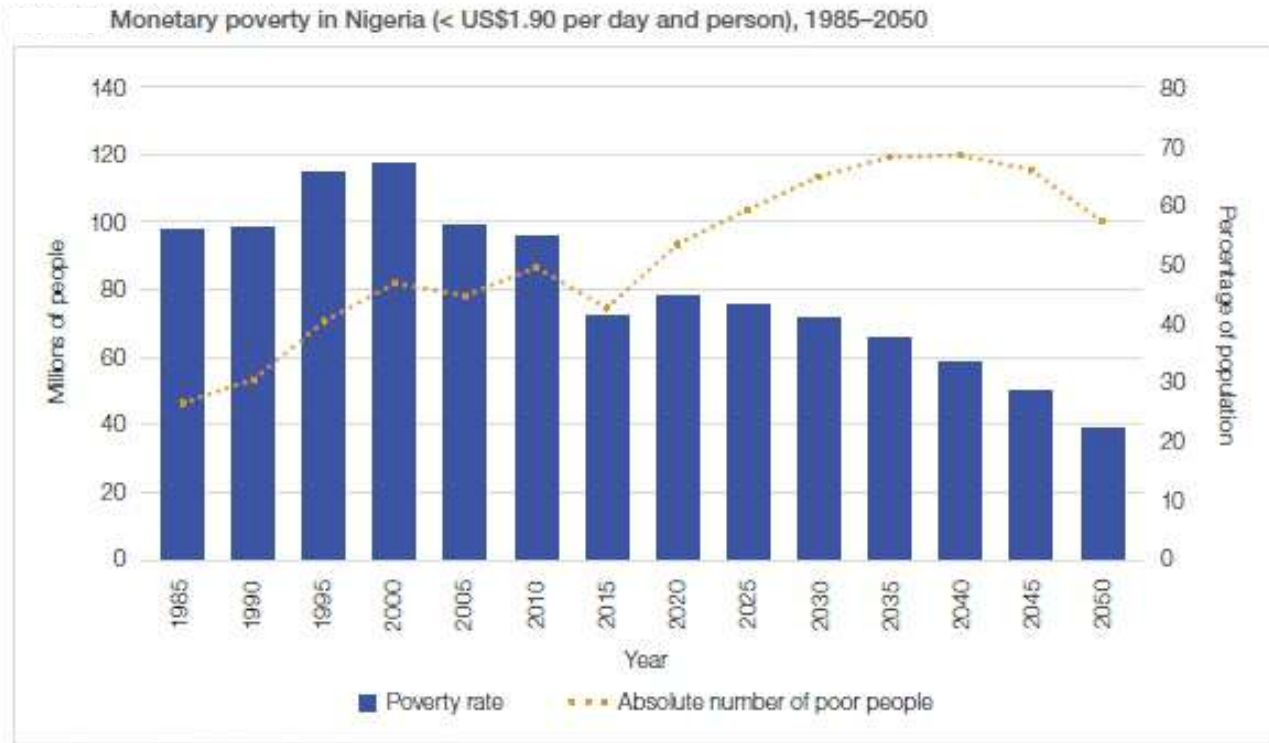


Source: IFA version 7.63; historical data from GBD-Institute for Health Metrics and Evaluation

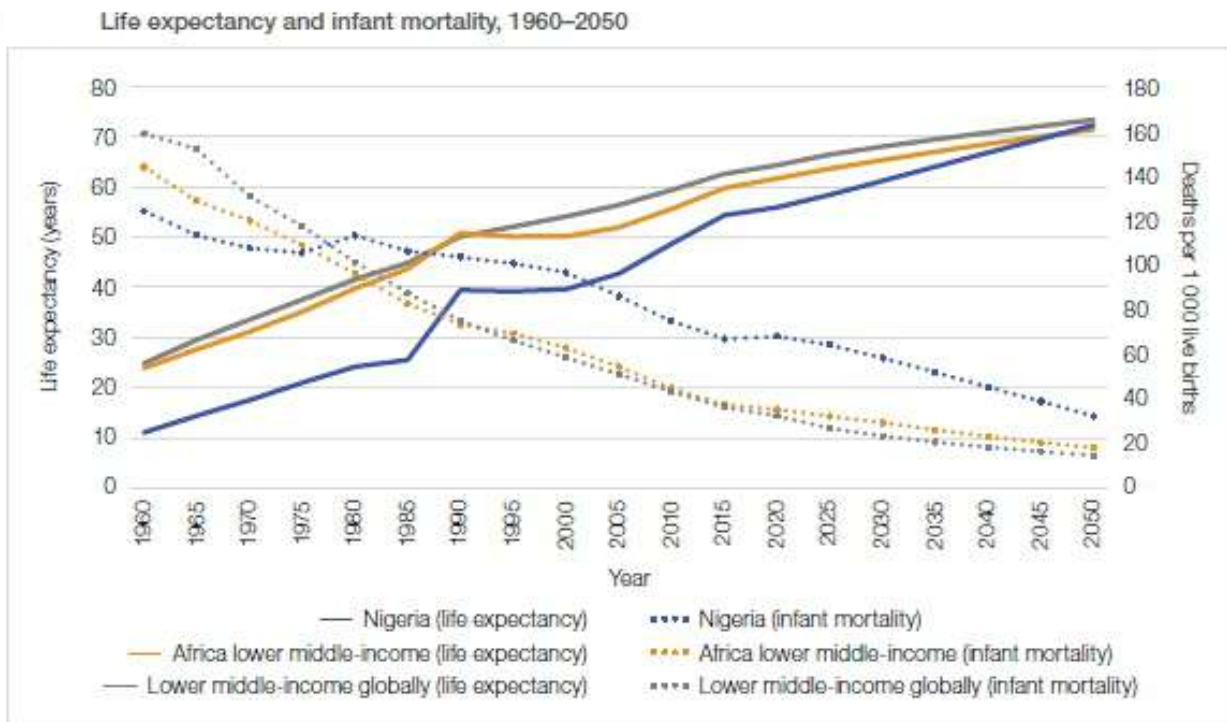




Enhance the human capital of Nigerian youth for productivity and global competitiveness through investment in world-class scholarship and research, quality healthcare, and entrepreneurship education.



Source: Forecast in IFs; historical data from the World Bank



Source: Forecast in IFs version 7.63; historical data from the Institute for Health Metrics and Evaluation (IHME)

Kouassi Yeboua, Jakkie Cilliers and Alize le Roux (2022) *Nigeria in 2050: Major player in the global economy or poverty capital?* ISS, Pretoria, SA





7.

Conduct an afro-centric diplomacy that protects the rights of Nigerian citizens abroad and advance the economic interests of Nigerians and Nigerian businesses in a changing world.

I. While Africa will remain the focus of our foreign policy, we will prioritize Nigeria's economic interest through promoting Nigerian businesses and protecting our people across the globe. Trade and investment will remain core components of our African foreign policy. Our foreign policy will be integrated 'Citizen Diplomacy' and 'Economic Diplomacy'. We will unrelentingly protect the rights of Nigeria anywhere in the world as well as pragmatically respond to changes in the global economic order in a manner that leverages diplomacy for economic development in Nigeria. We will end the days of 'cocktail diplomacy'. We will be developmentalist like South Korea and Japan under their reforming governments.

II. We will rebuild Nigeria's military power, re-organise its security architecture and enhance its technological prowess to improve security at home and Nigeria's diplomatic influence in sub-regional, regional, and global affairs via peacekeeping activities.

III. We will proactively reassert Nigeria's leadership role in African affairs through constructive engagement using existing sub-regional and regional fora as well as bilateral platforms for dialogue on current and emerging challenges.

IV. We shall creatively deploy Nigeria's soft power in Africa and around the world through Nigeria's leading role in entertainment – music and Nollywood – to enhance the effectiveness of our domestic economic growth strategies.

V. We will pay special attention to the ECOWAS region, in order to secure our borders and ensure the integrity of regional security and development





Conduct an afro-centric diplomacy that protects the rights of Nigerian citizens abroad and advance the economic interests of Nigerians and Nigerian businesses in a changing world.

architecture that promotes human security in Nigeria. Our strategic interest is peaceful and democratic West Africa as our primary sphere of influence.

VI. Despite obvious challenges posed by migration, we will respect ECOWAS Freedom of Movement Protocols as it relates to movement of persons and goods. We will work with our neighbours to secure our borders and fight cross-border crimes while strengthening our immigration to account for movement into the country.

VII. We will seek to restore credibility to Nigeria's foreign policy through its adherence to and leadership on regional initiatives and programmes such as the African Continental Free Trade Agreement (AfCTA), the New Economic Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) and the African Peer Review Mechanism. We will also do this through strengthening our relationship with our development partners and adherence and commitment to global peace and security.

VIII. We will prioritize the drive to expand Nigeria's exports by building strong bilateral relationships with end-user global markets. This will include creating structures such as nationally organised strategic trade and investment missions which are industry targeted; in-country trade missions that complement our current foreign missions, with specific responsibilities to build up acceptable markets for made-in-Nigeria goods and services.

IX. We shall embrace political entrepreneurialism to directly lead missions to top Original Equipment Manufacturers (OEMs) and leading Global Value Chain headquarters, lobbying and granting them all the necessary incentives to expand their production and manufacturing value chains to our country to link us to the important income-growing and employment-generating global value chains.





Biographies



THE MAN

**Peter Gregory
Onwubuasi OBI
(CON)**



Name:

**MR PETER
GREGORY
ONWUBUASI
OBI, (CON).**

Place of Birth:

**ONITSHA,
NIGERIA**

Nationality:

NIGERIAN

Marital Status:

MARRIED WITH TWO CHILDREN

Date of Birth:

19TH JULY, 1961



EDUCATION



EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS ATTENDED

Institution	Programme
Christ the King College, Onitsha	WASC
University of Nigeria, Nsukka	BA Philosophy
Lagos Business School, Nigeria	Chief Executive Programme
Harvard Business School, Boston, USA	Mid to Mid Marketing
Harvard Business School, Boston, USA	Changing the Game
London School of Economics	Financial Management/Business Policy
Columbia Business School, New York, USA	Marketing Management
Institute for Management Development, Switzerland	Senior Executive Programme
Institute for Management Development, Switzerland	Break-Through Programme for CEOs
Kellogg Graduate School of Management, USA	Advanced Executive Programme
Kellogg School of Management USA	Global Advanced Management Programme
Oxford University: Said Business School	Advanced Management and Leadership Programme
Cambridge University: George Business School	Advanced Leadership Programme



PREVIOUS POSITIONS

Governor, Anambra State of Nigeria, **2006 – 2014**

Member, Presidential Economic Management Team (**till May, 2015**)

Chairman, South- East Governors' Forum, **2008 – 2014**

Honorary Special Adviser to the President on Finance (**till May, 2015**)

Vice - Chairman, Nigeria Governors' Forum, **2008 – 2014**

Former Chairman, Board of Securities & Exchange Commission (SEC)

Former Chairman: Fidelity Bank Plc.

Former Chairman: Future Views Securities, Ltd.

Former Chairman: Next International (Nigeria) Ltd

Former Director: Chams Nigeria Plc

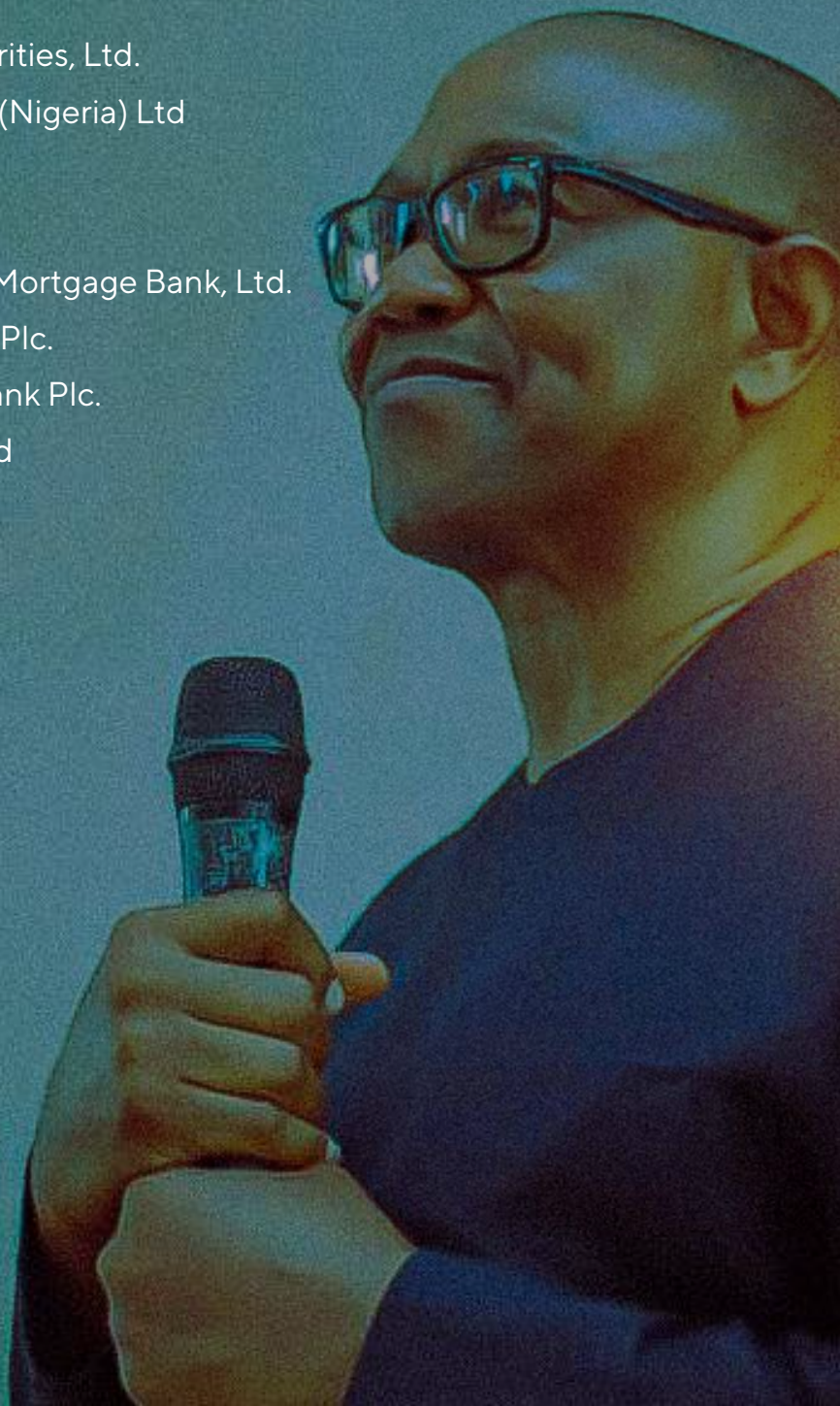
Former Director: Card Center Plc

Former Chairman: Guardian Express Mortgage Bank, Ltd.

Former Chairman: Paymaster Nigeria Plc.

Former Director: Guardian Express Bank Plc.

Former Director: Emerging Capital Ltd





MEMBERSHIP OF PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS ORGANIZATIONS

Member, Nigeria Economic Summit Group (NESG)
Member, Nigerian Chartered Institute of Bankers
Member, British Institute of Directors

MEMBERSHIP OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT COMMITTEES

As Governor of Anambra State, served as a member of:

Federal Government Committee on Minimum Wage
Federal Government Committee on Negotiation with Labour on Subsidy
Federal Government Committee on Mass Transit
Federal Government Committee on Natural Resource
National Economic Council Committee on Power Sector Reform
National Economic Council Committee on Sharing of MDGs Funds
National Economic Council Committee on Accurate Data on Nigeria's Oil Import and Export
Agricultural Transformation Implementation Council
Sub-Committee on Needs Analysis of Public Universities in Nigeria
National Economic Council Review Committee on the Power Sector

AWARDS & RECOGNITIONS

2015	Golden Jubilee Award from Catholic Diocese of Onitsha for outstanding contribution to quality healthcare delivery in St. Charles Borromeo Hospital in particular and Anambra State in general, on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee celebration of the hospital.
2014	Nigerian Library Association Golden Merit Award for remarkable improvement of libraries in Anambra State, exemplified by the construction of the Kenneth Dike Digital State Library, remarkable upgrade of the Onitsha Divisional Library, and provision of library facilities in secondary schools across the state.
2014	Champion Newspaper Most Outstanding Igbo Man of the Decade
2014	The Voice Newspaper (Holland) Achievers Award for Outstanding Example in Leadership and Governance.
2013	Silver Bird Man of the Year (with Governor Babatunde Fashola of Lagos State)
2012	Business Hallmark Newspaper Man of the Year
2012	The Golden Award on Prudence by Methodist Church of Nigeria as the Most Financially Prudent Governor in Nigeria.
2012	Leadership and Good Governance Award by the Ezeife Leadership Foundation Award for restoring peace and harmony to Anambra State.
2012	Best Performing Governor on Immunization in South-East Nigeria by Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation.
2012	Outstanding Financial Planner and Manager by the Church of Nigeria, Anglican Communion for my resourcefulness and creativity in governance.
2011	Zik Leadership Prize
2010	ICT Governor of the Year - by the West Africa ICT Development Award.
2009	Champion Newspaper Nigeria's Most Trustworthy Governor Award.
2009	Thisday Newspaper Most Prudent Governor in Nigeria.
2007	The Sun Newspaper Man of the Year Award
	The Nigerian MDGs Office/UNDP Best Governor in the Implementation of the MDGs in Nigeria.



**FUNDAMENTAL ACHIEVEMENTS
AS GOVERNOR OF ANAMBRA STATE**
(PARTIAL LISTING)



FUNDAMENTAL ACHIEVEMENTS AS GOVERNOR OF ANAMBRA STATE (PARTIAL LISTING)

1. Anambra was the first State to commence Sub-Sovereign Wealth savings, the first of its kind in Sub-Saharan Africa. At a time when many other Governors were leaving huge debts, he left the equivalent of \$500 million Dollars in investment as well as local and foreign currency, including \$156 million in Dollar-denominated bonds.

2. For the first time in the history of Anambra State, Ambassadors and High Commissioners of notable countries such as the United States, Britain, Russia, European Union, South Africa, Belgium, Israel, the Netherlands, Canada, among others, visited the State. Before my tenure, Anambra was practically a pariah state blacklisted by the Diplomatic Corps and international development partners.

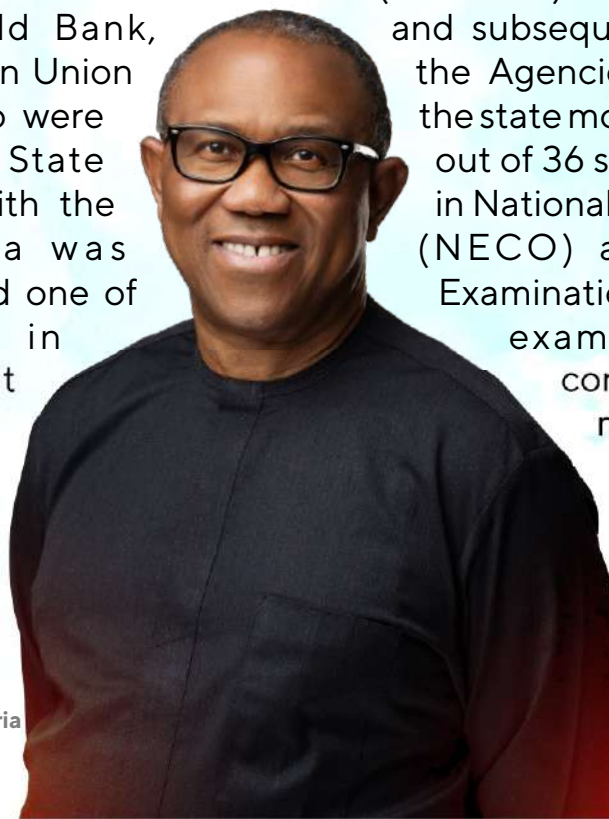
3. Development partners such as UNDP, the World Bank, DFID, the European Union etc, which hitherto were not in Anambra State started working with the state. Anambra was consistently judged one of the best states in development partnership and commitment to reforms for good governance.

4. He was recognized as Best Governor by the Millennium Development Goals Office (OSSAP-MDGs) and the UNDP in the implementation of their programmes in Nigeria.

5. The Nigerian Debt Management Office (DMO) rated Anambra as the least indebted state in Nigeria. In spite of visible and measurable achievements recorded in various sectors, the State under him did not borrow or raise bonds for her various projects.

6. The Senate of the Federal Republic of Nigeria rated Anambra State as the most financially stable state in the country.

7. The State's ground-breaking return of schools to their original owners - Voluntary Agencies (Churches) on 1st January 2009, and subsequent partnership with the Agencies in Education, saw the state move from 24th position out of 36 states to Number One in National Examination Council (NECO) and West African Examination Council (WAEC) examinations for three consecutive years. This made the World Bank to commission a study, led by the renowned Prof Paul Collier of Oxford





FUNDAMENTAL ACHIEVEMENTS AS GOVERNOR OF ANAMBRA STATE (PARTIAL LISTING)



University, on this revolutionary partnership and phenomenal achievement.

8. The State also entered into strategic partnership with the Churches in the Health Sector. This symbiotic relationship resulted in a tremendous boost to health care because of the services offered by health institutions owned by Voluntary Agencies, while the state restored grants to the agencies and made available to them more than 50 million Dollars in various types of support.

9. Through partnership with the Church in the Health Sector, his government funded the transformation of:

- a. Iyieniu Hospital, Ogidi
- b. Our Lady of Lourdes Hospital, Ihiala
- c. St Charles Borromeo Hospital, Onitsha
- d. Holy Rosary Hospital, Waterside, Onitsha;
- e. St Joseph Hospital, Adazi-Nnukwu. Also built the Joseph Nwilo Heart Centre in this hospital where heart surgery is now performed.

10. His government won the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (1 million dollars) grant as the best performing state in immunization in the South-East. With complementary funding from the state government, they used the money to build 10 maternal and childcare centres across the state, particularly in rural communities, in partnership with the Churches.

11. The State was the first to procure and distribute more than 30,000 computers to secondary schools, including 22,500 from HP. The Managing Director for Personal Systems Group, HP Inc, Mr. Fabrice Campoy, described the deployment as the biggest of such projects in the Middle-East and Africa.

12. The Anambra State Government provided Microsoft Academies to more than 500 secondary schools, which the Head of Microsoft in Nigeria (Mr. Ken Span) described as



FUNDAMENTAL ACHIEVEMENTS AS GOVERNOR OF ANAMBRA STATE (PARTIAL LISTING)

the biggest such deployment in Africa.

13. The State provided Internet access to more than 500 secondary schools, which the CEO of Galaxy Backbone (Mr. Gerald Ilukwe) characterized as incomparable to any in the country.

14. More than 700 buses were provided to secondary schools in the State by his Government.

15. Boreholes were provided in schools all over the State.

16. Numerous classrooms were built in all the 177 communities of the state.

17. As part of the efforts to turn around the economy of the State, several companies were attracted to build their facilities in the Anambra State. A case in point is SABMiller, the 2nd largest brewery in the world, which built their first Green Field facility in the State, which is today one of the most successful facilities they operate globally.

18. A number of other companies followed the SABMiller initiative and were all supported and encouraged under his government; a good example is INNOSON Motor Manufacturing Company, from which the government purchased

more than 1,000 vehicles.

19. Anambra State for the first time started close collaboration with recognized government security agencies (the Police, Army, Navy, Department of State Security, Civil Defence, among others), offering them various types of support including the provision of more than 500 security vehicles.

The improvement in security was phenomenal, such that a former IG of Police (Abubakar Mohammed) lauded Anambra State for not witnessing any bank robbery in Obi's last three years in office.

20. To further enhance security, Anambra State provided at least one security vehicle to each of all the 177 communities in the State as well as various organizations such as markets and Churches.

21. His Administration conceived and built, from scratch, the first state-owned Teaching Hospital, Chukwuemeka Odumegwu-Ojukwu Teaching Hospital, Awka.

22. His Government commenced the planned development of the Igbariam Campus of the Chukwuemeka Odumegwu-Ojukwu University, including the fencing, construction of internal roads, electrification, construction



FUNDAMENTAL ACHIEVEMENTS AS GOVERNOR OF ANAMBRA STATE (PARTIAL LISTING)

of the Faculty of Law, Auditorium, Administrative Block, Faculty of Agriculture, Management Building, among others.

23. His Government attracted the World Bank support on erosion – National Erosion and Watershed Management Project (NEWMAP) – to Anambra State.

24. His Government was the first to do Poverty Mapping in Nigeria, as a guide for the effective implementation of poverty-alleviation strategies.

25. His Government, for the first time, undertook the aerial mapping of Awka as well as the production of Structure Plans for Awka Capital Territory, Onitsha and Nnewi.

26. During his tenure and with his Government support, Anambra State became an oil producing State.

27. He built the first Secretariat Complex to house State Government Ministries that were hitherto scattered around the State.

28. His government commenced the development of the 'Three Arms Zone' comprising government house/governor's lodge, legislative building/speaker's residence, and judiciary building with Chief Judge's

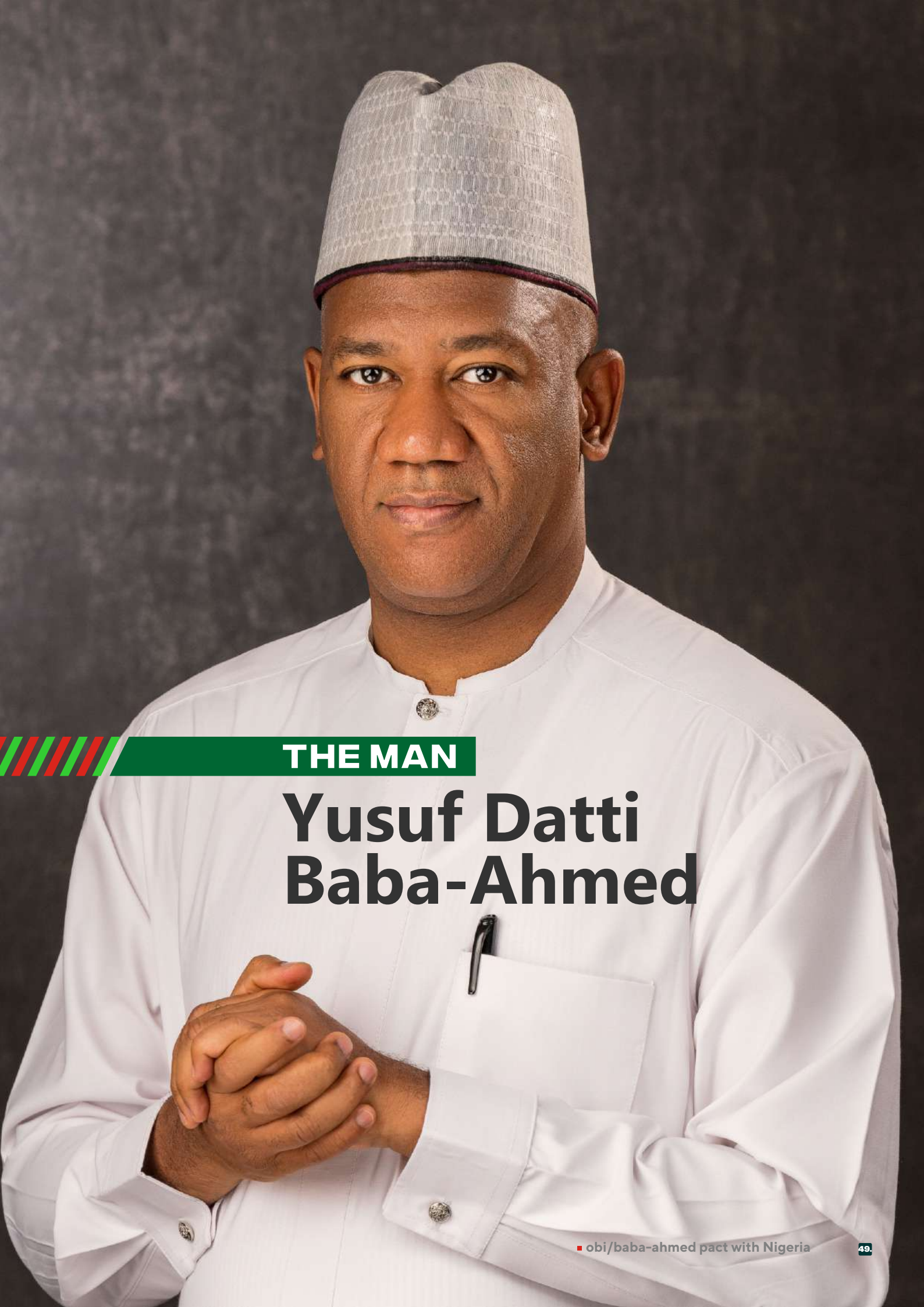
residence.

29. By the end of his tenure in 2014, more than twelve (12) health institutions, including two hospitals, had secured accreditation; compared to when he took off in 2006, when no health institution in Anambra State was duly accredited.'

30. Anambra State was the first to undergo national peer review, which scrutinized State Governments for good governance, through the State Peer Review Mechanism (SPRM), an initiative of the Nigerian Governor's Forum in collaboration with the DFID.

31. The Anambra Integrated Development Strategy (ANIDS), a governance model conceptualized and used by Peter Obi, is today researched, evaluated, considered and referenced as an optimal good governance model that guarantees holistic and simultaneous development of communities.





THE MAN

**Yusuf Datti
Baba-Ahmed**

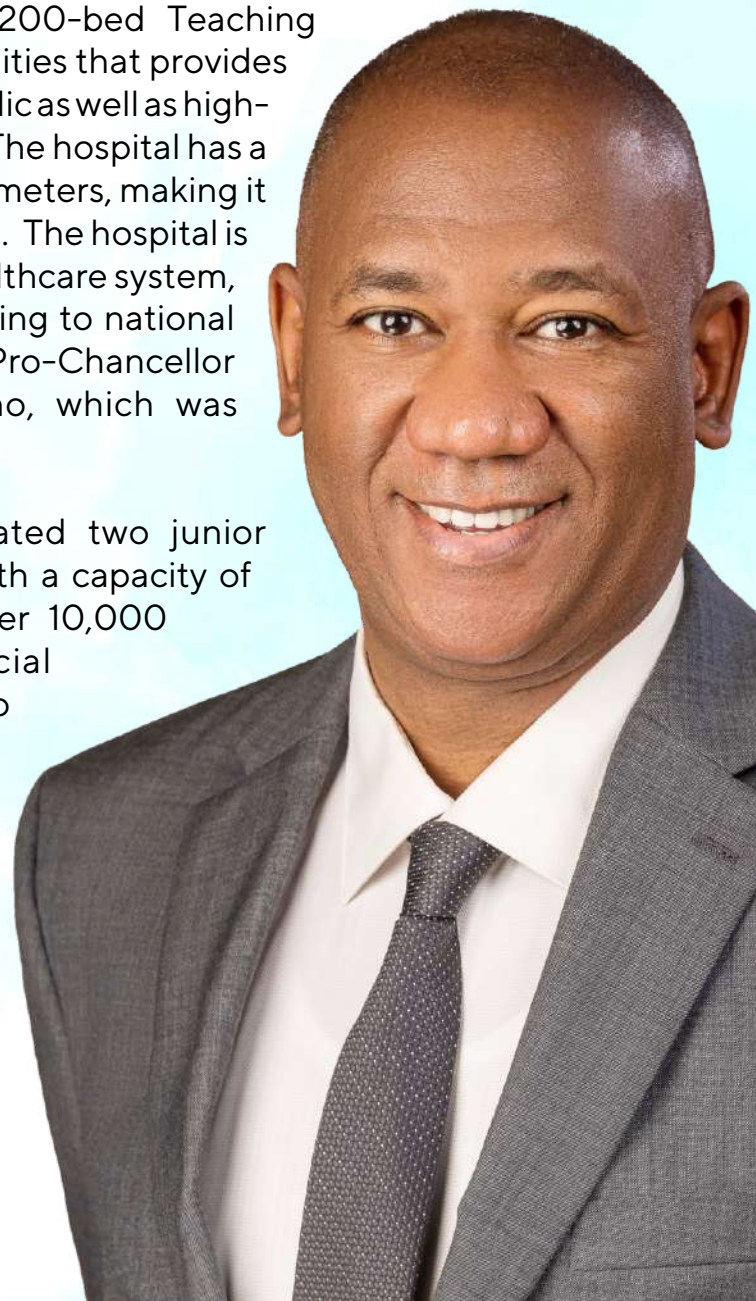


EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Yusuf Datti Baba-Ahmed is an academician, businessman, and politician who has been elected to the House of Representatives and the Senate, and has an impressive track record of introducing major legislation and actively participating in transformative legislative activities. Described as a political force to be reckoned with in his home state of Kaduna and beyond, he beat a two-term governor and serving senator in 2011, a triumph that confirmed solid relations from elite and grassroots support. He holds four degrees, including a Ph.D in Economics. Inspired by the need to promote his family's legacy and the desire to put legitimate aspirations into practice, he established and runs two leading private universities, a consulting firm, and a construction company with a workforce of over 1,000 people, including expatriates and highly skilled professional Nigerians at home and in the diaspora.

As the Founder and Pro-Chancellor of Baze University, Abuja, he has successfully developed a vibrant University with six (6) faculties. He is responsible for the development of a 200-bed Teaching Hospital with state-of-the-art medical facilities that provides comprehensive medical services to the public as well as high-quality medical education to its students. The hospital has a total floor space of roughly 14,000 square meters, making it the largest of its type in Nigeria and beyond. The hospital is intended to close a gap in the Nigerian healthcare system, minimizing medical tourism and contributing to national development. He also founded and is the Pro-Chancellor of Baba-Ahmed University (BAU), Kano, which was licensed in June 2022.

As a philanthropist, he built and donated two junior secondary schools to his constituency, with a capacity of 4,000 pupils, which have graduated over 10,000 children as part of his corporate social responsibility (CSR) and commitment to making a difference in the society. By necessity, he presented himself as a champion of the new generation to be considered for the most appropriate office, a presidential nominee in 2019, which he believed to be a quest to urgently solve Nigeria's complex problems and transform it into a new era of economic prosperity, social security, and political stability.





EDUCATION

Institution	Programme
University of Westminster, London, UK	PhD in Economics
University of Wales, Cardiff, UK	MBA
University of Maiduguri, Borno State, Nigeria	MSc Economics
University of Maiduguri, Borno State, Nigeria	BSc Economics
Harvard Business School, Massachusetts, USA	Owner/President Management (OPM 53)
Harvard Kennedy School, Harvard, Boston, MA, USA	Senior Executive Course in National and International Security
London Business School (LBS), London, UK	Senior Executive Program (SET 89)
London School of Practical Economics, London, UK	Certificate in Practical Economics
Arbitrage Consulting	Certificate in Strategies for Managing Equity Portfolios
ICL	Diploma in Information Management Tools
Airforce Military School, Jos, Plateau State, Nigeria	GCE O - Level Certificate





EMPLOYMENT HISTORY

- Founder and Pro-Chancellor, Baba-Ahmed University (BAU), Sharada, Kano, Nigeria
- Founder and Pro-Chancellor, Baze University, Kuchigoro, FCT, Abuja, Nigeria
- Elected Senator, Federal Republic of Nigeria, For Kaduna North Senatorial District, National Assembly, FCT, Abuja
- Elected Member, House of Representatives, Zaria Federal Constituency, National Assembly, FCT, Abuja
- Managing Director (MD), Baze Research and Data Services, FCT, Abuja, Nigeria
- Project Officer, Billfinger + Berger UK Ltd, London, UK
- Banking Officer, First Bank of Nigeria Plc. London Branch.
- Officer II, Nigeria Security Printing and Minting Company, Victoria Island, Lagos.
- Project Coordinator, Baze Research and Data Services, Ltd.
- National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) – Service Year, University of Agriculture, Abeokuta, Ogun State.

NGOS AND CLUBS

- Patron, Zaria Polo Club since 2012
- Chairman, Renaissance Forum for Societal Reforms, since 2006

HOBBIES

- Squash
- Chess
- Debates

AWARDS & RECOGNITIONS

Awarded fellow of Science Association of Nigeria (FSAN), by Ahmadu Bello University (ABU) Zaria, 2011



THEY CAN DO IT!



VOTE



THE NIGERIA WE DESIRE IS
POSSIBLE

The team that produced this Manifesto was led by Prof. Bongo Adi of Lagos Business School.