



# **BUILDING A NIGERIA FOR ALL**

**THE ATIKU ABUBAKAR POLICY DOCUMENT**



**#ANigeriaForAll**

**[www.atiku.org](http://www.atiku.org)**

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## PREFACE

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### LET THE CHANGE BEGIN

*E*lections should no longer be just about the right to vote. They should also be about the right to choose between candidates who compete on what they will do for the citizens.

*Now, more than any other time in its history, Nigeria needs inspiration, hope and a change in consciousness to extol hardwork, accountability, trust and a long term vision for the future. It is therefore absolutely vital that this change be instituted at the top whereby our leadership becomes the example that can be emulated nationwide.*

*I believe Nigerians should live without fear, that Nigerians deserve recognition and respect, and that all Nigerians should have access to basic public services, and must have the opportunity to work for a living. I believe that Nigeria needs better governance, and that with corruption, nepotism and impunity, citizenship will have no real meaning, patriotism will remain elusive.*

*I joined the APC because I believe our country needs change. I am*

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*contesting for its nomination as a flag bearer because I have what it takes to lead the Party to victory and bring about the change we all crave. My desire to serve is borne out of an innate concern for the future of this nation, the vision of the possibilities of her greatness and my hope for the legacies we can leave behind for future generations if we genuinely try.*

*I will fight for peace and against corruption; I will empower state and local governments, I will strengthen the private sector and ensure that everything government does will encourage job creation.*

*I am prepared for this undertaking and I am offering Nigerians a new deal spelt out in this document. I want to lead an APC Government that will make Nigeria safe and fulfilling for all.*

*Starting from 2015, the policies of government that I seek to lead will reflect the collective aspirations and soothe the undeserved pains we are all feeling.*

*The document you hold in your hands marks the start of a journey to a better future.*

*I believe that change will only come if those aspiring for public office learn to listen to those who entrust them with the responsibility to lead. This policy document is a product of wide consultations and realistic conclusions because it is only when we put our heads and hands together and pull collectively and consciously in the right direction that the aspirations of our people can be achieved.*

*Let the CHANGE begin. Together we can change Nigeria for the better. Together, we can build A Nigeria for All.*

***Atiku Abubakar*** GCON

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# Building A Nigeria for All

# PREAMBLE

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The All Progressives Congress (APC) is a Party inspired by the need for CHANGE. The CHANGE to construct and institute a progressive nation anchored on Social Democratic values where the Welfare and Security of the citizenry is paramount.

Deriving from this vision, the Atiku Policy seeks to establish a new social contract between an APC government under his leadership and the people of Nigeria so that together, we can build A NIGERIA FOR ALL.

When implemented with an unflinching political will and an inclusive strategy, the Policy will achieve the creation of a new nation. A nation that will:

- Guarantee meaningful citizenship, responsive and accountable governance
- Promote government to government (G2G) partnership and devolution of responsibilities and resources to where it can best be utilized for the common good
- Develop accountable institutions for efficient service delivery
- Ensure competitive services that will stimulate the growth of a private sector driven economy
- Fight for unity and harmony
- Drastically sanction corruption and nepotism
- Guarantee security and peace premised on development and good neighbor international relations
- Provide real opportunities for all citizens in formal and informal sectors of the economy.

# THE IMPERATIVES OF CHANGE

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## 1.1 Inequality and Institutional Decay

Whilst the elites live pampered lives, the vast majority of the population is trapped in poverty and underdevelopment. The middle class has crumbled under the weight of a rent-seeking economic environment. Few can hope for a decent education; there are not enough jobs; infrastructure and public services are inadequate while basic social security has no real meaning. Too many Nigerians live in fear of violent crimes, communal clashes, and savage acts of terrorism. Most feel betrayed by the very institutions that were set up to serve and protect them and by corrupt and self-serving politicians. Indifferent, ill-equipped, and often brutal security forces and a weak legal and judicial system fuel public distrust of the state and feed into the widely held belief that institutions don't matter.

This must CHANGE!

## 1.2 Vulnerable and Neglected Groups

The fact is that the most vulnerable fair worse in our society. The needs of young children, the elderly, or persons with disabilities barely register in national development efforts. Even groups like women and the youth that fall under the purview of dedicated ministries receive little tangible support. Lack of interest in the weakest is symptomatic of an increasingly unresponsive and detached government that conducts its affairs with high level of impunity.

This must CHANGE!

## 1.3 Increasing Social Tension

Ethno-religious tensions and disputes over titles and entitlements have eroded social cohesion, undermining

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democratic consolidation and - more recently - threatening national unity and security. Today, Nigeria and Nigerians suffer from terrorist attacks in the North, militancy in the Delta and communal violence in the Middle Belt. There are cult wars in the South, kidnappings, armed robberies, and everyday acts of thuggery throughout the country.

This must CHANGE!

#### **1.4 Absence of Social Contract**

Abundant resource rents and a skewed revenue allocation model mean that the distant and insulated Federal government does not have to earn citizens' trust and that state and local governments lack the resources to meet citizens' needs. Instead of investing in state capacity, the fortunate few rely on expensive self-help systems. They have access to the amenities other citizens can only dream of including safe and secure housing, reliable water and electricity supplies, mobility, adequate health care, sound education and personal protection.

This must CHANGE!

#### **1.5 Lack of Trust in Governance**

When things get ugly, those who turn to the police, the army or any other state security agency usually do so because they have the means and personal connections to buy help and protection. Most of those who don't have such connections simply move on, bitter and resigned. Some form vigilante groups, others join lynching mobs that dispense jungle justice on suspects and scapegoats alike. Too many of those who believe they have nothing to lose, and everything to gain, end up as terrorists, militants, and thugs.

•This must CHANGE!

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## **1.6 Restrained Voices**

Many of those who refuse to go to extremes still doubt they can bring about meaningful change. Elections are rarely free and seldom fair, and at the federal, state, and local levels, incumbency and patronage usually determine who gets to hold office. Instead of protecting citizens' democratic aspirations, police and security forces often curtail their most fundamental political rights, including the freedom of association and the right to vote. Like those whom they protect, they get away with whatever they do. Indeed the greatest challenge to Nigeria's democracy is the blatant culture of impunity that has taken over public services in the country and the militarization of our election processes.

This must CHANGE!

## **1.7 Total Disconnect with Rural Areas**

Our people in the rural areas are at the margin and mercy of society. More than half of the population lives below the poverty line; police and security presence is patchy and often times non-existence; and there are few if any essential public services. Electricity is scarce, sanitation is poor, and health services are beyond inadequate. Access to fundamental education means children often walk long distances to poorly equipped and overcrowded schools, only to find out that their teachers failed to turn up for work. Few in the villages feel they have a stake in the Federal Republic. Most of those who stay in the villages feel estranged and disempowered. Many believe that they will never achieve their dreams and aspirations. Almost all believe that the only time government officials and politicians visit is during the election season, when they waltz in



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to buy votes and promise things that will never materialize.  
This must CHANGE!

### **1.8 Shortage of Opportunities in Urban Areas**

In urban areas, one third of the population lives below the poverty line. Perhaps as many as two thirds do not have enough to meet their basic household needs. The basic needs such as food, energy, housing, drinking water, sanitation, health care, education, and social security largely go unmet. Even those who get by are more likely to be harassed than helped by public officials. Most overpay for the erratic essential services they receive, and those who complain are unlikely to get judicial redress. In many of the most densely populated areas and satellite towns, urban dwellers face constant threats to their property and lives, and many doubt that citizenship extends far beyond the right to handouts.

This must CHANGE!

### **1.9 A Skewed Justice System**

Access to justice should be a right of all citizens but this is becoming more and more inaccessible and expensive. With the level of poverty and financial distress that many Nigerians face, legal aid could be the only hope for many who unfortunately might have a case before the courts. The reality therefore is that majority of our people who do not have the financial capacity to successfully sustain a legal action in court either as plaintiff or defendant/accused are left at the mercy of the imperfect judicial system.

This must CHANGE!

### **•1.10 Dereliction of Civic Obligations**

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The majority of our citizens have forgotten that rights come with obligations. While the government carries out unparalleled acts of impunity, 'civil disobedience' holds sway amongst the ordinary member of society. Rules and regulations including those that are meant to protect the life of ordinary people are routinely broken while damning the consequences. Our people would rather run across an expressway than walk through a pedestrian bridge. Our top officials would rather drive through the wrong side of the road than queue to take their turn. While there is a general moral deficit in our society with government officials playing their part to accentuate it, the citizens too do not realize they have certain obligations towards obeying set rules and regulations.

This must CHANGE!

### **1.11 Lack of Opportunities for Small scale Enterprises**

In addition to the lack of jobs within the formal sector, entrepreneurship opportunities are equally few and far between. Lack of capital, bankable competencies and skills, as well as the absence of entrepreneurial mentorships mean there are increasingly fewer opportunities for small scale enterprises and startups.

This must CHANGE!

### **1.12 Failed Programmes**

Various employment and job creation schemes by successive governments have done very little to reduce the level of youth unemployment in the society. Most of these programmes have recorded very little success due to paucity of the causative factors of unemployment, inadequate planning and data gathering. There is also deficiency in dedicated monitoring and

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tracking procedures to measure success rates on top of sharp practices amongst government officials in the implementation of these projects.

This must CHANGE!

### **1.13 A Nation at a Crossroads**

Our country is currently at a crossroads. However, despite the many challenges, things can take a turn for the better if appropriate measures are put in place. The measures are to address the basic problems faced by ordinary Nigerians at their different levels – rural, urban, youth, women, weak, strong, lower class, middle class, upper class and people with special needs. We have to feel the pulse of our people by alluding to their pains, wants and needs. This is the imperative of change.

The Atiku Policy Document is the promise of a New Deal with the Nigerian people.

- An economy that creates jobs and banishes poverty
- A government that listens, cares and plays by the rule
- Security that guarantees peace and national harmony
- A society that abhors corruption and nepotism

# RESPONSIVE GOVERNANCE AND MEANINGFUL CITIZENSHIP

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Nigeria has made giant strides towards democracy. Since the return to civilian rule in 1999, successive elected governments have entrenched macroeconomic stability, liberalised key sectors of the economy, promoted growth and employment, and improved the country's image abroad. Yet more than half a century after independence, full citizenship and too many democratic dividends remain elusive. This must CHANGE!

- Under an APC government led by Atiku Abubakar, the Federal government will no longer tolerate:
- The neglect by and alienation of citizens from nominally public institutions; self-serving elites, politicians and a government that only takes, and never gives to those who have little or nothing
- The seemingly irreversible decay of habits and institutions that could arrest or counteract the erosion of social trust
- The constant reminders of the stark inequality between the fortunate few and those who cannot afford to feed, clothe, and educate their children
- The indifferent, corrupt, and abusive public officials who get away with whatever they do
- The neglect of displaced persons and those living in remote villages, informal settlements, and urban slums which leaves them fearful and vulnerable

## 2.1 A Workable Governance Structure

The Federal Government dominates Nigeria's political and economic life. The Constitution gives it the mandate and the means to initiate, implement, adjust, and abandon a wide range

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of policies and regulations. Political practice also allows Ministries, Departments, and Agencies (MDA) considerable leeway in interpreting legislative tasks and instructions. Checks and balances are weak and highly politicised and unless the Presidency takes a decided stance against sharp practices, heads of agencies can more or less do as they please.

The FG currently receives around 56 per cent of consolidated budgetary revenues. Along with various agencies, it remains the single largest employer. Although public procurement only accounts for less than one per cent of GDP, it is the main source of capital accumulation and preservation. The FG's deep pockets, its ability to tap into the Excess Crude Account (ECA) and suspend Federation Account transfers to States and Local Governments at will, give it considerable formal and informal leverage over them.

This must CHANGE.

## **MY PROMISE**

To build a Nigeria for All that will be run by a trimmed down Federal Government whose operations are limited to areas that need national capabilities, and whose ministries and agencies act as regulators/holdings that set standards and allocate capital; monitor state, local, and private initiatives; and compel their effectiveness and efficiency in service delivery.

## **WHAT WE WILL DO**

Within the first 100 days:

The Presidency will initiate performance-related transfers of implementation related authority and funds to state and local governments. Mobilize and mainstream charity and cooperative organizations, and the private sector; for an

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effective delivery of social services. Devolve MDA responsibilities to

- I. Conducting timely and transparent public/stakeholder consultations on national standards and expectations
- ii. Assessing the likely social and economic impacts of policy and regulatory changes, facilitating policy coordination among the 3Gs and their private partners
- iii. Commissioning, disseminating, and learning from regular independent process, project, and programme evaluations

**B. Within one year, the Federal Government will:**

- Streamline MDA remits and responsibilities and improve efficiency and accountability by:
  - i. Clarifying and simplifying the remits and responsibilities of federal ministries, departments, agencies, and parastatals
  - ii. Merging and streamlining redundant institutions
  - iii. Establishing clear lines of command and robust funding mechanisms to ensure policy implementation
  - iv. Fast tracking the reforms of agencies found suitable for devolution and privatization.

**C. Within two years,**

The Presidency will transfer the bulk of the FG's operational responsibilities that cannot be privatised to states, on the condition that they;

- i. Decentralise state government to give local

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governments (and all indigene groups) a stake in devolution

- ii. adhere to federal standards and compete to raise them

**D. Within four years, the Federal Government will:**

- Push for the review of the structure and composition of the Federation Account and restructure government financing procedures
- Seek for the amendment of the Constitution and all relevant legislation to ensure that:
  - i. States of origin can retain a significant share of resource revenues
  - ii. A rules-based financial equalisation mechanism that allocates a significant share of the remaining revenues to states and LGAs
  - iii. Funding needs are estimated on the basis of population and public finance performance rather than number of political units or territory
  - iv. The federal, state, and local governments have a strong incentive to broaden the tax base and to raise non-resource and non large-cap revenues to push the tax take to at least 15% of GDP

**E. By 2020, the Federal Government will:**

- Pursue true Federalism
- Improve local government capacity and accountability
- Strengthen local government by:
- Reviewing and amending business regulations to allow local councils to retain a bigger share of

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business levies and fees

- i. offering local councils matching federal funds between one to three (1-3) infrastructure development projects worth up to N100m each
- ii. contracting on a performance basis external advisers to help local councils meet deadlines and milestones



# Anti- Corruption and Accountable Institutions

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## 3.1 Accountable Institutions

Abundant resource rents and a skewed revenue allocation model mean that the distant and insulated federal government does not have to earn citizens' trust, and that state and local governments lack the resources to meet citizens' needs. At less than 5% of GDP, Nigeria's tax 'burden' is one of the lowest in the world - though it is more than enough to buy elite support. Instead of investing in state capacity, the fortunate few extract rents to fund expensive self-help systems that give them access to amenities other citizens do not have access to, such as safe and secure housing, reliable water and electricity supplies, mobility, effective health care, a decent education, and personal protection.

The FG excels at creating redundant agencies and task forces with muddled up remits and responsibilities, frustrating efforts to evaluate their effectiveness and to streamline allocations accordingly. Also, most Ministers and Director Generals of Agencies treat their organisations as personal fiefdoms, with little censure or sanction. There are no unified - let alone transparent - procurement or recruitment mechanisms; morale at the overstaffed MDAs is poor, and careers typically reflect relations rather than performance.

## 3.2 Anti-Corruption And Accountability

Corruption and public sector accountability continues to be a scourge in Nigeria. So perverse has the influence of corruption been on Nigeria that its impact has frustrated many developmental efforts and stunted growth in almost every facet of national life. Therefore, to achieve any meaningful outcome

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from developmental viewpoint, the menace of corruption and low public sector accountability needs to be tackled. A robust, professional and independent anti-corruption agency is mandatory.

In spite of the efforts undertaken since 1999, including the creation of new anti-corruption agencies like the EFCC, ICPC, Code of Conduct Bureau, corruption remains endemic in the Nigerian public and private sectors. Because of the pervasive nature of this vice, I promise to be doggedly committed to use all legitimate means to ensure that corruption in both public and private sectors is drastically reduced.

This anti-corruption stance has become imperative in order to clean up the system that has long been bedevilled by different variants of abuse such as embezzlement of public fund, nepotism, bribery, extortion, influence peddling, and fraud; an Augean stable that has imposed on the nation a burdensome and recurring nexus of mediocrity and lack of probity.

Like cancer, the culture of corruption has spread malignantly into every aspect of national life, making it more or less impossible to stay in business or get anything done without giving bribes. Seen as a bane, corruption has grown outrageously that it has consistently defied all efforts, both past and present, to stymie it. It is now so entrenched that anyone hoping to do any business with the Nigerian bureaucracy must include a budget for bribes. The situation is so bad that even some government officials are alleged to bribe one another to get government business done.

A major culprit in the crux of corruption in the country has been identified as the overarching role crude oil plays in the economy. The Nigerian oil industry is seen as a den of corruption making the average Nigerian lose the traditional

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interest for hard work and the knack to generate resources as well as to accumulate capital.

This vicious evil is a conundrum that has made it difficult to apprehend corrupt officials and successfully prosecute them. Perhaps, this is the reason why many high profile cases either with the EFCC, the ICPC or the courts have remained pending for years with no examples to serve as deterrents. Due to the lack of sustained prosecutorial will, many Nigerians now hold the view that the anti-graft agencies such as the EFCC, ICPC, Code of Conduct Bureau, the legislators, the police and the judiciary, are themselves enmeshed in this crippling social malaise.

Consequently, as Nigerians constantly complain about official inaction to combat corruption in the society, the situation is not helped by the befuddling definition of what constitute corruption in itself.

We believe that what constitutes this vice must be properly defined such as:

The lack of integrity

- Impairment of virtue and moral principles  
Destruction of societal sense of honesty or loyalty.
- The use of a position of trust for dishonest gain
- Improperly violating official duty and code of conduct
- Diversion of material wealth into private hands intended for the achievement of socially desirable ends resulting in deprivation and impoverishment of many to the advantage of the few
- Themed greed, selfishness and lusts that render in tatters the common good on which rests the edifice of democracy

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- Embezzlement
  - Promotion of mediocrity
  - Nepotism
  - Bribery & extortion
  - Influence peddling
  - Fraud and
  - Stomach Infrastructure

### **3.3 Why Corruption is a Big Issue to Us**

- Corruption poses a serious development challenge.
- In the political realm, it undermines democracy and good governance by subverting formal processes.
- In elections and in legislative bodies it reduces accountability and fair representation in policymaking
- In the judiciary it undermines or suspends the rule of law
- In public administration it results in the unequal provision of services.
- It erodes the institutional capacity and effective functioning of the machinery of government as procedures are disregarded, resources are siphoned off, and officials are hired or promoted without regard to performance.
- Corruption undermines the legitimacy of government and such democratic values as trust and tolerance.
- It undermines economic development by generating considerable distortions and inefficiency by diverting public investment into capital projects

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where bribes and kickbacks are more plentiful.

- It lowers the quality of standards of compliance with respect to government services and infrastructure as is too evident to Nigerians; and increases budgetary pressures on government.
- In the private sector, corruption increases the cost of business through the price of illicit payments such as the cost of negotiating with officials and the risk of breached agreements or detection.
- Where corruption inflates the cost of business, it also distorts the playing field, shielding firms with connections from competition and thereby sustaining inefficient firms.

As a way forward, we do know that aside from the quality, or lack of political leadership, there are some systemic conditions in the country that promote corruption. One is the conception that power is concentrated in the hands of leaders who in reality are not directly accountable to the people as is expected in a democratic setting. It has resulted in, among others, the country's inability to always conduct credible, free, fair and uncontroversial elections. Second is the conclusion that the level of corruption is manifested in the breakdown of law and order, impunity and the absence of effective enforcement mechanism as we presently witness. The current perception in Nigeria is that rules can be subverted without sanctions.

For us also, transparency is a critical starting point for the war against corruption. Also values must be re-oriented to make such a war successful and improve on our Corruption Perception Index. Nigeria ranked 144 out of 177 countries

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surveyed for this purpose in 2013 with a drop of five places from 2012 rank of 139. The topmost and most transparent African country is Botswana ranked 30. So if we use Botswana as our yardstick, we have a lot of catch-up to do. But this is exactly what we will do.

However, without a proper diagnosis and substantial evidence to support corruption cases and the causes of corruption, trying to fight it is akin to treating symptoms rather than rooting out the disease itself. Unfortunately, it appears to be the strategy adopted so far in fighting corruption in Nigeria. We will, therefore, answer the questions that Nigerians have always been asking by addressing both causes and providing appropriate solutions to the problem.

## **MY PROMISE**

Our vision is for an APC led government that will build institutions which are accountable, effective and efficient, transparent, that rigorously enforces judicious use of public resources, with zero tolerance for nepotism, corruption and mismanagement.

## **WHAT WE WILL DO**

### **A. Institutional Reform.**

- Merging the functions of Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences Commission (ICPC), the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) as well as the Code of Conduct Bureau into an Anti-Corruption Agency (ACA) totally independent of government interference
- Transfer of some of the functions of Federal

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Ministries to States and Local Government whose roles are better performed at those levels while such Federal Ministries are turned into regulatory bodies so as to reduce avenues and incentives for official corruption and promote accountability.

- Tackle corruption by:
  - i. Strengthening the due process mechanism
  - ii. Funding comprehensive public education and enlightenment campaign using the National Orientation Agency (NOA)
  - iii. Mandating appropriate agency of government to ask questions from people with ostentatious lifestyle.
  - iv. Mandating asset declaration by public officers and extending this to their close family members
  - v. Punishing corruption
  - vi. Removing plea bargain on corruption from the justice system
  - vii. Strengthening e-payment in all public transactions
- Detect corruption by:
  - i. Encouraging the public to take advantage of the Freedom of Information Act
  - ii. Creating a whistle-blowing mobile phone platform for corruption alert as being championed by GIZ along trading routes
  - iii. Instituting robust corruption detection and bursting agency by restructuring the ICPC, EFCC and the Code of Conduct Bureau.

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- **Sanction and retribute corruption by:**

- I. Ensuring that judgments on corruption cases are fully followed through and carried out
- ii. Entrenching strong rewards and sanction regimes at all levels of government
- iii. Pursuing rigorous Property and Capital Gain Tax regimes
- iv. Creating special tribunal to investigate corruption cases sent to it by the relevant anti-corruption agency of the Government
- v. Speeding up judgments on outstanding cases of corruption

- **B. Institutional Strengthening by:**

- Improving the functionality of NIMC through widespread take-off for the National identity card scheme as a mechanism for encouraging development of a reliable credit system
- Accelerating the implementation of Pension reforms. Pension reforms will provide the avenue for reduced corruption by creating a long-term funding market, and facilitating the development of a consumer credit culture (which will reduce the need for 100 percent cash outlays for all expenditure), as well as the development of basic infrastructure
- Granting the EFCC and any other anti-corruption agency financial independence.
- Ensuring that there is a separation of the Office of the Attorney-General for the Federation and Minister of



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Justice

- Ensuring the coordination and collaboration and sharing of information among anti-corruption agencies

### **C. Reviewing the Reward System**

- Undertake a comprehensive review and increase salaries within the Federal Services, to be financed by improved tax and revenue collection, and reduced leakages:
  - i. Emphasise the concept of FAIR PAY for FAIR WORK starting with the highest levels of government
  - ii. Ensure that public workers are adequately rewarded/compensated, thus providing the government with the moral authority to sanction errant public workers
  - iii. Use the wage structure in changing rewards system, with emphasis on merit.
- Introducing Social Security Benefits payments to reduce corruption at the lower level

### **D. Public Enlightenment Campaign**

- Inculcate civics in the basic curriculum of schools and address fundamental corruption related issues from a very early age;
- Use the educational system as the foundation for the WAR AGAINST CORRUPTION (WAC)
- Facilitate the development of a mortgage market to increase access to finance and the need for embezzlement

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### **3.4 Competitive Social Services for Improved Living Standard**

Public services are a travesty and a tragedy. In rural areas, more than half of the population lives below the poverty line without access to basic amenities. Police and security presence is patchy; and there are few if any basic public services. Electricity is scarce, sanitation is poor, and health services are grossly inadequate. Access to basic education means children often walk long distances to poorly equipped and overcrowded schools, only to find out that their teachers failed to turn up for work. Few in the villages feel they have a stake in the Federal Republic, fewer still trust government. Most are convinced that the only time officials and politicians visit is during the election season, when they buy votes and promise things that will never materialise.

In the urban areas, particularly in state capitals, citizens fare slightly better. Most have access to state provided services and education, many know how to demand what they know is rightfully theirs, and someone always knows someone who knows about the latest state or federal support scheme. Still, few have a say on how local governments are run, and state and local councils can be as insulated and indifferent as a federal Ministry in Abuja. This will CHANGE.

### **MY PROMISE**

An APC government under my Leadership will develop a system and process that ensures that all citizens are provided the services they require to attain their potential, live a satisfactory and fulfilled life and contribute meaningfully to the

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society.

## **WHAT WE WILL DO**

A. Within the first 100 days:

The Presidency will develop a simple data model that can be used in websites, posters, and electronic displays to:

- i. document federal budget allocations for basic infrastructure (water, power, sanitation, roads) and services (food, housing, health care, education, and social security)
- ii. compare allocations with actual MDA (state, local government) expenditures
- iii. show residents how much infrastructure and services they got for a given amount of federal monies spent
- iv. illustrate how 'their' infrastructure and basic services costs compare to those incurred by other MDAs and local and state governments

B. Within one year:

The Presidency, through the Federal Ministry of Finance, will encourage MDAs and state governments to expand the provision of portable water, health care, affordable housing, etc. by:

- i. Disseminating easy to understand, timely, and comprehensive records of federal allocations for the provision of individual services
- ii. Monitoring the social returns on federal investments
- iii. Directing a growing share of the funds to best (federal, state, and local) performers

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**B. Within two years:**

The Presidency will raise service delivery standards in sectors and areas with little private competition by:

- i. encouraging state governments to set up their own services to complement federal outfits
- ii. giving citizens the choice of using either state or federal facilities
- iii. directing an incremental share of federal funding to the most proficient organisation, whether it is federal or not
- iv. creating adequate safeguards to prevent sharp practices

**D. Within four years:**

The Presidency will instruct MDAs to raise expectations and public service delivery standards by:

- i. Creating league tables of federal, state, local, and private public service
- ii. providers allowing users to select their federal, state, local, private service provider of choice
- iii. rewarding the most popular (regional) providers with uptake or performance related allocations
- iv. establishing simple, fast, and effective complaints/malpractice procedures
- v. lowering entry barriers for private providers of public service

# SECURITY FOR STRONGER AND SAFER COMMUNITIES

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Nigeria is no failed state, but it is evidently in crisis. Inequality, ethno-religious frictions, and disputes over land and resources have eroded social cohesion, undermining democratic consolidation and threatening national unity and security. Today, Nigerians have to endure terrorist attacks in the North, militancy in the Delta, communal violence in the Middle Belt, cult wars in the South, and kidnappings, armed robberies, and common acts of thuggery throughout the country.

Most are left to fend for themselves. Those who turn to the police, the army or any other state security agencies usually have the means and personal connections to buy help and protection. Those who don't simply move on, resigned. The bitter ones may form vigilante groups, others join mobs that dispense jungle justice on suspects and scapegoats alike. Too many believe they have nothing to lose, and everything to gain, and the most alienated are easy prey for terrorists, militants, and thugs.

This must CHANGE!

## **MY PROMISE**

We will embark on programmes and initiatives that will promote national unity and cohesion, guaranty social justice and security, and restore mutual trust between government institutions and the citizens

## **WHAT WE WILL DO:**

### **A. Within the first 100 days:**

The Presidency will Create a more inclusive, transparent, and effective environment to tackle national security challenges by:

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- i. replacing the office of the security adviser with a National Security Council (NSC) that includes the Presidency, the heads of the Nigerian Police Force (and once they are ready: state police services), the heads of the security services, and the Chief of Defence Staff
  - ii. scraping all non-statutory security task forces and commissions and folding their expert personnel into the NSC
  - iii. creating a single National Security Advisory Council (NSAC) composed of former Heads of State, traditional and community leaders and some other persons that may be relevant
  - iv. informing the public about key decisions, broad strategies, and the state of implementation

**B. Within one year,**

The Federal Government will:

- The NSC (National Security Council) will instruct and adequately fund the NPF to recruit, train, and equip enough personnel to:
  - i. establish and permanently man local police posts, even in remote areas
  - ii. train and deploy foot patrols in crowded urban areas, and slow patrols in rural areas
  - iii. train, accredit, monitor, and disband (if needed) Neighbourhood Watches and Self Defence Forces in crisis areas
  - iv. Improve access to security services
- The Presidency through the NSC (National Security Council) will ensure increased police and army

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posts:

- i. are established and permanently manned - particularly in crowded urban and remote rural areas are open to (and welcome) the public with the necessary safety protocols
- ii. have published emergency telephone numbers that can be dialed free of charge
- iii. have robust first response protocols and clear guidelines and rules of engagement for the conduct of different types of security operations
- iv. engage in community activities and demonstrate that they are there to serve and protect

**C. Within two years,**

- The Presidency through the Ministry of Defence will instruct the military command to:
  - i. Minimise the use of troops in civilian matters, such as in elections
  - ii. Train soldiers to deal with special situations such as disaster and emergencies
  - iii. Ensure that military personnel do not view their uniform as an excuse to ignore civilian rules and regulations
  - iv. Encourage barrack commanders to engage in community activities (sports competitions etc)
  - v. improve police-community relations
- The Presidency through the Ministry of Police Affairs (MPA) will instruct the IGP and State Commissioners to:
  - i. create, train, and equip auxiliary community

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- police units
  - ii. encourage officers to move from the barracks into the communities
  - iii. create, train and equip Special Units for high profile Private Security Services at a cost to the beneficiary
  - iv. open barrack sport etc facilities to the public
  - v. support community engagement activities

**D. Within four years:**

- The Presidency through the Boundary Commission will pre-empt and defuse intercommunal conflicts by:
  - i. Monitoring and evaluating intelligence about plausible, possible, and probable territorial disputes between LGAs and states
  - ii. Creating participatory border dispute settlement (mediation, arbitration, and compensation) mechanisms to proactively defuse probable conflicts
  - iii. Clarify all Local Government authority boundaries

**E. By year 2020**

- The Presidency will work with the NASS to amend the constitution and all relevant legislation to:
  - i. set clear standards for the conduct of police services
  - ii. outline a 'stage-gated' devolution track that culminates in the establishment of State Police Services



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- iii. clarify the relationship between federal and state police services
  - iv. develop robust monitoring and complaints mechanisms to combat misconduct of federal and state services

# FAIR CHANCE AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES

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## 5.1 Education That Serves

Today, two in three Nigerians are younger than 25. Nearly half have not yet celebrated their 15th birthday. More than 50 million are of school-going age. Their talents and creativity are Nigeria's greatest asset, and their hopes and aspirations will shape our nation's future. Yet they cannot succeed without state support. Along their journey, they need schools that teach them to read, write, and calculate, and to think critically, creatively, and without fear. They need food and shelter, electricity to do their homework, and internet access to understand and engage with the wider world. They need jobs once they leave school and they need opportunities to move on and up once they enter the workforce. Most of all, they need the confidence that they can make a difference, and they need a say on the direction the country is taking.

Whether they grow up in a village or in a city, in the North-East or in the South-West, as boys or girls, rich or poor, Nigerian youth share common dreams: they want to learn and know, they want to work and succeed, they want to support their families and settle down to raise their own children. They dream of the good life. Yet for too many, growing up is painful, and few get the fair chances everyone deserves. This will CHANGE.

Under an APC government led by Atiku Abubakar, we will no longer tolerate:

- An educational system that does not convey the competencies and skills the labour market demands
- A system where scarcity leads to fierce competition and nepotism and often captive employment

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opportunities

- A system where nepotism trumps qualifications, commitment, and achievements

## 5.2 A Good Start For All Children

Primary school should create opportunity for all. Only it does not. The youngest school leavers drop out of the educational system at the age of 11 or 12, usually because they receive poor schooling; because no one helps them keep up with the curriculum; because their families are too poor to support them; or because they or their families see no value in further education. Those who find jobs typically end up as housemaids or boys; as Almajiris, hawkers, or petty traders; in craft-related apprenticeships; or as farmhands.

Most secondary school leavers lack general competencies, and skills. Few have what it takes to succeed in further education; most also enter the world of work unprepared. There are few apprenticeships and vocational training centres, and without marketable skills, most end up in farming, petty trading, or other unfulfilling jobs that offer a few career prospects. A good number dream of a lucky break. Yet most are at the wrong place, at the wrong time.

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## MY PROMISE

Under an APC led government, we will develop systems that create multiple paths of career development for every young child, opportunities for personal development and ensure that it becomes unnecessary to flee the villages to get a decent life and fulfil their aspiration.

## WHAT WE WILL DO

B. Within one year, the Federal Government will:

- The Presidency through the Federal Ministry of Education (FME) will support households that keep their children in the school system and use 'educational vouchers' to relieve household budgets and raise education standards, by:
  - i. accelerating the deployment of National Identity Records and linking them with school attendance records to identify target households
  - ii. fast-tracking the development and deployment of mobile money payments systems to distribute full or partial fee refunds without going through middle men
  - iii. allowing parents to spend the vouchers/cash on - and send their children to - the best public or private school within a 20km radius of their place

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of residency

- iv. channeling matching federal funds to the most popular/best performing schools

### **5.3 Provision of Better Options and Skills That Matter**

Graduates find that overcrowded public universities are hard to get into; that many of the private alternatives promise and cost more than they deliver; that there are few paid jobs for those who get their degrees; and that relationships trump qualifications even when it comes to securing interviews and entry positions. Many find that they lack bankable competencies and skills, and that they know too little about the jobs market, business opportunities, and business plans; and many end up trying to copy what others have done with some success. The most promising, who enter the National Youth Service, find that their engagement and ideas are not appreciated, and many feel the educational system has sapped their courage to demand a fair deal.

Those fortunate enough to have a job find that, unless they have the right connections, there are few opportunities to move on or up. This will CHANGE

### **MY PROMISE**

Under an APC government led by Atiku Abubakar, we will

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expand continuous learning and training opportunities with commensurate certification that ensures comparative standards within the global knowledge economy.

## WHAT WE WILL DO

- A. Within one year, the Federal Government will:
- Create incentives for the creation of general skills and micro-entrepreneurship training centres by State and Local governments, private investors and development partners.
  - The Presidency, through the Federal Ministry of Trade and Investment (FMTI) will develop a voucher and matching fund system to encourage public and private entities to provide:
    - i. short courses in computing, book-keeping and business management
    - ii. build your business' and 'run your business' workshops and 'start-up' schools coaching, guidance, and counseling
    - iii. Encourage the private sector to narrow skills gaps:
  - The Presidency through the Federal Ministry of Trade and Investment (FMTI) will reward on the job training and apprenticeship schemes by:

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- i. identifying best practices for linking career advancement (promotion, bonuses etc) to training-related performance - and offering compliant firms preferred bidder status in public tenders
  - ii. creating tax incentives to develop onsite (firm, industrial park) training facilities
  - iii. streamlining regulations to reduce employers' training costs
  - iv. sponsoring annual rewards for local training champions
- The Presidency, through the Federal Ministry of Finance and Federal Ministry of Trade and Investment will encourage businesses to lead vocational training efforts by rewarding small and medium sized businesses that offer apprenticeships with:
    - i. Social security contribution waivers for the 3-6 months long apprenticeship
    - ii. social security contributions reductions for apprentices hired (for at least 6 months) after their apprenticeship
  - Trade organisations that back or establish vocational training centres with:

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- i. start-up grants and tax exemptions
  - ii. Performance based payments for each certified plumber, carpenter, brick layer, mechanic, etc. that leaves the centre and finds a job or sets up his or her own microenterprise
  - iii. Encourage businesses to re-train unskilled workers
  - iv. Initiatives waiving federal taxes of the most effective training centres
- The Presidency through the Federal Ministry of Finance and Federal Ministry of Trade and Investment will:
    - i. Encourage private entities (charities, trade associations, etc.) to offer 'walk in training' courses held by skilled craftsmen, experienced petty traders.
    - ii. Monitoring participants' careers
    - iii. Hosting an annual gala event for the most successful skills transfer organizations.

B. Within four years, the Federal Government will:

The Presidency through the Federal Ministry of Agriculture (FMA) will boost yields and agricultural incomes - and create



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incentives to re-build centres of expertise by:

- I. Invest in skills and location-specific know how
- ii. Offering farmers who register their businesses non-transferrable and non-refundable 'growth vouchers' for off-season short courses in crop management, animal husbandry etc. which can be used at the recipients' preferred government, community, or privately run training institution.

## **5.4 Competencies Not Connections**

Regardless of background and educational achievements, Nigerian youths are frustrated, angry, and disillusioned. Their biggest source of frustration is the lack of job opportunities. The few youth-based initiatives embarked upon by the FG are yet to deliver noticeable benefits. For example government's YOUWIN programme generated only 26,000 jobs in three years and poorly subscribed to by rural youths who are hardly informed where access to modern technology is limited. Likewise, youths on SURE-P's mentor-ship scheme hardly secure employment after the expiration of their internship. For the Public Works Programme (PWP) aspect of SURE-P only 500 new jobs were created across the country in 2012 and they are unsustainable, temporary and unskilled jobs. For the YESSO programme, a \$300m concessional facility secured from the World Bank is yet to show any appreciable impact on youth

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unemployment in the country.

The beneficiaries of the Niger-Delta Programme have hardly been provided with sustainable job opportunities after their expensive training.

## **MY PROMISE**

In an APC government, we will partner with and encourage the private sector to narrow skills gaps through in-house and apprenticeship trainings with government providing adequate incentives and tax breaks for those who comply. Also, we will generally promote business backed vocational training schemes at rural levels in a Government to Government (G2G) partnership arrangement.

## **WHAT WE WILL DO**

Within the first 100 days, the Federal Government will:

- The Presidency through the FMF, FMTI and National Orientation Agency will instruct public entities and encourage large private enterprises to create merit-based job openings for a set share of their appointments by:
  - i. Discouraging nepotism
  - ii. Mandating the Federal Civil Service Commission to issue and monitor transparent public sector recruitment guidelines promoting the use of standardised skills and aptitude tests

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- iii. using blind (IT-based) screening tools in competitive pre-qualification and recruitment rounds creating a 'they are hiring connection' hotlines
  - iv. establishing an independent review panel with the power to suspend, demote, and dismiss officials who cannot justify their hiring decisions on the basis of qualifications
  - The Presidency will work with the NASS to seek a binding NASS resolution that commits lawmakers to:
    - i. Review, update, and streamline all employment and vocational training related legislation within two years
    - ii. ensure that future laws will not protect the privileges of the few at the expense of the many

## CREATING REAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH

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Nigeria has always held enormous potential. It is Africa's largest economy and a prime investment destination. The country is blessed with formidable natural, physical and human resources. A vast domestic market and access to ECOWAS give it more than enough absorptive capacity to sustain a wide range of agricultural, industrial, and service activities. The economy also has momentum. Since 1999, it has outpaced average continental growth rates. Yet business is tougher than it ought to be, and the economy is stuttering. Between 2013 and 2014, Nigeria lost nine places in the World Bank's doing business rating, and now ranks a disappointing 147th of 189 countries. It also slipped seven places on the World Economic Forum's Global Competitiveness Scale, finishing 127th out of 144 countries.

Irrespective of size, sector, and location, businesses face formidable challenges, including prohibitive capital, electricity, and logistics costs; weak and inconsistent laws and regulations; inefficient, incompetent, and predatory bureaucracies; unpredictable courts; clogged Seaports, and illegal border crossings; skills shortages, and a highly segmented and inefficient consumer market. In addition, opaque ownership and corporate governance structures frustrate due diligence and limit investment and Merger and Acquisition (M&A) opportunities. Weak contract enforcement and dispute

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resolution mechanisms exacerbate the lack of social trust and curtail business opportunities. Too often, corporate fortunes hinge on political patronage.

This must CHANGE!

## **MY PROMISE**

An APC government under my leadership will no longer tolerate:

- The meagre returns provided by small, shallow, seasonal, and crowded markets
- The constant reminder that prohibitive payments are no cure for erratic capital, electricity and water supplies
- The need to constantly adapt to erratic policy shifts and regulatory changes
- The maze of unnecessary hurdles faced by anyone wanting to set up a business or access a market
- The arbitrary effects and implications of a complex and sometimes deceitful web of taxes, levies, fees, and ad hoc contributions

### **5.1 Providing Business Opportunities For Everyone**

In three quarters of urban households and in two out of three rural households someone is running a business. The more than

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17 million Micro and Household Enterprises (MHEs) form the economic backbone of the country. MHEs already generate the bulk of incomes for low income households, and they have the potential to create millions of additional jobs. However, they also represent the most vulnerable and neglected part of the economy. Most face the same challenges regular businesses must deal with: a high cost base, overpriced premises, inadequate infrastructure, erratic energy supplies, poor security, and unattractive banking and insurance options. But many micro entrepreneurs also fear formalisation, and worry about the cost and hassle of dealing with greedy and complacent officials. Few have management experience, and most operate without business plans or a sound understanding of commercial opportunities and market dynamics.

Small businesses account for the bulk of formal sector activities and employment opportunities. In addition to the common business problems, many struggle to find adequate and affordable premises. Few have viable business plans, and fewer still aim to offer innovative products or services. The imitation and multiplication of existing business models in small, captive, and shallow markets tends to erode margins, prevent capital accumulation, and stifle growth. Notwithstanding public pledges to support them, many small businesses rely on - and perpetuate - patronage to get around the most glaring obstacles that are put in their way.

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This must CHANGE!

## **MY PROMISE**

Under an APC government, we will draw up a new deal for Micro and Household Enterprises (MHEs), support formalisation and encourage banks to boost small enterprises funding. We will also insulate businesses from the state, create business clusters to promote shared and cost effective infrastructural usage and develop market and export opportunities.

## **WHAT WE WILL DO**

Within the first 100 days,

- The Presidency through the FMTI will instruct the Corporate Affairs Commission (CAC) to develop a cheap and easy to use registration and start-up tool that gives MHEs that file simplified accounts and pay corporate taxes access to an efficient and effective Commercial Complaints Commission:
  - i. Draw up a New Deal for micro entrepreneurs
  - ii. Encourage banks to boost SE funding
- The Bank of Industry (BOI) will help SEs identify and secure available financing instruments by:

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- I. consolidating all federal government funded and sponsored programmes streamlining qualification requirements and approval processes
  - ii. delegating implementation to (and strengthen the risk management of):
    - (a) community banks
    - (b) cooperatives
    - (c) MFBs

Within one year,

- The Presidency through the FMTI will create a new enterprise type that gives micro and household enterprises (MHE) more structure and rights than sole traders, and fewer obligations than private limited companies, so that they can:
  - I. Sign leases
  - ii. Hire additional staff
  - iii. File simplified accounts
  - iv. Access concessional finance
- Encourage and support MHE formalization by:
  - i. Providing legal aid services
  - ii. Reducing bureaucracy and cost of registration



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Within two years,

- The Presidency, through the FMF will review public procurement rules to ensure that SEs and MEs can bid for small and mid- sized business opportunities such as supply and maintenance work by:
  - i. creating a small business procurement portal that allows registered firms with limited pre-qualifications to bid for renewable short term contracts - and buyers/stakeholders to rate their performance
  - ii. transferring more tenders to state and local governments on condition that they agree to transparent and independent audits of milestones
  - iii. reviewing the rules on contract splitting to ensure that accountability remains clear, and that public funds are spent on projects and programmes, rather than rents
  - iv. rewarding the creation of (open) contracting value chains through collective bids (backed by collective liability)

Within four years,

- The Presidency, through the FMTI will instruct

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SMEDAN to encourage the formation of small and medium business associations/clusters by:

- i. Investing in dedicated infrastructure, such as farm to market roads etc.
- ii. providing seed funds and guarantees for the construction of warehousing, packaging, etc. facilities and offering tax/tenement concessions to successful associations/clusters

By the year 2020,

The Presidency will allow businesses to focus on customers and markets rather than political sponsors and favours by:

- i. cutting red tape
- ii. simplifying administrative procedures
- iii. cutting out intermediaries, e.g. by using electronic/mobile payments systems for all government-related transactions
- iv. discouraging graft and harassment by whistle blowing website/ system where bribes and corruption can be reported.
- v. Insulating business from politics

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## 5.2 Creating Conducive Environments for Medium and Large Scale Enterprises

In theory, mid-sized enterprises should be able to exploit a wide range of business opportunities resulting from unmet customer needs. However, with the possible exception of the firms that created the Nollywood cluster, most Medium Enterprises (MEs) rely on legacy markets, public procurement contracts, and local content provisions.

Mid-sized companies transacting with public entities also suffer payment delays. Those who operate beyond the rentier economy struggle to obtain qualified business support, specialised staff, and relevant market intelligence.

Many large enterprises thrive on their dominant market position, political patronage, weak anti-trust laws, and meek competition authorities. The flip side is that few are innovative and internationally competitive, and fewer still would survive in liberalised markets. Many are also vulnerable to changes in the political environment, and most face constant demands for special contributions to the personal and political ambitions of their counterparties in local, state, and federal government.

### MY PROMISE

In a Nigeria For All, the Federal government will consult with private sector on economic policies and private sector

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regulations, introduce business impact assessment, boost non-oil export, propose legislations to broaden business tax base and diversify the economy.

## **WHAT WE WILL DO**

Within the first 100 days, the Federal Government will:

The Presidency through the FMF and FMTI instruct MDAs (and prepare relevant legislation) to make sure that:

- i. Consult the private sector on economic policy and business regulation
- ii. private sector insights and inputs inform economic policy and business regulations consultation processes are open and transparent
- iii. the business costs of new rules and regulations are commensurate with the expected social etc. benefits

Within one year,

The Presidency through the FMF prompt legislators and MDAs to improve the business environment by:

- i. tasking independent auditors with the compilations of business friendly scorecards of legislators and Dgs

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- ii. Introducing business impact assessments
  - iii. pledging to veto all (business related) legislation and regulation that does not pass a rigorous business impact assessment

Within two years,

- The Presidency through the Federal Ministry of Finance (FMF) will help businesses focus on doing business by:
  - i. working with state governments to inventorise and harmonize business taxes, levies, and fees cutting the number of federal levies, and fees
  - ii. Streamlining Federal, States and Local Government (3G) taxes, levies, and fees
  - iii. simplifying tax filings
  - iv. creating a transparent corporate tax register
  - v. phasing out special purpose funds that tap private donations to provide public services

Within four years,

- The Presidency, through the Federal Ministry of Trade and Investment (FMTI) will encourage international trade by:

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- i. creating more robust product standards and certification procedures
  - ii. Boosting non-oil exports
  - iii. streamlining customs procedures (by creating an SME-compatible single window)
  - iv. fast-tracking port and airport construction/expansion projects
  - v. facilitating the construction of dry ports with appropriate hub and spoke transport links etc.
  - vi. creating an (agile, accessible, and transparent) SME-focused Export Support and Insurance Agency

By the year 2020,

- The Presidency will work with the NASS to introduce unified, simple, transparent, and predictable flat tax rates with clear allocation formulas for local, state, and federal governments

### **5.3 Developing Open and Dynamic Markets**

Nigerian businesses still ride on the tail end of a major reform drive that revolutionised the telecommunications sector, restored trust in the banking sector, and paved the way for the

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emergence of a more competitive and reliable power sector. However, efforts to boost infrastructure development, to transform agriculture, and to rebuild a competitive industrial and manufacturing base are stalling, and the long overdue transformation of the petroleum sector seems increasingly unlikely. Without further structural reforms, the country risks following other emerging and frontier markets into a period of slow growth and stagnation.

Yet structural reforms will only go so far. Even in the most competitive segments of today's markets, there is little innovation, quality standards are poor, and prices barely budge. In part, this is a result of highly segmented markets that limit choice to the affluent. But it is also a result of resigned consumers, who are used to settling for whatever they get, and when they get it. Expectations are low, information is patchy, and brand loyalty is more about status than value, giving sellers few incentives to outdo themselves to delight those who pay for their products and services.

## **MY PROMISE**

An APC government led by Atiku Abubakar will call for a concerted liberalisation and deregulation effort from the National Assembly, shorten public sector payment terms, ensure disciplined budget implementation, enforce security of commercial contracts, and create an independent Competition

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and Anti-Trust Authority to monitor market sector dynamics and mobilise domestic investment in local start-ups.

## WHAT WE WILL DO

Within the first 100 days,

The Presidency will call for a concerted liberalisation and deregulation effort by working with the NASS to get a binding resolution that commits lawmakers to:

- i. liberalise uncompetitive sectors
- ii. review, update, and simplify business-related legislation

Within one year,

- The Presidency, through the FMF will unlock cash flows by:
  - i. instructing MDAs and encouraging state and local governments to pay suppliers and contractors within 60 days of the receipt of their invoices
  - ii. Shortening public sector payment terms
  - iii. sponsoring legislation that imposes automatic punitive interests on non-compliant public entities



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Within two years,

The Presidency, through the Federal Ministry of Finance and the Central Bank of Nigeria, will improve contract enforcement and dispute resolution mechanisms for routine transactions by simplifying and streamlining rules and procedures in a new Contract Enforcement Act that:

- i. Enhance the security of commercial contracts
- ii. institutes specialized small courts/arbitration panels to settle commercial disputes
- iii. sets maximum lengths for filings, trials, adjudication, and enforcement
- iv. reduces the attorney, court, and enforcement costs of commercial litigation

Within four years,

- The Presidency through the FMF and FMTI will cut consumer costs, improve product and service quality, and promote innovation by establishing an independent Competition and Anti-Trust Authority (CATA) with the remit and resources to:
  - i. independently monitor market/sector dynamics
  - ii. develop policies and regulations to create and

- 
- maintain level playing fields
  - iii. prosecute and punish anti-competitive practices by breaking up monopolies and oligopolies

By year 2020,

- The Presidency through the FMTI will encourage venture capital and private equity investors to invest in local start-ups by:
  - i. improving investor protection
  - ii. enhancing SME transparency
  - iii. promoting arbitration

## BUILDING INFRASTRUCTURE THAT WORKS

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Sound infrastructure and adequate power are essential for stimulating economic growth and development in any nation. Not only do they help to determine the success of manufacturing, industry and agricultural activities, they are also vital for improving the lives of people through improved delivery of health care services and education. Good infrastructure also supports social and cultural advances and leads to an over-all lowering of rate of poverty in a society. It is therefore imperative that a strong infrastructure development drive is pursued in order to stimulate the necessary development.

Aggressive infrastructure development has always been a precursor to any form of sustained economic development especially in emerging economies, like Nigeria. It is evidenced by the trajectory of development experienced by countries that have consciously pursued sound infrastructure investments as a key driver of their economic development.

Poor funding and chronic underinvestment by successive governments has crippled the state of Nigeria's infrastructure. Over time, this lack of funding has left Nigeria with an annual funding gap in excess of **N15 trillion (USD 10.5billion)** in infrastructure development.

As such, infrastructure spending of about 12 percent of GDP will considerably improve infrastructure development without posing any significant risk to overall economic growth.

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Also, in seeking investment in infrastructure, Nigeria has a considerable advantage due to its high rate of 'Return on Investment' (ROI); the highest in Africa.

## **6.1 Roads**

Whilst high traffic volumes characterise Nigeria's extensive road networks, only 15.3 percent of the 195,200km of the road network in Nigeria is adequately tarred and motor-able. Out of this only 67 percent of tarred roads are in good or fair condition in comparison to other resource-rich nations in Africa.

Nigeria's spending on road construction and rehabilitation falls significantly short of its peers. Only \$50 million a year is allocated to preventative road maintenance compared to benchmark of \$240 million a year in other African resource-rich countries

## **6.2 Seaports**

Whilst there have been considerable developments recorded in the Nigerian Ports, performance remains poor by global and even African performance standards. The performance fell short of comparator countries in various parameters of measurements such as container-dwell-time, truck cycle time and crane productivity. The concessions that followed the reforms embarked upon in the sector realized over \$716 million. The intention was to use the proceeds for capital investments in the sector. However, so far, it has failed to deliver on the expected infrastructure upgrade, improved efficiency and streamlining

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of imports and exports. The sector is still characterized by various broad-based challenges ranging from congestion to backlogs, delays, corruption and poor customs performance.

### **6.3 Airports and Aviation**

The Nigerian aviation market has increased substantially in recent years mainly due to the dramatic expansion of domestic services. Nigeria is also one of the few countries whose safety oversight record is considered good enough for the USA to allow direct flights into the country. However, these milestones have not been followed through with commensurate inter-regional connectivity and infrastructure development. As such, the sector has not been able to live up to its potential.

Also, the country has yet to enable an airport such as Lagos, given its size and strategic location, secure its place as an air transport hub for the region. On the eastern and southern part of the continent, a strong regional hub structure has developed around Johannesburg, Nairobi and Addis Ababa. However, none currently exist as yet for West Africa. The Lagos airport has the potential to fill this regional gap. However this has yet to be fulfilled due to the lack of adequate reform in the sector.

### **6.4 Railways**

The Federal Government has since 2006 made commitments to the railways totalling in the neighbourhood of N4 trillion naira but the manner it is implementing the 25 Year Strategic Plan for the Railways (i.e the Blueprint) is incoherent and fails to impact

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the economy as it should and indeed will not provide for a viable and sustainable system.

The FG is doing the same thing it has done since independence over and over and expecting to get a different result. Throwing money at a problem does not solve it. Thinking outside the box is required. This would be the last major restructuring/privatisation exercise but the most exciting development will be creating a railfreight business. This means containers, petroleum products, cement, cereals and other agricultural products, industrial raw materials and solid minerals such as iron ore, barytes, limestone, fertilizers, steel products e.t.c switching to rail.

The problem of the NRC is that it cannot compete against the dynamic privately operated road sector due to its structure as a nationalised industry. It is an owner, operator and regulator of railways. Just like NEPA and NITEL, the NRC has a culture that does not incentivise entrepreneurship nor efficiency and effectiveness. It needs these attributes to compete effectively against the roads.

The World Bank carried out a study in 2006 on the viability of the Nigerian railways and justification for railway rehabilitation. It found that a freight threshold density of 1.5-2m tonne-kilometres per annum was required to justify a rehabilitation investment of about \$700m. The target was for the railways to take up to 40% of the 15-20m tonne national freight traffic within

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2-3 years post rehabilitation.

To date, the FG has expended nearly \$1bn on rehabilitation but could only haul 100,000 tonnes in 2013 (1% of traffic on Lagos-Kano). Its market share currently is 0.5% of the national freight traffic. It takes in N4bn every year from the exchequer for its current budget, probably earns about N1bn each year which it keeps and spends. It has created very few real jobs, makes no profit and makes negligible impact on the transportation industry.

Since 2009, the NRC has not produced annual accounts to the NASS as required by law, so its true financial position is unknown.

At the present time, there are no through rail services between Lagos and Kano due to flooding on the rehabilitated tracks. There are no rail services anywhere on the eastern line between Port Harcourt and Maiduguri either. This is year 5 since the rehabilitation began and 12 years since the 25 Year vision was adopted.

## **6.6 Power**

Of all the areas of infrastructure such as Energy, transportation, ICT, water supply, the power sector remains the most culpable in the stagnation of our development efforts. Whilst there have been high rates of electrification coverage in Nigeria (over 84 percent in urban areas and 35 percent in rural areas), the Nigerian power sector has struggled to provide adequate

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supply of reliable power to its citizens and economic progress. In comparison to our other resource-rich peer nations in Africa, lack of power alone reduces the economic output by as much as 4 percent of GDP compared to only 0.3 percent and 0.4 percent in South Africa and Tanzania respectively.

Nigeria's current supply gap in electricity is over 20,000MW. The system is beset by inadequate generation and transmission infrastructure. Nigeria has an installed capacity of 23.5MW per million people which is one of the lowest amongst its peers in Africa. It represents only 2.8% of the installed capacity of 800MW per million people found in South Africa. Besides, as much as 35% of this is lost to malfunctioning of the transmission and distribution infrastructure.

The economic impacts of Nigeria's power deficit are equally substantial. Due to the epileptic nature of the power supply, over 80 percent of businesses are forced to generate their backup power supply, substantially higher than anywhere else in Africa.

In spite of the huge investment and reformation and reconstruction efforts, delivery of affordable and reliable power to service our people and the economy has remained unattainable. Because in all these, the fundamental issue of feedstock supply (especially gas) has not been addressed.

Therefore, it is safe to say that Nigeria is currently in an Energy Crisis.



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## **MY PROMISE**

In a Nigeria For All, an APC led government will encourage and provide the necessary environment for private investments in power generation, transmission and distribution capacities in a diversified energy feedstock mix. Underwrite Public Works Programs (PWP) that help federal, state and local authorities build and maintain infrastructure. Explore alternative sources for infrastructural funding. We will also partner with the private sector to provide appropriate infrastructure along critical trading corridors in Nigeria and faithfully implement the blue print of the 21 year vision for Rail development.

## **WHAT WE WILL DO**

Within the first 100 days,

The Presidency through the Federal Ministry of Finance (FMF) and Federal Ministry of Works (FMW) will co-finance and/or underwrite critical PWP under the watchful eye of an independent monitoring arrangement that ensures that programmes do not:

- i. delay urgent infrastructure upgrades and on-going projects
- ii. crowd out private enterprises

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iii. entrench private oligopolies

iv. drain fiscal resources

Within one year,

The Presidency through the Federal Ministry of Finance (FMF) and Federal Ministry of Power (FMP) will encourage private investments in distributed co-generation assets that feed more than 2MW into the grid by:

I. Adopting and implementing Small Dispersed Power Production Initiatives

ii. Fine tuning and pursuing the accelerated implementation of the "Gas to Power" Masterplan drawn up in 2005.

iii. Offering tax breaks or more favorable depreciation rules.

iv. Matching private investments to meet set location adjusted prices per Mwh

v. Nudging SGs to compete on infrastructure delivery

vi. Diversifying the 'Energy Mix' with greater emphasis on coal for power generation using the Clean Coal Technology (CCT)

vii. Accelerating the privatization and decentralization of the Transmission Company of

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## Nigeria (TCN)

- viii. Encouraging the creation and spread of industrial clusters and improving rural electrification.
- ix. Partnering with private sector providers in the provision of appropriate infrastructure along critical trading corridors such as the Lagos-Kano-Jibiya (LAKAJI) corridor.
- x. Offering SGs competitive rewards for identifying, prioritising, and seeing through up to three need-centered high level infrastructure development projects.
- xi. Addressing the availability of Gas to power plants by:
  - Re-injecting flared gas or scrubbing
  - Encouraging the gathering, harnessing and transmitting gas to power plants
  - Implementing effective Price Mechanisms by incorporating Gas Sales Aggregation Agreements
  - Reviewing the penalties for IOCs for gas flaring
  - Creating a domestic gas company as a way of

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stimulating and stabilizing the gas supply industry

Within two years,

Reward Infrastructure Maintenance

The Presidency, through the FMF and FMW will improve infrastructure by:

- i. using standardised performance-based construction & maintenance contracts for federally funded infrastructure projects
- ii. adding non-fungible maintenance funds to capital budgets
- iii. creating a hotline to allow citizens to signal shoddy maintenance of federally funded infrastructure

Within four years,

- The Presidency through the FMF and FMW will Offer SGs competitive rewards for identifying, prioritising, and seeing through up to 3 need-centred infrastructure development projects worth up to N1bn each at any one time.

By the year 2020,

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- The Presidency, through the FMF will Offer LGs performance linked block grants that allow them to implement labour- intensive growth initiatives, with guidance that prioritises:
    - i. fixed asset creation
    - ii. projects that confer transferable skills
    - iii. Entrench local ownership of developmental job creation initiatives

For railways development, the Federal Government will:

- I. Faithfully implement the Railway Developme Blueprint (25 Year Vision).
- ii. Restructure the industry.
- iii. Separate regulation from operation.
- iv. Create an independent regulator.
- v. Pass into law the Draft legislation for railway and transport sector reform
- vi. Separate the freight business from the passenger business
- vii. Create a National Railway Company as a PPP that takes over all the operational equipment of the NRC on a 25 year concession
- viii. Allow NRC to operate and maintain the network

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of legacy narrow gauge and central line standard gauge

- ix. Encourage potential operators for Nigeria railfreight
- x. Create a passenger railway company as a PPP that takes over the passenger operations and available coaches on a concession/management contract
- xi. Provide cast iron guarantees to investors
- xii. Develop an arrangement where the Passenger Railway Company will obtain and pay for access rights to the freight operator (NRC) who maintains the infrastructure

## AGRICULTURE FOR JOBS, WEALTH CREATION AND FOOD SECURITY

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Most Nigerians work in agriculture, but few make a decent living from it. Productivity is low, by international and African standards, and despite laudable efforts to transform the sector, investments in research, innovation, infrastructure, product development, and marketing remain grossly inadequate. Most farmers still rely on hoes and cutlasses, and long hours, hard work, and meagre incomes make small scale agriculture an unattractive career.

Most farmers lack the know-how, the means, and the incentives to move beyond subsistence farming. Because there is no comprehensive land registry, titles are not always accepted as collateral, and land- related transactions can be difficult to negotiate. On the ground, irrigation systems have fallen into disrepair, and despite costly subsidy schemes, fertilisers and feedstock are often hard to get. Few farmers have access to affordable finance and insurance; there are few competitive markets for agricultural produce; no viable ways to store, transport, and trade crops; and only a hand full of processing facilities.

As a result, too many opportunities are lost, and too much agricultural output goes to waste, at enormous human and economic cost.

By 1998, following years of neglect, the government once again turned its attention to the agricultural sector. It adopted an

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agricultural policy that had the objective, among others, of ensuring food security for the population by developing local production. The agricultural sector, therefore, occupied a strategic poverty-reduction role in the planning frameworks under NEEDS I and II, the 7-Pont Agenda and the National Food Security Programme (NFSP). It embedded a value-chain approach and increased export capabilities. There was then a national emphasis on 7 priority products namely cassava, rice, vegetable oil, sugar, livestock, cultivated trees and dry grains. The reason for this was to take advantage of the opportunities under World Trade Organization (WTO), America's Africa Growth Opportunities Act (AGOA), and European Union's Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) when current negotiations are completed.

Although these measures showed that investment in the agricultural sector can have concrete results in terms of increasing domestic production, their overall outcomes were a mixed bag. The “intensification of production” segment was emphasised at the expense of the downstream segments of the value chain (such as product processing).

Also central to previous agricultural policies is public subsidies for the acquisition of farm inputs (fertiliser, improved seeds, phytosanitary products) – an arrangement that was to be variously abused by civil servants and political leaders. It lacked effective regulation and monitoring system to address quality



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issues. There was also the problem of subsidy funds being diverted into private overseas accounts.

Today, Nigeria remains a net importer of food with a vicious insistence by smugglers of certain commodities especially rice. We do not produce enough food to meet the demand of our people. This negatively impacts our balance of payment position, agricultural development and employment potentials.

There is less incentive for local farmers to grow local foods, when cheaper food products are imported even at the mercy of high tariffs and porous borders. This forces local farmers to reduce prices to compete, which reduces the income generated from the farm. The consequence is decreased farm production and a disincentive to continue in farming.

## **MY PROMISE**

In a Nigeria For All, an APC government led by Atiku Abubakar will mobilise a working partnership with states and local governments and support the processes of harnessing the full potential along the agricultural value chain for the creation of jobs, wealth and food security.

## **WHAT WE WILL DO**

The Federal Government will:

- i. **Support Farm Infrastructure by:**

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- Providing strategic support for land development which constitutes a bottleneck against the development of vital economic farm holdings
  - Constructing reliable farm-to-market roads
  - Providing electricity around production clusters/farm settlements
  - Incentivising the construction of storage and processing facilities
  - Increasing access to market information through modern technology including extensive use of mobile telephony at grassroots level.

**ii. Adopt a Land Development Scheme to:**

- Acquire suitable tracts of land in various parts of Nigeria for purposes of development;
- Develop and parcel out land into economic-size farm plots for distribution to farmers with the opportunity to improve and stabilize income;
- Promote and support optimum utilization of Nigeria's Rural Land resources for accelerated food and fibre production.
- Provide general extension support services and technical information on soil types, land, capability

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or suitability for various agricultural purposes including livestock and arable farming to support rural farmers;

- Assist, engage in and advise on all aspects of land conservation and land degradation control
- Assist on the method of acquisition or procurement of production inputs.
- Assist in the development or provision of appropriate technology for processing.
- Engage in or assist with on-farm and off-farm training of farmer in project management
- Assist large scale farmers, where possible in the development of their lands; provided such services are on a commercial basis;
- Develop a code of sound land management procedures for all land resources;
- Facilitate appropriate and cost effective mechanization of agriculture and produce processing towards the attainment of food security, employment generation and wealth creation on a large scale
- Assist in the provision of social infrastructural facilities for the emergent growth-centres at or around farming communities.

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- Engage in any other up-stream or down-stream activity necessary for agricultural development and food security.
  - Offering small farmers concessional loans to purchase or lease selected durable assets such as fridges or partner in private sector established conditioning centers.

### **iii. Create Bigger and More Competitive Agricultural Markets by**

- Encouraging network operators to develop cheap mobile phone based price discovery and payments systems to support farmers.
- Encouraging off-take arrangements between farmers and the fast growing supermarket chains
- Establishing a functional Nigeria Commodity Exchange that would ensure price and income stability.

### **iv. Encourage Investment in Agro-Processing Clusters**

Offer concessional financing, tax breaks, or seed funds for upgrades/construction of:

- access roads, embedded power plants, water/waste management systems, etc.

- 
- abattoirs, cold storage, packaging facilities etc

**v. Help Farmers and Agribusinesses Manage Risk**

Help farmers manage risk - and cope with adversity by:

- Creating fast track procedures to clarify land titles that can be used as collateral for concessional loans
- Deploying qualified instructors to hold village training courses about issues of local concern
- Encouraging the creation of mobile-based draught, flood, and pest alerts
- establishing affordable and accessible vet test centers across the country
- Publicising and subsidising agricultural insurance schemes
- Encourage synergy between farm institutions and the Bank of Agric and Bank of Industry

**vi. Help farmers and agribusinesses market their output**

Boost farm incomes and reduce agricultural waste by:

- Encouraging the dissemination of localised (mobile based) real-time pricing and storage information

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- Facilitating the construction of regional (private or cooperative) storage, processing, grading and packaging facilities
  - promoting agricultural export clusters with appropriate marketing and quality control capabilities to take advantage of Nigeria's preferential market access under America's African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA), World Trade Organisation (WTO) rules and EU's Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) (on completion of negotiations)
  - Working with Nigerians in Diaspora to enter overseas market

**vii.Help farmers and agribusinesses cut their operational costs**

Reduce the cost of doing business in rural areas by:

- Targeting federal funds to construct key farm-to-market roads
- Removing unnecessary road blocks, levies, and charges
- Seed-funding cooperative tool-hire schemes

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**viii. Improve farming productivity**

Modernise and mechanize (small scale) agriculture and raise cereal etc. yields to international levels by:

- Tasking the FMARD to develop and disseminate (localised) guidance on best fertilizer, feedstock, etc. use.
- coordinating the bulk purchase and distributed storage of (non-subsidized) fertilizers and feedstock throughout the country
- replacing fertilizer subsidies with cash transfers

**ix. Support women engaged in agricultural activities by:**

- providing basic working capital requirements for small scale farming and traditional processes as loans to the low income groups;
- providing facility for the procurement of machinery and equipment to help them set up and run cottage and small scale industries;
- creating employment opportunities at ward levels through the establishment of enterprises and pilot projects in the wards;

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- encouraging producers of goods and services at ward levels to form co-operative societies;
  - utilizing all available local resources for the benefit of women in agriculture through improved production, preservation, etc.



# INTERVENTION SCHEMES THAT INTEGRATE

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## 8.1 Introduction

To create a sustainable society, government cannot afford for its disadvantaged and deprived areas to be left behind at the expense of economic prosperity of other regions. In sustainable societies, people work together to accomplish economic competitiveness and national harmony based on a structure of peace, equity and a sense of fairness where nobody is left behind or cast aside.

Nigeria today is comprised of pockets of disadvantaged and deprived areas, which blight the socio-economic outlook of the country and threaten its continued existence as a unified nation. The Niger Delta, Desert encroached areas, Erosion and insurgent ravaged communities currently fall into these categories. These areas have suffered years of neglect and therefore continue to experience high levels of deprivation, family dislocation, poverty and environmental degradation.

It is in this context, therefore, that a cohesive and inclusive approach for regeneration and reintegration in these areas becomes paramount.

## MY PROMISE

In a true sense of equity and justice an APC government led by Atiku Abubakar will ensure that the pains, wants and needs occasioned by circumstances beyond the control of every citizen

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matter to their Government. The amelioration of the conditions consequent upon such circumstances will be addressed to ensure their full integration and sense of belonging everywhere and at any time.

## **8.2 Niger-Delta**

These areas stand out as huge blemish on the collective conscience of the Nigerian nation. The Niger-Delta accounted for over 85 percent of Nigeria's annual revenues for the past 50 years, but still battles stark under-development and continues to lag behind in almost every key area of development. The establishment of the Niger Delta Ministry and Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) and the Amnesty program have done very little to reverse this spate of under-development. Instead, these organizations have been plagued by allegations excessive bureaucracies, corruption and misappropriation of funds with little or no development reaching the local communities.

The region, to a large extent, is still characterized by a culture of dependency. Deliberate efforts are needed to be taken to address the developmental issues the region continues to face.

## **WHAT WE WILL DO**

### **i. Continuous Development Agenda**

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We aim to achieve the following:

- Genuine implementation of the Niger-Delta Master Plan.
- Addressing the continued lack of infrastructure and social services in the regions.
- Taking inventory of infrastructural provisions in the different states of the region
- Aggressively pursuing and addressing the underlying structural issues that have led to the current levels of under-development of the region.

**ii. Social Awareness Programme**

This will be set up to:

- Create a high level advocacy and awareness drive to launch the promotion of rule of law and access to justice in the region
- Institutionalize the process of corporate social responsibility through budgetary commitment and stakeholder engagements within the region
- Aggressively promote environmental sustainability programmes needed to address the continued degradation and pollution of the region
- Design new systems for delivering social services in the region

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### **iii.Reform Agenda**

It will include:

- Relocating the Niger Delta Ministry from Abuja to the region to enable it become closer to the stakeholders and beneficiaries of the initiatives
- Overhauling the Niger-Delta Ministry & NDDC to remove overlaps and making them more functional
- Looking at the possibility of merging the NDDC with the Niger Delta Ministry for efficient service delivery
- Carry out a comprehensive review and impact assessment of the Amnesty Programs to ascertain benefits to the stakeholders in the region since inception (not just politicians and contractors)

### **8.3. Desert, Erosion and Insurgency Ravaged States**

The Northern part of Nigeria has not fared well in the scheme of things. The area suffers from infrastructure deficit, high levels of unemployment, poverty and illiteracy as well as frightening desert encroachment that is rapidly reducing available lands for agriculture.

In addition to years of neglect, the misfortunes of the North East has been further compounded by the insecurity from insurgency that has plagued the region. Families have been

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displaced, many children are out of school and infrastructural facilities have been destroyed. The restoration and reintegration of these region requires special intervention.

In some communities, especially in the South East, the menace of erosion is becoming a threat to community survival, agricultural production and environmental sustenance.

An aggressive reclamation and restitution of these areas also require concerted and sustained intervention.

## WHAT WE WILL DO

### I. Economic & Infrastructural Reintegration Programme

- A Marshall-plan-type arrangement for restoration and re-integration
- Embark upon aggressive developmental efforts to boost infrastructure provision in the region
- Encourage industrialization in the region through the development of clusters and dedicated economic zones to address the unemployment levels in the region
- Acquire suitable tracts of land in various parts of the region for purposes of agricultural development
- provide general extension support services and technical information on soil types, land, capability

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or suitability for various agricultural purposes including livestock and arable farming

**ii. Develop and Implement a Security Masterplan**

- Embarking upon a sustainable development policy that situates security at its core and ensuring a multi-faceted security architecture involving the coordination of all security agencies
- Embarking upon a complete overhaul of the security forces and developing a strategy to address the declining security situation in the region. It will be part of a general professionalization of Security Agencies in Nigeria with emphasis on training, modern equipment acquisition and personnel motivation.
- Adequate security provision in educational institutions across the region
- Development of Joint Border Control Masterplan that integrates the activities of all border and security agencies

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### **iii. Develop and Implement a Social Re-integration Initiative**

- Undertake community engagement programmes in partnership with community and religious leaders in the region to address the issues of religious fundamentalism especially among the youths.
- Create intervention funds in the health institutions rendering care across the region (general hospitals, primary health centre, teaching hospitals and federal medical centers)
- Full implementation of the “Fair Chance Equal Opportunities” program with all school children up to the age of 16 in the region.
- Granting Conditional Cash Transfer to parents that allow their children to stay in school.

## 9.0 NATIONAL INTEREST, GLOBAL RESPECT

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Nigeria's foreign policy fundamentals have been fairly consistent since they were first espoused shortly after independence in October 1960. However, the specific interests, priorities and emphasis have continued to change in the context of domestic and international environment. In contemporary terms, new challenges such as international terrorism, piracy, oil theft, smuggling, illegal bunkering, proliferation of small arms and lights weapons, transnational crimes, illegal migration, climate change, child trafficking and multilateral trade negotiations are now central to Nigeria's foreign policy strategy.

### 9.1 Regional Stature

In an increasingly globalized and interconnected world, countries face common threats and opportunities, which cut across various national borders. As a regional power and key continental influencer, Nigeria is charged with the responsibility of playing a principal role on regional and continental matters. To this end, it has become imperative that Nigeria restores its international image and gets back the international standing and credibility that it once enjoyed.

Nigeria's role in global peace through its continuous and consistent participation in peace-keeping activities is well recognised around the world. The country plays a major role in world affairs because of its population size, as well as its economic and political prominence in Africa.

Nigeria has become the 26<sup>th</sup> largest economy in the world and



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the biggest economy in Africa. As the largest economy in Africa, the rest of the World now looks up to Nigeria as a potential driver of not just Africa's economic development but a major economic and political player in the world affairs. One of Nigeria's major foreign policy thrust is the promotion of Africa as a regional power. This is demonstrated in Nigeria's leadership role in the establishment and functioning of continental and regional bodies such as the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD), the African Union (AU) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Nigeria is the mainstay of the ECOWAS. It contributes over 60 percent of its total revenue, over 50% of ECOWAS' population live in Nigeria and its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is higher than the combined GDP of all the other ECOWAS States. In spite of slight intra-regional challenges, the benefits of ECOWAS to Nigeria are enormous and can be widened by further cooperation between ECOWAS and CEMAC on one hand and the establishment of the proposed Continental Free Trade Area (CFTA) with the goal of enlarging both political and economic opportunities with Nigeria's neighbours.

Nigeria is unrivaled in the promotion of peace and security in Africa however, insecurity and instability is rife in the country. Smuggling across its borders is undermining the economic advantages engendered by its statue and location. This must CHANGE!

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## 9.2 Economic Advantage

In recent years, Nigeria has become the number one investment destination in Africa. This is partly due to the fact that Nigeria's business environment has one of the highest rates of return on investment anywhere in the world. The establishment of the Honourary International Investors Council (HIIC) was geared towards reducing political corruption, helping Nigeria to become Africa's biggest oil producer, attracting investment in the country from the private sector and from foreign countries, and making Nigeria more competitive in the global economy. However, the cost of doing business in Nigeria is contributing an undesirable disincentive to the service industry due to official bureaucracy and corruption.

This must CHANGE.

## 9.3 Potentials of Diaspora Partnership

Nigerians in Diaspora contributed and continue to contribute to the growth of the Nigerian economy either through direct investment, transfer incomes or social support to family in Nigeria. Annual Diaspora remittances to Nigeria have consistently been over \$10bn in recent years. The volume of investment that they have in Nigeria has contributed greatly to job creation and with the potential to use the platform to develop a Diaspora export market for Nigerian products in countries such as U.S, UK, SA with large Nigerian immigrants.

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They contribute to Nigeria's knowledge economy through consultancy and government appointments. Their participation can be used to improve the quality of Nigeria's political process but they do not have voting right.

This must CHANGE!

## **MY PROMISE**

In an APC led Government headed by Atiku Abubakar, Nigeria's Foreign Policy will be developed to achieve:

- the promotion and protection of our collective national interest,
- the promotion of international co-operation for the consolidation of universal peace and mutual respect among all nations and elimination of discrimination in all its ramifications;
- respect for international law and treaty obligations as well as the seeking of settlement of international disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration and adjudication; and
- the promotion of a just world economic order.
- Mainstream the Diaspora potential of Nigerians

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## WHAT WE WILL DO

- i. improving regional cooperation through:
  - o more robust ECOWAS protocols and practices
  - o a regional Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) on the conduct of cross-border security operations
  - o bilateral/multilateral security treaties
  
- ii. Improve National image by:
  - o Promptly honouring our bilateral and multilateral obligations
  - o Effectively participating in all efforts and initiatives for the reduction of piracy, drug and human trafficking, internet frauds, and similar other white collar crimes
  - o Invest in high performance athletics and sports training to boost Nigeria's representation at the global stage
  - o Expand cultural dissemination of our cuisine and traditional fashion
  - o Deliberately adopting Nollywood as instrument for image laundering

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- i. Improve border security by:
    - o acquiring and deploying additional intelligence and surveillance assets
    - o promoting good neighbour policy initiatives
  
  - ii. Promote opportunities for regional job creation and commerce by:
    - o Exploiting its influence within the ECOWAS and AU to facilitate improved economic prospects through job creation and improved trade amongst member countries.
    - o Fast-tracking the development of single currency in ECOWAS.



## **The Atiku Abubakar Policy Document**