RENEWED HOPE 2023

ACTION PLAN FOR A BETTER NIGERIA
“Our party, the All Progressives Congress (APC) was founded on the premise that the people of our beloved country are entitled to the benefits that only progressive good governance can procure.”

- Asiwaju Bola Ahmed Tinubu
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Nigeria is a unique nation, impressive in its diverse character and composition, resounding and hopeful in unity and collective fate. Home to over 200 million vibrant people, Nigeria stands as the most populous nation on the African continent and the largest concentration of Black people on earth. It is beyond debate that we owe the duty of national progress to our progeny and to ourselves.

On the horizon, prosperity and safety await us. Nothing short of this good destination will suffice, and it is because I know the way that I seek to become the next president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. I ask you to join Senator Shettima and I on this journey.

Our nation’s history affirms that our people constitute our most valuable treasure. Whether the hardworking farmer, the industrious market woman, the dynamic young entrepreneur or the hopeful child, Nigerian people rank among the best anywhere. They excel in every aspect of human endeavour when given a fair chance.

Senator Shettima and I have traversed every part of our beloved nation, listening to the concerns of our fellow citizens. Young and old, poor and rich, educated and uneducated, Christian and Muslim; all have expressed their views and concerns. People do not seek superficial answers to hard questions. Nor do they want the broken, unimaginative, failed promises repackaged and fed to them again. They want true and innovative solutions which address the challenging realities of today.

Our party, the All Progressives Congress (APC) was founded on the premise that the people of our beloved country are entitled to the benefits that only progressive good governance can procure.

When I was governor of Lagos, my team and I developed institutions and policies that changed the face of the state. It became a safe place for its residents and an engine of prosperity for all those willing to work in pursuit of their economic dreams. What my team and I achieved in
Lagos, together we all can achieve for Nigeria. Our objective is to foster a new society based on shared prosperity, tolerance, compassion, and the unwavering commitment to treat each citizen with equal respect and due regard.

Standing on the foundation emplaced by the current administration, we shall:

- Build a Nigeria, especially for our youth, where sufficient jobs with decent wages create a better life.
- Manufacture, create, and invent more of the goods and services we require. Nigeria shall be known as a nation of creators, not just of consumers.
- Export more and import less, strengthening both the naira and our way of life.
- Continue assisting our ever toiling farmers, through enlightened agricultural policy that promotes productivity and assures decent incomes, so that farmers can support their families and feed the nation.
- Modernise and expand public infrastructure so that the rest of the economy can grow at an optimal rate.
- Embolden and support our young people and women by harnessing emerging sectors such as the digital economy, entertainment and culture, tourism and others to build the Nigeria of tomorrow, today.
- Train and give economic opportunity to the poorest and most vulnerable among us. We seek a Nigeria where no parent is compelled to send a child to bed hungry, worried whether tomorrow shall bring food.
- Generate, transmit and distribute sufficient, affordable electricity to give our people the requisite power to enlighten their lives, their homes, and their very dreams.
I call on you to join my running mate and I to renew the hope of our people by providing equality of opportunity, social justice and prosperity for all through the initiatives set forth in these pages. I welcome your inputs and critiques as we prepare to govern Nigeria with fairness, equity and justice.

Our journey begins now! Together, we shall renew hope.

BOLA AHMED TINUBU
APC Presidential Candidate

- Make basic healthcare, education, and housing accessible and affordable for all.

- And, most importantly, establish a bold and assertive policy that will create the strong yet adaptive national security architecture and action to obliterate terror, kidnapping, banditry, and all other forms of violent extremism from the face of our nation.

Governing Nigeria is a sacred trust I do not take lightly. I shall give it my best.
The fundamental responsibility of government is to protect the lives and property of its citizens. We will mobilise the totality of our national security, military and law enforcement assets to protect all Nigerians from danger and from the fear of danger. We will expand and improve upon the use of technology, enhance recruitment of personnel, and bolster existing agencies and systems to achieve this fundamental national security goal.

The current government has made important inroads. When it came into office, the Buhari government met situation in which terrorists had planted their flags and claimed Nigerian territory as their own. The Buhari government eliminated these incursions against our national sovereignty, bringing peace to many areas. Thousands of formerly displaced people have returned home to rebuild their lives.

When I entered office as governor of Lagos, the state was crime-ridden. Safety was uncertain. The population was fearful. With bold, no-nonsense crime prevention reform and creative institution building, we won back our state. It became a safe and secure place to live and to do business. I shall bring the same determined, problem-solving spirit to solving insecurity at the national level.
Our administration will be committed to permanently securing the safety, freedom and prosperity of all Nigerians.

We shall adopt a proactive and intelligence driven security approach to sufficiently address the nation’s security threats, and shall broadly pursue the following:

**Bolster Our Security Forces**

Our administration will accelerate the reforms commenced under the present administration in building a more robust, re-energised armed forces. As such, we shall recruit, train and better equip additional military, police, paramilitary and intelligence personnel.
RENEWED HOPE

Redefine Military Doctrine and Practice

- **Anti-Terrorist Battalions**: highly trained and disciplined anti-terrorist battalions (ABATTS) with special forces units will be created. Their objective shall be to seize the strategic and tactical initiative, giving terrorists, kidnappers and bandits no respite.

- **Upgrade Tactical Communications and Transportation**: Military units will be better equipped with tactical communications gear and new vehicles to give them a greater communications and mobility advantage over criminals, bandits and terrorists.

- **Upgrade Weapons Systems**: We will further modernise our Armed Forces by ensuring that our weapons systems (land, sea and air) are capable of addressing current and anticipated security threats in the modern world. This shall also mean the recruitment of people who possess the technical skills required for today’s military. We shall reduce our dependence on imported foreign military equipment by ramping up domestic production of basic and essential military hardware and equipment, including small arms and ammunition.

- **Exploit Aerial and Technological Superiority**: We shall focus our efforts on taking greater advantage of our aerial superiority to both deter as well as swiftly respond to attacks by terrorists, kidnappers and bandits.

- **Improve Salaries and Welfare**: We will address the welfare concerns of frontline military and security personnel. Improved special individual and family allowances, better compensation and guaranteed medical care for those injured in the line of duty will be provided.

A special program providing housing, scholarships, stipends, and health insurance for the families of our fallen heroes will be created.

- **Win Hearts and Minds**: Using targeted economic assistance programs and in close collaboration with State Governments, we will expand emergency and economic support offered to local communities distressed by terrorist and other violent groups. Strengthening the civilian assistance and outreach arm of our armed forces, the military will be integrated into these assistance programs:
○ Rehabilitation of the Lake Chad Basin ecosystem and other subnational economic systems affected by violent groups.

○ Accelerate the environmental clean-up and re-establishment of fisheries and other profitable aquacultural activities in the Niger-Delta region.

Restoring economic hope and vitality to these regions while at the same time creating a more active and present military/law enforcement deterrent to violent disorder, will drastically reduce the number of disaffected youths who join these extreme groups out of the despair and alienation that poverty can bring. By defeating poverty, we go far in defeating all forms of extremist ideology.

Secure Critical National Infrastructure

Attacks on vital national infrastructure and installations have serious implications for our economy and the overall public welfare. Our government will implement measures to eliminate attacks on vital national infrastructure. This will be known as our (Critical Infrastructure Protection) CIP Plan.

Integral to this effort shall be the deployment of modern technologies, tools and equipment to end crude oil theft, prevent vandalization of national assets, and reduce, to the barest minimum, environmental pollution of the Niger Delta.

We shall combine increased aerial surveillance over land and sea with other cutting edge technology that will provide instant notification of intrusions or disruptions of oil pipelines and related installations. Such technology will also be deployed to monitor power stations, transmission and distribution networks, sea and airports, rail transportation, telecommunications and other vital infrastructure.
Peaceful Communities, Secure Borders, Safe Forests:

- **Communities**: Our government will work in close collaboration with State Governments and the National Assembly, to enact measures necessary to secure and protect communities from criminal violence, particularly kidnapping and terrorism. These measures will be flexible and adaptive in order to fit local realities and challenges. Some instances may call for establishment or enhancement of civilian neighbourhood watch groups. Others may require the establishment of more formal locally-based law enforcement institutions.

- **Borders**: Customs and Immigration Services ability to patrol and monitor our borders will be strengthened. This includes the use of aerial and ground-based technology mechanisms as well as more mobile patrol units.

- **Forest Regions**: To prevent violent groups from using our forests and other public lands as hideouts, we shall revitalise Ranger or Forest Guard force, giving it the core mandate to monitor, identify, and track the use of our forests by any violent or criminal groups.

### Integrated Identity Database

In line with global best practice, our administration will sustain the current efforts on integration of all existing data and expand the database and other such assets as useful tools for security and safety of citizens.
International Collaboration

Our government will prioritise collaborations with key neighbouring countries, international partners, and allies to ensure the safety of Nigerians. We will continue to empower and, where necessary, seek to expand the operations of the Multinational Joint Task Force.

Reposition The Police

We shall boost the public confidence in the Nigeria Police Force and other internal security agencies by increasing recruitment and providing high-tech, non-lethal equipment with corresponding manpower development schemes.

Police reform will be focused on positioning the institution to better deliver on its primary duties of community policing and maintaining law and order through crime fighting and prevention.

Police personnel will be freed from extraneous duties such as VIP security and guard duties. VIP Security and provision of security for government buildings, installations and other critical assets will be transferred to The Nigeria Security and Civil Defence Corps (NSCDC). The NSCDC shall be evaluated and reformed to be better integrated with our internal security apparatus.
The structural model upon which our national economy has always been based needs major reform. Our economy is unhelpfully designed to export raw material and import increasingly expensive finished products. Crude oil still provides most of our foreign exchange and represents the primary source of Federal Government revenues. Over the long-term, the revenues from these natural resource exports will prove insufficient to meet the rising costs of imports let alone support the fiscal obligations demanded by modern democratic governance.

Agriculture has traditionally been the backbone of this nation and will continue to be. However, we must acknowledge the growing importance of our urban population. At independence, city dwellers represented less than 15 percent of the national population. Today, the urban populace exceeds 50 percent. Over 100 million people reside in our cities and towns.

Also, we must pay special attention to our young population. They are this nation and its future. Youths aged between 15 and 35, account for over 65 percent or over 130 million of our 200 million people. Our youth unemployment rate as well as our overall jobless rate have always been unacceptably high. Many young people feel alienated and left out. Too many are preoccupied about the basics of whether they will find a meaningful job, be able to marry or own a home or a car or simply have enough money for their daily needs to achieve their best destinies. If our nation is to live up to its promise, our youth need to be given a fairer deal than this.
Under our government, our cities and towns will witness a level of industrial activity unprecedented in our nation's history. In this, our youth shall become a leading catalyst driving the economic resurgence. This goes beyond the provision of decent jobs. It speaks of empowering those who see their future as starting and owning businesses in the new economy. It goes to opening the economy in a way that encourages the best that the modern digital and IT-driven sectors have to offer.

We will improve existing industries and sectors. We will be brave and innovative enough to see how new economic vistas powered by today's technology can create jobs and provide goods and services that will propel us toward greater prosperity and development.

In helping to shape this more dynamic economy melding the best of the extant sectors with what is new on the economic horizon, our government will be fiscally active; yet equally prudent in the 'how and why' of public expenditure because public money is also a storehouse of public values and public trust.

The allocation of revenue between the federal and state governments will be adjusted to give states greater flexibility to foster grassroots economic development.
We will build an economy that produces more of the everyday items, both agricultural and manufactured goods, that define an individual’s and a nation’s standard of living.

Compelled by the unassailable fact that an economy cannot exceed the capacity of the available infrastructure to service it, we shall bring the National Infrastructure Policy to life, harmonising it with the National Industrial Policy to ensure optimal development of key sectors and rapid acceleration of our GDP growth.
**Review Federal Budgetary Methodology**

Budgetary custom bases our annual budget and fiscal policies largely on the dollar value of projected oil revenue. Not only does this practice artificially restrict the Federal Government's fiscal latitude, it also unduly attracts the nation's attention towards a single source of fiscal revenue to the detriment of others.

To achieve optimal growth in the long term, we must wean ourselves from this limitation. A more efficient fiscal methodology would be to base our budgeting on the projected level of government spending which optimises growth and jobs without causing unacceptable levels of inflation. As part of this prudent growth-based budgeting, we will establish a clear and mandatory inflationary ceiling on spending. However, we must break the explicit link between naira expenditure and dollar inflows into the economy.

Much like the European Union has done, we too must be realistic and legislatively suspend the limits on government spending during this protracted moment of global economic turmoil exacerbated by domestic challenges in security, economy and demography.

**National Infrastructure Campaign**

With the fiscal latitude provided by the abovementioned budgetary reform, government can hire millions of unemployed Nigerians to modernise national infrastructure.

A truly national highway system must be built to make road transportation faster, cheaper, and safer.
A national potable water supply campaign will be established. We must commit to a Nigeria where, by the end of this decade, no one lives more than five minutes away from a reliable source of potable water.

Major dams will be reticulated to ensure better power generation and provide water for year-round agricultural purposes. Small-scale irrigation and water catchment systems will be built in rural areas throughout the nation. Using technology and equipment easily maintained at the local level with minimal costs, these systems will boost agricultural production and employment while mitigating dangerous cycles of flood and drought in many areas.

The Great Green Wall of the North will be fully completed. By mitigating the effects of desertification and deforestation, this lessens forced economic migration and resultant social dislocation and instability in many parts of the country.

Using commercially valuable yet environmentally viable flora to construct the green wall, the project will provide employment for tens of thousands of youths and farmers.

To encourage the use of Public Private Partnerships, a Tinubu administration will work with the CBN, federal ministry of finance and other relevant federal agencies to expand the availability and scope of credit guarantees to attract more private sector investment in needed infrastructure projects.
Import Substitution

We must curb our reliance on imported goods. Importation of non-essential products will be discouraged through policy measures including luxury taxes, higher tariffs, and higher processing fees.

At the same time, international brands will be incentivised with tax credits, rebates and other fiscal incentives to establish manufacturing plants in Nigeria both for export and to meet the needs of the large population of consumers in Nigeria and the wider ECOWAS region. We shall also enact new policies to exploit the framework provided by the African Continental Free Trade Agreement (AfCTA) to further boost domestic manufacturing and production.

Tax Reform

During times of economic weakness, increasing taxation is counterproductive. Higher taxes drain an already weakened private sector, inviting possible economic contraction and higher unemployment.

We shall review the corporate tax system and deploy technology and effective policies to better rationalise the system. Our aim shall be to create a progressive tax regime, plug harmful loopholes, enhance the efficiency of collection and give the people a greater sense of responsibility in relation to their taxes.
**Fight Corruption, Inefficiency and Waste in Government**

We will continue the work of the current administration in reforming the civil service to fight corruption, reduce bureaucracy, streamline agencies and decrease inefficiency and waste.

We will streamline the amount that government spends on itself. A cap will be placed on fiscal expenditures for the construction of government buildings and on the salaries and related compensation packages of elected officials and senior personnel in the executive branch of the Federal Government. Such expenditures will have a low priority in our administration.

*Bona fide* hard-working members of the civil service are to be commended for their public service and shall be protected. However, we will continue the process of weeding out ghost workers, as well as ghost projects and expenditures from the system.

Our administration will adhere strictly to the principle that public funds are only to be spent on the public good and we shall strive earnestly to reduce the overall cost of the Federal Government.

**Optimisation of Government Revenue**

A Tinubu government shall deploy the same skills and expertise used in Lagos State to generate record levels of internally generated revenue, create wealth and attract investment.

We shall also improve and significantly expand the current administration's efforts to generate revenue by reducing leakages in the financial system and create the enabling environment to expand the private sector initiatives undertaken by the Buhari administration. We will mobilise private sector investment, processes and people to raise the revenue profile of our great country and achieve our ambitious plans for the nation's rapid development.
To achieve optimal growth and broadly shared prosperity, monetary policy must complement fiscal goals.

The efficiency of monetary policy in driving overall economic goals is limited. Fiscal policy has numerous channels and transmission mechanisms by which it can affect the economy. Unlike monetary policy, fiscal policy can be channelled directly and even exclusively toward the poorer segments of society. Monetary policy transmission mechanisms are largely limited to banks and other financial institutions. By itself, good and wise monetary policy is insufficient to produce the level of growth we seek. However, bad monetary policy is sufficient in itself to sink the best of our economic dreams.

Monetary policy must focus on the exchange rate, interest rate and price levels. This trio must serve the objective of fiscal policy, which is broadly shared prosperity.

In essence, money lends nominal economic value to anyone who owns it or anything to which a monetary price is attached. Idle people and resources are said to have scant economic purpose or value. They are wrongfully derided as “useless.” When money becomes attached to them either through a living wage or capital investment, what was once idle becomes valued and productive.

Our fiscal strategy is to spend public money in a way that maximises employment of people and resources, especially those previously idle.

Monetary policy must buttress this approach.
Exchange Rate Management

The exchange rate is perhaps the most evocative monetary issue of the day. It stirs emotions and feelings of national pride or embarrassment, depending on the rate of the day and the trend it suggests.

The exchange rate influences the costs of imports, competitiveness of exports, and net capital flows among other things. It cannot be ignored nor left to the vagaries of an unrestrained market.

Yet, we must be precise regarding economic cause and effect. The recent dip in our exchange rate is primarily due to global supply and production shortfalls caused by global factors well beyond the scope of our control. Our diminished levels of oil production and the modest capacity of our manufacturing sector to expand production both serve to compound the pressure on the naira.

Further compounding our difficulty is the fact that we are tied to an ineffective regime of multiple, somewhat arbitrary, exchange rates. This situation gives rise to financial dislocation, currency speculation and arbitrage. These practices divert much needed funds away from productive endeavours that could employ hundreds of thousands of people and create products that improve average living conditions.

To ensure that exchange rate policy harmonises with our goals of optimal growth and job creation driven by industrial, agricultural and infrastructural expansion, we will work with the Central Bank and the financial sector to carefully review and better optimise the exchange rate regime.

Our economic policies shall be guided by our desire for a stronger, more stable Naira founded upon a vibrant and productive real economy.
The current surge of inflation is essentially driven by global supply and production disruptions beyond the control of any one government, including Nigeria’s. This is supply-driven inflation, not inflation caused by excess demand in an overheated economy.

To impose the usual anti-inflation medicine of higher interest rates and tighter money-supply will only weaken the patient. The answer to supply-driven inflation is not to suppress normal aggregate demand levels. The better solution is to find ways to increase production and supply. To suppress demand will result in the overall loss of economic activity and jobs. Worse, since the inflation is grounded in supply side issues, placing this weight on the demand side will do little to answer the root causes of current inflation. In short, we punish the national economy and the people without deriving any meaningful benefit.
In this complex economic environment, we must more studiously assess the sources and causes of inflation so that we deploy the right mix of fiscal and monetary tools to contain it; instead of copying the policies and practices of economies different to our own.

Limit Foreign Debt Obligations

We can protect our exchange rate, guard against inflation and preserve foreign currency reserves by limiting our exposure to large debt obligations denominated in foreign currency.

Our administration will engage in extraordinary prudence in contracting debt in foreign currency. Our policy will be such that new foreign currency debt obligations will be linked to projects that generate cash flows from which the debt can be repaid.

Where possible, we shall limit such foreign currency denominated debts to essential expenditures that cannot be adequately addressed by either naira denominated expenditures or debt obligations.
INDUSTRIAL POLICY

National Industrial Plan

Our government will make it a priority to encourage industries vital to national development. This means growing our industrial base to provide jobs to an expanding urban population.

Through the development of an industrial development master plan, we will:

(i) Extend tax and other credits as well as urban youth employment incentives to domestic manufacturing entities. Tariffs and other measures will be implemented to safeguard such industries.

(ii) Encourage domestic manufacturers and producers to add value to basic products thus promoting value-added industry and production. These incentives will include lower import tariffs on semi-manufactured goods production lines such as the automotive and IT industries.

(iii) Develop major and minor industrial hubs in each geopolitical zone.

(iv) Promote IT to boost industrial creativity while spurring the financial inclusion of larger segments of the population by encouraging greater use of innovative new technologies.

(v) Provide Tax credits, holidays and reduced interest rate loans to businesses that hire a certain percent of youth in their workforce and provide genuine on-the-job training and mentoring for their young employees.
In the North West and North East, new industrial hubs will focus on textiles. In the South East and South South, a new hub and dry port will focus investment on labour intensive manufacturing.

In the South West, fine quality sand will be turned into the highest-quality glass items.

In areas with deposits of clay, household items such as dishes and pottery will be manufactured.

In the North Central, emphasis will be placed on solid mineral exploration and exploitation.

In the North West and North Central, clandestine, environmentally harmful unlicensed gold mining activities will be ended. Regulated mining will be instituted such that environmental protection is maintained and local artisans and craftsmen can earn income turning raw gold into finished jewellery.
***Mortgage and Consumer Credit Reform***

The various federal agencies meant to promote home ownership are too small and fragmented. To address the housing deficit, we will ensure greater cohesion and efficiency by merging these agencies into a new, more competent body. This new entity will inherit the functions of existing housing authorities and shall be adequately capitalised by the Federal Government.

The agency will have a three-fold mandate to (i) grant low interest rate mortgages directly; (ii) guarantee qualified mortgages issued by banks; and (iii) purchase mortgages from private banks.

The guaranteeing and purchasing of mortgages will incentivise banks towards mortgage lending and will deepen the secondary mortgage market.

Banks will also be encouraged to engage much more in the provision of affordable consumer loans for automobiles and expensive domestic appliances. A certain portion of bank lending must be earmarked for the consumer. All non-compliant banks will pay a penalty to government. Compliant banks will be entitled to tax breaks and credits as well as favourable treatment by the CBN regarding inter-bank transactions and other monetary policy ratios.
Home Ownership

Home ownership is a source of prosperity, social stability and individual pride. A vibrant residential construction industry is essential to a healthy modern economy.

In conjunction with the National Assembly and state governments, we will review and revise the Land Use Act. We need to streamline and rationalise the land conveyance process. In this way, we lower costs and delays and promote more efficient use of land. This more efficient allocation will bolster the housing industry and lower costs for investors and consumers.

Working with state governments, we will provide credits and incentives to developers of housing projects that set aside a significant portion of their projects to affordable housing. With the support of State and Local Governments, we aim to establish and implement a new social housing policy whose objective shall be to provide pathways for the poorest Nigerians to climb onto the housing ladder.

We will establish a coherent federal program to provide eligible and meritorious civil servants with federal payment guarantees for fixed-rate, long term mortgages for their homes.
Historically, Nigeria has been an agricultural nation. Even today, a little less than half the people live in rural communities, earning their livelihoods from the soil and, in the process, helping to feed the nation. However, only 35% of arable land in Nigeria is presently cultivated. Our target shall be to increase this number to 65% in four years.

Improvement in the agricultural sector has been encouraging under the Buhari administration. We shall continue the progress by enhancing agricultural productivity, agro-allied industry, food security and farm incomes. To improve food security, domestic production of food must significantly exceed the growth of our already large population. Overworked soil, communal instability and climate change are but a few of the key challenges we face.

The Nigerian farmer is among the most resilient and industrious on earth.

For decades, they have struggled and toiled under adverse conditions, yet they produced ample harvests. With the unprecedented aid given by the present government, the agriculture sector has been strongly revived.

A vibrant agricultural sector will bring more investment opportunities for enterprising Nigerians, including our youths, and help diversify our economy away from oil and gas dependence.
Global uncertainties of recent years such as COVID-19 and the Russo-Ukrainian conflict further underscore the need to ensure substantial food security for our nation. Our goal shall be to grow more than what we need so that we may export the excess and alter our balance of trade.

A Tinubu government will build on the foundation laid by the current administration. We vow to help the farmer and his community in new and significant ways that usher in a true and complete rebirth of Nigerian agriculture.

To achieve our goals, we shall pursue the following initiatives:

**Commodity Boards**

We shall introduce commodity boards to establish minimum prices for strategic crops such as cashew, cocoa, sesame, soya, cassava, yam, rubber, okra, palm kernels, groundnut and okra. This will guarantee minimum incomes for farmers, improve certainty and increase their capacity to produce more of the food staples needed to sustain our nation’s growing population. Working with the private sector, we will also seek to deepen the use of commodity exchanges and strengthen their operations in order to ensure even greater transparency and stability.

**Grain Reserves and Food Storage**

We will modernise and expand agricultural production and enhance our strategic grain reserves to strengthen this line of defence against food shortage and enable us to maintain stable prices for our most important staples.

We shall also work with State and Local Governments (through the establishment of another incentive-based Federal Government funding program) to construct fresh produce storage facilities in major marketplaces of major cities and towns to minimise waste and better preserve perishable food items.

**Rural Infrastructural Development**

Farm-to-market roads and access as well as freight networks will be priorities for our administration. We will, therefore, work with State and Local Governments to establish a Federal incentive or counterpart funding scheme by which we shall support the construction of vital rural infrastructure.
Irrigation and Water Catchment

Our irrigation program, which shall be termed the Irrigate Nigeria Project, will be based on a PPP approach. The government shall provide an enabling environment, encouraging the construction of small-scale irrigation and water catchment systems by private sector participants using modern technology and equipment.

This Project is expected to boost food production and employment while helping to mitigate the harmful effects of extreme weather cycles and climate change. In addition, participation in the Project will support domestic farmers, produce offtake guarantees, link farmers to markets and food processing plants.

Farm Cooperatives

Where feasible, we will encourage local farmers to form voluntary cooperatives, enabling them to pool their resources so that they can buy or lease modern farming equipment, tools and fertiliser.

Farming cooperatives will also be able to enjoy economies of scale which would otherwise have been out of reach, giving farmers the ability to produce more food at affordable prices.

These cooperatives will be given priority regarding government agricultural assistance programs such as extension services. Co-op members will be given tax breaks and credits.

Access to Finance

The governance and structure of the Bank of Agriculture (BoA) will be reformed to enable the bank to fulfil its core mandate to provide farmers with access to low-cost loans. BoA Loans will be strictly limited to farm-related investments, shall be primarily directed towards the growth of strategically important crops, and shall be carefully monitored.

Initiatives such as the Anchor Borrower's Program and agricultural credit guarantee scheme will be expanded and deepened to touch more rural communities and provide more capital per individual participant.

Access to finance will give farmers the opportunity to modernise their operations and improve their productivity through the use of mechanised farming tools and modern technology.
Large-scale Land Clearing

As noted, only approximately 35% of arable land in Nigeria is presently under cultivation. Our target shall be to increase this number to 65% within four years. Working with international and domestic private sector partners, international development agencies and international financial institutions, we will develop a plan to open heretofore uncultivated land to both small and large-scale farming and vertically integrated agri-business.

This Farm Nigeria project will begin with a special focus on the 11 river basins throughout the country. The aim of this innovative project will be to:

(i) Make more arable land available for agriculture, thus blunting the negative effects of localised instability and climate change on aggregate national agricultural production.

(ii) Create productive partnerships between local small and medium sized farmers with both international business and development agencies. The resultant aggregation and economies of scale will enable farmers to take advantage of modern farming techniques and equipment as well as to better prepare their crops for exportation.

(iii) Locate food processing and semi-processing machinery and plants nearby to the new farming sites; thereby achieving the goal of greater value added and enhanced incomes for the agricultural sector.
Nigeria’s growth continues to be stifled by the structural constraints of the power sector. At present, the nation has approximately 12,000MW of installed capacity, generates only 8,000MW and is only able to distribute a maximum of 4,500MW to consumers. Our economy is, accordingly, constrained by our inability to generate, transmit and distribute power efficiently.

However, the nation’s power problems cannot be solved overnight. What we can do, and what we shall do is build on the foundation laid by President Buhari’s Presidential Power Initiative, among other important interventions, to put in place prudent, practical measures that will improve the situation today and make the power sector viable and sustainable for all Nigerians moving forward.

Generation and Transmission Targets

We will immediately take the necessary steps to ensure that more of the power we already generate can be transmitted and distributed to Nigerian homes and businesses. 

Over the long term, we will seek to implement further reforms to put the nation on a track to sufficient on-grid generation, transmission and distribution to power the bright Nigeria of our dreams.

Off-grid and renewable power generation options and solutions undertaken by willing private sector participants will also be encouraged and our administration will work with the private sector and interested State Governments to provide access to low cost finance for power projects.

Eliminate Estimated Billing

We will end this unpopular and harmful practice and ensure that all electricity bills are meter-based.

By streamlining and accelerating existing schemes such as the National Mass Metering Programme and the Meter Asset Provider Scheme, we shall seek to ensure that all electricity connections are properly metered within the shortest possible time frame.
New connections will not be permitted to be energised from the Grid unless a meter has been installed.

DisCos will be required to ensure that new connections are metered during the construction phase.

We will further enable DisCos to charge cost-reflective tariffs for electricity supply.

Support For Domestic Manufacturing of Electricity Meters

Our government will reduce import levies on manufacturing inputs and provide other forms of support so that domestic manufacturers are able to compete and meet demand for meters and provide targeted and efficient tax incentives for local manufacturing companies making meters.

Renewable Energy Plan

Our renewable energy plan shall be based on Nigeria’s commitment to carbon neutrality by 2060.

Working with the National Assembly, State and Local Governments, we will provide the enabling environment, institutional, legislative and regulatory reforms required to attract foreign and domestic private sector investors, as well as support from donor agencies.

Our solar energy plan will focus on all major parts of the power value chain to ensure that we take advantage of all that solar power has to offer in terms of generating, transmitting and distributing power across the country. In the upstream sector we shall focus on grid connectedness while also taking advantage of mini-grid and interconnected mini-grid solutions. Finally, we shall encourage greater investment and research into the use of residential solar power solutions.
Rural Electrification

We will streamline and relax regulations to enable private sector, local and state government actors to electrify rural Nigeria in a safe and secure manner with reasonable tariffs. We will encourage universities and polytechnics to become centres of research, devising new and innovative ways to bring more power to rural areas.

Our policy will be to empower willing and able investors to bring international finance and select generation resources based on rational grounds such as practicality, cost and delivery times.

Power Sector Governance Reform

We will work with the National Assembly to review the Electric Power Sector Reform Act 2005 and reform the regulatory and governance structure of our nation’s power sector.

As part of the review, we shall expand the existing regime for off-grid power generation and explore new ways to exploit clean coal, solar, hydro and other sustainable energy technologies.

Adopting a mindset of enthroning international best practices, we will ensure that government processes and procedures improve efficiency and accountability for project management, design, procurement, construction and remittances.

Nigeria First Power Policy

We will introduce a Nigeria First policy by which gas resources shall be directed, as a #1 priority to Nigerian power generation. We will, in addition, support power projects that can be delivered quickly to optimise grid reliability, grid interconnectedness and grid wheeling.
Our history shows that the Oil and Gas sector is not the answer to our nation’s economic problems. However, it remains an important industry, vital to both our short-term economic survival and longer-term prosperity and buoyancy.

For now, the sector must play the lead role in generating the foreign currency revenues needed to help fund the nation’s twin industrialisation and infrastructural drives.

The sector generates nearly 90 percent of our export earnings and represents over 7 percent of Nigeria’s GDP. Its contribution represents roughly half of all government revenues.

However, the sector has also visited its share of problems on the nation. Our protracted focus on the sector has, for decades, misdirected policy measures and resources away from the industrialisation and broad-based development a populous and demographically diverse nation requires.

The sector has also triggered severe environmental spoliation of once lush and fertile sections of the Niger Delta, taking a toll on the health, employment, quality of life and the very social fabric of that region.

The revenues and returns of the sector have been a consistent source of political contention and of corrupt designs by bad actors. The sector produces enough revenue for people to fight over but not enough to go around and adequately meet the basic developmental needs of the entire nation.

Now, our nation struggles to meet our OPEC production quota due, primarily, to ongoing oil theft and pipeline vandalism. While a few malefactors have profited from these illegal activities, the economy and welfare of the average person has suffered. Government’s ability to pursue needed growth-related projects and policies has been hampered by the resultant loss of revenue.
We must be cognizant of global trends. Western nations are gradually turning away from fossil fuel use and imports. This is already placing downward pressure on our export numbers. At some point in the near future, it will likely produce further downward pressure on prices and revenues. We must act now to prevent this obvious trend from doing harm to our economy.

In addition to our oil reserves, the nation also boasts abundant gas reserves of approximately 206 trillion cubic feet. Despite the improvement in the capture and export of gas, Nigeria still flares too much gas causing continued environmental and public health harm.

We need to remove Nigeria from the list of the top 10 gas flares so that we reduce pollution while increasing revenues.

Due to the economic consequences of the Russo-Ukrainian conflict, many nations are looking for alternative sources of natural gas. Wise policy requires that Nigeria seek to expand gas exports to the EU which currently takes in nearly 60 percent of Nigeria’s gas exports.

**Critical Focus Areas**

Our plan is to create an industry which successfully utilises its vast resources, takes advantage of high oil prices to generate necessary revenue for successful diversification and ensures self-sufficiency in meeting demand for petroleum products and eliminating periods of scarcity.

To maximise the growth and development benefits of this vital sector, a Tinubu administration will implement policies to achieve the following key objectives:
Increase Domestic Oil Production

**Goal:** Increase crude oil production to 2.6mmbpd by 2027 and 4mmbpd by 2030

**Solution:** To increase domestic crude production we must have greater success in deterring crude oil theft and preventing vandalism of our pipelines, crude infrastructure and assets. Therefore, we will establish a Special Enforcement and Monitoring Unit whose sole mandate will be to protect the nation’s pipelines by deploying technological interventions (stationary aerial monitoring platforms, drones) towards curbing production disruptions.

Technological assets will be used to surveil and track the movement of vessels and to provide real-time, immediate notification of any breaches or ruptures of pipelines or other facilities.

In addition, we will provide new incentives to boost investment in the sector. We shall focus more investment on frontier oil and gas exploration, particularly in as yet untapped parts of the country.

(for example within the Lake Chad basin). To increase our refining capacity, we will explore public-private partnerships in this area. We will consider, as a model, joint venture partnership arrangements entered into between other leading oil producing states and global petrochemical firms.

Increase Indigenous Participation and Host Community Development

**Goal:** Increase indigenous share of crude oil production to over 1mmbpd by 2027

**Solution:** We will, further, implement incentives to encourage indigenous participation and mandate IOCs to assign a share of revenues towards knowledge sharing and technology transfer to indigenous companies.

We will fully implement the Host Community Development Trust which mandates greater assistance and cooperation by oil companies with host communities, particularly in the areas of environmental protection, preservation and rejuvenation.
Harness Domestic Gas Potential

**Goal:** Achieve full deregulation of midstream gas prices within 6 months, increase gas production by 20% and complete critical gas infrastructure projects by 2027.

**Solution:** To realise the potential of the gas industry in a world that seeks cleaner sources of energy, we will accelerate implementation of the Nigeria Gas Master Plan and fully develop and modernise our regulatory framework for natural gas production.

To ramp up domestic supply, we will complete critical gas infrastructure projects, including: pipeline infrastructure (e.g., Obiafu–Obrikom–Oben pipeline (OB3), Trans Nigeria Gas Pipeline, Escravos Lagos pipeline system (ELPS) II, Ajaokuta–Kaduna–Kano (AKK) pipeline) and the seven key gas development projects. We will also explore the expansion of such projects to other states.

To further optimise gas production, we shall, on the one hand, enforce gas flaring penalties, while on the other, offer tax credits or similar incentives to companies that achieve reasonable flare reduction targets.

Producers will be required to submit natural gas flare elimination and monetisation plans to the government and will be mandated to install metering equipment on all facilities where gas flaring may occur.

A special investigation / enforcement unit will be established to monitor gas flaring activities and assess compliance with the PIA’s provisions on the reduction of gas flaring and the impact of any non-compliance on affected communities. Non-compliance will be met with financial penalties which shall be used solely for development and environmental relief of the affected communities.

Implement Policy Reform

**Goal:** Accelerate full implementation of the PIA and implement additional favourable policies to attract investment in Deepwater assets within 6 months.

**Solution:** We will hasten the implementation of the Petroleum Industry Act (PIA) and implement favourable policies to stimulate investment in the deep-water assets such as encouraging negotiations regarding signature bonus payment and/or deferral of the payment post development, royalty reliefs amongst others.
**Ensure Stability of Petroleum Product Supply**

**Goal:** Achieve stability of petroleum product supply by fully deregulating the downstream sector and ensuring that local refinery capacity will meet domestic consumption needs.

**Solution:** We shall phase out the fuel subsidy yet maintain the underlying social contract between government and the people. We do this by dedicating the money that would have been used on the subsidy to fund targeted infrastructural, agricultural and social welfare programs ranging from road construction, to boreholes, public transportation subsidies, education and healthcare funding programs. In this way, the funds are more directly and better utilised to address urgent social and economic needs.

Our planned approach will not only mitigate the price effects of deregulation but will also result in the significant expansion of public infrastructure and improvement of the public well-being.

Subsidy removal and deregulation are, however, only part of the solution. To further increase our refining capacity, we shall focus on the rehabilitation of the nation’s refineries and shall consider, as a model, the joint venture partnership arrangements implemented by other leading oil producing states and global petrochemical firms.

**Increase Investment in Infrastructure and Technology**

**Goal:** Secure Public-Private Partnerships (PPP) and international partnerships towards financing infrastructure development.

**Solution:** We will seek to strengthen our partnership with key producers in order to modernise our oil infrastructure. For example, Saudi Aramco’s Tera Powers Reservoir modelling platform could aid our industry in finding additional oil and gas deposits. Saudi Aramco’s master gas system has been successful in establishing low-cost and clean fuel gas. We can also reap benefits from such a system.
Overall, the transportation sector is valued at NGN37 trillion. Transport activities contributed 1.84% to real GDP in Q2 2022. Road transport accounts for the lion’s share of passenger and cargo movement, representing roughly 90 percent of all transportation activities in 2021.

Developing the political will and technical capacity to move people and goods in a safe, affordable and accessible manner will help create a better future for Nigerians. The quality and depth of our systems of transportation will determine the cost and availability of valuable goods and services.

These factors will also determine how often and at what costs a dutiful son or daughter can take children to see their loving grandparents in another part of the country; or whether a hard-working young man will be able to get to the hospital on time to be with his wife as she gives birth to their first child.

Transportation is not just some technological or mechanical feat. Behind the movement of people and things, lay human stories and the aggregate of those accounts tells us much about our nation.

We will work hard to improve our various transportation systems to make sure those individual human stories and the story of our nation affirm the finest aspirations of our society.

We shall focus our policies and interventions on all the key methods of transportation: road, rail, maritime and air.

**Roads**

As previously in the fiscal policy section, we will embark on the creation of a truly nationwide highway system, connecting all major cities and regions with modern, safe multi-lane highways. As part of that highway system, we shall rehabilitate and expand existing federal roads and expressways.

We shall accelerate the construction of new roads as well as the rehabilitation of existing ones via creative funding mechanisms, including accessing capital markets and PPP.
Enhanced use of our railways is a cost-effective and safe way to reduce the strain on our roads and expressways resulting from the haulage of commercial goods by heavy vehicles travelling long distances.

Better use of rail will also decongest traffic in urban areas and reduce the number of road incidents and accidents. In addition to making our roads safer and less congested, railways are also a less expensive way to ship large quantities of goods from one location to another part of the country.

State Governments will be encouraged to build metro systems in their capital cities. These metros will link up with existing national rail lines and revolutionise urban transport in Nigeria. This will boost commerce and contribute significantly to national GDP growth.

To achieve our objectives, we shall work with the National Assembly to review the organisation, structure and operations of the Nigerian Railway Corporation.

Our objective shall be to promote greater private sector inclusion and also foster greater efficiency through specialisation and the effective delineation of core duties between units.

We shall also prioritise the completion of critical ongoing national railway projects such as:

- Lagos – Kano;
- Benin – Abakaliki;
- Port Harcourt – Maiduguri;
- Lagos – Calabar; and
- Kano – Maradi

In addition, we shall deploy technology and security assets to safeguard travellers and ensure the safety and integrity of our railway infrastructure.
**Maritime / Inland Waterways**

Given the size of the nation and its economy, Nigeria should be a significant maritime player. Additionally, our inland rivers, lakes, and waterways are underutilised, both in terms of cargo shipment and passenger transportation.

We intend to take the following steps to help achieve our objectives of making better use of our waterways:

(i) Decongest the Apapa Port and encourage greater use of other major seaports in the country such as Onne, Warri and Calabar. Our policies will include tax relief, credits, relaxed duties and tariffs and other financial incentives.

(ii) Modernise our ports by deepening the harbour and shipping lanes as well as enlarging berths and docking facilities to allow for the largest cargo vessels to use all Nigerian seaports.

(iii) Embark on a dredging campaign for our most strategically important inland waterways to make and keep them navigable for the passage of goods and people.

(iv) Devise a comprehensive plan for the improved use and access to waterways for the transportation of passengers and cargo.

(v) Create better inter-agency cooperation and coordination between the Nigerian Maritime Administration and Safety Agency, the Nigerian Ports Authority and the Nigerian Inland Waterways Authority.

**Aviation**

To guarantee the growth, development and safety of the Nigerian aviation sector, a Tinubu government will focus on the following objectives:

(i) We will establish and enforce a policy for the timely and adequate maintenance and improvement of airport runways and other critical aviation infrastructure.

(ii) The modernisation and expansion of existing airport facilities will also be prioritised.

(iii) We shall improve aircraft maintenance, safety measures and incident reporting requirements regarding domestic airlines and ensure fairness and transparency in ticket pricing for both international and domestic airlines. This includes providing compensation to passengers for significant flight delays or cancellations attributable to the conduct of the airline or its staff. We will also enhance runway and airport security through the use of modern surveillance technology.

(iv) We will continue with the current administration’s plans to establish a new national carrier.

(v) We will strengthen the Nigerian Civil Aviation Authority and other aviation regulatory agencies to maintain standards in the industry.
Globalisation ensures that national economies are in competition with one another. In this highly competitive environment, nations with educated, skilled populations advance while their less skilled counterparts lag behind.

The education and skills training of a country’s population is a major factor determining how that country’s economy performs. A nation’s education level also contributes to, or undermines, the quality of its democratic governance. In short, an outstanding educational system and an educated populace are the best long-term guarantors of a healthy economy and democratic system. As a matter of pragmatism as well as principle, our progressive government will treat education as a natural and constitutional right for all Nigerians.

A Tinubu administration will reform the education sector by focusing on the following indices: quality, access, funding, management, effectiveness, and competitiveness.

The reforms we institute will be based on three objectives:
(i) ensuring an abundance of qualified and capable educators,
(ii) creating safe and conducive learning environments, and
(iii) improving educational outcomes in Nigeria.

The specific policies and reforms we intend to introduce are set forth below.

Quality Education For All

Educational Infrastructure

We will invest in the infrastructure of our educational institutions and provide adequate resources that improve the educational environment in which our children are taught.

Our policies will alleviate classroom overcrowding and ensure that new schools have adequate space. We will make sure federally funded primary and secondary schools are safe, comfortable, and sufficiently equipped as facilities for teaching and learning.

We will prioritise the use of computers/internet services and other technology-based learning resources in schools.
Accreditation Standards and Curriculum

New accreditation standards will be developed for all institutions, from the primary to the tertiary level. All institutions of learning in Nigeria will eventually be required to comply with the new standards after a reasonable period of adjustment.

A permanent Committee composed of representatives of the private sector and leaders in the educational sector will be created. The Committee will be tasked with establishing a curriculum that more closely matches educational instruction with the actual and projected needs of the private sector. In this way, more students will be equipped with the skill sets that will shape the economy for years and decades to come.

A modern standard curriculum will be developed and implemented in all primary and secondary schools throughout the country.

This will ensure that all students have comparable experiences no matter their geographical location and that national educational objectives are being met in all government schools. Adherence to the curriculum will be an important factor in the accreditation of learning institutions.

The curriculum shall promote national unity and pride. Nigerian history will be reintroduced to our classrooms. Indigenous language courses will be compulsory for all children through the completion of secondary school.

Teacher Training

We will introduce new accreditation requirements for teachers in federally funded primary and secondary schools. Standardised teacher training courses and examinations will be introduced, with minimum standards strictly enforced. To prepare teachers for success in their essential profession, government will support comprehensive professional development programs.
Teacher welfare will be paramount. Under a Tinubu administration, teaching will be a rewarding career option for capable young graduates around the country.

- **School Management**

We will introduce a new management system for federally funded primary and secondary schools in Nigeria.

Such schools will be managed by Boards of Education. These Boards will reserve membership spaces and decision-making power for members of the local communities. The boards will oversee management of all government schools within a given locality and the maintenance of the new minimum standards set by the government.

- **Technical and Vocational Education**

We will reform technical and vocational learning institutions to stimulate Nigeria’s natural entrepreneurial spirit and empower more individuals toward self-reliance. Centres of excellence will focus on training students in 21st Century growth industries such as information technology, software development, artificial intelligence, and robotics.
Tertiary Education

- **Restructuring Tertiary Institutions**

A Tinubu administration will rationalise the governance structures, funding, and compensation structures of tertiary institutions.

- **Student Loans**

We will institute a pilot student loan regime like the program established by the Lagos and Kaduna State Governments. This will expand access to education to all Nigerians regardless of their backgrounds. At the same time, this will give institutions the ability to charge more cost reflective tuition fees. Because of the current employment rates and other conditions, the loan program will have a maximum limit any student may borrow and must have flexible repayment provisions.

- **Special Education Fund**

For the near and medium term, the government must provide the bulk of funding for our tertiary institutions. Through new legislation, government will establish a special education fund consisting of zero coupon federal bonds. Through various mechanisms, bonds will be sold in tranches to private investors or purchased in market clearing exercises by the CBN. This will help fund the universities while reducing the per capita tuition cost increase felt by the average student.

- **STEM Incentives**

Students who choose and then excel in STEM courses will be given priority for scholarships, internships, graduate school admissions, and employment.
The productivity and wealth of a nation depends on the vitality of its people. Basic healthcare must be considered a fundamental human right and a matter of long-term national security. Our Government shall invest greatly in the health of its people.

Our healthcare reforms and policy agenda shall be defined by the concept of Universal Health Coverage (UHC). By making universal coverage our primary objective, we shall create new jobs and bring greater economic and social development to the Nigerian people.

Thanks to the proactive stance of the Buhari government, COVID-19 did not affect us to the extent that it did other nations. However, the pandemic and the lives it cost underscore the need to build a stronger and more resilient healthcare system. It placed us on notice that infectious diseases can spread rapidly across the globe in just a few months, or even weeks and we must be even more prepared to defend ourselves against the next such public health emergency. Our survival shall depend on our resources and on our capacity.

We will, therefore, frontally address our nation’s healthcare challenges, including: inadequate health infrastructure, fragmentation, an overburdened workforce, poor insurance coverage, high maternal and infant mortality, inadequate preventative care and dependence on imported medicines and vaccines.

To rise to the challenge of improving the healthcare fortunes of our people, our healthcare policy shall entail:

Health Sector Governance and Leadership

Political and institutional foundations for the achievement of the Universal Health Coverage agenda must be implemented. Effective coordination between Federal, state and Local Government, common policy standards and accountability with community and Local Government council ownership are critical. Standardised policy, plan and evaluation criteria, with localised implementation strategies, allowing for accountability, elimination of fragmentation in the health system and ownership at the community level will be ensured.
Primary and Secondary Healthcare

Primary healthcare will remain the bedrock of our system. Deploying adequate infrastructure and human resources to address maternal and childcare, immunisation, managing preventable diseases and treatment of malaria, typhoid and other water borne diseases will cater to the majority of our most pressing primary healthcare challenges.

The most effective avenue to achieving this is to strengthen our national primary healthcare network. Through the use of incentive schemes and counterpart funding programs, we will work with State Governments to build a network of static as well as mobile local clinics to ensure that no person lives more than 3km or a 30-minute walk from a primary facility.

Additionally, in conjunction with State and Local Government authorities, a Tinubu administration will facilitate the upgrading, equipping and staffing of a general hospital in every Local Government Area, a tertiary facility in each State and a world-class specialist hospital in each geo-political zone. Such a network will not only render basic care to a greater number of people, but shall also attract medical tourists to Nigeria. It will also help us gather more information on the incidence of diseases in Nigeria, which shall help provide an early warning against the advance of dangerous infectious diseases in the country.

Equity and Quality

Our healthcare delivery strategy will target poor and marginalised communities, leaving nobody behind. We will expand service delivery to marginalised groups through the use of demand-side incentives and the establishment of a regulated community-based health insurance scheme within the broader National Health Insurance Scheme.

We will implement policies to ensure that all services in federal government hospitals are high-quality, people-centred and delivered in accordance with best industry practice. The rapid scale-up of COVID-19 diagnostic services demonstrate that it is possible to rapidly improve service delivery with sufficient effort and resources.

Preventative Care

Working with State and Local Governments, we will encourage preventative measures such as vaccinations, eye tests and cancer screening, blood pressure monitoring and diabetes testing for early detection of illnesses. Such preventative care services will be grassroot based, gender sensitive, and affordable.
Health Financing and National Health Insurance

Increased and more effective health spending are our primary objectives. We shall achieve this by improving the allocation of healthcare in the national budget. Our government will scale-up the National Health Insurance Authority Act, with the objective of implementing a mandatory health insurance scheme to cover at least 40% of the population within two years. We will also expand public-sector driven mandatory health insurance coverage while augmenting the financial mechanism such as the Basic Health Care Provision Fund and Vulnerable Group Fund to cover vulnerable populations.

A progressive, decentralised social health insurance scheme will be pursued in order to provide universal basic healthcare to all. In addition to other sources, funds saved by the removal of the fuel subsidy shall be earmarked for use in helping to provide health coverage for pregnant women and children under-five.

Consumption taxes on alcohol and tobacco products will be dedicated to fund healthcare services. Such taxes shall also work to deter behaviour that undermines individual and community health.

Caring for Healthcare Workers and Job Creation

We will embark on a focused manpower plan to increase the number, and enhance the skill sets, of our healthcare workers, particularly those working in primary healthcare facilities.

We shall also update the curricula of our medical schools, nursing schools and other teaching institutions to include leadership, finance, management and current healthcare trends. We will implement a deliberate policy to retain skilled manpower. Incentives will include performance-based salary increases, health insurance to cover family members, favourable mortgage or home-ownership plans for health workers, and tertiary education scholarships for their children.

We shall also implement a deliberate policy to retain skilled manpower. Incentives will include performance-based salary increases, favourable mortgage or home-ownership plans for health workers, and tertiary scholarships for their children.

In addition, our administration will ensure the creation of new healthcare jobs in urban areas as well as in rural communities by training and employing teams of health workers and support staff to work and visit rural and urban communities, engaging households on sanitary best practices and prevention of other diseases, while listening to the healthcare concerns of local residents.
Mental Health and Drug Abuse

Mental health issues and the consequences of drug abuse are growing concerns throughout Nigeria, particularly in our crowded urban areas. A Tinubu government will place great emphasis on mental health promotion and orientation programs for at-risk populations to reduce the incidence of abuse and illness.

We shall also train primary healthcare workers on the early detection and treatment of mental illness and drug abuse to reduce the number of people who suffer alone while their illnesses go undetected and untreated.

The Next Public Health Emergency

Lessons learned from our national and global experience of Ebola and the COVID-19 pandemic have shown that it is imperative for us to improve our public health response preparedness and infrastructure including:

(i) disease surveillance and detection, 
(ii) emergency response, 
(iii) surge capacity, 
(iv) a patient management system for routine and endemic diseases, 
(v) access and distribution mechanisms for medical countermeasures and 
(vi) systems to cater to inevitable mass fatalities, when they occur.

We shall also prioritise improving data collection and analysis to ensure that critical public health decisions are evidence-based and grounded in science.

Domestic Research

Working with the private sector, we shall encourage and fund local research for new drugs, vaccines and disease epidemiology, determining best approaches to disease management within our local context.

Our government will support the allocation of about 1% of pooled health insurance funds to health research, through research grants and support for institutions involved in health research. We will also encourage domestic manufacturing of essential medicines and vaccines in Nigeria.
Digital technologies and innovation are the new frontiers of economic development, becoming important vehicles of economic growth around the world. This is said to be the Fourth Industrial Revolution. Nigeria and Africa were either victims or belated entrants into the previous industrial revolutions. Let us take full advantage of this new historic opening.

Evidence from the largest global economies such as the United States, China, Japan, Germany and South Korea, shows that mastery of the Information and Communications Technology (ICT) sector is non-negotiable in today’s ever-changing world. Such mastery is critical to the future and economic resilience of our country.

Due to their own ingenuity and determination, numerous young Nigerians are among the leading pioneers exploring this exciting, fertile new economic frontier.

In addition to encouraging such bold and creative young game changers, a Tinubu administration will strive to create one million new jobs in the ICT sector within its first 24 months in office. Our plan includes interventions in the ICT Industry and other critical sectors of the Nigerian economy where deployment of new technologies can fast-track business growth and diversification.

Investing in the ICT sector and in the digital economy will stimulate local industries, enhance competitiveness, increase productivity, and provide millions of Nigerians with new skills as well as long-term job and wealth creation opportunities.
We will also explore how Nigeria can take greater advantage of relatively recent innovations such as blockchain technology. Blockchain, because of its security and accountability features, has the inherent potential to make daily interactions easier, faster and more convenient, as well as to create more opportunities to add exciting new jobs and support greater financial inclusion.

The following important digital products and services have been identified as having the greatest potential to bring new jobs and greater diversification to our economy:

**ICT Enabled Outsourcing**

ICT enabled outsourcing offers the broadest opportunity to bring new jobs to Nigeria and productively engage young Nigerians in the evolving digital global economy. In 2021, India earned US$6 billion from provision of ICT-enabled outsourcing services, employing millions of its citizens in the process.

We shall implement policies that will train and build capacity among Nigeria’s large and youthful population to take greater advantage of the opportunities presented by this industry.

**Innovation and Entrepreneurship**

The start-up ecosystem provides the platforms and infrastructure to enable the take-off of Innovation Driven Enterprises which utilise ICT for the development of a diverse array of products and services for all sectors of the economy. Already in Nigeria, fintech start-ups, emerging from this category, have become attractive targets for significant domestic and international investment.

We will develop and implement innovative policies to support local funding opportunities and access to capital for start-ups and encourage foreign investors to continue investing in Nigeria.

Other drivers of value within the start-up ecosystem such as technology hubs and parks, accelerators and angel investors will be incentivised to continue the development of a healthy ecosystem.
E-Commerce

Nigeria’s E-commerce industry has already demonstrated significant resilience in the face of daunting infrastructural and societal challenges. The E-Commerce space has witnessed unprecedented growth, with some platforms reporting 500% growth in merchants in the last 5 years.

However, the lack of an adequate national transportation backbone and haulage systems have restricted the ability of e-commerce platforms to provide services nationwide and to meet the needs of customers around the country.

Our government’s focus on infrastructure and transportation will benefit the growth and development of the e-commerce industry.

Tech Manufacturing

Tech manufacturing presents another important opportunity for job creation in Nigeria. Available statistics indicate that Nigeria imports over US$750 million worth of smartphones annually over the last three years. This is indicative of the huge opportunity for import substitution and local assembly presented by the tech manufacturing sector.

Government Digital Services

With the launch of the Nigeria E-Government Master Plan in 2019, the government is set to drive quality service delivery and improvement in workflow management with the adoption and utilisation of IT tools and platforms.

We will prioritise implementation of government digital services not only to improve the efficiency and functioning of government, but to also encourage private sector job creation through the provision of development and support services to government agencies.

Broadband by 2025

We will ensure that the National Broadband Plan to deliver broadband services to 90 percent of the population is achieved by 2025.
Blockchain

We will reform government policy to encourage the prudent use of blockchain technology in finance and banking, identity management, revenue collection and the use of crypto assets.

As part of our reforms, we will establish an advisory committee to review the existing regulatory environment governing blockchain technology and virtual asset services and, where necessary, suggest changes to create a more efficient and business-friendly regulatory framework. We will also encourage the CBN to expand the use of our digital currency, the E-naira.
Creative and cultural industries rank among the global economy’s fastest growing sectors. Our nation abounds in creative talent and artistry. Our film (Nollywood and Kannywood) and music (Afrobeat) industries, the two biggest entertainment products on the African continent, have produced global superstars and some of the highest grossing African movies of recent times.

The film industry is one of the leading sources of jobs in the country. Members of our entertainment sector serve as our nation’s goodwill ambassadors. There are few remaining countries in the world where Nigerian music is not played, and Nigerian movies are not watched.

Total revenue from the music industry alone is estimated to reach nearly US$100 million in 2022.

The creative and cultural sector has indisputably contributed to our economic growth, earned vital foreign exchange, and improved our global reputation, projecting our proud culture to an international audience.

Our collective love of sport and sporting success has always been a great unifier of the Nigerian people and a driver of economic development and social cohesion. Across the world, inspiring sporting outcomes have demonstrably proven to contribute to revitalising local economies, promoting unity, generating employment and stimulating growth.

In Nigeria, the meteoric rise of our creative industries and the wonderful recent successes of our athletes and sporting stars has occurred largely without the benefit of institutional investment.
This only makes their achievements all the more remarkable, and a testament to the talent, drive and determination of the Nigerian people. We all want these Nigerian superstars to attain greater acclaim and mark even more momentous achievements.

The time has come, therefore, to give our sporting, creative and cultural industries the support needed to turn Nigeria into one of the world’s entertainment powerhouses and the home of sporting achievement. This is the moment for government to nurture the blossoming of these important symbols of Nigerian greatness.

A Tinubu government will support Nigerian sport and culture so that they can do even more to generate employment, export Nigerian creativity worldwide and enrich the lives of people everywhere with our unique musical style, our captivating films and our rich culture.

We will nurture the creative and athletic impulses of our nation’s proud talents through the following measures:

### Governance and Leadership in Creative Industries

A Presidential Creative Industry Advisory Team will be established to steer government efforts in providing a more conducive environment within which our creative industry can flourish. The Team will thoroughly review the existing legislative and regulatory framework, suggesting areas in which governance and regulation of the creative sector can be improved to create a better business environment. Active members of the creative industry will play a major role in this Advisory Team.

We will also review the legislative and enforcement framework for copyright and intellectual property protection in Nigeria.

### Financial Incentives

We will establish the Media City as a Special Economic Zone to attract foreign investment and incentivise both local and international participation in the initiative. We will also establish special investment funds to inject grants and affordable loans to young entrepreneurs and businesses in the creative industries.

The tax regime applicable to the creative sector will be revised to better incentivise local production and attract foreign producers to Nigeria. Rebates, tax credits, grants and subsidies will form part of the arsenal by which we will attract talent, creating more jobs and, ultimately, bringing extra revenue and positive attention to our country.
Entertainment Infrastructure

The absence of adequate infrastructure for the production and distribution of entertainment goods in Nigeria is a significant challenge. Working with private sector partners, we will direct resources towards bridging this gap in order to:

(i) Build a modern Media City modelled on the Dubai Media City. The project will include an international grade conference centre, office park, film studios and sound stages, a university of the arts, auditoriums and performance spaces, exhibition spaces, hotels, and residences.

(ii) Upgrade existing entertainment venues and stadia across the country to world-class standards. These venues will be rehabilitated and modernised, while new venues will be constructed in each of the six geo-political zones using a public private partnership model. In addition to such major venues, private sector partners will be encouraged to commit to the construction of mixed use, community, and youth centres.

Education and Capacity Building

We will equip select universities in each of the six geo-political zones to function as centres of excellence for students of humanities, fine arts, film, and culture.

Working in concert with State and Local Governments, secondary schools for the arts will be encouraged in all major cities in each State of the Federation.

A hospitality training program will be established to give young Nigerians the knowledge and skills required to create a high-quality workforce for the tourism and hospitality industry.

With the right incentives and governmental support, Nigeria can become an attractive location for global animation studios looking to outsource aspects of their work. We will partner with investors and industry experts to create an animation hub to help young talent take advantage of such opportunities and, indeed, to build their own brands. Such a space will allow animators to share costs, create synergies and collaborate on ambitious projects.
Sports Development

We will unleash the potential and talent of our youth in different sports through a dynamic training and funding approach that will upgrade the standard of our sports development. The return of school sports and grassroot sports will be made the cornerstone of our sports development policy.

The power of sports as a tool for unity and promotion of peace will be fully explored. A large percentage of our young people are involved in Sporting activities and we must continue to develop and engage them in this sector.

Towards achieving a coordinated sports development program, we will create an enabling environment for sports to thrive as a business. The New National Sports Industry Policy, (NISP) will be fully implemented. Incentives will be provided to attract private sector investments and participation in sports infrastructural development.

Athletes are the very heart and soul of sporting success. A Tinubu Government will establish and seed fund an Athletes’ Welfare Fund.

Sports development in all it’s facets will be made a priority item under a Tinubu government with an increase in funding.

The power of sports diplomacy in international relations is predicated on the success and podium performance of a country’s athletes. We will develop a template for training that will return Nigerian teams and individual athletes to winning ways. A Sports Code of Governance will also be developed to ensure compliance with set goals and objectives. Modern sporting infrastructure will be developed in each of the six geopolitical zone of the country to elevate our sporting standards.
There are approximately 130 million Nigerians between the ages of 15–35.

This is a vast army of able, energetic and willing people capable of putting this nation on the path to its finest destiny.

From our first day in office, our administration will partner with them to make this happen.

Youth will not be exploited to do the bidding of government. Instead, our administration will work with and for the youth, providing them with a platform that they may fulfil their greatest aspirations.

We shall do this by embarking on a coherent, structured policy of social economic and political empowerment of young people.

Properly enabled and encouraged, young people are the engine of growth and prosperity. But our vast array of young talent is not monolithic. Some may seek to become entrepreneurs. Others are adept at farming or commerce. Some seek to be professionals such as doctors and lawyers. Others are destined to be teachers, giving guidance and education to those following them. Some will volunteer to protect the nation and its people by enlisting in the military and law enforcement. Many will see their future in public service. Among them are future presidents.

Our youth under-employment and unemployment rates are too high. The unemployment rate of 33 per cent causes frustration for too many young people and their loved ones.

Our administration shall aim to cut the youth unemployment rate in half within four years. In addition to measures stated in the sections on the general economy and the digital economy, what follows are other important steps that will give youth a fair chance to live in, and contribute to, a better, more just and prosperous Nigeria.
We shall:

Youth Entrepreneurship and Job Creation

- **Easy access to credit**: Work with the CBN to develop suitable incentives to encourage commercial banks to target low-cost loans towards a given quota of youth-led enterprises. Commercial banks will also be encouraged to ensure their loan application processes are simplified and give greater priority to young people with marketable ideas. Federally owned and affiliated banking institutions will immediately be mandated to develop similar schemes for young entrepreneurs.

- **Business mentorship for youth**: Increase intergenerational, business mentoring and cooperation with 2 million volunteer Entrepreneurs and professionals across the nation committed to working with youth to find employment, hone job skills and create businesses.

- **Youth Advisory Council**: Inaugurate a Youth Advisory Council to the Employment Action Plan which we will develop.

- **NYSC Reform**: Strengthen a job matching programme for graduates by reforming the NYSC program to enable more participants to enter the private sector during their service years and incentivising employers to retain corps members at the end of their service.

- **Business Incubation Centres**: Expand incubation centres to support youth innovators to acquire and protect, through patent and trademark registration, intellectual property and other proprietary rights over inventions and innovations.

![UNEMPLOYMENT](image-url)

*Based on NBS estimated current rate of unemployment of 33% (2022)*
Social and Political Empowerment

Reserve at least three cabinet positions for persons under the age of 40 and 6 more positions for members under the age of 50. We shall also pass a presidential directive requiring that at least 20 percent of political appointments to MDAs be reserved for qualified people under the age of forty.

We shall make permanent a biannual “State of the Youth” survey to create a platform for young Nigerians to give feedback to government regarding their opinions on the performance of government, paying special attention to youth empowerment programs and policies.

Building on the successes of the one-day Governor Program, we will establish a Presidential Fellowship Scheme to give talented and determined young Nigerians new opportunities to experience and participate in governance and politics from an early age.
If Nigeria is to reach its fullest potential, we must give every person and segment of the population a fair chance to make their best contribution to the well-being and betterment of our nation.

The growth of our economy and the achievement of our national destiny rests on equity and the safeguarding of fundamental rights and decency in our society.

This means ending all forms of invidious bias including, most especially, gender discrimination.

Equity and fairness to women will be a top priority of a Tinubu government. Greater equality and the economic empowerment of women shall be at the heart of our national agenda.

We shall not stop until women have an equal chance to enter and excel in all relevant aspects of our nation’s social, economic and political life.

We shall establish the following programs and policies to promote more female inclusion in politics, governance and the economy:

**Social Inclusion and Political Empowerment**

Working with the National Assembly, we will aim to pass legislation promoting female employment in all government offices, ministries, and agencies. The goal will be to increase women’s participation in government to at least 35 percent of all governmental positions. This legislation shall also mandate the federal executive (particularly the cabinet and core senior advisers) to reserve a minimum number of senior positions for women. Private institutions shall be strongly encouraged to do likewise.

**Economic Empowerment**

Commercial banks will be encouraged to support women owned businesses nationwide through the use of concessionary loans and incentive schemes.
**Fighting Domestic Violence and Abuse**

Our government will expand the use of specialist police units to investigate and handle cases of domestic violence. We shall strengthen social services and support to victims of domestic violence and abuse by encouraging whistleblowing, counselling for victims and sanctuary homes. We shall prioritise the prosecution of domestic abuse cases and will seek more serious criminal penalties for abusers.

**Educational Parity**

Our government will initiate programs to ensure that school aged girls get a fair chance at an education. We will work with the states, to better ensure that girl children stay in school longer.

Additionally, we will encourage, through the use of scholarships and other incentives, the entry of more female students into the Science, Technology, Engineering and Maths (STEM) fields.

**Helping The Most Disadvantaged**

The section on Social Programs lists a comprehensive set of policies and programs that we will employ to help the disadvantaged. We will make sure that these programs place a special emphasis on empowering as many women as possible to lift themselves and their families out of poverty.
Social programs initiated by the Buhari administration like cash transfers to the poorest, school feeding, and economic empowerment programs illustrate the spirit of progressive governance. The regressive elite and powerful entrenched interests argued that such programs could not or should not be established.

Thankfully, the administration did not adhere to the narrow view of these vested interests.

As a result, millions of people have been pulled from abject poverty. Apart from the material assistance, they have been given hope for a better life.

A Tinubu government will expand existing programs and introduce new social investment policies to create jobs and business opportunities, particularly for youth and women.

We shall:

Social Welfare Programs

Expand the Buhari administration’s National Social Investment Program (N-SIP) under which the Federal Government’s job creation, social welfare and poverty alleviation programs: the Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT); Government Enterprise and Empowerment (GEEP); Homegrown School Feeding (HGSF); and N-Power; are delivered to millions of Nigerians across the country.

Through such programs, we are able to incentivise poorer families to make the fateful and correct decision to send their children to school. This will provide these children a chance at formal education previously closed to them. By helping them, we make society better, not only more educated but more compassionate as well.
We shall also:

(i) Provide conditional income support to very poor households. In exchange, recipients will be required to meet key human capital development goals like school attendance, healthcare and nutrition.

(ii) provide unconditional income support to elderly, extremely poor and disabled persons.

(iii) Create new job opportunities for young Nigerians from poor and underprivileged backgrounds

These investment programs will improve business productivity, widen access to affordable finance and capital markets and expand businesses such that beneficiaries can offer employment to others. Recipients shall receive high-quality, low-cost business development support services. These programs and initiatives will give priority access to persons with disabilities, women and young people.

We will partner with existing industry players, many of whom, through their use of cutting edge fintech products, have already created phenomenal success with little to no government support to expand access to capital for MSMEs across the country.

Social Investment Programs

Introduce new social investment programs supporting the development of micro, small and medium enterprises (MSMEs) particularly among the poor.

Out-of-School Children

Raise to the highest priority the growing problem of out of school children throughout the country. Ending this problem will give tens of thousands of children a chance at an education they otherwise would have foregone. This will also reduce the numbers of disaffected youth who might fall prey to recruitment by terrorist and other violent groups. A task force headed by a special czar will be created to address this problem. They will be tasked with reviewing and strengthening the scope of measures such as the school feeding programme established to keep at-risk children in school.
RENEWED HOPE

Business Development

Recognise and stimulate entrepreneurship by introducing programs designed to help today’s MSMEs grow in size to become tomorrow’s major players.

We will establish a digital MSME Academy to provide continuous learning opportunities for young entrepreneurs, giving them access to experts and advice on global best practices in order to improve their business development through increasing managerial know-how, financial management and organisational structure.

The academy will assist MSMEs acquire the necessary knowledge, advice, skills, and connections to run and grow a business and will provide educational courses on product development, operations management, accounting, taxation, finance and regulatory obligations, contracts, and marketing.
Economic growth is neither sustainable nor equitable without the rule of law. A well-functioning judicial system enables the State to regulate the economy prudently and impartially.

When laws and legal institutions operate effectively and fairly, the end products are investment, jobs, and the creation of wealth.

Recognising this, a Tinubu administration will ensure that the legal sector functions transparently and with due process. Our policies will be based on four pillars:

○ **Judicial Independence and Integrity**

  We will institute far-reaching reforms assuring the financial independence, impartiality, effectiveness and, most of all, the integrity of the judicial arm of government.

○ **Legal Framework**

  We will ensure that our nation’s legal framework is appropriate for the type of society we seek to build – a society that is fair and which provides enforceable rights to all Nigerians.

○ **Access to Justice.**

  Without access to justice, all laws and legal institutions are rendered meaningless.

  Our reforms will ensure that justice is not available to only a few but to all.

○ **Equality Before the Law**

  All citizens are equal before the law and our administration will ensure that all Nigerians are afforded equal treatment under the law.

○ **Respect for the Rule of Law**

  A Tinubu government will operate on the premise that the rule of law is paramount.
Below are the specific policy proposals we shall implement:

**Structural Review of the Judiciary**

Working with the National Judicial Council, State Governments and stakeholders within the judiciary and the legal profession, a Tinubu administration will establish a committee to review and make recommendations on reforming the structure of our judicial system to better position our courts to function more efficiently and virtuously as the third co-equal arm of government.

**Judicial Autonomy and Independence**

Taking the necessary steps to assure the Judiciary’s financial and administrative independence will be a key plank of our reform program. The welfare and remuneration of federal judicial officers will be reviewed and improved.

**Legislative Review**

A fundamental challenge of our current legal system is the continued existence of antiquated or ill-fitting laws and regulations.

A Tinubu administration will review and make recommendations to the legislature with a view to amend / repeal outdated laws to be replaced with new laws and regulations, more suitable for 21st century Nigeria.

**Judicial Discipline**

We shall encourage the judiciary and legal sector to strengthen their disciplinary and integrity monitoring mechanisms such that corrupt and incompetent judicial officials and legal practitioners are identified and adequately disciplined.

The mandate and composition of the National Judicial Council (NJC) will be reviewed to make it tougher and more effective in dealing with corruption, malpractice and incompetence in the administration of justice. The scope of the NJC’s mandate will be limited to Federal Courts.
Decongest and Digitalise Trial Courts

We will decongest courts, improving access to speedy and effective justice by implementing the following changes:

(i) Increase the number of trial courts at the federal level and appoint enough judges to staff them. More courts mean faster resolution of disputes. We will also create administrative and financial incentives for States with congested courts to do the same.

(ii) Create specialised federal courts staffed with well-trained judges. These courts will be focused on niche areas of law and will encourage specialisation among judges.

(iii) Allocate funds for digitisation of court processes. This will ensure that cases are handled more efficiently by trial courts while also contributing to greater speed and efficiency of the process of appeal.

Jurists will be rewarded or disciplined based on their ability to hear and adjudicate matters fairly and effectively. Those judges with histories of excessive delays, improperly or carelessly granting ex parte injunctions and other questionable practices will not be promoted and will be liable for sanction. Lawyers who engage in such practices will face the professional disciplinary process and sanctions as well.
Since our nation’s inception, too much power and resources have been lodged at the federal level. This has come at the expense of state and local governance. This is problematic because state governments are closer to the people and must be more responsive to local needs and aspirations.

A Tinubu administration will rebalance the responsibilities and authorities of the different tiers of government. We will collaborate with the National Assembly and State Governments to amend our national governance architecture such that States are afforded the autonomy and resources needed to better serve the people.
To achieve the above objectives, our government will pursue the following objectives:

 Constitutional Review

Review the Constitutional legislative lists to ensure that States are given greater control over certain critical matters. Focus areas will include, crime prevention, prisons, stamp duties and certain forms of taxation.

 Resource Allocation

Embark on a review of the federation revenue allocation system to recalibrate the division of funds amongst the three tiers of Government: Federal, State and Local. More funds should be allocated to the States and Local Governments so that they can better address local concerns and fulfil their expanded constitutional obligations to the people.

This promotes stronger governance at the state and local level, thus reducing political congestion and competition for resources at the federal level. The performance of federal, state and local governments shall improve while the people will benefit by having more political democracy and economic development more closely at hand.
Foreign policy is the attempt to pursue core domestic policy objectives in the international arena. We believe that Nigeria’s three fundamental foreign policy objectives should be: to (i) protect against all forms of external aggression; (ii) promote the best possible outcomes for Nigeria in all engagements with other nations; and (iii) improve Nigeria’s standing and dignity among the comity of Nations.

Accordingly, our foreign policy shall be calibrated to support and promote the achievement of our domestic policy objectives.

Given that Nigeria is the most populous black nation and the largest black economy, it should be the leader of the black race and of African diplomacy. This should be a source of national pride as well as a call to an inescapable duty. If Nigeria is not the champion of Africa and of black people, then neither will have a sufficiently strong champion.

Whether this will be Africa’s and Nigeria’s century to take the global lead by becoming a continent and nation of immense annual growth will heavily depend on the quality of our foreign policy.

Our administration will implement a strategic foreign policy based on the following principles:
Active diplomacy to end conflict in sub-Saharan Africa, especially the West African sub-region.

Within the subregion, strengthen the diplomatic and military cooperation in the fight against transnational terrorism. We shall do this by institutionalising more frequent meetings of foreign affairs and defence ministers in the sub-region. Our objective will be to deter cross-border movement of terrorists and to establish measures to keep non-African terrorist organisations out of the West African community.

Within ECOWAS, work to increase internal sub-regional trade, promote joint industrialisation and joint infrastructural projects.

Lead Africa in seeking reforms in the World Trade Organisation and international financial institutions and in our bilateral relationships with the leading economic nations that will promote and protect African industrialisation and obtain fairer deals for our current exports.

Become a voice advocating for a more attentive international policy regarding climate change and how it affects Africa. We need to lend our weight to this important issue so that Africa and Nigeria are not asked to pay a heavy cost for the environmental damage caused by nations on other continents.

Improve Nigeria’s international image and improve the consular services provided to Nigerians by our Embassies abroad.
Forge a continent-wide cooperative effort to rid Africa of malaria, that ever present scourge to health, economic development, and labour productivity. We will encourage much more collaboration on research into new ways to prevent and treat malaria as well as tackle other tropical and contagious diseases.

Enhance Nigeria’s political leadership on the continent by establishing a G-5 among major African nations in order to develop common positions on issues of continental and global importance.

Promote better inter-agency coordination in foreign policy. A Department for Strategic Policy shall be established within the Foreign Ministry to improve the formulation, monitoring and implementation of foreign policy.

Identify and address knowledge and data gaps as well as limitations to the registration of Nigerians abroad. We will improve the government’s quantitative and qualitative knowledge of our Diaspora through more regular and vigorous public engagement with our diaspora communities supported by our diplomatic missions and international agencies.

We shall also work with the National Assembly to explore the amendment of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria to allow greater Diaspora representation and participation in all aspects of the democratic process.
The history of our national journey has been as colourful and diverse as our people. Admittedly, we cannot be blind to the distance we have yet to travel; but we must also keep in mind the distance we have already come. It is by this realisation that we gather the fortitude and confidence to face the future and overcome whatever challenges that future might bring.

There will always be those who find strange comfort in lamenting the fact that we are yet to fulfil our destiny as a great nation.

Thankfully, surrendering to despair or hardship does not commend itself to most Nigerians; nor does it sit well with me. We are a pragmatic yet resilient and hopeful people.
Show us a door, we shall open it. Show us a road, we shall travel it. Show us a problem, we shall find a way to fix it. Show us an injustice, we shall strive to correct it, no matter how long it takes or how hard it gets.

The plans and ideas we have presented underscore our confidence in our ability to meet the challenges of the day and pave the way to a better future. This confidence is not borne of arrogance or ignorance; it is grounded in our faith in our peoples’ collective purpose and in the rightfulness of our national cause.

On the path ahead we shall encounter some rough spots. Yet, we must remain hopeful in the fact that the road we travel leads to a better, more prosperous future for all Nigerians.

With smart policy, we shall not lose our way. With hard work, the obstacles will diminish before us. With singular determination, we shall reach our destiny.

As long as we “think” wisely, “do” boldly and remain faithful to our noble objectives, no mortal power can stop us. Our appointment with our best destiny is preordained by the Hand that commits no fault. God is on our side.

The road to a better Nigeria lies before us. Together, let us walk it. Together, let us renew hope.

SIGNED
Bola Ahmed Tinubu
Kashim Shettima
APC Presidential and Vice-Presidential Candidates

TRIED.
TESTED.
TRUSTED.
WORKING TO BUILD

A BETTER NIGERIA
OUR HOPE FOR A BETTER NIGERIA