

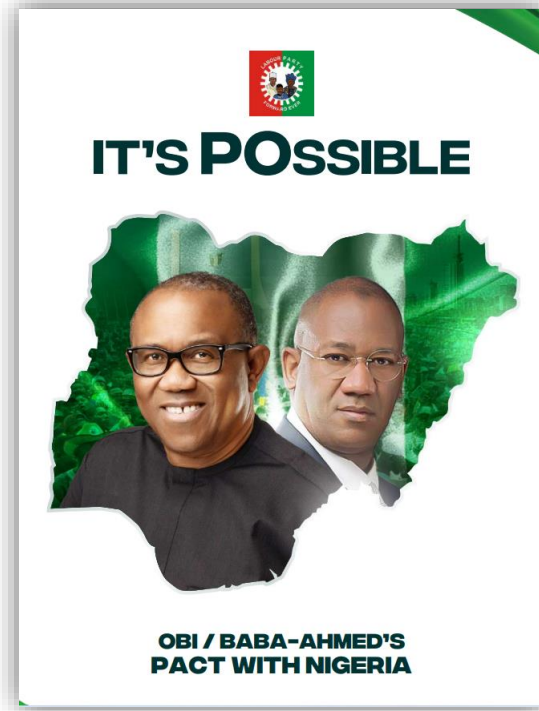
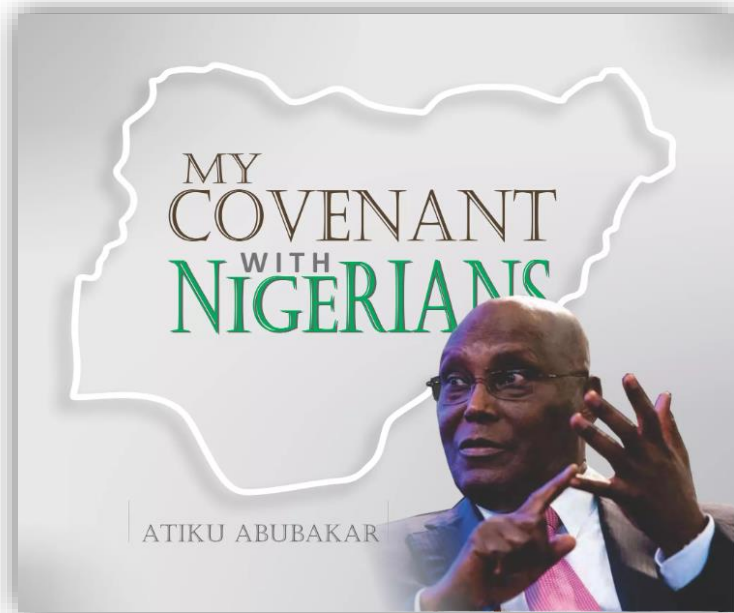
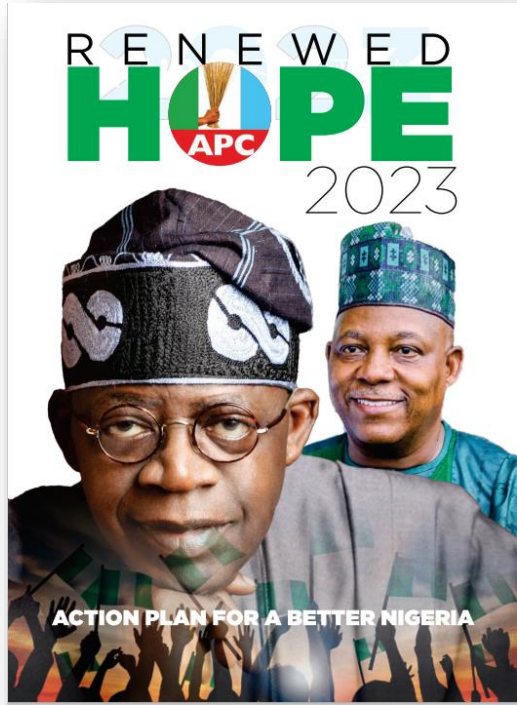
# 2023 Presidential Election Manifesto Comparative Analysis

**Analysis by the Global Good Governance Initiative  
December 2022**



Global Good Governance Initiative

Abuja. Abidjan. London. Washington D.C



This document is a holistic manifesto review of the top three presidential candidates (Nigeria) as it relates to the February 2023 elections.

### Power Ranking Meter

Very Poor	Poor	Average	Good	Very Good
1	2	3	4	5

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# 1. National Security

	ASIWAJU AHMED BOLA TINUBU (APC)	ATIKU ABUBAKAR (PDP)	PETER OBI (LP)
<b>1. Proposed Plans</b>	<p>1. Mobilize the totality of our national security, military and law enforcement assets to protect all Nigerians from danger and from the fear of danger</p> <p>2. 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</p>	<p>1. Based on good governance, visionary leadership and policies of inclusiveness that will reduce citizen's frustration and alienation and eliminate the compulsion to take up arms against the society or fellow countrymen. Priority will be to restore the citizen's confidence in Nigeria as indivisible, insoluble, ethnically diverse but strong country to protect them and secure socio-economic benefits</p>	<p>1. To secure Nigeria, end banditry and insurgency; and unite our dear nation, to manage our diversity such that no one is left behind</p>
<b>2. How</b>	<p>1. Bolster Our Security Forces by building a more robust, re-energized armed forces; Recruit, train and better equip additional military, police, paramilitary and intelligence personnel.</p> <p>2. Redefine Military Doctrine and Practice by creating Anti-Terrorist Battalions; Upgrade tactical communications and transportation; Upgrade weapons systems; Exploit aerial and technological superiority; Improve salaries and welfare; Win hearts and minds using targeted economic assistance programs and in close collaboration with State Governments.</p>	<p>1. Re-activate meaningful registration at birth as a way to reduce crime and protect Nigerians.</p> <p>2. Conduct the next national population census as the basis for further development plan.</p> <p>3. Dealing with insurgency using alternative approaches to conflict resolution, such as Diplomacy; Intelligence; Improved Border Control; Traditional Institutions, and Good neighbourliness.</p>	<p>1. Activate all the necessary regional cooperation and arrangements for securing our borders with neighboring countries in west and central Africa, particularly Niger, Chad, and Cameroun.</p> <p>2. Increase the personnel of our armed forces, police and other security agencies and optimally equip, train, and fund them to respond adequately to security threats.</p> <p>3. Deploy state-of-the-art military technology to fight terrorists, bandits, insurgents and kidnappers.</p>

# National Security Contd.

	ASIWAJU AHMED BOLA TINUBU (APC)	ATIKU ABUBAKAR (PDP)	PETER OBI (LP)
<b>How Contd.</b>	<p>3. Secure Critical National Infrastructure by implementing the 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; Reduce, to the barest minimum, environmental pollution of the Niger Delta; Increased aerial surveillance over land and sea with other cutting edge technology that will provide instant notification of intrusions or disruptions of oil pipelines, monitor power stations, transmission and distribution networks, sea and airports, rail transportation, telecommunications and other vital infrastructure</p> <p>4. Peaceful Communities, Secure Borders, Safe Forests; Establishment or enhancement of civilian neighbourhood watch groups &amp; establishment of more formal locally-based law enforcement institutions; Customs and Immigration Services ability to patrol and monitor our borders using aerial and ground-based technology mechanisms; Revitalize Ranger or Forest Guard force</p>	<p>4. Restructure and Decentralize Security Institutions</p> <p>5. Promote Regional Security Cooperation</p> <p>6. Resolve Militancy Issue in the Niger Delta</p> <p>7. Improve Civil-Military Relations</p> <p>8. Strengthen the National Security Council</p> <p>9. Handle the North East Development Issues</p> <p>10. Deal with Terrorism, Kidnapping</p>	<p>4. Recreate community relations with security agencies in order to increase public trust and build human intelligence to restore law and order in the communities</p> <p>5. Pursue deliberately and proactively policies that will implement the fundamental objectives and directive principles of state police in the constitution</p> <p>6. Engage, support, and partner, with national and subnational institutions and governments and network them into an integrated and reinforced onslaught against insecurity.</p> <p>7. Undertake institutional reforms to secure Nigerians</p> <p>8. Improve the functioning and effectiveness of our security agencies particularly the police, by strengthening their civilian oversight as well as increasing their size, equipment, funding, and enhancing their professional training.</p>

# National Security Contd.

	ASIWAJU AHMED BOLA TINUBU (APC)	ATIKU ABUBAKAR (PDP)	PETER OBI (LP)
<b>How Contd.</b>	<p>5. Integrated Identity Database</p> <p>6. International Collaboration</p> <p>7. Reposition The Police by increasing recruitment and providing high-tech, non-lethal equipment with corresponding manpower development schemes</p>		<p>9. Strengthen the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Police Affairs, and other regulatory and supervisory agencies to provide robust and regulatory oversight and enhance coordination and performance of statutory mandates of the security services.</p>
<b>3. Explanation</b>	<p>Asiwaju says he will have special forces/forest guards/border patrol including training and better recruitment/ welfare packages to already existing security outfits to tackle insecurity which are very realistic. He also speaks of making arms &amp; ammunition locally, using modern technology &amp; communications, working with international entities and integrating already existing databases. These are very realistic approaches within a short period of time. Asiwaju's manifesto explains how he will get the funding to achieve all of these plans.</p>	<p>Atiku says he will mostly tackle insecurity via administrative means which matches the ideology "sweat more during diplomacy so as to bleed less during war". Atiku focuses more on "off the field" conflict resolutions. He speaks on improving relations along ethnic and personnel (military vs civilian) lines, improving welfare of citizens and 'theoretical' cooperation. Even though these diplomatic ideas are of good intent, it doesn't address insecurity decisively because it lacks the "power of force".</p>	<p>Obi says he will better fund the security outfits but doesn't explain how. Obi gives very strong plans on policy/ institutional reforms but doesn't explain how he will achieve it which makes some of them unrealistic because these are legislative functions. Also, the current regime have been purchasing state of the art equipment such as the TUCANO fighter jets from the USA which falters the "state of the military technology" promises.</p>
<b>Power Ranking</b>	4	2	2

	ASIWAJU AHMED BOLA TINUBU (APC)	ATIKU ABUBAKAR (PDP)	PETER OBI (LP)
<b>1. Proposed Plans</b>	<p>1. Cities and towns will witness a level of industrial activity unprecedented in our nation's history.</p> <p>2. Youth shall become a leading catalyst driving the economic resurgence via empowerment and opening the economy in a way that encourages the best that the modern digital and IT-driven sectors have to offer.</p> <p>3. Improvement of existing industries and sectors</p> <p>4. Fiscally active; Prudent in the 'how and why' of public expenditure.</p> <p>5. Allocation of revenue between the federal and state governments adjustment to give states greater flexibility to foster grassroots economic development.</p> <p>6. Economy that produces more of the everyday items, both agricultural and manufactured goods.</p> <p>7. National Infrastructure Policy</p>	<p>1. Re-affirm the criticality of private sector leadership and greater private sector participation in development; While repositioning the public sector to focus on its core responsibility of facilitation and enabling the appropriate legal and regulatory framework for rapid economic and social development.</p> <p>2. Break government monopoly in all infrastructure sectors, including the refineries, rail transportation and power transmission and give private investors a larger role in funding and managing the sectors, thus emulating the benefits accrued in the oil &amp; gas and telecoms sectors</p> <p>3. Allow the market greater leverage in determining prices. This way we shall eliminate the persistent price distortions occasioned by current interventionist exchange rate management policy. Government intervention, where absolutely necessary, will be done responsibly and judiciously</p>	<p>1. Shift emphasis from consumption to production by running a production-centered economy that is driven by an agrarian revolution and export-oriented</p> <p>2. Restructure the polity through effective legal and institutional reforms to entrench the rule of law, aggressively fight corruption, reduce cost of governance, and establish an honest and efficient civil service</p> <p>3. Leapfrog Nigeria into the 4th Industrial Revolution (4IR), through the application of scientific and technological innovations to create a digital economy</p> <p>4. Build expansive and world-class infrastructure for efficient power supply, rail, road and air transportation, and pipeline network, through integrated public-private partnerships, and entrepreneurial public sector</p>

	ASIWAJU AHMED BOLA TINUBU (APC)	ATIKU ABUBAKAR (PDP)	PETER OBI (LP)
<b>Proposed Plans Contd.</b>	8. National Industrial Policy to ensure optimal development of key sectors and rapid acceleration of our GDP growth (10% annual growth year on year)	4. Build a competitive and resilient economy and remain the largest in Africa and 15th largest globally with a GDP per capita raised from the current levels of approximately \$2,000 to \$5,000 by 2030	
<b>2. How</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Review Federal Budgetary Methodology</li> <li>2. National Infrastructure Campaign</li> <li>3. Import Substitution</li> <li>4. Tax Expansion Reforms</li> <li>5. Fight Corruption, Inefficiency and Waste in Government</li> <li>6. Optimization of Government Revenue</li> <li>7. Exchange Rate Management</li> <li>8. Inflation Targeting and Management</li> <li>9. Limit Foreign Debt Obligations</li> <li>10. National Industrial Plan</li> <li>11. Mortgage and Consumer Credit System</li> <li>12. Home Ownership</li> <li>13. Digital Economy</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Reforms to reposition the private sector</li> <li>2. Increase stock and improve quality of infrastructure</li> <li>3. Policies and measures to boost exports</li> <li>4. Optimize potentials of real, non-oil sectors including Agriculture, Manufacturing and MSMEs</li> <li>5. Optimize the fiscal space and generate more revenue for development</li> <li>6. Restore investor confidence and generate more FDI and DDI</li> <li>7. Harnessing the potentials of the New Economy</li> <li>8. 1 million housing units</li> <li>9. Promoting manufacturing sector to ensure a manufacturing output of 9% to 30% of GDP by 2025</li> <li>10. Digital Economy</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Grow the national economy quantitatively and qualitatively by devising programmes for re-skilling youths</li> <li>2. Zero-based national budget</li> <li>3. Radical economic policies that will drastically reduce debt-servicing ratio and debt to revenue ratio</li> <li>4. Diversification of the economy</li> <li>5. Tax Reforms</li> <li>6. Digital Economy</li> <li>7. Hourly wages pay</li> <li>8. Minimum wage of N80,000 - N100,000</li> <li>9. Lift restrictions on FOREX and imported goods</li> </ul>



	ASIWAJU AHMED BOLA TINUBU (APC)	ATIKU ABUBAKAR (PDP)	PETER OBI (LP)
<b>3. Explanation</b>	<p>Asiwaju's plan to revolutionize federal budgeting is a game changer because it makes the budget growth-based not the typical revenue based (using the \$ per barrel of crude oil) template. This is projected to cover the gap of lack of funding for critical national projects and running government MDAs. Also, Asiwaju plans to review the FAAC sharing formula to push more funding to states and local governments for more grassroots development. The national infrastructural and industrial policies are a first of its' kind systems into Nigeria that will bring about more growth and employment opportunities (using his well respected Public Private Partnership brilliance) and import substitution policies to bring manufacturing home from abroad. Also, the consumer credit system and how it will improve housing (one of the examples) and fight corruption is genius like and very realistic.</p>	<p>Atiku's plan is mostly capitalist oriented (mostly private sector involvement). However, a country with a low GNI per capita of about barely \$2000 may not be able to support (more hardship on the people to afford such goods and services) such full blown private sector involvements which the failed privatization of power is a fundamental example. Atiku promises to improve GDP from \$2000 to \$5000 in 7 years but doesn't explain how. Atiku doesn't also explain how and where he will build over 1 million housing units.</p>	<p>Obi's "consumption to production" mantra is quite catchy but very contradictory because he also promotes lifting restrictions on FOREX and imported goods which are very counter-productive. Obi speaks on industrializing the country with less concrete industrial plans. Obi, known to be a full blown capitalist, now speaks on public private partnership which is confusing. Lastly, Obi proposes hourly wage payment which is unrealistic in Nigeria because it may be very difficult to convince a Nigerian into working to earn N187.50 per hour (At N30,000 minimum wage, which most states are struggling to pay, for a 40 hour per week job) when Obi's plans may increase unemployment by crippling manufacturing. Also, proposing to increase minimum wage to N80,000-N100,000 is very impractical and will eventually lead to hyperinflation. Obi also spoke on completing projects that have already been completed and commissioned by the current government.</p>
<b>Power Ranking</b>	5	3	3

### 3. Agriculture

	ASIWAJU AHMED BOLA TINUBU (APC)	ATIKU ABUBAKAR (PDP)	PETER OBI (LP)
<b>1. Proposed Plans</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Increase the % of cultivated arable land from 35% to 65% in four years</li> <li>2. Grow more than consumption requirements, export excess and alter balance of trade</li> <li>3. Build on the foundation laid by the current Buhari administration</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. A commercially driven, technology-proficient and competitive agriculture that will ensure food and income security for a growing population and contribute significantly to Nigeria's quest for economic diversification and export of non-oil commodities.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Pursue holistic poverty eradication with emphasis on agricultural revolution through effective utilization of our vast arable lands, particularly in Northern Nigeria.</li> </ol>
<b>2. How</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Commodity Boards</li> <li>2. Grain Reserves and Food Storage</li> <li>3. Rural Infrastructural Development</li> <li>4. Irrigation and Water Catchment</li> <li>5. Farm Cooperatives</li> <li>6. Access to Finance</li> <li>7. Large-scale Land Clearing</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Land Reforms</li> <li>2. Commodities Exchanges</li> <li>3. De-risking Access to Finance</li> <li>4. Agro-Processing Clusters</li> <li>5. Modernization, Mechanization and Irrigation</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Aggressively prioritize the mechanization of the huge endowment of arable land across our nation</li> <li>2. Agriculture led manufacturing and export</li> <li>3. Comprehensive plan for livestock production will be worked out for nomadic rearers</li> </ol>

	ASIWAJU AHMED BOLA TINUBU (APC)	ATIKU ABUBAKAR (PDP)	PETER OBI (LP)
<b>3. Explanation</b>	<p>Asiwaju's plan builds upon the major feats on Agriculture in the Buhari regime as it relates to rice, corn &amp; other cash crops from net importers to exporters, financing via the ANCHORS BORROWERS PROGRAMME and mechanization. Cultivation of arable land from 35% to 65% is quite realistic under four years which he says will create more jobs (large scale land clearing as an example). The commodity boards initiative will help boost Farmers' finances and confidence. Also, it will push more people into farming. Access to financing, rural infrastructural developments and irrigation are decent ideas. Creating more grain reserves and food storages in each LGA will greatly reduce farm produce losses by over 70%.</p>	<p>Atiku's plans are quite commendable and realistic. However, the hands of a "full blown private sector involvement" cannot be overlooked and may push food prices upwards. Atiku plans to work with states and legislature to improve land reforms and further mechanize farming across board. Also, the commodity exchanges and better access to funding are decent ideas.</p>	<p>Obi speaks on agricultural revolution but doesn't explain "how" because his manifesto has very little information on agriculture. Obi speaks on a comprehensive plan for livestock production that will be worked out for Nomadic rearers. The question then is, So, is it until you get into power before you have a concrete plan on livestock production? Lastly, Obi speaks on prioritizing mechanization of the arable land. What does it mean?</p>
<b>Power Ranking</b>	5	3	1

	ASIWAJU AHMED BOLA TINUBU (APC)	ATIKU ABUBAKAR (PDP)	PETER OBI (LP)
1. Proposed Plans	1. Build on the foundation laid by President Buhari’s Presidential Power Initiative	1. Target Power Generation Capacity mix of non-renewable energy (hydro, solar, nuclear) and other thermal fuels (coal, biofuel) in addition to natural gas	1. Upgrade and reform power generation, transmission, and distribution network to achieve generation and distribution of about 20,000 megawatts within 4 years  2. Liberalize the transmission component of the electricity value chain by privatization
2. How	1. Generation and Transmission Targets  2. Eliminate Estimated Billing  3. Support For Domestic Manufacturing of Electricity Meters  4. Renewable Energy Plan  5. Rural Electrification  6. Power Sector Governance Reform  7. Nigeria First Power Policy	1. Transmission capacity over the short-term; Target 25,000 MW over the long term (2030)	1. Review the Nigerian Electric Power Policy (NEPP)  2. Revise the current barrier of 1 Megawatt and below for licensing to up to 10mws to enable decentralized and off-grid solutions  3. Promote a healthy energy mix that increases the share of renewable and clean energy in line with global trends (hydro, wind, thermal, solar etc.)  4. Improve transmission services by establishing the Independent System Operator (ISO) and the Transmission Service Provider (TSP) from the current TCN  5. Establish a presidential task force on immediate power improvement  6. Execute full metering of customers  7. To rebuild investors’ confidence in the Nigerian electricity market and customer engagements

	ASIWAJU AHMED BOLA TINUBU (APC)	ATIKU ABUBAKAR (PDP)	PETER OBI (LP)
3. Explanation	<p>Asiwaju plans to build on the Presidential Power Initiative (Nigeria-Siemens partnership) of the Buhari administration which signals that more investments will go into the transmission aspect of power thereby electrifying the remaining 40% of Nigeria to a reasonable level which is quite realistic and boost generation via gas and hydro driven turbines. Asiwaju plans to support local manufacturing of electricity meters and all home installations to mitigate estimated billings. Asiwaju plans to review/improve policies to benefit both the producers and consumers of electricity in Nigeria. Lastly, Asiwaju made realistic plans to look into other means of power generation (nuclear, renewables, wind, etc.) but didn't promise to implement because Nigeria as a nation is not ready for such technology due to its' affordability and management.</p>	<p>Atiku's energy plans are quite unrealistic. Firstly, Atiku speaks on the mix of renewable energy type generation of power such as solar and nuclear. The most important question is "where is the funding?" because in the case of solar, it costs 5X more in Africa as compared to Europe. What about management of these technologies? Will all of these investments be solely in the hands of private investors? How will the common man in Nigeria pay for electricity generated using such technology? Secondly, Atiku gives a hard target of 25,000MW transmission by 2030. This is so unrealistic because it means that the current transmission capacity will be tripled in the space of 7 years. What will be the resultant increase in generation and distribution, which are already privatized? Where will these investors find funding for such a humongous upgrade of equipment to the tune of almost \$100 billion? Already, these investors are owning Nigeria almost a trillion naira (excluding series of bailout funds in trillions of naira). Don't forget that Atiku plans to completely privatize the transmission aspect of power.</p>	<p>Obi's plans are quite unrealistic as well because it says improving distribution to 20,000 MW within 4 years which is 4.5X the current distribution capacity. How will it be funded and affordable to end consumers? Also, Obi plans to completely privatize the power sector. It is a good idea but may fail if lessons haven't been learnt from the privatization of the generation and distribution aspect. Obi speaks on a healthy mix of renewable energy type generation of power such as solar and nuclear. The most important question is "where is the funding?" because in the case of solar, it costs 5X more in Africa as compared to Europe. What about management of these technology? How will the common man in Nigeria pay for electricity generated using such technology? Most of Obi's power plans are currently being initiated by the current government which makes his plans somewhat confusing. The question is "Is he just copying or is oblivious of the current government's efforts?"</p>
Power Ranking	5	2	2

	ASIWAJU AHMED BOLA TINUBU (APC)	ATIKU ABUBAKAR (PDP)	PETER OBI (LP)
<b>1. Proposed Plans</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Remove Nigeria from the list of the top 10 gas flares countries globally</li> <li>2. Expand gas exports to the EU</li> <li>3. Generate necessary revenue for successful diversification and ensures self-sufficiency in meeting demand for petroleum products and eliminating periods of scarcity</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Expand oil and gas reserves and boost upstream and downstream production</li> <li>2. More transparency and efficiency in management of institutions in the oil and gas industry</li> <li>3. Implementing the PIA to create a functional, fair and transparent upstream and downstream oil and gas market</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Incentivize the mid-stream segment of the petroleum sector by facilitating gas processing plants and privately-owned small and medium scale boutique refineries</li> <li>2. Review and enforce the mandatory National Strategic Reserve of Premium Motor Spirit (PMS), Diesel (AGO), aviation fuel, and cooking gas to reduce our national vulnerability to sudden disruptions to the supply of these fuels</li> <li>3. Deploy Nigeria's enormous natural gas reserves to incentivize our gas-based industries to drive industrial revolution and provide 24-Hour electricity for the entire nation</li> </ol>
<b>2. How</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Increase crude oil production to 2.6mmbpd by 2027 and 4mmbpd by 2030</li> <li>2. Increase indigenous share of crude oil production to over 1mmbpd by 2027</li> <li>3. Achieve full deregulation of midstream gas prices within 6 months, increase gas production by 20% and complete critical gas infrastructure projects by 2027</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Promote Gas-Power Sector and Gas-Industry linkages</li> <li>2. Create a transparent incentive regime for purposeful growth of a national reserve base for oil and gas</li> <li>3. Incentivize building of modular refineries in all parts of the country</li> <li>4. Re-consider the introduction of the Marginal Fields bid round and Blocks' Bid Round</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Oil Subsidy Removal</li> </ol>

	ASIWAJU AHMED BOLA TINUBU (APC)	ATIKU ABUBAKAR (PDP)	PETER OBI (LP)
<b>How Contd.</b>	<p>4. Achieve stability of petroleum product supply by fully deregulating the downstream sector and ensuring that local refinery capacity will meet domestic consumption needs</p> <p>5. Secure Public-Private Partnerships (PPP) and international partnerships towards financing infrastructure Development</p>	<p>5. Transparency and accountability in the operation of NNPC Limited and associated enterprises</p> <p>6. Deploy modern technology in pipeline surveillance and other security enhancements</p> <p>7. Intensify our engagement with local communities in the oil production zones</p> <p>8. Increase oil production to 2 mbpd by 2027</p>	
<b>3. Explanation</b>	<p>Asiwaju plans to use policies to reduce gas flaring including charging IOCs and indigenous companies levies should they default. Asiwaju also plans to increase gas exports to the EU to make more FOREX while also making these IOCs build gas processing plants in Nigeria for local consumption (power generation, cooking, etc.) via PPP. Increasing bpd production to 2.6 mbpd in 2027 is quite realistic but doubts still remain in order to achieve 4 mbpd by 2030. Full deregulation and implementation of the PIA, more indigenous participation of local energy companies and knowledge trading with IOCs.</p>	<p>Atiku plans to explore more in order to increase gas and crude oil exports. The current government has been towing this same path. However, with the declining need for petroleum based energy due to climate change and strong policy changes in developed countries, it may be a wasteful expenditure. Full deregulation and implementation of the PIA are good ideas but privatization of oil assets may be counter-productive to end consumers.</p>	<p>Obi plans to incentivize the mid-stream segment of the petroleum sector by facilitating gas processing plants and privately-owned small and medium scale boutique refineries but never said how. These medium scale and privately owned refineries may eventually go bankrupt due to the emergence of the DANGOTE refinery. Obi also plans to remove fuel subsidy but doesn't give further details on how to absorb the shock effect. Also, fuel subsidy removal has always been a NO NO for the Labour party. This is very confusing because Obi is actually going against the ideology of the Labour Party. Obi's manifesto only talked about enforcing a mandatory strategic reserves for petroleum products but didn't say how.</p>

	ASIWAJU AHMED BOLA TINUBU (APC)	ATIKU ABUBAKAR (PDP)	PETER OBI (LP)
<b>Explanation Contd.</b>	Asiwaju's plans for gas especially are industrialization driven and will transform Nigeria's energy sector rapidly. However, the only caveat are the effects of climate change per the Paris Climate Agreement and how the West may frown upon it.	Incentivizing modular refineries are also decent ideas but with the emergence of the DANGOTE REFINERY with a capacity of 650,000 bpd, it may be wasted investments (in addition to Atiku planning to privatize the dormant refineries (Warri X2, Port-Harcourt and Kaduna)). Does he want to over-saturate the Nigerian market with petroleum products because the demands of other countries are currently being met. Lately, the NNPC stated that we lost one of our biggest customers.	How will he achieve industrial revolution as it relates to gas when his manifesto gave no details. Obi's manifesto was so quiet on oil and gas in general.
<b>Power Ranking</b>	4	3	1



## 6. Transportation

	ASIWAJU AHMED BOLA TINUBU (APC)	ATIKU ABUBAKAR (PDP)	PETER OBI (LP)
<b>1. Proposed Plans</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Focus our policies and interventions on all the key methods of transportation: road, rail, maritime and air</li> <li>2. Improve our various transportation systems to make sure those individual human stories</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Break government monopoly on rail transport</li> <li>2. Private sector investments on road, rail, maritime and aviation</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Build expansive and world-class infrastructure for efficient power supply, rail, road and air transportation, and pipeline network, through integrated public-private partnerships, and entrepreneurial public sector governance</li> </ol>
<b>2. How</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Embark on the creation of a truly nationwide highway system (road)</li> <li>2. Rehabilitate and expand existing federal roads and expressways (road)</li> <li>3. Accelerate the construction of new roads via creative funding mechanisms, including accessing capital markets and PPP (road)</li> <li>4. State Governments will be encouraged to build metro systems in their capital cities (rail)</li> <li>5. Work with the National Assembly to review the organisation, structure and operations of the Nigerian Railway Corporation (rail)</li> <li>6. Promote greater private sector inclusion and also foster greater efficiency through specialization and the effective delineation of core duties between units (rail)</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Rail infrastructure: Improve freight-based rail efficiency and achieve accelerated construction of up to 5,000 km of modern rail way roads</li> <li>2. Paved road network from 60,000 km which would lead to a reduction in untarred road network to 120,000 km</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Integrate existing masterplans for infrastructure</li> <li>2. Sign into law the National Transport Commission Act passed into law in 2018 and refused assent by the president</li> <li>3. Diversify the funding for our national surface transportation system (roads, rail, bridges, and mass transit) and programmes with the creation of the Highway Trust Fund Account</li> <li>4. Build a Nigerian Maritime sector that will leverage on In-Country Value Creation/Addition; optimizing Shipping and Shipbuilding Value Chain and unleash positive spillover effects on other sectors of the economy</li> </ol>

# Transportation Contd.

	ASIWAJU AHMED BOLA TINUBU (APC)	ATIKU ABUBAKAR (PDP)	PETER OBI (LP)
<b>How Contd.</b>	<p>7. Prioritize the completion of critical ongoing national railway projects (rail)</p> <p>8. Decongest the Apapa Port and encourage greater use of other major seaports in the country (maritime)</p> <p>9. Modernize our ports by deepening the harbour and shipping lanes (maritime)</p> <p>10. Embark on a dredging campaign for our most strategically important inland waterways (maritime)</p> <p>11. Devise a comprehensive plan for the improved use and access to waterways for the transportation of passengers and cargo (maritime)</p> <p>12. 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 (maritime)</p> <p>13. Strengthen the Nigerian Civil Aviation Authority and other aviation regulatory agencies to maintain standards in the industry (aviation)</p>		

# Transportation Contd.

	ASIWAJU AHMED BOLA TINUBU (APC)	ATIKU ABUBAKAR (PDP)	PETER OBI (LP)
<b>How Contd.</b>	<p>14. Continue with the current administration's plans to establish a new national carrier (aviation)</p> <p>15. Modernization and expansion of existing airport facilities will also be prioritized (aviation)</p> <p>16. Establish and enforce a policy for the timely and adequate maintenance and improvement of airport runways and other critical aviation infrastructure (aviation)</p> <p>17. 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</p>		

	ASIWAJU AHMED BOLA TINUBU (APC)	ATIKU ABUBAKAR (PDP)	PETER OBI (LP)
<b>3. Explanation</b>	<p>The national highway road system will transform the transportation via road because of its' ease of networking and promote better inter-state trading/economies. Funding for roads rehabilitation and construction will be in conjunction with PPP. Also using PPP to fund and construct metro rail lines in all capital cities will improve the economic activities across the state and ease congestion. Also, Asiwaju plans to make realistic plans to complete all railway projects currently ongoing by the Buhari administration. Dredging of major seaports which will help decongest Apapa/Tin Can Island ports shall greatly improve economic activities, IGR and increase employment in these cities. Reforms to the aviation sector such as transparency in customer ticketing, infrastructural developments and imbibing global standard practices in safety &amp; maintenance will shore up confidence and generate more revenue</p>	<p>Atiku plans to privatize the new rail systems built by the current administration. However, the government is nowhere close to breaking even on these investments and still owes billions of dollars. Also, what happens to the pricing of tickets should these assets be privatized? Atiku also plans to privatize all other transportation assets but the concern should be what happened to all the previously privatized assets and how are they faring today. Atiku's freight based rail efficiency and up to 5000 km of modern railway roads are good ideas but very unrealistic because it would take several billions of dollars to build such infrastructure. Is it these "over flogged" private investors that will fund these projects also? Atiku plans to pave roads, or shouldn't he be building world class roads (not just tarring). The Federal Government according to the CBN is responsible for about 35,000 km roads in Nigeria. Is Atiku saying his regime will play the roles of State and Local Governments in fixing roads clearly defined in their jurisdiction according to law. This act may be very over-reaching and over-stretching federal government resources.</p>	<p>Obi plans to use PPP to build transportation infrastructure albeit him being a core capitalist which is quite contradictory. Is he just saying this as an 'excuse answer' when he is asked how will he fund these projects? Obi says he will pass the National Transport Commission Act passed into law in 2018 which was rejected by Buhari. However, he never explained why it was rejected, what he will order the Legislature to fix and then assent should he become President. The creation of the highway trust fund and building a robust maritime sector are good ideas. Obi is a core importer of finished goods into Nigeria and should be able to use his knowledge to improve the system thereby easing trade (exports and imports)</p>
<b>Power Ranking</b>	5	2	3

## 7. Education

	ASIWAJU AHMED BOLA TINUBU (APC)	ATIKU ABUBAKAR (PDP)	PETER OBI (LP)
<b>1. Proposed Plans</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Reform the education sector by focusing on the following indices: quality, access, funding, management, effectiveness, and competitiveness</li> <li>2. Ensuring an abundance of qualified and capable educators</li> <li>3. Creating safe and conducive learning environments</li> <li>4. Improving educational outcomes in Nigeria</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Improve and strengthen the education system to make it more efficient, more accessible, more qualitative and relevant</li> <li>2. Work with the States to carry out far reaching reforms of the system with a view to developing a knowledge-driven economy</li> <li>3. Promote a "catch them young" approach to skill development</li> <li>4. Promote an all-inclusive system which will carry along our citizens with special needs</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Enhance the human capital of Nigerian youth for productivity and global competitiveness through investment in world-class scholarship and research</li> </ol>
<b>2. How</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Educational Infrastructure</li> <li>2. Accreditation Standards and Curriculum</li> <li>3. Teacher Training</li> <li>4. School Management</li> <li>5. Technical and Vocational Education</li> <li>6. Restructuring Tertiary Institutions</li> <li>7. Student Loans</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Undertake comprehensive reforms to streamline functions of agencies in the sector and transfer of responsibilities for greater efficiency</li> <li>2. Federal Ministry of Education to focus on its core functions of policy design, standardization, monitoring and evaluation</li> <li>3. Set up an agency for the regulation of private tertiary education</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Retraining, retooling and re-certification of teachers</li> <li>2. Incentivizing industry experts to take up teaching roles in partnership with universities</li> <li>3. Curriculum overhaul</li> <li>4. Policy and institutional review</li> <li>5. Introduce a mandatory "No Child left Behind" educational policy</li> </ol>

	ASIWAJU AHMED BOLA TINUBU (APC)	ATIKU ABUBAKAR (PDP)	PETER OBI (LP)
<b>How Contd.</b>	<p>8. Special Education Fund</p> <p>9. STEM Incentives</p>	<p>4. Vigorous promotion of Science and Technical Education to create skills for the new economy</p> <p>5. Invest to improve access to qualitative as well as industry relevant education with access, equity and quality receiving prominent attention</p> <p>6. Increase investment in social infrastructure by the federal and state governments</p>	<p>6. Address the gaps in the legislation guiding the funding access modalities to Universal Basic Education Commission (UBEC), and the Tertiary Education Trust Fund (TETFund)</p>
<b>3. Explanation</b>	<p>Asiwaju plans to improve educational infrastructure by budgeting more into education which had seen a sharp decline since 2003 during the Obasanjo regime to a paltry 3% to 5% of total budget. Revamping the curriculum is very transformational because it will switch our education from "conformism" to "critical thinking oriented". Better school managements in primary and secondary schools by the initiation of Boards, restructuring funding (sale of bonds as an example) for tertiary education so that they can be autonomous will address incessant industrial actions &amp; better infrastructural developments in these schools and improve technical and vocational education. These actions shall greatly improve human development from an "education" perspective. Asiwaju's student loan plans are very realistic and would greatly increase number of literate citizens and creating value which will stimulate the economy.</p>	<p>Atiku's educational plans are reformational in nature and will improve the order of affairs from the governing agencies. Atiku's plan also focuses on regulating private tertiary education which could be attributed to his ABTI University ownership in Adamawa State. Atiku talks about the promotion of technical education which will greatly improve the value of skilled labour. Lastly, Atiku speaks on funding/ more investments in educational infrastructure (including social) but doesn't say how he will raise such funds realistically.</p>	<p>Obi plans to re-certify teachers which will improve the quality of delivered education to the students. Obi also agrees that the curriculum should be overhauled and restructured to bring Nigeria's education at par with global standards. However, Obi never gave the "how" as to where funding for education and subsequent infrastructure will come from. Lastly, most of the reforms he promises to achieve are the core functions of the legislature and so may be unrealistic for him.</p>
<b>Power Ranking</b>	5	3	4

## 8. Healthcare

	ASIWAJU AHMED BOLA TINUBU (APC)	ATIKU ABUBAKAR (PDP)	PETER OBI (LP)
<b>1. Proposed Plans</b>	<p>1. Address 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</p>	<p>1. Targeting towards a preventive care strategy by creating a clean environment, modernizing living conditions, carrying out enlightenment campaigns on healthy living, and supporting with curative care through the provision of state-of-the-art healthcare facilities in hospitals and in rural clinics</p> <p>2. Ensure universal access to basic maternal and child health, reproductive health, immunization and mental health as well as effective therapies</p> <p>3. Government will position itself to deal proactively with emergency epidemics like Ebola, Lassa, COVID19 and others which occasionally afflict the people</p>	<p>1. Enhance the human capital of Nigerian youth for productivity and global competitiveness through investment in quality healthcare</p>
<b>2. How</b>	<p>1. Health Sector Governance and Leadership</p> <p>2. Equity and Quality</p> <p>3. Primary and Secondary Healthcare</p> <p>4. Preventative Care</p> <p>5. Health Financing and National Health Insurance (mandatory health insurance scheme to cover at least 40% of the population within two years)</p>	<p>1. Ensure a comprehensive reform of the Federal Ministry of Health and its agencies. Ministry to focus on policy design, standardization, monitoring and evaluation</p> <p>2. Accelerate Nigeria's transition towards achieving universal access to affordable and quality healthcare services for all by 2030</p> <p>3. Unlock market potential of the health sector by engaging the private sector</p>	<p>1. Provide health insurance cover to 133 million poorest Nigerians including pregnant women, the aged and the disabled</p> <p>2. Strive to honour Nigeria's commitment pursuant to the 2001 African Union Abuja Declaration on HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and Other related Infectious Diseases</p>

	ASIWAJU AHMED BOLA TINUBU (APC)	ATIKU ABUBAKAR (PDP)	PETER OBI (LP)
<b>How Contd.</b>	<p>6. Caring for Healthcare Workers and Job Creation</p> <p>7. The Next Public Health Emergency</p> <p>8. Domestic Health</p> <p>9. Mental and Drug Abuse</p>	<p>4. Encourage medium and large scale pharmaceutical industries for the local production of essential drugs</p> <p>5. Expand healthcare professionals to the frontline and attract Nigerian doctors in the diaspora to reverse brain-drain</p>	<p>3. End practice of medical tourism, by supporting national teaching hospitals to specialize in niche areas of medicine, thus enjoying expeditious faculty and facilities enhancement and the attendant comparative advantage</p> <p>4. Generate innovative healthcare financing by encouraging public private healthcare sector initiatives, implementing special taxes and duty waivers</p> <p>5. Stepwise scaling up of the healthcare system budget</p> <p>6. Effective overhaul and restructuring of training for all cadre of healthcare system providers</p> <p>7. Comprehensive mapping of Nigeria's healthcare system occupational categories</p> <p>8. Strengthening the leadership, coordination and integration of the health system, while simultaneously improving its regulation, standardization and quality of service</p>



# Healthcare Contd.

	ASIWAJU AHMED BOLA TINUBU (APC)	ATIKU ABUBAKAR (PDP)	PETER OBI (LP)
<b>3. Explanation</b>	<p>Asiwaju's plans are very robust, sophisticated and achievable (infrastructure) as it relates to primary and secondary healthcare reforms with teaching hospitals in every LGA and a specialist hospital in every geopolitical zone (excluding primary healthcare centers in every LGA).</p> <p>Asiwaju's plans on Healthcare workers' training, welfare improvements, more job creation and mandatory health insurance will help reduce the brain drain in the sector. Asiwaju's plans on improving preventive care and localizing vaccines and drugs will help save money to the tune of billions of dollars annually in medical tourism/imported drugs and create employment. Lastly, Asiwaju plans to focus keenly on mental and drug abuse is a bold step in improving mental health of Nigerians (over 30% of Nigerians suffer from one mental health issue or the other).</p>	<p>Atiku's plan to engage private sector fully into healthcare may be counter-productive in achieving his 2030 goal of universal access to affordable healthcare for all Nigerians due to the probable rise in cost of healthcare services. Atiku's comprehensive reforms of all MDAs involved in healthcare services are quite laudable, however, it may require legislative support which may complicate and delay efforts. Atiku plans to encourage local production of drugs but doesn't say how. He also doesn't say how he will reverse brain drain of Nigerian healthcare providers storming out of the country in large numbers.</p>	<p>Obi plans to provide healthcare to insurance for 133 million Nigerians but doesn't say when and how he will achieve it which makes such plan unrealistic, what happens to the remaining 80 million Nigerians? Don't they need health insurance too?. Obi plans to reduce brain drain in the healthcare sector and overhaul/restructure training of healthcare officials is a good idea but will require funding. These funding are proposed to come from public private partnership but how will it work to achieve his 133 million people coverage goal. Obi proposes to upscale healthcare budget but didn't give a number which makes such proposal vague. Improving regulations, standardization and quality of service are good plans but not MDA specific.</p>
<b>Power Ranking</b>	4	3	2

# Thank you



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