



HOPE'23

...Bridging the Gap

THE ROADMAP

Yahaya Bello





THE ROADMAP TO HOPE

HOPE'23
...Bridging the Gap



Our Vision is clear,
Our Mission is even clearer,
Our Goal is to make Nigeria
the Pride of the Black Race.

- Yahaya Bello.





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The legacies of President Muhammadu Buhari will help the next president take longer and easier developmental strides, provided Nigerians make sure he is succeeded by one who is not out to discredit but to consolidate.

I have proven time and time again that I am the only such successor in the APC's line-up for 2023.

”

Governor Yahaya Bello

Presidential Declaration Speech,
Eagle Square, Abuja.
April 2nd, 2022



MY LEADERSHIP PHILOSOPHY

My actions in office are underpinned by my leadership philosophy.

The truth is that followers want to see the leader share their hopes and aspirations, as well as their realities. As leaders, we must always cut our cloth according to the averages of our people. In a nutshell, the efficient and effective leader must see every last human being under his or her leadership as important in the overall scheme of things because leaders can only find success by developing and showing empathy for the people.

If a leader is able to develop genuine love for the people he leads, it becomes even easier to take only those actions that



benefit the people every time. This will ultimately help him or her succeed and leave a lasting legacy.

The wonderful thing is that the self-sacrifice required of leaders, if embraced and sustained, will not only yield great results but broaden the leader's humanity, perspectives, and acceptance among the people.

Leadership can lead you into some lonely places where you may have to stand on your own. You may avoid taking such a stand if pride and ego are the only things at stake, but once it involves principles or the interests of your people, do it nevertheless. Hopefully time will show that you were only being a changemaker. Even if it does not, you still get to have and keep a clear conscience.

Leadership is therefore the means to a lot of potentially awesome ends, but it is not an end in itself. It gives you a platform to do good and effect change. I am determined to give it my best now and always.

- Yahaya Bello



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

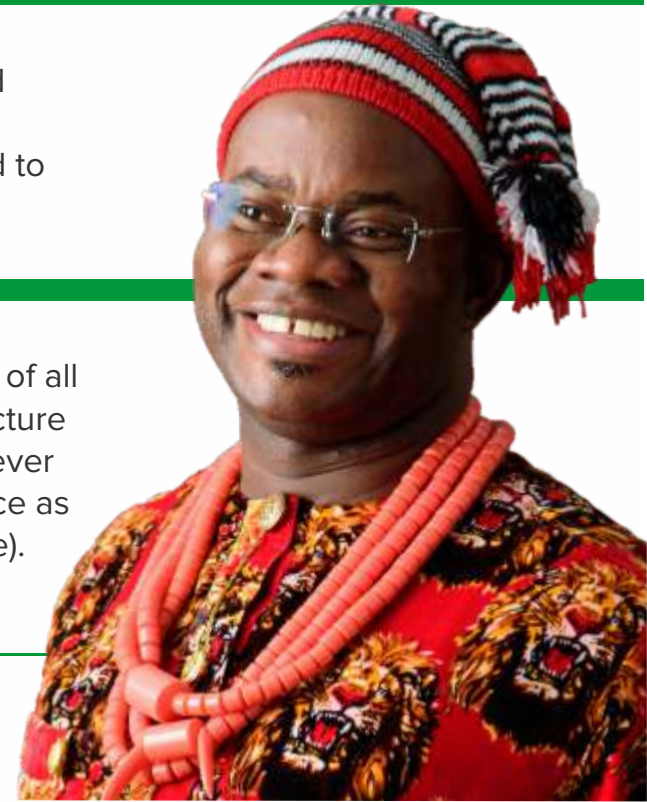
The Yahaya Bello Manifesto, otherwise known as 'The Roadmap to Hope' is a grand vision for a more peaceful, secured, united and prosperous Nigeria. This Roadmap focuses on key priorities of a Yahaya Bello Presidency to bring about visible, tangible, and sustainable development across all sectors of our economy.

DIVERSITY

From her first day in office, the administration will assemble a team of patriotic and passionate Nigerians drawn from across the length and breadth of our national diversity with the requisite qualifications, skills, experience, and exposure required to achieve the results we need.

SECURITY AND PEACE

We will immediately focus on ensuring the complete security of lives and property of all citizens and inhabitants of our territory by revitalizing our national security architecture from the grassroots to the national level. Under my leadership, insecurity by whatever name it is called will be brought to an abrupt end (a cursory look at my performance as Governor of Kogi State in the last six years shows that I can deliver on this promise).



INFRASTRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Our leadership will bridge the infrastructure gap in the nation in roads, rails, waterways, aviation, power, and utilities. We will consolidate on the achievements of the current administration in infrastructure and ensure a proper maintenance culture.

JOB CREATION AND ECONOMIC PROSPERITY

Our government will create the enabling environment for the private sector to thrive thereby creating jobs and gainful employment for our teeming unemployed youths in modern agriculture, manufacturing, services, information and communications technology, creative arts, and entrepreneurship. We will support and promote the growth of the manufacturing sector through functional incentives and policies.

EDUCATION

We will continue the ongoing revitalization and upgrade of our educational institutions from primary to tertiary level. We pledge to continue providing free and compulsory basic education in partnership with state governments, subsidize senior secondary and tertiary education and promote technical and vocational education.

HEALTH

We will revitalize our health sector to provide exceptional medical services for our citizens. Our primary, secondary, and tertiary healthcare sectors will be recalibrated to function effectively. We will strengthen our health insurance scheme towards promoting universal health coverage.

POWER

Our government will increase the level of investment in power generation, transmission, and distribution to improve the level of power supply in the country. We will also continue to invest in the development and deployment of alternative clean energy sources to promote environmental sustainability.

OIL AND GAS

Our government will ensure the full implementation of the Petroleum Industry Act signed by the current administration towards the efficient operations of the oil and gas sector. We shall pursue a policy of zero importation of refined petroleum products within our first term in office.

We will ensure that host communities witness increased Federal Government-led interventions to ameliorate the impact of environmental degradation due to oil and gas exploitation.

HOUSING

We will actively promote mass housing development projects and make home ownership feasible for the working-class through housing finance.

YOUTH INCLUSION AND EMPOWERMENT

As a youthful president, I will connect with our predominantly youthful population to harness their positive energies for national development. Our government will also work to create gainful employment and entrepreneurship opportunities and support for Nigerian Youths.

WOMEN INCLUSION AND EMPOWERMENT

Our leadership will ensure increased participation of Women in government. I pledge that the affirmative action threshold of 35% stipulated by the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) will be the baseline for women in our government, rather than the ceiling.

CONCLUSION

In summary, I will provide uncommon leadership to harness our massive human capital and material endowments to bring about a quantum of development in a manner never witnessed before in Nigeria.

I therefore solicit your support for our aspiration to win the All Progressives' Congress (APC) Presidential ticket and subsequently the 2023 Presidential election so that together we can build the Nigeria of our dreams.

Yahaya Bello

April 2022





01

ROADMAP FOR SECURITY AND PEACE

'It has become more apparent that for us to co-exist in lasting peace while achieving meaningful development as a country, we need to ensure adequate security of lives and property of citizens across the length and breadth of our nation.'

- Yahaya Bello

INTRODUCTION

The top priority of a Yahaya Bello Presidency will be to ensure the complete security of lives and property of all Nigerians wherever they live and work within our nation.

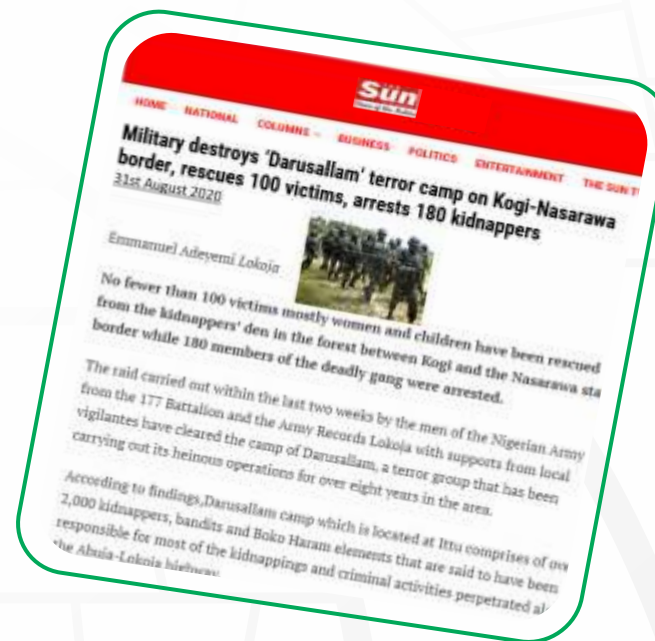
Our first responsibility in this regard would be to take back our highways within our first 100 days in office, make our communities and farms safe within six months, and terminate the menace of hostile non-state actors within twelve months in office.

In pursuit of the above objective, and others outlined in this Roadmap, I shall assume the role of Nigeria's Minister of Defence in order to have hands-on grip on national security and the fight against all forms of insecurity.

Currently, the national security architecture is a matter of grave concern to Nigerians. Our military, police and paramilitary agencies are poorly staffed, with none of them having anything near the number of men and equipment that they require to function effectively. The law enforcement agents themselves are poorly remunerated and ill-equipped with parlous welfare packages, all of which result in poor motivation and resort to corruption to make ends meet thereby eroding professionalism.

We intend to address all these issues head-on in our roadmap for security and peace by the following specific agenda:

- I. **Agenda for the Nigerian Armed Forces**
- II. **Agenda for the Nigeria Police**
- III. **Agenda for Community Policing**
- IV. **Agenda for Maximum Rapid Response to Insecurity Nationwide**
- V. **Agenda for Dealing with Hostile Non-State Actors (dialogue or neutralize).**



Agenda for the Nigerian Armed Forces



The primary role of the Nigerian Armed Forces which comprises of the Army, Navy and Air Force is to maintain the nation's territorial integrity, protect the country from external aggression and quell internal insurrections.

In order to support the Nigerian Armed Forces to effectively perform their constitutional role, a Yahaya Bello Presidency will do the following:

- a. We will provide strong political will, that will galvanize our Armed Forces to decimate all forms of security threats that undermine our territorial integrity.
- b. We will sustain the recruitment of qualified and patriotic citizens into the armed forces.
- c. We will initiate collaborative efforts with our global partners to procure 21st century sophisticated military hardware to defend our territorial integrity.



- d. We will invest in equipping our military personnel with the right technologies and sophisticated equipment such as body armour, bodycams and infra-red night vision glasses to aid the fight against insecurity.
- e. We will improve on the existing information and communications technology apparatus for robust intelligence gathering and instant dissemination of intelligence amongst the Armed Forces to improve turnaround time and hasten our response to security situations.
- f. We will overhaul our national security architecture with the aim of achieving a robust security network that will speak to the realities on ground.
- g. We will institute lifetime recognition badges for gallantry, bravery and courage for men and women who paid the supreme sacrifice in defence of our fatherland.
- h. We will enhance the welfare packages of our armed forces to boost their morale and performance on the job and earn back their trust.
- i. We will encourage the spirit of nationalism by rewarding patriotic acts to motivate the officers and men of our armed forces.



Agenda for the Nigeria Police



The Nigeria Police is the organ of government responsible for the protection of lives and property of citizens, prevention of crimes, crime detection, apprehension of law offenders, and general maintenance of law and order.

The Nigeria Police is currently heavily challenged and unable to effectively contain internal security threats for several reasons ranging from; low level of professionalism, inadequate manpower and equipment, low morale due to conditions of service, and a host of others.

To professionalize the Nigeria Police to be able to perform their constitutional role of maintaining internal security effectively, a Yahaya Bello Presidency will do the following:

- a. We will recruit additional qualified personnel into the Nigeria Police over four (4) years to address the inadequacy in the workforce requirement.
- b. We will provide adequate and functional modern equipment in line with 21st century policing to the Nigeria Police to aid them in the effective performance of their role as law enforcement agents. This will empower the Police to easily track and promptly apprehend criminals.





- c. We will ensure high level training and capacity building for officers of the Nigeria Police to enable them perform their duties effectively in line with international standards.
- d. We will enhance the welfare package of the Nigeria Police to boost the morale of the workforce.
- e. We will streamline the activities of the Nigeria Police as spelt out in the amended Nigeria Police Act of 2020.
- f. Address the issue of transparency and accountability in the operational management of the Nigeria Police to stem the abuse of citizens' rights.
- g. We will provide functional feedback mechanisms or channels to report the activities of police officers to curb the abuse of power.
- h. Enhance inter-agency cooperation between the Nigeria Police and other sister security agencies in intelligence gathering and dissemination.
- i. We will address the issues of delayed pensions and gratuities to retired police officers.
- j. We will revitalize the police health insurance scheme to provide healthcare for police officers and their family members.
- k. We will provide emergency toll-free lines in every state for timely reporting of crimes or security breaches in our communities to the police for prompt action.



Agenda for Community Policing

The unique security challenges confronting our local communities across the nation calls for a complementary policing initiative that will bridge the current gaps in conventional policing efforts.

Our community policing model will be to engage qualified and competent individuals from local communities who will function within their communities to prevent crimes and uphold law and order.

To achieve the above, a Yahaya Bello Presidency will aggressively pursue the following agenda:

- a. Transform the Constabulary Police initiative of the present administration into a full-fledged Community Oriented Police Service (COPS) to address peculiar security challenges at the local government, ward and polling unit levels.
- b. Standardize and integrate local security structures and arrangements such as the Vigilante Group of Nigeria, Hunters Group of Nigeria, Peace Corps of Nigeria and others

into our national security architecture to enhance bottom-up intelligence gathering and timely intervention to nip security breaches in the bud.

- c. Revitalize Forest Guards to mitigate farmer/herder clashes in addition to their traditional roles of protecting forest resources from over exploitation.
- d. Collaborate with the traditional leadership and institutions of each locality to promptly escalate security concerns from their domains to security agencies for immediate action while deploying mechanisms to deter communities from harbouring or encouraging criminal elements amongst them.





Agenda for Maximum Rapid Response to Insecurity Nationwide

The inability of our security agencies to promptly respond to security threats, particularly in rural areas, is a major reason criminal elements find it easy to attack our rural communities and get away with their heinous crimes.

A Yahaya Bello Presidency will address this menace frontally by implementing the following strategies to keep our rural areas safe:

- a. In line with the law, promptly declare temporary state of emergencies in every community where bandits or terrorists' acts occur until all culprits are neutralized or brought to justice, and law and order is fully restored in such communities.
- b. Set up and adequately equip Tactical Rapid Response Units (TRRU) in every State. The TRRU will comprise of a blend of security forces in every State to provide first responders to security threats.
- c. Deploy hi-tech equipment and gadgets to security agencies to assist in promptly tracking down criminals.
- d. Set up an 'Operation Eyes-In-The-Skies' Drone Surveillance Unit with command centre domiciled in the Office of the National Security Adviser to provide 24/7 aerial drone surveillance of our highways and hinterlands to gather and disseminate reliable intelligence on the movements and locations of bandits, terrorists, kidnappers, and other hostile groups to security agencies for necessary action.





Agenda for Dealing with Armed Hostile Non-State Actors (Dialogue or Neutralise).

The rise in the number of Armed Hostile non-state actors within our sovereign territory is quite worrisome. Presently, they are the major drivers of the pervasive insecurity plaguing many parts of the country which must be brought to a speedy end.

In pursuit of sustainable peace in our nation, a Yahaya Bello Presidency will adopt the following strategies:

- a. Neutralize or otherwise terminate with extreme prejudice the menace of violence by criminal gangs gratuitously preying on the populace for purely pecuniary purposes, whether as kidnappers, armed robbers, or other violent criminal enterprise.
- b. Implement a dialogue and amnesty programme within our first six months in office for hitherto violent groups and organisations whose grievances are

traceable to systemic injustice, especially marginalization or any other form of discrimination.

- c. In the implementation of the dialogue and amnesty program, we will ensure holistic justice for individuals, families and communities who are victims of any group admitted into the dialogue and amnesty programme, including those displaced from their farmlands and ancestral homes.



Special tribute to Col. Abu Ali (middle above) and all the service-persons who have died fighting to secure our country.



02

ROADMAP FOR NATIONAL UNITY AND HARMONY

'Our next President must possess excellent records in successfully managing diversity. We were able to take a polarized Kogi State and forge it into a society that is both diverse and inclusive today. We genuinely demonstrated that every tribe, religion, gender, age, class and physical ability among us is unique and possesses intrinsic value.'

-Yahaya Bello



INTRODUCTION

Tribe and religion, as we all know, are the major components of our diversity as a nation. Other forms of diversities include age, gender, geography, and social class. They are meant to be our greatest strengths, working together to give Nigeria a wider spectrum of choices and more competitiveness in the comity of nations, and in the human and social indices of national development.

Unfortunately, we have steadily mismanaged these gifts and they have turned largely toxic on us, becoming for the most part, instruments of destructive competition, exclusion, marginalization, and discrimination. The result, after 62 years of Independence, is a nation at the cross-roads, a citizenry at cross-purposes and a polity that is practically at its wits' end.

One of the top priorities of a Yahaya Bello Presidency will be to unite Nigerians and transform our great and colourful diversity into a veritable tool for accelerated growth and development. Starting from the inauguration of our Federal Executive

cabinet, a Yahaya Bello Presidency will demonstrate inclusivity, affirmative action, and merit within the context of equity, fairness, and justice.

We shall spearhead national unity and harmony as a foundational directive principle of state policy and convene national and sub-national citizen-driven mechanisms for open dialogue. These shall be empowered to foster healing and reconciliation in an atmosphere of truth. Where necessary, statutory backing will be provided for findings and recommendations that are considered imperative for a new order of unity, peace, and progress among Nigerians.

We intend to address all these issues head-on in our roadmap for National Unity and Harmony by the following agenda:

- I. Agenda for Diversity Management**
- II. Agenda for Cooperation and Integration**

Agenda for Diversity Management

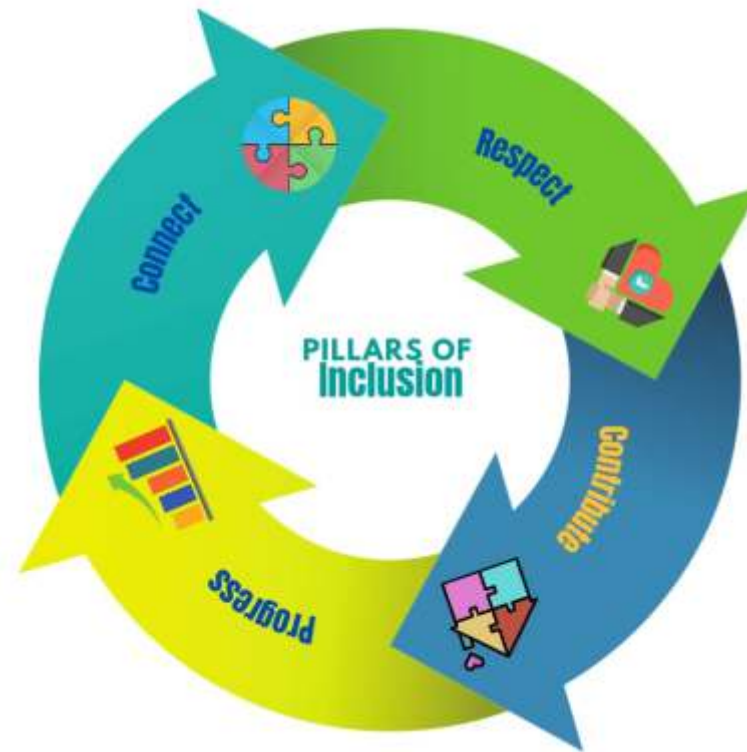


Our country has been polarized along ethnic, religious, gender, age, class, and physical abilities resulting in deep socio-economic divides. A Yahaya Bello Presidency will create an environment that will bridge these gaps. Our administration will ensure that every Nigerian is mentally and physically empowered with the unshakeable conviction and physical proof that they are not inferior to any other person for any reason.

We will value what every citizen brings to the table as unique so that our country can grow and succeed together through national ethos in which everybody is equally enabled to achieve their God-given potentials, so that we can all have equal access to maximize our contributions to national development.

To achieve this, we will apply the following strategies:

- a. Our leadership style will be aligned to the dreams of our founding fathers that although tribes and tongues may differ, in oneness we stand to build a strong and united country. We will apply a lot more empathy to how Nigerian society is structured by ensuring that equity, fairness and justice undergird government and the governance process.
- b. Integration and cooperation will be a key policy agenda for a Yahaya Bello presidency with the intentional objectives of making Nigerians productive citizens of the local community or anywhere they may choose to reside and pursue a livelihood in the country. Discrimination or marginalization on grounds of non-indigenship will be tackled.
- c. We will creatively address the peculiarities of Federal Character and Quota System to ensure equitable distribution of national resources and opportunities, including in the recruitment processes of public entities.
- d. We will continually upgrade and expand our youth empowerment schemes including the various national social safety net programmes to pool and harness the abundant talents of our youthful demographics.



Agenda for Cooperation and Integration

The benefit of cooperation and integration in fostering national unity and peace in a nation with great diversity like ours cannot be over emphasized. It is therefore imperative for government to harness our rich cultural diversities and promote tolerance amongst citizens.

Through cooperation and integration, sensitive issues such as tribal distrust, ethnic bias, cultural differences, and religious disharmony can be properly managed, and consensus reached through robust dialogue.

A Yahaya Bello presidency will be deliberate in promoting cooperation and integration amongst the diverse citizens of Nigeria to de-emphasize what is usually termed as “our structural fault-lines” by pursuing the following agenda:

- a. We will provide a national blueprint for reviving and preserving our rich cultural heritage as a viable tool for the actualization of our country's development goals.
- b. We will reinvigorate the National Orientation Agency (NOA) to consistently sensitize the people, raise awareness, positively change attitudes, values and behaviours, accurately and adequately inform, and sufficiently mobilize citizens to act in ways that promote peace, harmony and national development.



- c. We will pursue constitutional amendments which will properly reflect the roles of our traditional rulers in conflict resolution and peace building within their domains. Subsequently, we shall establish a National Commission for Traditional Rulers composed of the membership of the National Council of Traditional Rulers of Nigeria (NCTRN) to promote national cooperation, integration and development, act as a peer review mechanism for traditional institutions and function as an informal layer of consultation for Government.
- d. We will encourage Nigerians to be different without being divided by celebrating our differences across board and encouraging a culture of dialogue, empathy and reconciliation amongst ourselves.
- e. We will fight systemic inequality by bringing on board a clear strategy of inclusion for all our citizens.
- f. We will revive the founding vision of the Unity Schools across the nation, harness the power of her over one million alumni to promote unity and expand the capacity of the system to inculcate the ethos of national unity into our younger generation.
- g. We will put in place public policy interventions that will promote positive communication amongst our people and help to reduce the artificial barriers created by incidents of conflicts and mistrust since Independence.
- h. We will pursue a policy of non-discrimination against citizens irrespective of their places of birth, origin, gender, tribe, or religion, as our ethos should be strengthened as the catalyst for growth.
- i. By making the inclusion of everybody a priority, we would together change and adapt to global norms and practices with respect to citizenship.



Governor Yahaya Bello

attending thanksgiving service at St. Johns Catholic Church, Okene

A photograph of an industrial refinery or chemical plant at night. The scene is illuminated by numerous bright lights, creating a high-contrast image. Several tall, cylindrical distillation columns are visible, along with a complex network of pipes, walkways, and structural steel. In the background, a large, brightly lit storage tank is visible. The overall atmosphere is one of industrial activity and modern infrastructure.

03

ROADMAP FOR JOB CREATION AND ECONOMIC PROSPERITY

“I will foster an economy in which every citizen can maximize their potential as wealth creators and change agents. We will work towards the democratization of the economy to provide equal access to all citizens who are ready to work hard in pursuit of their dreams.”

-Yahaya Bello

INTRODUCTION

One of the top priorities of a Yahaya Bello Administration will be to ensure that our predominantly youthful population is engaged productively. The high rate of unemployment in the country which is about 34%, is the main driver of crime and poverty in the nation. To address this menace, our government shall focus on creating an enabling environment for accelerated growth in high employment sectors such as agriculture, manufacturing, construction, information and communications technology and the creative industries.

A Yahaya Bello Presidency will enhance enterprise placements for job opportunities in the public and private sector of our economy. To achieve this, we shall implement the following agenda to create gainful employment and empower our citizens economically:

- I. **Agenda for Industrialization**
- II. **Agenda for Public Works**
- III. **Agenda for New National Youth Service Corps Internship Program**
- IV. **Agenda for Entrepreneurial Development**
- V. **Agenda for Government Financing**



Agenda for Industrialization

Industrialization involves all the steps that a country takes to steadily transform her economy from being predominantly agrarian to a manufacturing economy. This is usually evident in the increase of industries that utilize available raw materials to produce finished goods for local consumption and export.

Over the years, our economy has become largely dependent on high levels of importation of many items that can be manufactured in Nigeria, a situation which causes us to 'ship-out employment' from our economy to other nations, consequently creating high demand for foreign exchange thereby piling constant pressure on our local currency.

To actualize the agenda for industrialization, create industrial jobs for our economy, and reverse our high level of dependency on importation, a Yahaya Bello Presidency will implement the following strategies:

- a. We will revitalise and develop Industrial Parks and Special Economic Zones in each of the 6 Geo-Political Zones where industries using similar raw materials will cluster and enjoy government incentives and economies of scale.
- b. We will develop and implement people friendly economic policies that will provide incentives and support for manufacturing activities.





- c. We shall design and implement a 'One State, One Product' policy to further drive our industrialization agenda. Each State and the Federal Capital Territory will be encouraged and supported to focus on the production of at least one good in which it currently enjoys comparative advantage and can bring excellence to the value chain.
- d. We will implement policies that will create enabling environment for businesses to attract investment, by creating tax breaks, removing duties on the importation of manufacturing equipment and providing basic infrastructures that will support these businesses.
- e. We will create structures that will encourage public-private partnership initiatives to aggressively mobilize investment, generate wealth and jobs for Nigerians.
- f. We will put in place investor-friendly fiscal and monetary policies that will boost small scale manufacturers to grow manufacturing activities.
- g. The Yahaya Bello Administration will resuscitate marketing boards to encourage specialized industrial hubs with basic inputs. This will encourage business growth with the multiplier effect of growing the economy.
- h. We will support our local manufacturers through tax waivers, export expansion grants and capacity development to promote industrialization.

Agenda for Public Works

Public Works refers to a mass employment programme organized by the government or its agencies to engage unemployed persons for a limited duration, in return for payment that ensures at least a basic minimum income.

Public works programmes have long been used by governments across the world to address unemployment and provide important social support to those most in need whilst simultaneously providing a boost to community infrastructure and services.

A Yahaya Bello Presidency in recognition of the urgent need to address the high level of youth unemployment in the country will initiate expanded public works programmes to engage a sizeable number of youths in the following areas:

- a. Rural Community Services
- b. Road Traffic Services
- c. Urban Environmental Cleaning and Protection Services
- d. Public Infrastructure and Buildings Maintenance
- e. Parks and Gardens Maintenance Services
- f. Social Works



Agenda for New National Youth Service Corps Internship Program

The National Youth Service Corps [NYSC] is a programme that was setup by the Nigerian government on the 22nd May, 1973 in a quest to absorb fresh graduates into the nation building processes, and at the same time promote peaceful cohabitation and national unity. Events over time has shown that the NYSC Scheme needs to be reviewed to highlight its relevance and address more pressing challenges of modern-day Nigeria.

A Yahaya Bello Presidency will make the advancement of the youth population a top priority, therefore, the NYSC scheme will be repositioned to achieve the following:

- a. Building on the pilot programmes of the Skills Acquisition and Entrepreneurship Department (SAED), we will transform the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) programme into a one-year intensive apprenticeship scheme as follows:
- b. Corps members shall undergo a mandatory certificated crash course in entrepreneurship and new venture creation during the 3-week orientation/camping period.

- c. Corps members shall thereafter be posted to only places of primary assignment where they will be trained in trades or vocations of their choice.
- d. On passing out at the end of the service year, corps members who consent to set up new business ventures and commit to at least 3 years of mentoring will qualify for immediate start-up credit, to be released as they meet milestones monitored by participating consultants over the mentoring period.



Agenda for Entrepreneurial Development

According to the United Nations (UN), the Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs) account for over 90% of all the businesses and provide more than 60% of the total global employment. These enterprises tend to employ a larger share of the youth population and the female gender, and these are two groups that the Yahaya Bello Presidency prioritizes wholeheartedly.

Efforts by successive administrations to develop MSMEs in Nigeria led to the creation of a number of intervention agencies such as the Small and Medium Enterprises Development Agency (SMEDAN), Bank of Industry (BOI), Bank of Agriculture (BOA), NIRSAL Micro Finance Bank, and Nigerian Association of Small and Medium Enterprises (NASME), besides



other special intervention programmes by the Central Bank of Nigeria and other Government Agencies.

However, there is still a lot of work to be done to support MSMEs in the country to overcome several infrastructural challenges and other environmental limitations confronting them.

In order to promote entrepreneurial development and consequently drive job creation through a thriving MSME Sector, a Yahaya Bello Presidency will work with critical stakeholders within the MSME space to identify key issues inhibiting the growth of businesses with a view to promptly removing all such stumbling blocks. Furthermore, we will implement the following initiatives:

- a. Provide the required political will to support SMEDAN to fully implement the National Policy on MSME in collaboration with all other relevant Government agencies.
- b. Address key regulatory hinderances posed by Government agencies to MSME with respect to the ease of doing business in Nigeria. We will review existing policies to assess our





business-friendly disposition and strategies to ensure responsive governance.

- c. Address hinderances to access to finance by MSMEs to support their growth.
- d. Create a conducive business environment for MSMEs by providing basic infrastructural facilities to reduce the excessively high cost of doing business.
- e. We will leverage on the use of modern technology to provide technical support to the MSMEs and also capturing the data and volume of business done in the formal and informal sectors to give them a structure and help them grow rapidly.
- f. We will build a hub that caters for the needs of entrepreneurs in the digital economy, pulls them together and build their local capacities. We will create an avenue where they can share information and experience, work for free, and grow themselves to meet world market standard for their contents and expertise.
- g. We will provide incentives in the form of tax breaks and access to federal government backed loans and business grants with low interest rates and long repayment periods.
- h. We will promote an annual entrepreneurial and economic forum where upcoming entrepreneurs meet with serial entrepreneurs to discuss and exchange ideas that will help grow the MSMEs.

Agenda for Government Financing

We have a vital role to play in the global economy by our strategic location and our vast human and material resources. Our challenges as a nation however, has limited our growth as a people and this in turn has affected our productivity and capacity to create real employment for our people. Our inability to harness our resources has limited our march to prosperity. This has resulted in a lot of security challenges that has threatened the very core of our existence.

Even though we are determined to take our people out of the woods of economic inequality, we still need to come up with an ingenious way of raising the needed financial capital of about 20 trillion naira over the next 4 years to kick-start our industrial revolution.

We will pursue the following agenda to move our economy to actionable plans in order to finance our projects:



- a. Government gets the bulk of the money it spends through oil revenue and taxation. A Yahaya Bello Presidency will simplify our tax codes and come up with a robust financial plan that will be designed to improve our tax collection and tax compliance. Our government will also design templates that will increase our oil and gas earnings. We will achieve all these by deploying the use of up-to-date technology, overhauling our tax administrations, and operationalizing digital systems to increase our oil earnings.
- b. A Yahaya Bello Presidency will equip our tax agency, the Federal Inland Revenue Service (FIRS) with the resources it needs to pursue tax evaders. The result of a weak FIRS is a two-tiered tax system, where wage earners pay all the taxes they owe, but the top 1 percent evades billions in taxes.
- c. We will create a fairer tax system through transformation investments, hiring enforcement agents who are trained to pursue tax evaders, modernizing outdated FIRS technology, and investing in taxpayer service. Additional enforcement resources will be focused on pursuing those with the highest incomes; not Nigerians with less income.
- d. A Yahaya Bello Presidency will come up with an outline of a robust 5 years infrastructural development plan which will include strategic investments in all the sectors of our economy. This plan will include our ease of doing business, putting in place strategic tax policies and attracting foreign direct investments, while revamping our ailing manufacturing sector and reducing our worrisome import dependence.
- e. Our reliance on oil which has made our economy a mono-economy product will be addressed by investing in the non-oil and gas sectors. We will endeavour to maintain a growth rate of 15% in the non-oil sector in order for us to achieve a quantum leap in our GDP and our per capita income.
- f. A Yahaya Bello Presidency will pursue Equity financing, thereby raising capital from third party private investors for our Public-Private Partnership (PPP) projects.
- g. A Yahaya Bello Presidency will partner with banks and other financial institutions to take advantage of funding opportunities such as commercial loans, bridge finances, bonds and other debt instruments, usually the main source of debt financing, as debt financing makes up the major share of investment needs, about 70 to 90 per cent in PPP projects.

- h. A Yahaya Bello Presidency will also pursue bridge financing as a short-term financing arrangement, which can be utilized for the initial period, until a long-term financing arrangement can be implemented.
- i. The financial strategy of a Yahaya Bello Presidency will take advantage of the instrumentality of Bank Bonds which are long-term interest-bearing debt instruments purchased either through the capital markets or through private placement.
- j. We will look forward to grants and partnerships from our friends and trade partners to make our PPP projects commercially viable and to reduce our financial risks through counterpart funding.
- k. A Yahaya Bello Presidency will expand the agenda for a Governance Financing Act which will be guided by legislation and when passed into law, will set us on course to create millions of jobs, enable more people to join and remain in the labour market, and grow our economy from the bottom up



An aerial photograph showing a long bridge under construction across a wide, muddy river. The bridge has multiple concrete piers and spans. In the background, there's a cityscape and a tall construction crane. The water is a turbid yellowish-brown. The sky is clear and blue.

04

ROADMAP FOR INFRASTRUCTURE AND UTILITIES

“Good infrastructure is the bedrock for economic development”

-Yahaya Bello

INTRODUCTION

The importance of infrastructure to productivity and economic development cannot be over emphasized. Furthermore, the availability of good infrastructural facilities has direct and positive impact on the quality of lives of the people and promotes economic development in the nation. Nigeria currently has a huge infrastructural deficit that requires massive investment across various sectors to bridge the gap towards accelerating economic growth and improving the living standards of the people.

A Yahaya Bello Presidency will partner with the private sector to strategically close our infrastructural gaps by pursuing the following agenda:

- I. Agenda for Power Infrastructure**
- II. Agenda for Road Infrastructure**
- III. Agenda for Rail Infrastructure**
- IV. Agenda for Aviation Infrastructure**
- V. Agenda for Waterways Infrastructure**
- VI. Agenda for Rural Infrastructure**
- VII. Agenda for New Technology and Digital Infrastructure**



Agenda for Power Infrastructure

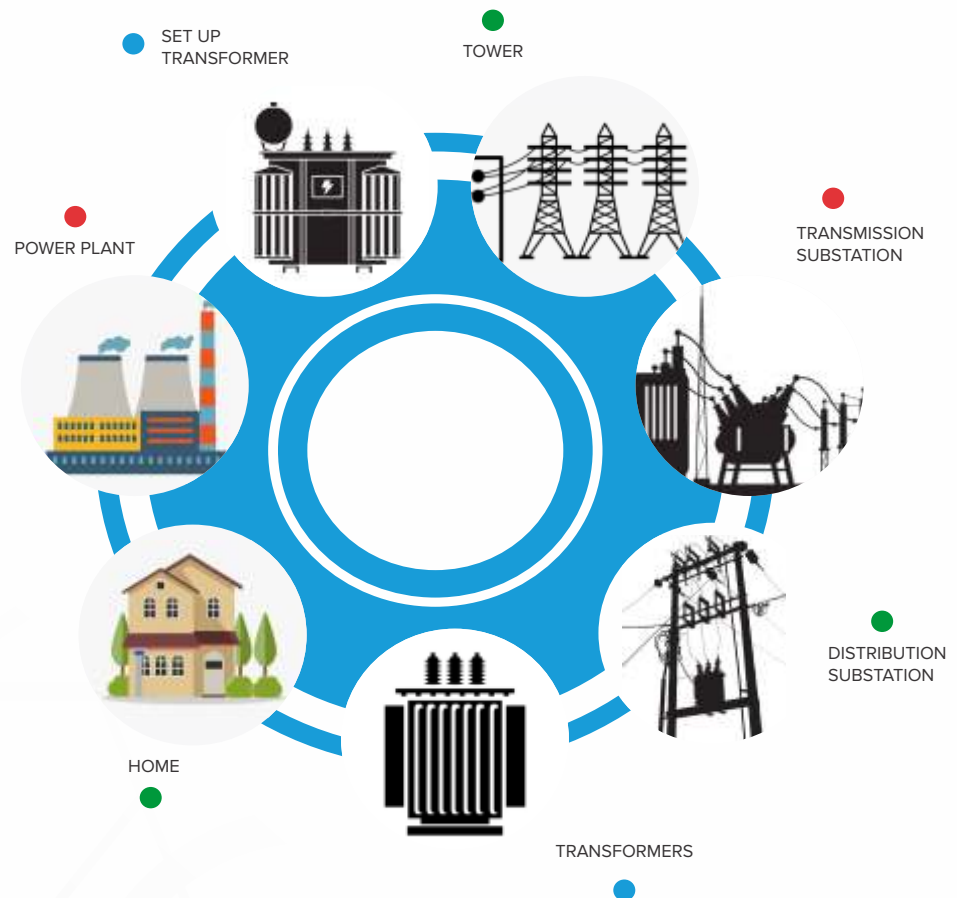
To achieve quantum improvement in the current levels of power generation, transmission, and distribution in Nigeria, and to bridge the yawning gap between the estimated power need of about 40,000MW and power generation and distribution of about 4,000MW requires huge financial investment and political will to effectively address the multifaceted challenges confronting the various stages of the power value chain.

A Yahya Bello presidency will effectively address imbalances in the tripod of power generation, transmission and distribution through a mix of public-private sector interventions as detailed below:

- a. We will focus on decentralization of power supply and collaborate with interested State Governments to set up modular power generating plants within each state of the Federation to increase power generation by at least 40,000MW within 2 years.
- b. We will partner with the Transmission Company of Nigeria (TCN) to upgrade power transmission infrastructure to facilitate effective evacuation of power from the generation stations to power distribution companies.



- c. We will partner with power distribution companies to facilitate the deployment of electricity metres to all consumers within their jurisdiction within 12 months to eliminate revenue loss and power theft.
- d. We will support local electricity metre manufacturers to scale up the local production of electricity metres in order to meet local metre needs.
- e. We will promote the adoption of alternative clean energy sources such as Solar Power in viable areas to provide access to electricity to homes and small businesses.
- f. We will expand rural electrification projects to increase access to power for rural dwellers and improve their standard of living.
- g. We will protect our power infrastructure to prevent vandalization and disruption of power supply.



Agenda for Road Infrastructure



Road infrastructure is by far the most prevalent means of transportation; hence it has direct impact on the level of economic activity and the quality of life. Good Road Infrastructure is a necessity for the socio-economic development of any society as it eases the movement of goods and services across the nation. Conversely, bad roads have high negative impacts on the citizens as it hinders seamless movement of goods and services and causes fatal road accidents with attendant loss of lives and property.

The Federal Government of Nigeria currently has about 35,000 Kilometres of road network across the country most of which need rehabilitation.

A Yahaya Bello Presidency will prioritize the rehabilitation and upgrade of all inter-state federal highways.

To achieve this, we shall implement the following strategies:

- a. Provide funds to facilitate the speedy completion of ongoing construction and rehabilitation of major road projects in the country.
- b. Fully implement the Highway Development and Management Initiative (HDMI) of the current Administration under which the Federal Government has identified twelve (12) major highways for concession under a Public-Private Partnership Initiative.
- c. Sustain the implementation of the Federal Government's Road Infrastructure Tax Credit Policy in partnership with major private sector companies to utilize tax credits for road construction and rehabilitation.
- d. Complementary development of Cargo Rails System to provide an alternative route to long distance haulage by trucks.
- e. Promote a good culture of road maintenance to preserve our highways.
- f. Implement a new model of road design to consider security.



Agenda for Rail Infrastructure



Rail Transportation is a key catalyst for trade and economic growth as it facilitates mass movement of goods and services at relatively lower cost. Historically, most advanced economies have leveraged on rail transportation to drive trade and economic development. Ironically, the development of railway in Nigeria has suffered neglect by successive governments until recently.

Within the last seven years, President Buhari prioritized the funding and completion of some ongoing railway modernization projects embarked upon by his immediate predecessor. This has brought about a revival of rail transportation in the country with the completion of construction works and commencement of commercial operations of the following rail routes:

- o Abuja – Kaduna Standard Gauge Rail Lines (186km)
- o Lagos – Abeokuta – Ibadan Double Lane Standard Gauge (313km)
- o Warri – Itakpe Standard Gauge Rail Lines (326km)

A Yahaya Bello Presidency will prioritize investments in the development of Rail Infrastructure to drive economic development by doing the following:

- a. Ensure the effective management and operation of the Nigerian Railway System to guarantee commercial sustainability and continuity.
- b. Prioritize the funding and completion of ongoing Rail Projects as follows:
 - o Lagos – Benin-city Standard Gauge Line (300km)
 - o Lagos – Kano Standard Gauge (1,343km)
 - o Benin – Abakaliki Standard Gauge (500km)
 - o Port Harcourt – Maiduguri Standard Gauge (1,657km)
- c. Provide adequate security to guarantee the safety of travellers on our trains and to protect our rails from vandals and terrorists through Special Rail Police Commands.



Agenda for Aviation Infrastructure

The Aviation sector requires high level of quality control and management to ensure the safety of travellers and the development of the industry.

A Yahaya Bello Presidency will ensure a high level of quality assurance in the country's aviation sector to guarantee the utmost safety of the sector by pursuing the following agenda:

- a. We will upscale the modernization of key viable local and international airports in the country.
- b. We will provide adequate infrastructure across all our airports to maintain international operational standards in the aviation sector and to guarantee the safety of passengers and the industry.
- c. We will reorganise and sanitize our airports in line with international standards.
- d. We will strengthen regulatory agencies to effectively perform their statutory roles in the aviation sector.
- e. We will address the perennial scarcity of aviation fuel by ensuring self-sufficiency in the local refining of crude oil.
- f. We will establish a national carrier in partnership with the private sector to meet the needs and aspirations of our people



Agenda for Waterways Infrastructure

Water transportation facilitates the movement of goods and people from one location to another over navigable waterways such as rivers, canals, lakes, lagoons, and seas. However, this mode of transportation within the country (inland waterways) is yet to be fully developed for optimum usage and benefit.

While most developed countries effectively utilize their waterways for transportation of goods and services, and to open their economy, we are yet to fully develop our waterways infrastructure of over 10,000 nautical miles as only about 3000 nautical miles of our waterways are navigable.

A Yahaya Bello presidency will focus on the development of our inland waterways for optimum utilization to provide viable alternative channels of transportation and to grow our economy.

We will deploy the following strategies to achieve our goal:

- a. We will develop our waterways infrastructure and navigational facilities along viable water routes to improve inland waterways transportation in the country.

- b. We will invest in the dredging and regular maintenance of our critical inland waterways to make them navigable and ease the movement of goods and passengers along viable routes.
- c. We will provide incentives that will attract investments and encourage more private sector participation in water transportation.
- d. We will revitalize regulatory institutions such as the Nigerian Inland Waterways Authority (NIWA), Nigerian Maritime Administration and Safety Agency (NIMASA) and the Nigerian Ports Authority (NPA) to effectively regulate and manage our water transportation system.
- e. We will beef up the security of our waterways by providing more personnel and aerial surveillance systems to make our waterways safe for users and stakeholders of the sector.
- f. We will create standard measurement structures that will capture all the stakeholders and track the activities of the sector.

- g. We will upgrade and provide operating systems to global standards to enable us to develop our waterways and compete favorably with other nations of the world in maritime economy.
- h. We will make adequate provisions for the maritime sector in our annual budget to provide more funds for the proper operation and maintenance of the maritime industry.
- i. We will build dry ports in viable locations across Nigeria to decongest our existing ports and provide other regions with the opportunities of developing vital business hubs.



Agenda for Rural Infrastructure

Given that almost 50% of our country's population reside in rural communities, it is imperative to develop a sustainable strategy to cater for their basic needs in a way that will minimize the infrastructural gap between rural communities and urban centres.

A Yahaya Bello Presidency will ensure the delivery of basic human needs of security, water, health, education, power, and roads to rural communities in a sustainable manner as detailed below:

- a. We will partner with State Governments to deliver integrated rural infrastructure including security, water, primary health centres, schools and electricity to rural communities across the country.
- b. We will prioritize the provision of access roads to farming communities to ease transportation and increase economic activities.
- c. We will sustain policies to encourage telecoms operators to extend broad-band services to rural communities.
- d. We will establish e-Centres in rural communities across Nigeria to enable the delivery of digital banking, health, education, trading services, and e-Government, and effectively connect villages to modern services.
- e. We will provide adequate funding for relevant government agencies such as Rural Electrification Agency (REA), River Basin Development Authorities (RBDAs), Nigerian Communications Commission (NCC), Ministry of Education, Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Health and Ministry of Communications and Digital Economy to ramp up rural infrastructural development across the six geopolitical zones of the country.



Agenda for New Technology and Digital Infrastructure

Information and Communications Technology (ICT) currently plays a very significant role in modern economies and daily lives of individuals. Virtually every aspect of human endeavour now depends on ICT to run effectively. For instance, sectors like banking, aviation, health, education, and many government processes now thrive on ICT.

In Nigeria, the ICT sector has been experiencing better growth than any other sector over the last 10 years. In 2020, the ICT sector recorded double-digit growth of 12.9% ahead of other sectors, while the Telecommunications subsector grew by 15.9%. Despite this significant progress, the digital economy in Nigeria is still developing and requires more infrastructural support to effectively drive national development.

The global digital economy was estimated at \$11.5 trillion in 2016 which represents 15.5% of global GDP, while the value of global eCommerce was estimated at \$29trillion, and still growing yearly (Source: The World Bank).

Nigeria has a predominantly youthful population which is tech-savvy and should be encouraged to further develop their interest in ICT by the government and private sector.

In order to take advantage of this fast-growing global digital economy, a Yahaya Bello presidency will provide an enabling environment to propel the growth of the ICT sector in Nigeria and create digital opportunities and employment for our youths through the following agenda:





- a. We will improve broadband penetration through the provision of digital infrastructure required by the private sector to thrive.
- b. We will expand the use of ICT in the delivery of academic curricula in our learning institutions nationwide.
- c. We will implement policies to improve digital economy which will in turn grow eCommerce and the financial sector.
- d. We will encourage legitimate digital entrepreneurship particularly amongst the youths who are learned or talented in various aspects of information and communications technology.
- e. We will pursue a clearly defined strategy on broadening the footprint of new technology by setting up a National BlockChain Taskforce (NBT) to develop a trailblazing policy for the nation in cryptos, the metaverse, Non- Fungible Token (NFTs) and blockchain technology.
- f. We will pursue curated use of Decentralized Autonomous Organizations (DAOs) and smart contracts to enhance transparency and automation in combating hitherto intractable national problems, particularly the wars against corruption and insecurity.



05

ROADMAP FOR EDUCATION AND HUMAN CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT

“Education is the foundation of development; it provides solutions for the society”.

-Yahaya Bello

INTRODUCTION

Education is the bedrock of development and the building block for nations. It plays a pivotal role in increasing knowledge and skills, which in turn lead to increased productivity and the economic advancement of the society.

Over the years, the quality of education in our country, particularly in our public schools have been on the decline due to low levels of investments and quality assurance in the education sector. The Nigerian educational sector is currently facing a lot of challenges that require serious and urgent attention.

Some of the key challenges facing the educational sector in Nigeria range from poor funding, outdated teaching materials, and a dearth of qualified personnel. In addition, Nigeria has the highest number of out-of-school children in the world. This situation needs to be addressed urgently to avert the future negative impact of a generation of uneducated citizens in a knowledge-based world.

A Yahaya Bello Presidency will invest substantial resources in partnership with the private sector to strategically address the deficit in the educational sector by implementing the following agenda:

- I. **Agenda for Free and Compulsory Universal Basic Education**
- II. **Agenda for Safe Schools Initiative**
- III. **Agenda to Revamp Quality of Education from Primary to Tertiary Levels**
- IV. **Agenda for Vocational Training and Skills Development**



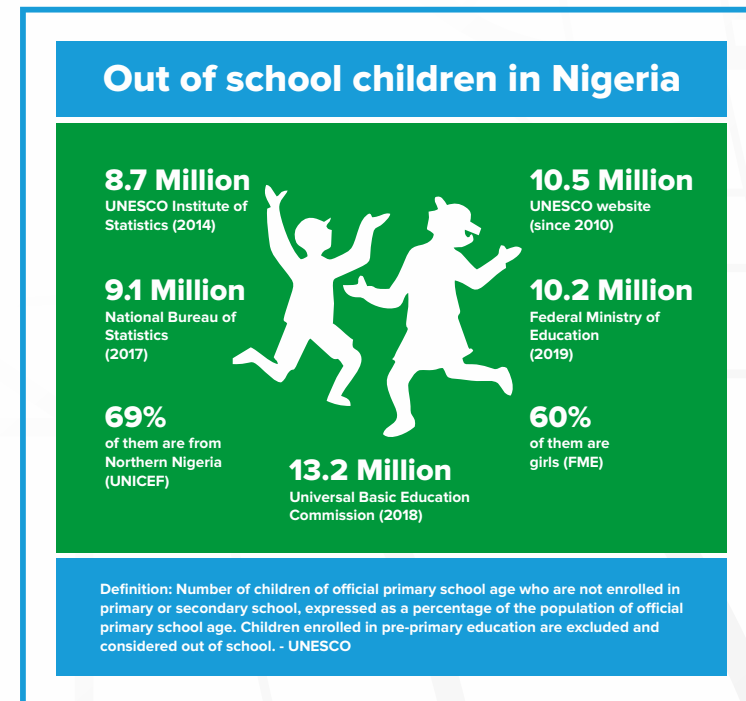
Agenda for Free and Compulsory Universal Basic Education

Basic Education is the right of every child, however, access to primary education remains a challenge for an unacceptably large number of children in Nigeria, thereby creating a critical mass of excluded and vulnerable children. The inability of children to access basic education sets in motion a vicious cycle of poverty.

Recent statistics from the United Nations Children's Education Fund (UNICEF) indicate that about 10.5 million children are out of school in Nigeria, the highest in the world. This dire situation calls for urgent action. A Yahaya Bello Presidency will address this problem in the following ways:

- a. We will continue to prioritize compulsory foundational education for every Nigerian Child by sustaining free Basic Education for the first 9-years of learning.
- b. Just like we have done in Kogi State, we will deploy statutes and other coercive mechanisms to ensure that the early formative years of our children are no longer wasted.

- c. We will partner with the local traditional institutions to implement policies that will encourage parents to enrol their wards in school rather than allow them to roam the streets hawking during school hours.



- d. We will sustain and enhance the Home-Grown School Feeding Programme (HGSFP) initiated by the current administration in public Basic Education Schools across the country.
- e. We will provide free study aids such as school uniforms, reading and writing materials to students in public schools.
- f. We will implement policies and strategies that start early orientation vocation and entrepreneurship programmes in the school curricula for primary and secondary schools and build them from a tender age.
- g. We will remodel our schools to set the standard for foundational education, while providing a level playing field by reducing the cost of education.



Agenda for Safe Schools Initiative

We owe it as a duty to humanity and to ourselves to provide a secured learning environment for our children. Presently, our security situation is frightening as it has affected the educational system across board and schools are seen as soft targets by violent criminal elements, thereby making schools unsafe. This prompted the safe school initiative in May 2014, however, its scope of coverage is still very low.

A Yahaya Bello Presidency will offer solutions to the educational needs of children in crisis-torn areas while ensuring the safety of learners, instructors, and school facilities.

To achieve our goals for Safe Schools, we will do the following:

- a. We will repair and rebuild schools and educational facilities in crisis torn areas and provide incentives such as strong perimeter fencing of our schools to make education attractive to them again.
- b. We will deploy armed security personnel to educational facilities to guard children and protect them from attacks.
- c. We will design specialized educational programmes for children in volatile areas who have been cut off from formal education.
- d. We will upgrade public schools in safe regions in the country to accommodate pupils and students from crisis torn regions in Nigeria, so that there will be no break or gaps in the school calendar.



Agenda to Revamp High Quality Education from Primary to Tertiary Levels

The Fourth Sustainable Development Goal (SDG 4) seeks to ensure inclusive and equitable quality education across the world by 2030 while promoting lifelong learning opportunities for all. Access to quality education has been a major concern of the Nigerian education system since Independence. A Yahaya Bello Presidency will revamp high quality education with the following agenda:

- a. We will sustain and enhance existing partnership between the Federal and State Governments and development partners to revamp Basic Education.
- b. We will establish a Federal Secondary Education Commission to strengthen federal support for specialized intervention in the improvement of Unity Schools and other select public secondary schools across the country.
- c. We will enhance the role of the Tertiary Education Trust Fund (TETFund) to upgrade educational infrastructure in all government-owned Tertiary institutions to world-class standard.
- d. We will ensure equity to all stakeholders in the tertiary education sector in order to guaranty a stable academic calendar.
- e. We will improve learning spaces and other incidences of world class university education in Nigeria
- f. In line with global best practices in the education sector, we will deploy digital technology to conduct Continuing Professional Development (CPD), Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) and periodic appraisal of Teachers and other educational service providers.
- g. We will hire additional qualified teachers to bridge the staffing gaps in Government-owned Schools and enhance efficiency.
- h. We will strengthen all regulatory agencies such as Teachers Registration Council of Nigeria (TRCN) and others to enhance professionalism of the teaching profession.
- i. We will increase the share of our education budget from the current level of about 7% to a minimum of 15% within the first year of our administration to raise the standards of education.

Agenda for Vocational Training and Skills Development

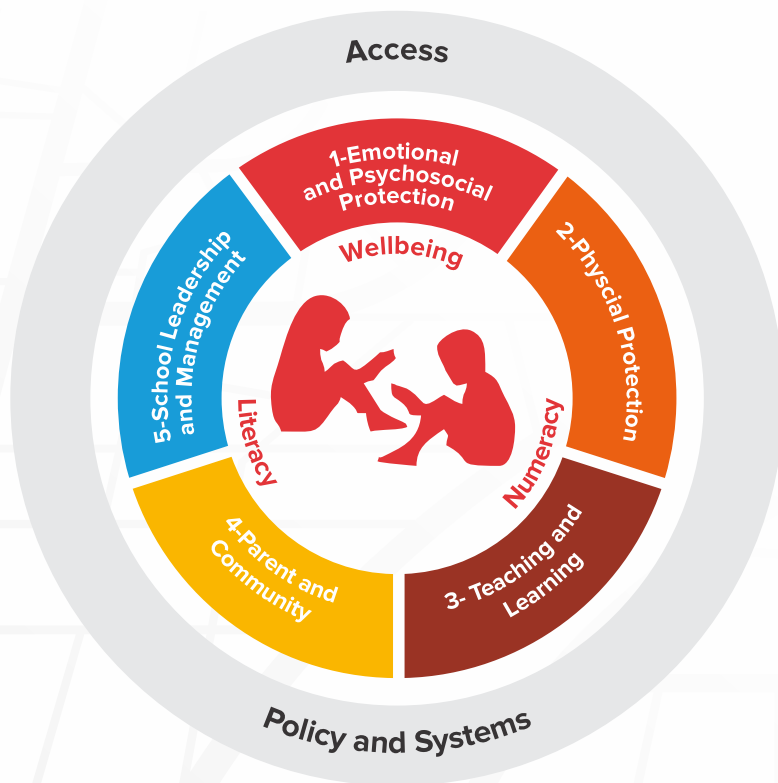
The need to expand the delivery of Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) to complement the conventional system of learning cannot be over emphasized.

A deliberate focus on revamping our moribound TVET institutions across the country will provide the skilled manpower that we need at all levels of our economy. It will also provide training opportunities and career advancement avenues for our increasing number of school leavers, thereby leading to self-reliance in the absence of salaried employment and enhance the industrialization process.

A Yahaya Bello Presidency will provide tangible answers with clear plans for the revitalisation of TVET/Skills Development through the following strategies:

- a. We will introduce a comprehensive Vocational Education Transformation Initiative (VETI) to revamp and strengthen existing TVET institutions across the country for better service delivery.





- b. We will strengthen relevant regulatory agencies to improve oversight of TVET Institutions.
- c. We will partner with State Governments to revamp State-owned Technical Colleges.
- d. We will leverage on the use of technology to build an e-Vocational hub to provide access to information, innovation, knowledge-sharing, and virtual market for services.
- e. We will target our unskilled and uneducated category of youths by providing them with structured apprenticeship training.
- f. We will make Entrepreneurial Studies in schools curricula compulsory from primary to tertiary education levels to build entrepreneurship awareness in our youths.
- g. We will create a specialised programme to provide incentives to serve as motivation for the participants of government vocational initiatives after completion. This will come in form of seed capital and working equipment to help with start-ups.
- h. We will initiate an annual TVET competition and exhibition to showcase and promote innovations from various TVET Institutes across the nation.



06

ROADMAP FOR HEALTHCARE AND CITIZENS' WELFARE

“We shall invest in quality primary health care to drive the achievement of Universal Health Coverage in Nigeria by 2030.”

-Yahaya Bello

INTRODUCTION

Sound physical and mental health are basic human needs and prerequisites for anyone to engage in productive economic activities. Good Health and Well-Being rank high among the Global 17 Sustainable Development Goals, which every responsible government should provide for her citizens.

Over the years, the Nigerian Healthcare Sector has grappled with multi-faceted challenges including inadequate funding, poorly equipped hospitals and other health facilities, dearth of qualified medical personnel, obsolete equipment, poor administration, brain-drain in the health sector, lack of synergy between public and private healthcare institutions, and low level of universal healthcare coverage for our fast-growing population.

The current state of our health sector has been responsible for many preventable deaths. The rate of infant mortality, child mortality and maternal mortality in Nigeria ranks amongst the highest in the world. A Yahaya Bello Presidency will rise to the challenge of fixing our healthcare sector by addressing the following critical areas:

- I. **Agenda to Overhaul Primary Healthcare**
- II. **Agenda for Universal Health Coverage**
- III. **Agenda to Improve the Overall Quality of Healthcare**
- IV. **Agenda for a Responsive Foster Care System for Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVC)**
- V. **Agenda for Elderly Care Services**
- VI. **Agenda for Mental Healthcare**



Agenda To Overhaul Primary Healthcare

The Healthcare System in Nigeria is categorized into three levels namely, Primary Healthcare, Secondary Healthcare, and Tertiary Healthcare.

Primary Healthcare is the foundation of the healthcare system where citizens at the grassroots can access basic preventive and curative health services to address ailments and diseases before they fester into health emergencies.

Only about 20% of the 30,000 primary healthcare centres in the countries have a semblance of the manpower and equipment required to function optimally. This forces citizens to seek basic medical attention in the secondary and tertiary health facilities thereby overloading them.

To address the challenges of Primary Healthcare in Nigeria, a Yahaya Bello Presidency will do the following:

- a. Build or upgrade existing Primary Health Centres (PHCs) into **Model Primary Health Centres (MPHCs)** in each ward. This will lead to the creation of about 9,565 Model PHCs that are adequately equipped and staffed to cater to the primary healthcare needs of residents of each ward. This will also ensure better management of



our PHCs for improved service delivery and impact by ensuring the effective management of easily treatable ailments before they become medical emergencies.

- b. Ensure that each Model PHC in every Ward has clearly defined reporting lines to the Secondary Health Facility at the Local Government Headquarters.
- c. Provide Tricycle Ambulances to every Model PHC to speedily transport patients in need of emergency medical attention beyond the scope of the MPHCs to secondary healthcare facilities at the local government headquarters or nearest general hospital.

- d. Create alignments between Model PHCs and Ward Councillors in every ward to ensure complementary supervisory oversight over each Model PHC. Training and capacity building will be conducted annually for Ward Councillors across the 36 States and FCT to guide them on the reporting and supervisory template.
- e. Reorganize the National Primary Health Care Development Agency (NPHCDA) under the Federal Ministry of Health to effectively monitor the Model PHCs in all the wards.
- f. Promote preventive health care at the grassroots to prevent avoidable ailments and deaths.
- g. Improve access to basic infrastructure such as water and electricity in hospitals and other medical facilities.
- h. Implement a medical drone delivery service to deliver drugs, vaccines, blood and other medical consumables to remote areas that are not easily accessible, particularly during emergencies.

Agenda for Universal Health Coverage

Universal Health Coverage (UHC) refers to the ability of citizens to access healthcare services that they need without suffering financial hardship. This presupposes that majority of the citizens have functional and reliable health insurance cover which provides them access to quality healthcare whenever they need it as against out-of-pocket medical expenses.

The level of Universal Health Coverage in Nigeria is still very low, as less than 5% of our population have access to health insurance cover. This has resulted in citizens within low-income brackets being unable to afford quality healthcare services when they need it most.

A Yahya Bello Presidency will prioritize the expansion of access to Universal Health Coverage by Nigerians through the following initiatives:

- a. Partner with the private sector (Telecoms Operators, FinTech Companies and Healthcare Providers) to create a novel Health Insurance Programme that will provide health insurance cover for low-income earners by contributing as low as N1,000 monthly through their mobile phones.
- b. Strengthen the Model Primary Health Centres nationwide to effectively deliver people-centred frontline medical services to treat basic ailments and diseases at MPHs across the country.

- c. Address the shortage of qualified healthcare workers with the appropriate skills levels to man the Model Primary Health Centres nationwide.
- d. Promote innovative partnerships to maximise the synergies between the public and private sector, such as health franchising to contracting of services and social marketing of health commodities.



Agenda to Improve the Overall Quality of Healthcare

Over the years, Nigeria has been experiencing constant exodus of medical professionals to several countries in Europe, Asia, and North America. While several underlying reasons are responsible for this massive brain-drain, two reasons stand out, these are: the desire for better income, and the desire for better working environment.

The twenty-first century medical practice thrives largely on huge investment in high quality and high-tech medical equipment which are scarcely available in our secondary and tertiary health facilities due to lack of sustained investment in our health infrastructure over the years.

A Yahaya Bello Presidency will pursue the agenda to improve the overall quality of healthcare in Nigeria through focused and sustainable investment in our secondary and tertiary health facilities as corollaries to our earlier Agenda to Overhaul Primary Healthcare through the following initiatives:

- a. Upgrade and strengthen all existing Federal Medical Centres (FMCs) and Federal University Teaching Hospitals by providing necessary world-class medical equipment and facilities to improve health service delivery across the nation.

- b. Partner with State Governments to upgrade and strengthen State government-owned secondary healthcare institutions across the nation to improve healthcare delivery as referral centres from the primary healthcare facilities.
- c. Improve the general working conditions and remuneration package of medical personnel in Federal Tertiary Healthcare institutions.
- d. We will partner with the private sector professionals to outsource our hospital management services for administrative effectiveness and efficiency which will enable our medical personnel focus fully on healthcare delivery.
- e. Institute close and effective monitoring and evaluation of service levels across all Federal Tertiary Healthcare institutions.
- f. Institute minimum regulatory standards for specific categories of healthcare facilities to achieve quality health service delivery across the nation.
- g. Partner with Diaspora Nigerian Healthcare Professionals and the Private Sector health services operators to create enabling environment for private healthcare facilities to thrive in the country.

Agenda for a Responsive Foster Care System for Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVC)

A high level of commitment is imperative in addressing the numerous challenges that orphans and vulnerable children face. Laws have been enacted to protect orphans and vulnerable children from exploitative and hazardous conditions in the past, but there is the need to strengthen these laws and make them more effective.

A Yahaya Bello Presidency will implement strategies that will address the issues of foster care systems for Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVC) through the following initiatives:

- a. Ensure full implementation and enforcement of the Child's Right Act.
- b. Our foster care system will build on the gains of the Almajiri School System which emphasizes focus on school placement for all displaced children and take them off the streets.
- c. Our administration will improve the capacity of our Unity School System to take the orphans and vulnerable children off the

streets by placing 50 identified vulnerable children in each Unity School across the country.

- d. Build on existing partnership and collaborations with the civil society organizations to chart out innovative systems for foster care and child protection services.
- e. Initiate and implement partnerships with key stakeholders in communities to create awareness about providing care and support for Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVC).
- f. Implement sustainable policies for the care, support and protection of vulnerable children which will not only focus on their immediate survival needs such as food, water, shelter and clothing, but also on long-term needs that reduces their vulnerability such as education, life skills, vocational training, health care, psychosocial support, legal support and household economic strengthening.



Agenda for Elderly Care Services

We all look forward to living good lives after retirement. However, the experience of most retirees in Nigeria has been challenging due to unfavourable conditions.

The Pension Reform Act 2014 was introduced to address some of the challenges confronting retirees in the country. However, this has not been favourable to majority of retirees and older citizens who were engaged in the non-formal sectors.

Apart from Retirees, other Senior citizens face several other health and social challenges within our society that require state intervention.

A Yahaya Bello Presidency will provide necessary structures to cater to the need of Older Citizens and Retirees through the following initiatives:

- a. We will provide for the healthcare needs of Older Citizens (over 65-years) under our National Healthcare Policy.
- b. We will provide support and incentives to the private sector and charitable organisations to establish nursing homes and improve hospitals to take care of healthcare needs of the elderly.

- c. We will develop health packages for government owned hospitals that will subsidize the cost of healthcare for Older Citizens.
- d. We will develop and implement home-based treatment schemes for elderly Nigerians with special needs.
- e. We will provide support and facilities in public places for elderly people to make life easier for them.



Agenda for Mental Healthcare

Our mental health speaks to our total social well-being, which includes our emotional, psychological, and social-economic welfare. Our mental health affects the way we think, the way we feel and the way we act. Mental health also goes a long way to determine how we handle stress, relate to other people and make the various choices we make. It also talks about maintaining a positive state of wellbeing.

Often, people who suffer from prolonged mental health issues without adequate psychiatric attention end up with full-blown mental health issues. Unfortunately, some people in this category end up on our streets destitute and vulnerable without any social support.

A Yahaya Bello Presidency will encourage a robust debate about mental health as we know this will help us to improve our communities by making it more acceptable for those who are suffering from mental illnesses to speak out, seek help, learn to cope, and to fully recover.

We would pursue the following strategies to achieve our goals:

- a. We will upgrade our existing mental health institutions to meet the mental health needs of our people as better mental health contributes to the promotion of socio-economic development.
- b. Make provisions to increase number of Psychiatric Health Practitioners to adequately meet the mental healthcare requirements of our teeming population by putting in place, attractive packages for Psychiatrists and service providers.
- c. We will strengthen our mental health institutions and social welfare services to provide adequate care for people who suffer from complete mental disorder to prevent them from becoming a menace and destitute in the society.
- d. We will focus on our national mental health because we are aware of the fact that poor mental health if left unattended, can impact negatively on the state of our national health, and this in turn will affect our broader social and economic goals.
- e. We will institute a policy of providing periodic mental health support and checks for our front-line officers in the law enforcement agencies to ensure that they are in very good mental state.
- f. We will, through the National Orientation Agency (NOA) and other information outlets; carry out a mass orientation and information dissemination on the issues of mental health as a social health issue and not spiritual as is often believed to be.
- g. Our strategy on mental health will help us effectively manage the mental health conditions of persons with mental health challenges to prevent it from spiralling out of control.





07

ROADMAP FOR PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTOR REFORMS

“A highly effective and efficient public sector is a needed catalyst for economic growth and development of emerging economies.”

-Yahaya Bello

INTRODUCTION

The role of the public sector in providing an enabling environment for the private sector to operate and thrive in any economy is invaluable. An inefficient and ineffective public sector will impede business growth and stifle investment as well as economic development. Therefore, it is imperative that the government ensures the implementation of reforms that cut down on bureaucracy, eliminates corruption and address wastages.

A Yahaya Bello presidency will ensure the review of the activities of all government agencies to make them more effective in producing positive results.

To achieve the above objectives, our government will embark on the following strategic policy agenda:

- I. Agenda for Public Service Reforms
- II. Agenda for e-Governance
- III. Agenda to Enforce the Rule of Law and Tackle Corruption



Agenda for Public Service Reforms

The public sector is made up of ministries, departments and agencies that execute government policies, plans, and programmes. A Yahaya Bello Presidency will galvanize the public sector to be the driver for the rapid change and development that we seek to bring as a government.

We have had a series of public sector reforms carried out by successive governments with the aim of increasing the administrative capacity of the public sector to implement development programmes and achieve national goals. However, these reforms aimed at repositioning and strengthening the public sector as a veritable instrument for our national development are yet to fully yield the desired outcomes.

A Yahaya Bello Presidency will be driven by the quest to strengthen or enhance the capacity of our public sector to achieve our national development goals. To this end, we will promote the following:

- a. Deploy requisite political will to actualize far-reaching public-sector reforms to galvanize our public sector to effectively superintend national development.



- b. We will prioritize our public sector reform exercise as a continuous part of the implementation of our various development strategies such as National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS), Economic Reform and Growth Plan (ERGP) and the National Development Plan (NDP).
- c. We will renew the Service Compact (SERVICOM) with All Nigerians to institutionalize a citizen-focused, efficient, and responsive public sector characterized by professionalism and excellent work ethic.
- d. We will embark on effective management of public expenditure and eliminate wastage.
- e. We will implement automated workflow management for Ministries Departments and Agencies to eliminate bureaucracy, vendetta, and malicious discretion which work against the normal career progression of a civil servant.

- f. We will be consistent and transparent with our reforms to make them more effective and meaningful for our people.
- g. We will curtail and minimize the patrimonial inclinations of civil servants and politicians such as greed, corruption and ineptitude which are strong inhibitors to our national development.



Agenda for e-Governance

The objective of e-Governance is to deploy information and communications technology (ICT) to effectively process the business of government in order to enhance efficiency, transparency, accountability and provide better services to the citizenry by ministries, departments and agencies.

The emergence of the digital age has affected both the roles and the functions of public institutions, whereby the government is required to take on the roles of harnessing the power of the internet and invariably lead change.

A Yahaya Bello Presidency will invest heavily in the application of ICT in government to achieve profound impact in efficiency, responsiveness, and accountability of our administration. With e-Governance, we will improve on the quality of life and productivity of our people, especially the poor and ultimately on the economic output and growth of the country.

e-Governance goes beyond mere computerization of stand-alone back-office operations. We will make e-Governance fundamental to how government businesses are being handled at different levels, thereby giving new impetus to public service delivery.

We will pursue the under listed agenda to achieve our aim:

- a. A Yahaya Bello Presidency will digitalize all Ministries, Departments and Agencies of Government and train all public officials in ICT.
- b. We will sustain and upgrade the use of payroll accounting and other housekeeping software for effective personnel management.
- c. We will institute stringent performance measurement systems to monitor the performance of every Ministry, Department and Agency with a view to address poor service delivery.
- d. We will institute a robust feedback mechanism to enable citizens provide feedback about their interactions with government offices and officials.

- e. We will ensure that while each Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) will have its own website, all acts and circulars must be converted into electronic form and made available on the internet.



Agenda to Enforce the Rule of Law and Tackle Corruption

Systemic corruption is like a canker worm which can destroy the fabric of the society if not checked. The prevention of corruption in the public service is possible through strict adherence to extant public service rules and regulations and implementation of checks and balances to curb corruption, strengthen good governance, and enhance the ease of doing business across board.

A Yahaya Bello Presidency will adopt merit-based systems for the recruitment and promotion of civil servants, promote codes of conduct for the public sector, establish transparent systems for the declaration of assets, prescribe criteria for election to public office, enhance transparency in the funding of political parties and prevent conflicts of interest.

Our administration will put in place additional measures for preventing corrupt practices, and this will include the promotion of stakeholder participation and open government. These and other measures that will prevent corruption in the public sector are part of our agenda outlined below:

- a. We will overhaul the administration of justice to reposition the judiciary and the legal practice for optimum efficiency, institutionalize the rule of law and ensure adherence to procedural safeguards in the overall conduct of national business.

- b. We will put in place a system that rewards appropriate behaviour and exceptional conduct by public officers to serve as motivation for good performance.
- c. We will uphold existing codes of conduct and ethics for public officials by insisting on high personal standards of integrity and professionalism in the discharge of public trust.
- d. We will have zero tolerance for corruption and demonstrate same with heavy penalties for corrupt behaviour to serve as deterrence for corrupt tendencies in the public sector. Specifically, high office/responsibility will attract the severest punishment for corrupt practices.
- e. We will ensure job satisfaction and fulfilment through commensurate compensation for public officers to reduce one of the most common kinetic motivations for corrupt practices, i.e. poor remuneration.





08

ROADMAP FOR AGRICULTURE REFORMS AND AGRO-VALUE CHAIN DEVELOPMENT

“Agriculture provides us with the only key to end hunger”

-Yahaya Bello

INTRODUCTION

Agriculture plays a critical role in the life of every economy. Aside from the provision of food and raw materials, agriculture provides millions of people with employment and a source of livelihood.

Nigeria is blessed with arable land mass in excess of 34 million hectares that is suitable for farming a variety of cash and food crops for local consumption and exports. Before the discovery of crude oil in Nigeria, agriculture was the mainstay of our economy. Agriculture employs about 70% of the rural populace while it contributes about 24% of our national GDP.

Currently, agriculture in Nigeria is still mostly subsistent, hence the sub-optimal level of output when compared with yields in the advanced economies.

A Yahaya Bello Presidency will invest heavily in the domestic manufacture of fertilizer and other Agric inputs to ensure self-sufficiency and export capabilities in food and fertilizer.

We shall deploy the following agenda to achieve the above goals and objectives:

- I. Agenda for Livestock Transformation**
- II. Agenda for Mechanization of Farming**
- III. Agenda for Agricultural Value Chain Development**
- IV. Agenda for Rural Agricultural Clusters**



Agenda for Livestock Transformation

There has been a lot of violence that has been fuelled by the competition over land, which has aggravated long-running tensions between farmers and herdsman in the country.

A Yahaya Bello Presidency will stop the bloodshed by formulating far-reaching reforms for the livestock sector through the following initiatives:

- a. We will modernize the livestock sector to resolve the herder-farmer conflict which threatens Nigeria's political stability and food security by implementing a modified version of the National Livestock Transformation Plan which incentivizes pastoralists to transit from open and itinerant grazing to ranching and other modern livestock production systems.
- b. We will hold symposia to communicate our livestock transformation plans and benefits to herders, farmers, and Nigerians at large.

- c. We will set up at least 109 Model Ranches across all the participating states, thereby creating over one million direct and indirect jobs through livestock production, processing, and marketing chains.



- d. We will prioritize the training of farmers and herders to build expertise and technical capacity for managing ranches, dairy production, and meat processing.
- e. We will embark on a policy of sourcing hardier breeds of livestock from other parts of the world for crossbreeding with local species to guarantee enhanced meat, dairy, leather, and other animal products for local consumption and the export market.
- f. We will develop strategies to deal with the menace of foreign migratory herders who cross our borders seasonally.
- g. We will address the problem of rural insecurity, curb impunity and rehabilitate communities that are adversely affected by violence.

Agenda for Mechanization of Farming

The agenda for agricultural mechanization is one of the top priorities of a Yahaya Bello administration as it has the potential of increasing agricultural yield by at least five folds thereby improving productivity, food security, and value for the economy.

Currently, agriculture in Nigeria is predominantly labour intensive, with very low adoption of mechanization. The resultant effect is low productivity, unattractiveness of agriculture to the youths, high rate of rural-urban migration, and high level of dependency on food importation.

A Yahaya Bello administration will partner with the private sector to invest in sustainable agricultural mechanization to improve agricultural yield in order to ensure food security, make farming attractive to the youths and curb the menace of unemployment by implementing the following initiatives:

- a. We will partner with the private sector to implement a novel **“Tractors for Nigerian Farmers Programme”** targeted at providing one tractor per ward in the 9,565 Wards across Nigeria over a period of 24 months. This will provide small holder farmers access to tractor services under a Pay As You Go arrangement.

- b. We will create an enabling policy framework to support agricultural mechanization and progressively overcome the “hoe and Cutlass” culture replace manual labour with technology to make farming attractive to our youths. We will put in place policies to overcome the “hoe and cutlass” culture to make agriculture attractive to youths by introducing agricultural mechanization and strengthening incentives for our farmers.
- c. We will support farmers to gain access to credit facilities to buy modern farm machines and implements to enhance mechanized agriculture.
- d. We will collaborate with Donor Agencies and International Development Partners such as International Institute of Tropical Agriculture (IITA), Agricultural Technical Vocational Education and Training (ATVET), and African Development Bank (AfDB) to provide farmers with capacity development to enhance agricultural productivity in Nigeria.



- e. We will strengthen the Agricultural and Rural Management Training Institute (ARMTI) to provide training and capacity development for improved rural mechanized farming.
- f. We will focus on improving farm roads, rural roads, and feeder roads to improve access to farmlands by tractors and other equipment.
- g. We will establish and support agricultural extension services to enlighten farmers to adopt farm mechanization.
- h. We will strengthen the National Centre for Agricultural Mechanization (NCAM) to provide locally manufactured agricultural tools and equipment to meet the need of farmers.

Agenda for Agricultural Value Chain Development

A Yahaya Bello Agricultural Value Chain Development Programme will target the improvement of the stages involved from farm-to-market of our key staple foods and cash crops to enhance the quality of output and add value to our farm produce.

Our aim is to increase output and quality to improve the marketability of our farm produce home and abroad, thereby ensuring increased contribution of the agricultural value chain to the GDP, as well as enhanced income for farmers and others in the value chain.

To achieve considerable improvement in our agricultural value chain, a Yahaya Bello Administration will pursue the actualization of the following initiatives:

- a. We will set up Agro-Processing and Quality Control Hubs in every state to assist Agropreneurs to prepare their farm produce to international standards for the export market.
- b. We will make available improved agricultural inputs and seedlings for our farmers to enhance productivity as it is key in the development of the value chain

- c. We will put in place systems that will improve on storage, processing, packaging, and distribution to meet international standards, which will increase our options to customize our farmers products and services.
- d. To ease the transportation of agricultural produce from farm-to-market, we will focus on improving farm roads, rural roads and feeder roads.



Agenda for Rural Agricultural Clusters

A Yahaya Bello Presidency will encourage agricultural clusters to support the sustainable development of our rural areas through the creation of shared value.

We have come up with the following agenda to achieve this aim:

- a. We will implement large scale residential farming communes (farm cities) that are fully mechanized, autonomous and self-sustaining in power and water supply, security, and other social amenities.
- b. We will create Agro-Processing Zones proximate to the Farm Cities to process and add value to agricultural products thereby eliminating post-harvest losses.
- c. We will create new farmers markets and improve existing ones to create a conducive environment and viable marketplace for the exchange of values.
- d. We will provide agricultural extension services to enhance the productivity of farmers in the farm clusters and generate more income to reduce poverty in our rural areas.
- e. We will address the common rural challenges, such as poor access to basic services and infrastructure.

- f. We shall design and implement a 'One State, One Crop' policy to ensure food security and improve our balance of trade indices through expanded export capabilities. Each State and the Federal Capital Territory will be encouraged to focus on developing the highest output possible in the cultivation of one major crop in which it currently enjoys comparative advantage.





09

ROADMAP FOR HOUSING DEVELOPMENT AND URBAN RENEWAL

“Housing is a basic and fundamental human need.”

-Yahaya Bello

INTRODUCTION

Housing is a basic and fundamental human need that is required for survival and maintaining a decent quality of life. Housing accommodates the smallest unit of the society, that is, the family unit. It is an indicator of a society's standard of living.

With an estimated population of 200 million and rising rural-urban migration in the country, Nigeria has a yawning housing deficit estimated at over 15 million houses.

The above challenge presents an opportunity for investment in the development of affordable houses, with the attendant benefits of job creation, improved living conditions, and increased economic activities with the multiplier effect of economic growth.

A Yahaya Bello Presidency will pursue the following agenda towards the development of 1,000,000 Housing units nationwide within 24 months:

- I. Agenda for Mass Home Ownership**
- II. Agenda for Six Gateway Cities (one in each Geo-Political Zone)**



Agenda for Mass Home Ownership

The magnitude of the housing problem in our country is huge with the current housing deficit put around 15 million housing units. The lack of houses has been a recurring decimal. Government-led interventions of direct provision has not made any significant impact for the low and moderate-income earners.

A Yahaya Bello administration will articulate the solutions to the challenges around mass housing production and access for our people, by putting in place the enabling framework, which will advance private sector participation in the housing market through prioritizing necessary solutions that are critical to closing the housing gap in the country.

We will put in place the following strategies:

- a. Our administration will implement policies to improve access to home financing by the working class through partnership between Primary Mortgage Banks and the Federal Mortgage Bank of Nigeria (FMBN). We will create a robust mortgage market that will support home ownership through mortgages.

- b. We will partner with the private sector to develop mass housing projects for middle-income and low-income earners.
- c. We will implement realistic land reforms to address the housing requirements of the citizenry as the subsisting Land Use Act does not encourage a massive housing scheme for Nigerians.
- d. We will create an enabling environment for mass housing through the provision of infrastructure such as access roads, water, and electricity.



Agenda for Six Gateway Cities (one in each Geo-Political Zone)

A Yahaya Bello Presidency aims to massively improve standard of living for the over 200 million people in Nigeria. Our administration's target will include strategic planning for affordable housing, modern transportation, improved air quality, social infrastructure, economic development, climate change remediation, and other community-enhancing initiatives.

A Yahaya Bello Presidency will achieve the foregoing through the following strategies:

- a. In our first term in office, we will build two million (2,000,000) housing units to promote new residential and economic zones for Nigerian citizens.
- b. In a manner reminiscent of the founding of Abuja, we will commence the building of 6 modern 'Gateway Cities' in carefully selected locations, one in each geo-political zone of the country with government providing 'sites and services' through strategic partnerships with the private sector, including tax for infrastructure templates.
- c. All the Gateway Cities will be designed to world class standard to serve as centres of excellence for commerce and industry, culture and tourism, information, and communication technology as well as modern eco-friendly and smart cities.
- d. Nigerians and foreigners will be allocated lands to be developed within strict planning, designs, and timelines, upon penalty of revocation and forfeiture for default in commencing or completing construction on schedule.
- e. The Gateway Cities will serve as immediate off-take locations for 50% of our 2 million homes initiative, while massive housing projects across currently existing locations in the country will account for the other 50%.



10

ROADMAP FOR

WOMEN INCLUSION AND

EMPOWERMENT

“Affirmative Action is for every section of the populace and governance is useless unless it ensures that wherever people are disadvantaged or excluded in our society, leadership makes it a point of duty to take action to balance the equation”.

-Yahaya Bello

INTRODUCTION

For us to maximize our potentials as a nation, gender balance will be a priority for our administration. Women play pivotal roles in family life and our society, yet they remain affected by discrimination, poverty, and exploitation. Prioritizing women's economic empowerment sets a pathway towards gender equity, poverty eradication, and inclusive economic growth.

Goal No. 5 of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) which urges leaders and governments to 'achieve gender equity and to empower all women and girls' is a clear mandate that we shall implement diligently. To us, a better democracy is a democracy where women do not take the back seat but are given the opportunity to be part of the decision and policymaking affecting our nation. Change cannot be the sole responsibility of men only but requires collective action by both genders.

A Yahaya Bello Presidency will intentionally implement policies to promote women inclusion and empowerment at all levels beginning with the Federal Executive Council.

For these reasons, we shall pursue the following agenda:

- I. Agenda for Affirmative Action for Women in Government**
- II. Agenda for Socio-Economic Empowerment of Women**
- III. Agenda to End Violence Against Women and Girls**



Agenda for Affirmative Action for Women in Government

The Nigerian National Gender Policy provides for at least 35% Affirmative Action in favour of women in governance and political appointive positions. Based on my performance in Kogi state, I will chart a distinct path towards implementation of the 35% affirmative action for Women in Government through the following initiatives:

- a. We will be committed to the implementation of the minimum 35% affirmative action for women in appointive and elective positions in our government.
- b. Implement strategic awareness and reorientation programs to enlighten women to use their population and participate fully in politics and make a statement for themselves.
- c. We will reduce the cost of financing elections and running for political offices in Nigeria, particularly as it affects our women as this has also been a major constraint to their full participation in politics.

- d. We will create a more accommodating structure of our political platforms that will remove the stereotype, curb violence, and the marginalization of female politicians.
- e. We will convene an 'Annual Nigerian Women Conference' to be organized by the Federal Ministry of Women Affairs, where female pacesetters from all spheres of life will come together to discuss issues that affect women, share ideas and experiences, celebrate themselves, and support each other to build the kind of system that they want.



Kogi swears in 21 female Vice Chairpersons of local government

Agenda for Socio-Economic Empowerment of Women

It is often said in Africa that “when you educate a girl, you train a village”. This is because girls grow up to be women and mothers whose sphere of influence transcend their immediate family. Due to some traditions and customs, most women particularly at the grassroots lack access to financial support with which they can grow their small-scale enterprises and develop themselves.

The economic empowerment of women is very important as it provides them access to productive resources, financial support, decent employment, and self-dignity.

A Yahaya Bello presidency will deliberately pursue policies which will advance the socio-economic and political fortunes of women through the following initiatives:

- a. We will implement policies that will provide easy access to credit and financial support to female entrepreneurs.
- b. We will provide incentives in the forms of tax waivers and tax holidays to support female owned businesses.
- c. We will develop special entrepreneurial programmes to empower women in our society.
- d. We will appoint qualified women as the Heads of various Ministries, Department, and Agencies [MDAs] in the Federal, State, and Local Government Levels.
- e. We will initiate partnership schemes that will create more awareness of women entrepreneurship, and at the same time provide an environment that enables women to help themselves, with the orientation of 'Woman for Woman'.
- f. Enhance collaboration between women and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs/Aid agencies) to facilitate grants and capacity development.
- g. We will provide vocational training for women, particularly those without formal education to improve their skills and empower them.



Agenda to End Violence Against Women and Girls

The African society projects women as the lesser of the two genders compared to their male counterparts. Women in the larger society are not usually given the level of respect accorded to the men folks. Women are usually victims of sexual abuse, domestic violence, human trafficking, victimization with various degrees of abuse, workplace harassment, which is dehumanizing and a violation of their human rights.

The Yahaya Bello Presidency will see to the implementation of strict sanctions to end abuse and violence against women with the following:

- a. We will implement policies that will provide for free and compulsory girl-child education at all the foundational levels and make further schooling easy for them.
- b. We will enhance the implementation of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) which Nigeria ratified in 1985 while expanding the coverage of the National Gender Policy of 2008, and the Violence Against Persons



Prohibition (VAPP) Act of 2015 and make them valid in all states of Nigeria.

- c. We will implement policies that will foster the protection of the rights of the Nigerian girl-child to break the child abuse chain. We will

also implement strict punishment for individuals found guilty of different levels of child abuse.

- d. Enable policy frameworks to challenge existing socio-cultural and religious practices that are responsible for suppressing basic human rights for women.
- e. We will uphold the rights of women and protect them against domestic violence. There will be a toll-free line for the quick reportage of abuses against women, making sure that their perpetrators are duly punished.
- f. We will create awareness, orientation, and reorientation programs in the form of seminars and conferences where gender-based issues will be tabled and discussed to encourage women to speak out and speak up.
- g. We will aggressively invest in rehabilitation and reintegration schemes for victims of abuse and domestic violence. This will come in the form of the provision of temporary or permanent shelters, education, and the use of entrepreneurship and vocation to build their capacities.
- h. We will implement statutory and case laws that

prohibits obnoxious widowhood practices and those that preserves the right of women and the girl child to property and inheritance.





11

ROADMAP FOR YOUTH INCLUSION, EMPOWERMENT AND SPORTS DEVELOPMENT

“The youths are not the leaders of tomorrow...they are leading us into tomorrow”

-Yahaya Bello

INTRODUCTION

Nigeria has a predominantly youthful population which continues to rise steadily. About 70% of our estimated population of 200 million are young people (between ages 15 to 35 years). At our current rate of population growth, Nigeria is projected to have over 200million youths by the year 2050, which will give us one of the most youthful populations on the planet.

The reality of our current demography shows that the youth are ready to speak up and take the mantle of leadership and participate more directly in nation-building. Data from the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) indicates that nearly 80% of all registered voters are persons between 18 years and 50 years of age.

Accordingly, the youth have huge demographic advantages over other segments of our population. This manifesto agrees with the National Development Plan 2021-2025 that it is a national imperative to exploit this massive human capital to achieve the potential of our nation and simultaneously ensure that the youth size does not become a liability to the country.

A Yahaya Bello presidency will galvanize this youthful population, mobilize their numbers, provide the right training and motivation, and leverage their skills to develop, sustain and improve the nation's competitive advantages at home and abroad. We must, therefore, see their energy as an asset. Fortunately, our party has made that process easy for our teeming youth by the Not -Too -Young- to -Run Act which President Muhammadu Buhari, signed into law on the 31st of May 2018. For these reasons, we will pursue the following agenda:

- I. Agenda for Youth Inclusion in Government**
- II. Agenda for Economic Empowerment of Youths**
- III. Agenda for Sports Development**



Agenda for Youth Inclusion in Government

Data from the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) indicates that nearly 80% of all registered voters are persons between 18 and 50 years of age. Furthermore, Youths between 18 to 35 years account for about 70% of registered voters. Ironically, the youth demography is not duly represented in government and decision making.

Historically, the youth demography has been engaged as political thugs and elements of destabilization during elections. A Yahaya Bello presidency will champion a change in narrative and a complete paradigm shift that actively promotes youth inclusion and participation in politics and governance through the following initiatives:

- a. Ensure that at least 50% of all government appointments are entrusted to qualified persons between the ages of 18 and 50 years.
- b. Ensure full compliance with the Not-Too-Young-To-Run Act to encourage youth participation in politics beyond

voting by putting in place structures that will make the electioneering process less expensive.

- c. Strengthen citizenship and leadership training in Nigerian educational systems to provide an avenue to develop mindsets and grow young and informed leaders from a young age.



#NotTooYoungToRun

Agenda for Economic Empowerment of Youths

The youth population is a major driving force of the Nigerian economy providing the bulk of the labour required to drive other factors of production.

The challenge before us is how to fully tap into the potentials of this demography in a way that simultaneously empowers them economically.

This is a win-win solution which our administration will pursue.

A Yahaya Bello presidency will deliver an Agenda for the Economic Empowerment of Youths in Nigeria through the following initiatives:

- a. Implement policies that will develop entrepreneurship among Nigerian youths by encouraging them to start and grow businesses.
- b. Enhance ease of access to capital and other resources (for example land) that are required to aid Nigerian youths to start and grow their businesses.
- c. We will partner with the private sector to develop technology incubation hubs in every state where the youths in ICT can have access to world class facilities to develop their skills.
- d. We will develop Youth-focused apprenticeship and skills acquisition programmes.
- e. Provide an enabling environment to foster youth creativity and encourage business development.
- f. We will initiate an annual 'Nigerian Youth Entrepreneurial Programme' that will provide the platform to support start-up businesses.
- g. We will develop policies which stimulates diversification of the economy to create jobs for youths in such sectors as agriculture, manufacturing, creative industry, sports, entertainment, culture, and tourism.
- h. We will strengthen the implementation of the Social Investment Programmes to provide help to vulnerable youths in need of support.



Agenda for Sports Development

The development of the sports sector in Nigeria will provide social benefits and support national economic development. This dynamic sector is pertinent to our youthful population in a productive way, and at the same time promotes the virtue of unity across the country. However, the country is yet to fully exploit the economic potentials of sports to meaningfully engage the youth demography.

A Yahaya Bello presidency will transform sports in Nigeria from purely recreational activities to a productive sector with a defined framework to engage and empower the youths through the following strategies:

- a. We will implement policies that promote public-private partnership (PPP) initiatives and provide incentives to encourage the private sector to invest in sports and set up institutions to unlock the full economic potential of the sector.
- b. We will partner with the government of different states to develop sports at the grassroots and give them a platform for national and international participation,

thereby creating jobs that further engage the vibrant youth population.

- c. Increase synergy with the ministries of education to ensure the provision of sports facilities as part of criteria for the establishment of schools and development of curriculum. The collaboration will also work out modalities for sports festivals across various levels of education.
- d. We will initiate and expand the scope of existing sports development schemes for engaging our youths, and for developing and marketing their skills. These include National Youth Games, Commonwealth Youth Games, Youth Olympic Games, African Youth Games, and the National Sports Festival.
- e. We will partner with the private sector and sports enthusiasts to develop new, unique and commercially viable sporting activities in the country by providing the needed facilities and concessions e.g Car Racing, Horse Racing, Bike Racing etc..





12

ROADMAP FOR PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES AND SPECIAL NEEDS

"It is our moral responsibility to ensure that people with disabilities and special needs function optimally in our society to the best of their abilities and desires."

- Yahaya Bello

Introduction

Persons with Disabilities (PWDs) or Special Needs are amongst the most excluded groups in our society and often must contend with tough physical and emotional challenges due to stereotypes and lack of adequate infrastructural facilities to address their peculiar needs.

The commitment to realizing the rights of Persons living with Special Needs is not only a matter of fairness and justice; it is an investment in our common future. Their inclusion is an essential condition to upholding their human rights and ensuring sustainable development, peace, and security.

A Yahaya Bello Presidency will work to minimize harmful stereotypes which deny persons with disabilities/special needs equal access to healthcare, education, employment, and full participation in the community by pursuing the following Agenda:

- I. **Agenda for Inclusive and Qualitative Education for PWDs**
- II. **Agenda for Social Inclusion of PWDs**
- III. **Agenda for Social Protection of PWDs**
- IV. **Agenda for Empowerment and Employment of PWDs**
- V. **Agenda for Inclusive and Affordable Health Insurance Scheme for PWDs**



Agenda for Inclusive and Qualitative Education for Persons with Disabilities

People with Special Needs are less likely to attend school and more likely to be trapped in illiteracy. Available data reveals that on average, one in three children with disabilities and of primary school age is out of school, compared with one in seven children without disabilities.

A Yahaya Bello Presidency will apply the following strategies to ensure equitable and quality education for People with Special Needs:

- a. Strengthen national policies on education and the legal system to ensure access to quality education for all persons with special needs.
- b. Build the capacity of policymakers as well as other decision makers at the community and national levels to enhance their knowledge on disability inclusion in education.
- c. Make schools and educational facilities accessible by providing mobility and learning aids as well as specialized instructions for students with disability and by making physical and virtual environments accessible.
- d. Provide training to teachers and other education specialists to gain knowledge and experience in inclusive education for persons with disabilities.
- e. Adopt a learner-centred pedagogy which acknowledges that everyone has unique needs that can be accommodated through a continuum of teaching approaches
- f. Engage Civil Societies and local communities in inclusive education for People with Special Needs.
- g. Establish monitoring mechanisms to evaluate the implementation of policies and laws on inclusive education.



Agenda For Social Inclusion for Persons with Disabilities

Barriers to full social and economic inclusion of persons with disabilities include inaccessible physical environments and transportation, the unavailability of assistive devices and technologies, non-adapted means of communication, gaps in service delivery, and discriminatory prejudice and stigma in society which all impact negatively on their ability to be gainfully employed.

Disability inclusion describes the way government, and the society can be intentional and take action to ensure that people living with disabilities can function and participate in society to the best of their abilities and desires.

To address the above, a Yahaya Bello Presidency will do the following:

- a. Direct policy and action towards eliminating social stigma associated with any form of disabilities, punishing bullying and all forms of mental and physical assault on disabled individuals, mandating enhanced inclusion practices, and generally providing partnership for efforts by persons with disabilities and those who work to include and protect them.



- b. Eliminate as much as feasible socio-economic circumstances which exacerbate poverty, unemployment, fewer educational opportunities, institutionalised discrimination e.g lower wages for the same work and increased cost of living for persons with disabilities.
- c. Because we know that accessibility matters in our everyday life regarding public transportation, schools, workplaces, airports, hospitals, and government offices, we will ensure the provision of alternate access points and reserved spaces for people with disabilities in public

locations to give them easy accessibility and thus allow them to lead more independent lives.

- d. We will aim at achieving the minimum 5% affirmative action for persons with disabilities in all appointments into government agencies and encourage the private sector to follow suit through special incentives.
- e. We will provide customized education for people whose special needs make regular academics and learning impracticable.
- f. We will carry out enlightenment programmes against bullying and the general need to respect the rights of people living with special needs in schools, workplaces, and the society in general.
- g. We will ensure the implementation and enforcement of the Discrimination Against Persons with Disabilities (Prohibition) Act 2018, and other statutory instruments which provides protection for persons with disabilities.

Agenda for Social Protection of Persons with Disabilities



The UN Agenda 2030 (Sustainable Development Goals) has as one of its core principles to end poverty and establish equality around the world by 2030, our administration will pursue the social protection of people with disabilities.

A Yahaya Bello administration will lay special emphasis on the community of Persons with Disabilities in the areas of employment, educational attainment, access to educational services as well as participation and individual autonomy.

A Yahaya Bello presidency will ensure the Social protection of Persons with Special Needs/Disabilities through the following strategies:

- a. Implementation and enforcement of necessary statutes and provisions which safeguards the employment of persons with disabilities through the provision of relevant

support for education, Skills, and Knowledge acquisitions that boosts socio-economic self-sustenance.

- b. Abolish laws, regulations, customs, and practices that allows discrimination against persons with disability
- c. Ensure wide consultations in the development and implementation of legislation and policies that will protect persons with disabilities.
- d. Implement and promote relevant policies and provisions which enforces strict adherence by developers and service providers on access to, and use of, buildings for people with disability.
- e. Ensure the enforcement of relevant provisions that ensure the full protection of Persons and Special Needs and Disabilities from physical abuse and most especially the female gender against sexual discrimination by expanding the Violence Against Persons Prohibition (VAPP) act to place special emphasis on Persons with Special Needs/Disabilities.
- f. Develop public-private partnership initiatives that will help us provide aids and support materials to persons living with special needs.

Agenda for Empowerment and Employment of Persons with Disabilities

People with special needs have proven times without number that they are equally a vital part of the society as any other group, and with the right motivations, they can easily come out of their shells and break bounds. They are in most cases eager to lead a life for themselves only if the societal barriers around them are broken, and their knowledge and skills are enhanced to make them productive and create the right values. A Yahaya Bello presidency will pursue an agenda for the economic empowerment of this group with the following strategies:

- a. We will develop special programmes to engage people with special needs in productive activities to earn a livelihood through entrepreneurial activities.



- b. We will develop incentives and programs that will provide start-up funds and equipment for persons with special needs who are already in a business or vocation to serve as motivation to others.
- c. We will use adult education, formal and non-formal vocational and skills acquisition, and apprenticeship programmes, to train and enhance the competence of persons with special needs to be self-employed and earn a sustainable livelihood.
- d. We will develop a specialized social work initiative in partnership with private organisations to engage people with special needs, especially those who are homeless.
- e. Build the capacity of policymakers as well as other decision makers at the community and national levels to enhance their knowledge on disability inclusion in education.
- f. Make schools and educational facilities accessible by providing mobility and learning aids as well as specialized instructions for students with disability and by making physical and virtual environments accessible.
- g. Provide training to teachers and other education specialists to gain knowledge and experience in inclusive education for persons with disabilities.

Agenda for Inclusive and Affordable Health Insurance Scheme for People with Disabilities

In view of the socio-economic challenges which confronts most of the Persons Living with Disabilities/Special Needs, access to affordable healthcare is usually a major issue for them. Even under normal circumstances, persons with disabilities are less likely to access health care, education,



employment and to participate in the community.
To address this challenge, a Yahaya Bello administration will do the following:

- a. Ensure the full implementation and compliance with all Sections of the Discrimination Against Persons with Disabilities (Prohibition) Act 2018 thereby activating Section 21 of the Act which guarantees free healthcare for people living with disabilities in all public health institutions.
- b. Strengthen the Physically Challenged Persons Social Health Insurance Programme (PCPSHIP) under the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS) to facilitate access to health services for PWDs at private healthcare facilities.
- c. We will provide special health interventions in partnership with the private sector and relevant global/donor partners to administer treatments that may cure some disabilities to enable certain persons with disabilities return to living normal lives.
- d. We will implement policies that will ensure that people with special needs are given preference when they are sick and using public health facilities.





13

ROADMAP FOR OIL AND GAS DEVELOPMENT

“My administration will work assiduously to diversify the country's monocultural economy to a multicultural economy to reduce our overdependence on income from oil and gas, and invariably grow our GDP”

-Yahaya Bello

INTRODUCTION

Nigeria is a major producer and exporter of crude oil and natural gas in the world. We currently rank 11th and 12th position worldwide in the production of crude oil and gas respectively. Since the discovery of crude oil in the country, the oil and gas sector has been playing a pivotal role in Nigeria's economy accounting for about 90% of export earnings and 60% of government revenues (over the last decade). Despite being a key source of government revenue, the oil and gas sector lags behind other economic sectors in terms of contribution to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), for instance the sector only contributed about 7% to the GDP in 2020.

A Yahaya Bello presidency will work assiduously to diversify the country's monocultural economy to a multicultural one to reduce our overdependence on income from oil and gas, and invariably grow our GDP. However, we shall also implement policies to grow the oil and gas sector, particularly our local refining capacity.

We will ensure the full implementation of the Petroleum Industry Act (PIA) towards efficient operations of the oil and gas sector. We shall also pursue a policy of zero importation of refined petroleum products by ensuring functional local refineries. In addition, we shall implement policies to grow alternative clean energy sources to complement the oil and gas and promote environmental sustainability.

To achieve the above, we shall implement the following agenda:

- I. Agenda for Petroleum Industry Act Implementation**
- II. Agenda for Self-sufficiency in the Local Production of Refined Petroleum Products**
- III. Agenda for Gas Development**
- IV. Agenda for the Environment and Clean Energy Transition**



Agenda for Petroleum Industry Act Implementation

After twenty (20) years of efforts by previous governments, the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari broke the jinx by ensuring the passage and signing of the Petroleum Industry Act (PIA) into law in August 2021. The PIA aims to implement a comprehensive reform of the oil and gas industry by creating a conducive environment for the growth of the sector while addressing the legitimate grievances of oil producing communities who bear the negative environmental impact of extractive and production activities.



The proper implementation of the PIA promises to bring about great improvements and competitiveness in the oil and gas sector. The potential benefits of the proper implementation of the PIA include the following: establishment of a commercial-oriented and profit-driven national petroleum company, the entrenchment of transparency, good governance, and accountability in the administration of the petroleum resources of Nigeria, the economic and social development of host communities, environmental remediation, and a business environment conducive for oil and gas operations to thrive in the country.

The attainment of the highlighted potential benefits of the PIA is consequent upon the full and proper implementation of various aspects of the Act.

A Yahaya Bello presidency will provide the political will, legal framework and commitment to fully implement the PIA within twelve (12) months in office by pursuing the following initiatives:

- a. Set a clear agenda for the implementation of the PIA within twelve months of our assumption of office.



- b. Create a platform to interface with all critical stakeholders in the oil and gas sector to get their cooperation in the implementation of the PIA and promptly address grey areas.
- c. Set up a Presidential Committee comprising of public and private stakeholders in the oil and gas industry to monitor the transparent implementation of the PIA and provide timely update to the Presidency to ensure full implementation within 12 months.

Agenda for Self-sufficiency in the Local Production of Refined Petroleum Products

Although Nigeria is a major producer of crude oil, we currently lack the capacity to locally refine our crude oil into finished petroleum products as our four major public-owned local refineries in Port-Harcourt, Warri, and Kaduna are currently defective. This deplorable situation has made us to be dependent on the importation of refined petroleum products such as Premium Motor Spirit (PMS)/Petrol, Automotive Gas Oil (AGO)/Diesel, Domestic Purpose Kerosene (DPK)/Kerosene and Liquified Petroleum Gas (LPG)/Cooking Gas to meet local demand.

A Yahaya Bello presidency will address this anomaly by implementing initiatives that will revive our local refineries and promote the establishment of new privately owned refineries as detailed below:

- a. Fully implement the PIA within twelve months to create a conducive and competitive environment for the growth of the oil and gas sector.
- b. Implement a structured privatization of our four (4) public-owned refineries under a structure that will share ownership between the private sector, host communities, and the government.

- c. Actively promote and support the establishment of private refineries like the ongoing Dangote Refinery in Lagos State.
- d. Actively promote and support the establishment of modular refineries by private sector investors to curtail the menace of illegal refineries particularly in the Niger Delta region.



Agenda for Gas Development

Nigeria is blessed with an abundance of Natural Gas. Our proven gas reserves are estimated at about 186 trillion cubic feet (tcf) which is over 306 times of our annual gas consumption. This means that we have about 306 years of gas left at current consumption levels and excluding unproven reserves. (Source: Worldometer).

Although we currently rank 12th in the production of natural gas globally, we are ranked 38th position in the local consumption of natural gas. Our gas sector is largely underdeveloped due to inadequate infrastructure.

A recent study by Pricewaterhouse Coopers (PwC) estimates that harnessing Nigeria's proven gas reserves can stimulate an estimated Gross Value Added (GVA) of goods and services to the tune of US\$18.3 billion annually to the domestic economy. In addition, optimizing the domestic utilization of gas could support 6.5 million Full Time Equivalent (FTE) jobs for the local economy. (Source – PwC)

A Yahaya Bello Presidency which understands the important role of gas as the clean alternative energy source of the future and a catalyst for national development will actively pursue the development of

the gas sector and mainstream natural gas as a source of energy to power our economy by pursuing the following strategies:

- a. We will strengthen policies to reduce gas flaring as a by-product of oil production in line with our country's climate plan.
- b. We will provide funding for the completion of the Ajaokuta, Kaduna, Kano (AKK) Gas Pipeline Project to ensure the implementation of the Nigeria's Gas Master Plan.
- c. We will partner with the private manufacturing sector to utilize natural gas as a clean energy alternative.
- d. We will provide infrastructure for the delivery of natural gas to end users.
- e. Build additional gas fired power generation stations to utilize gas to power our economy.
- f. Provide incentives for local vehicle assembly/ manufacturing plants to assemble and build vehicles that will run on compressed natural gas (CNG) especially for mass transit.

Agenda for the Environment and Clean Energy Transition

The advocacy for the world to explore cleaner and renewable energy sources has been on the rise with critical views being expressed about the negative impact of fossil fuels and carbon emission on the climate. On the contrary, clean energy sources such as biofuel, gas, solar, wind, and hydro power with little or no harmful effects on the climate are being promoted across the globe.

This development is a clear indication that the dependence on oil and gas as a major source of energy will continue to decline over time. Therefore, Nigeria needs to accord priority to developing alternative clean and renewable energy sources.

A Yahaya Bello Presidency will actively implement the following initiatives towards the development of alternative clean and renewable energy sources:

- a. We will actively pursue the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions and commit to the gradual implementation of the Paris Agreement on climate change.

- b. We shall adopt climate-smart practices as the basis for our conservation efforts that will not only work for our environment but also guarantee a sustainable future for its components (people, flora, fauna and ecosystems).
- c. In combating climate change, we will recognize the critical role that nature plays in supporting the well-being of our society and people and work to build resilience and improve the ability of Nigerians to respond to climate change mitigation in a manner that reduces overall adverse impact on the natural environment.
- d. We will establish enforcement mechanisms that will promote policies that encourages the development of green refineries to produce ethanol and biofuel.
- e. We will formulate and implement policies that will drive global investments to us and incentivise the participation of the private sector in the generation and sales of clean energy.
- f. We will promote the establishment of viable mini off-grid solar power stations and viable wind turbine plants as an alternative energy source to reduce our dependency on power generation stations that use fossil fuels.
- g. We will create incentive packages for businesses that are powered by clean energy sources to serve as motivation for a full transition.
- h. We will develop massive awareness programmes to sensitize Nigerians on the hazards and health risk associated with the consumption of fossil fuel as compared to cleaner and renewable energy.





ROADMAP FOR SOLID MINERALS, MINING AND STEEL DEVELOPMENT

“The exploitation and transportation of solid minerals exert heavy tolls on the people and environment, especially of host communities, so in addition to pursuing mitigation procedures we will ameliorate this adverse impact by deliberate programmes to empower local youths and secure their involvement in the extractive process. This is the only way our solid minerals sector can make profitable and sustainable progress.”

-Yahaya Bello

INTRODUCTION

Nigeria is blessed with abundant solid mineral resources such as iron ore, gold, bitumen, limestone, coal, lead, zinc and an assortment of gemstones that must be harnessed for economic development. Currently, the solid minerals sector contributes an abysmally low 0.7% (as at 2020) of the country's GDP. This is because activities in the sector is comprised of mainly small-scale artisanal mining efforts.

The Federal Government has tried to stimulate the development of the solid minerals value chain by creating the enabling business environment and encouraging partnerships with public and private entities, including state governments.

A Yahaya Bello Presidency will pursue the following agenda:

- I. Agenda for Self-sufficiency in the Local Production of Steel**
- II. Agenda for the Revival of Existing Steel Plants across Nigeria**
- III. Agenda for Legal and Other Reforms in the Solid Minerals and Mining Sector**



Agenda for Self-sufficiency in the Local Production of Steel

Steel is required in abundance to facilitate physical infrastructural and industrial development. For Nigeria to achieve her rapid industrialization objectives and address unemployment, our steel industries must meet 100% of our steel requirements locally.

According to a 2019 publication by the Federal Ministry of Mines and Steel Development, Nigeria is endowed with enough iron ore deposit to achieve her strategic objectives for self-sufficiency in steel development. This will however require expansive development of the upstream steel mining sector to stimulate the steel value chain and consequently deliver rapid multiplier effects in the manufacturing and allied sectors.

A Yahaya Bello Presidency will pursue the following strategies for the development of the steel industry:

- a. We will facilitate strategic partnerships with the private sector to build local technical and managerial skills in the sector.
- b. We will implement policies that will encourage the participation of State Governments in the exploitation of iron ore and other solid minerals.
- c. We will encourage state government and private investors to cluster artisanal miners into cooperatives for ease of regulation and enhanced access to capital, modern mining practices and government schemes which help them to develop and take advantage of relevant value chains to create wealth and employment opportunities for themselves and other Nigerians.



Agenda for the Revival of Existing Steel Plants across Nigeria

The multiplier effect of a fully functional Nigerian steel industry cannot be overemphasized. A large number of our industrial enterprises would thrive if the steel industry in Nigeria is able to function up to maximum capacity.

Nigeria currently has over 20 steel plants which if fully functional will stimulate the steel value chain and consequently deliver rapid multiplier effects in the manufacturing and allied sectors.

To revitalize our local steel industry, a Yahaya Bello Presidency will implement the following strategies:

- a. We will review existing reforms by the present administration, advance and complete ongoing projects and facilitate robust policy frameworks that will keep the sector operating effectively and efficiently.
- b. We will pursue strategic partnerships to provide the financing and expertise which we require to fully build capacities and operations within the sector.

- c. We will invest massively in the steel industries and encourage participation by the private sector.
- d. We will develop a policy framework for automated regulation operations to improve the reporting of mine quantities and detect tax evaders.



Agenda for Reforms in the Solid Minerals and Mining Sector

Nigeria is arguably one of the richest countries in the world in terms of the abundant natural assets, including solid minerals, but priority must be given to these endowments to transform them from comparative advantages into competitive advantages.

A Yahaya Bello Presidency will deliver her agenda for reforms in the Solid Minerals and Mining Sector via the following strategies:

- a. We will complement the efforts of the present administration for the multibillion-naira Ajaokuta Steel Company and ensure that it is completed and operational within our first 24 months in office.
- b. We will engage all stakeholders and provide funding supports for a programme of accelerated revitalization of other steel plants in the country such as Delta Steel Complex Aladja, Oshogbo Integrated Steel Rolling Mill, Katsina Steel Rolling Company, General Steel Mill Asaba, Niger Steel Enugu, among others.
- c. We will develop valid channels that will capture and put out data to increase access of local miners to information about the global best practices in the sector, modernising their mode of operation, and a feedback mechanism that reports their activities.
- d. We will implement policies that will see to the provision of basic infrastructures like power and transportation required for the operation of the sector and give us a lead in achieving our implementation targets.
- e. We will bridge the gaps in expertise, technology, mechanisation, and the use of local contents by all mining operators.
- f. We will administrate operational and management schemes for the mining sector that will successfully track and gradually bring an end to the prevailing irregularities of illegal mining activities in the country.



15

ROADMAP FOR FOREIGN POLICY

“Every Nation has a responsibility to make its people happy”

-Yahaya Bello



INTRODUCTION

Nigeria's foreign policy has its focus on Africa as a regional power, with agreed principles of unity and independence, peaceful settlement of disputes, non-alignment and non-intentional interference in the internal affairs of other nations.

Our foreign policy is predicated on the protection of our country and our citizens, the assurance of continuing access to international resources and markets, the preservation of a balance of power in the world, and the protection of human rights and democracy.

A Yahaya Bello Presidency will address the challenges in our foreign affairs by developing our capacity, encouraging and bolstering our partnerships globally to ensure that our foreign policies affect Nigerians positively wherever they may be and is rooted in the country's domestic priorities.

A Yahaya Bello presidency will defend Nigeria's territorial integrity and ensure that our foreign policy thrust is consistent with the goals and objectives as set out in Section 19 of the 1999 Constitution as amended.

We will pursue the following agenda to achieve our goals:

- I. **Agenda for Non-Aligned Movement**
- II. **Agenda for a Permanent Seat in the United Nations Security Council**



Agenda for Non-Aligned Movement

The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) is an international organization (group of countries) who do not want to be officially aligned with or against any major power bloc (group of countries). The Movement was founded during the collapse of the colonial system and the independence struggles of the peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America and other regions of the world and at the height of the Cold War.

A Yahaya Bello Presidency will vigorously pursue the principles of the Non-Aligned Movement which are: mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-aggression; mutual non-interference in domestic affairs; equality and mutual benefit; and peaceful co-existence.

We would also pursue the main objectives of the Non-Aligned Movement which includes amongst other things, to keep away the newly independent Asia and Africa from the superpower rivalry and to protect and preserve their newly acquired independence.

To achieve our goals of non-alignment, we will uphold the following policies:

- a. We will maintain our neutrality by not supporting any act of aggression between nations.
- b. We will continue to support the NAM in its significant role in the promotion of peace and resolution of conflict.

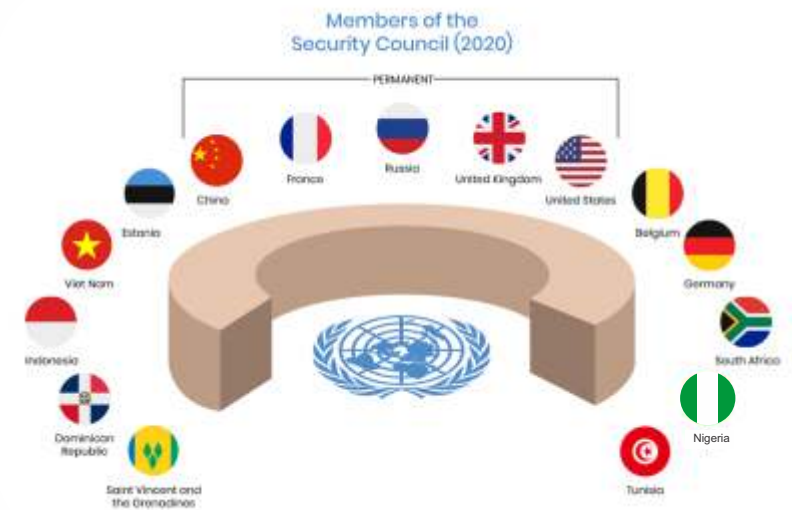


Agenda for a Permanent Seat in the United Nations Security Council

The United Nations (UN) Security Council is one of the principal organs of the United Nations. It consists of fifteen-member countries, out of which five are permanent members. Permanent membership of the Security Council was granted to five countries based on their strategic importance in the aftermath of World War II, these include China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Under the United Nation's Charter, the Security Council has primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Over the years, the proposal to expand the UN Security Council by admitting more nations as permanent members has been an ongoing discussion without any resolution. The countries at the fore front of the aspiration to be admitted as permanent members into the UN Security Council include Brazil, Germany, India, Japan, and South Korea.

A Yahya Bello Presidency will make a compelling case for Nigeria, being the giant of Africa to be admitted as a Permanent Member of the UN Security Council alongside the above listed countries.



A professional recording studio with a large mixing console, multiple monitors, and speakers. The room has wood-paneled walls and a glass-enclosed recording booth in the background.

16

ROADMAP FOR CREATIVE INDUSTRIES, CULTURE AND TOURISM

“As a leader, the most honest thing I can say today is that with many of our citizens finding themselves in the creative industries, thorough input is needed to increase our earnings”

-Yahaya Bello

INTRODUCTION

The Creative Industries comprise of highly innovative and dynamic sectors of the world economy which utilize human talents, creativity, skills, and intellectual property to create employment and develop wealth. These sectors are broadly classified into the Arts, the Media, the Heritage and Functional Creations as detailed below.

- **The Arts:** This includes visual arts, paintings, sculpture, photography and antiques as well as performing arts i.e live music, theatre, dance, opera and circus
- **The Media:** This includes television, radio and other broadcasting media, films, publishing and print media, books, press and other publications.
- **The Heritage:** This includes traditional cultural expressions, arts and crafts, festivals and celebrations, cultural sites, museums, libraries and exhibitions.
- **The Functional Creations:** This includes interior, fashion and graphic design, new media such as video games, software, eBooks and other digitalized creative content.

The Nigerian Creative Industries, especially Nollywood, is among the fastest growing sector in the country, and it possesses even higher potentials to contribute more wealth and employment opportunities if barriers which impede its development are addressed.

A Yahaya Bello Presidency which has a clear understanding of the vast potentials inherent in the Creative Industries for job creation, economic empowerment and growth will improve on the existing structures to promote the Creative Industries, Culture and Tourism by implementing the following agenda:

- I. **Agenda for the Creative Industries**
- II. **Agenda for Cultural Rebirth and Tourism Development**
- III. **Agenda for Civic and National Ethics**



Agenda for the Creative Industries

The Nigerian Creative Industries, one of which is 'Nollywood' has recorded notable development over the last decade. Projections indicate that it has even more potential to become a major economic driver. This can be achieved if the present momentum is sustained and improved upon.

A Yahaya Bello Presidency will develop a robust structure for the Creative Industries and provide enabling environment for creatives to thrive with the following initiatives:

- a. We will partner with the private sector to provide the infrastructure needed to boost growth in the creative sector.
- b. We will improve on the enforcement of intellectual property rights to protect creatives and contents produced in Nigeria in order to address the issue of piracy with its adverse consequences on the sector.
- c. We will implement relevant policies and legislations that will provide financial and business development facilities and support schemes to enhance the development of various segments of the creative industries.
- d. We will create special intervention schemes and incentives to encourage investments in the creative industries.
- e. We will create an enabling environment to promote global partnerships to enhance knowledge and technology exchange and boost foreign direct investment to grow the sector and create standard contents for the global market.
- f. We will set up National Creative Hubs (NCH) across the 6 Geo Political Zones in the country to create an avenue for creatives to learn, exchange ideas, grow their skills, and have access to equipments and space for production.
- g. We will boost global pathnerships in the creative industries and create a National Creative Indusry Week (NCIW) to celebrate and promote Nigerian creatives and their contents.
- h. We will strenghten government institutions with supervisory functions over the creative industries to support growth and enhance professionalism in the industry.

Agenda for Cultural Rebirth and Tourism Development

The potentials in the culture and tourism industry are enormous and if fully developed will contribute significantly to the national economy in the forms of revenue and jobs. Nigeria is blessed with a vast range of natural landscape and scenery, and richly diverse culture, but little efforts are presently being made to show this beautiful heritage to the world.

The opportunities in this sector cannot be overlooked, and a Yahaya Bello presidency will focus on the following strategies to make it grow.

- a. We will create several national and regional awareness campaign programmes to promote our culture and tourism facilities, aimed at bringing the attention of both locals and foreigners to the sector.
- b. We will provide adequate security measures that will keep tourists and our tourist facilities safe from attacks and hostilities.
- c. We will implement policies that will make requirements for tourists visa easy, to



increase the volume of foreigners who visit the country to enjoy its tourist attractions and culture that we will promote.

- d. We will provide special funding windows in partnership with the various states of the federation to develop their culture and tourism industries.
- e. We will create an environment with the incentives that will encourage global public-private partnership initiatives to provide support for the sector.
- f. We will revitalize the Nigerian Festival of Arts and Culture [FESTAC] and leverage on the use of modern-day technologies to develop the systems that will sell our cultures to the world market.
- g. We will initiate counterpart projects that will provide basic infrastructures like transportation and power to areas with high tourism potential to encourage their development.
- h. We will fund the upgrade and management of local assets and heritage sites, and at the same time train public servants who oversee them to enhance their service delivery to world class standards.

Agenda for Civic and National Ethics

Efforts by successive Nigerian governments to tackle the roots of corruption, indiscipline and lack of patriotism are yet to bear the desired fruits. Many citizens have lost their national identity and sense of civic responsibility.

In fact, most of our younger generation neither received instruction in, nor imbibed the culture of, national pride. This has led to a breakdown of ethical values which has also adversely affected how government business is done, with lack of transparency, accountability, and non-adherence to professionalism becoming endemic.

A Yahaya Bello Presidency will pursue the agenda for civic and national ethics by ensuring the following:

- a. We will create structures across all tiers of government that will enforce the principle of 'Leading-By-Example' to promote and strengthen the measures that prevent and combat corruption.
- b. We will reinvigorate the National Orientation Agency (NOA) to consistently sensitize the

citizens, raise national awareness, and positively influence attitudes through patriotism.

- c. We shall insist on values and behaviour which mobilize citizens to act in ways that promote peace, harmony and national development.
- d. We will enforce strict punishment to public executives who abuse their offices and the national ethics, to serve as deterring instances for the Nigerian populace.
- e. We will promote integrity, accountability, and proper management of public affairs to lead a pathway and serve as an example for the private sector.
- f. We will create an avenue for the re-engagement of the citizenry to core national values by introducing incentives that enhance the role of personal responsibility, integrity, responsiveness, and patriotism in national development.
- g. We will revive the defunct War Against Indiscipline (WAI) Brigade as a policy to address widespread impunity, instil habitual discipline in citizens and tackle disrespect for nationalism and patriotism.
- h. We will expand the scope of the Nigerian National Merit Award to reward patriotic acts and encourage the spirit of nationalism.



HOPE'23
...Bridging the Gap



YAHAYA BELLO

FINAL WORD

Dear Compatriot,

Thank you for taking your time to go through our Manifesto tagged 'The Roadmap to Hope.' This document offers a preview of our actionable agenda to accelerate Nigeria's journey towards visible and sustainable national development.

I urge you to kindly consider our perspectives on all the issues raised as well as the solutions proffered. I look forward to a robust conversation with you as you provide your perspectives, counterviews, and general feedback via email to **info@yahayabello.com** or any other communication channel detailed below.

Let us work together to rekindle hope in our dear nation and spur ourselves on to bring our common aspirations for a functional and egalitarian nation to life.

God bless the Federal Republic of Nigeria.
Thank you.

YAHAYA BELLO

Governor of Kogi State
And 2023 Presidential Aspirant
All Progressives Congress (APC)

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 www.yahayabello.com     [@roadmap2hope](https://www.instagram.com/roadmap2hope)





HOPE'23
...Bridging the Gap



GYB FULFILLING PROMISES, NATURALLY

“As Governor, I never once underestimated the amount of work that needed to be done considering the abysmal levels of socio-economic development we inherited. But I also tell myself that I did not come into government to glorify impossibilities, but to solve problems. Thus, I had a vision for the state even before I ran for office which formed the substratum of my manifesto during campaigns, and I had it developed into a roadmap for my work once I was elected Governor.

We call it the New Direction Blueprint, and from inception it became our roadmap for proportional and accelerated development of Kogi State in all her constituencies. I matched my blueprint with a stubborn will and went all out in pursuit of it.

By the help of God and a commitment to excellence, we have made tremendous progress.”

Governor Yahaya Bello

'Perspectives on Leadership and Aspiration'
Transcorp Hilton, Abuja.
July 8, 2021.

For Enquiries:

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