

IF I AM THE
PRESIDENT
 **OF**
NIGERIA

Dreams for my Country

A beautiful Country

The land of our birth

Our Shame and Our Pride

Our Hope for Future Generations

eBOOK ACTION PLAN SUMMARY

OKEE ONWUKA

This is for those who may not have the patience or time to go through each page or narrative sequence.

The specific action steps are extracted from the book for ease of reference.

The relevant segments may be read to get the perspectives that dovetailed into the proposed action or changes as described.

MY FIRST ACTION AS PRESIDENT

There are a few personal recognitions that one must make as the president of a country. These recognitions would dovetail into a powerful mind-set that drives all actions to benefit the whole country.

As the president, these would be my prioritized first steps:

- 1. I shall recognize that the task ahead is the toughest in the land. A task that has defied the passions of many great leaders in the past.** This is in recognition of the fact that the changes I will advocate and push for, will not be accepted or loved by everybody. Although the changes shall ultimately transform the Nigerian nation into a united country, I realize that people who may not share in the dream, within and outside, would not fold their hands and watch their means of livelihood taken away from them. Some will attack me with words, some via print and electronic media, and others on social media. Some others may not be so kind.

I know that companies and countries that build electric generators with Nigeria as their main market may not be happy that Nigeria has developed self-sufficient power infrastructure.

I know that owners of businesses built around the sale of diesel and refined petroleum products to Nigeria may not

be overjoyed to know that Nigerian refineries are now functional and power supply has become regular all over the country.

I know that owners of companies that manufacture weapons sold to Nigerians in the many violent confrontations would not be too happy to see a United Nigeria without war, violence or strife.

I know that powerful people in the society who make a living through the dysfunctional Nigerian state, the corruption, the nepotism, the tribalism, and the disunity, would go the extra mile to protect their livelihood.

I know that politicians whose main strategy and weapon to power is through tribal or religious hegemonies, would frown at a harmonized, religious-tolerant and detribalized nation.

I know that those who make a living through manufacturing fake or substandard drugs, goods and items would not be happy with a more standard, integrity and quality-based system.

I know that the cabal, the professional politicians who thrive on the flawed electoral process would do all within their means to frustrate the upgrading of the electoral process to eliminate or severely limit the chances of rigging and manipulation. They know the frailty of the human mind and cannot trust their election on the subjective views of the population, hence electoral reforms would not be attractive options for consideration.

I know I will give my best in trying to achieve a win-win platform where opportunities for alternative businesses and income are explored to cushion the effects of the changes that Nigerians would be making. However, I recognize there will be those who are opposed to any form of change. This is natural and expected.

I can only give my best. Exhaust myself. And enjoy the process. The work. And deriving excitement in the future hope. The Nigeria of our dreams.

I shall put my complete trust in the hands of the Almighty God. I shall trust that if the appointed time for Nigeria to develop, the time to rise as a nation has come, it will happen, and no one can stop it. And I also know that if the designated time has not come, there would be delays. And in either case, I shall be at peace.

I know that no harm can reach me, unless permitted from above for a reason that may be beyond me.

2. **I shall no longer be a citizen of any tribe or clan.** I would simply be, a Nigerian. I can feel the pain and suffering of every Nigerian, from Sokoto to Niger, from Maiduguri to Enugu, from Lagos to Abia State, from Bayelsa to Abuja, from Delta State to Kano. Every Nigerian life counts.
3. **I shall spare no thought for a second term.** This is not in terms of not taking my performances serious enough to merit re-election. This refers to spending more time on value-adding work as opposed to using close to 2 years of a 4-year tenure on re-election politicking. I shall focus all my

energies to establishing enduring platforms, laws, philosophies and practical ideologies over the single 4-year term at such levels that would enable a united Nigeria to select either a new non-tribal leader, based on the progress we have made or re-elect me. Four years is more than enough time, with focus, to deliver on the establishment of a legacy. At least, a starting point. The most pivotal aspect of my tenure shall be unity of all Nigerians as a country, as a nation, as an entity. The proposed political model would drive this change. Particularly, an upgraded electoral process that would make it extremely difficult for brazen manipulation and rigging to occur.

4. **I will know that I am not the president to create wealth for myself. I shall recognize that it is a position of honour.** And of far higher value than all the cash in the world. Already, I know that money is not cash. And so, would not be deceived by the lure of lucre, knowing that no ex-president has ever died of poverty. And because I also know that to be wealthy is to want less than I earn.
5. **I will know that one day I will step down from the office.** And that I want to walk freely among Nigerians, every Nigerian. I do not want to be on the run or be afraid to be probed or investigated by succeeding Governments.
6. **I will know that I am not superior to the least Nigerian.** I shall only see myself to be in a privileged position to serve even the least, the youngest, the poorest and the weakest.

7. **I shall aim to exhaust myself daily as the best preparation for tomorrow.** I shall work hard 100% in all I do, put 0% trust in my hard work but put 100% trust in the Almighty God.

THE SHAME OF MONEY WORSHIP

“QUICK-MONEY SYNDROME”

WHAT I WOULD DO AS PRESIDENT

As President, I would recognize some root causes and the situations that have created or helped to create the quick-money syndrome. The executive shall initiate or support bills that would help the focus on tackling these critical needs. Addressing these root causes would be considered primary preventive measures. Mitigative measures or palliatives would serve to alleviate or cushion the effects of the deficiencies as more lasting solutions are implemented.

The proverbial saying, “A hungry man is a desperate or angry man’ rings true.

The main contributors to this prevailing get-rich quick, more money mind-set are as outlined below:

- **Lack of basic social amenities and Infrastructure:**
 - Non-existent network for providing pipe borne water to households.
 - Poor and inadequate electricity generation and supply to households.

- Poor road networks to link people and communities. Producers/farmers find it difficult to transport their goods or products to consumers and markets.
- Poor, inadequate transportation system. Tricycles, bikes flood the streets but add no quality value in the transportation jungle.
- Inadequate industries or platform for employment for the educated and non-educated.
- **Citizens have a huge burden to provide self-power,** water and transport with whatever means they can find. The instinct to survive and protect our families kick-in. With a functional social service system, water, power/electricity, communications, roads, social safety & security, Nigerians can more easily take pride in their interest field, with or without the trappings of wealth.

Some of us can become experts in bird watching, Archaeology, passionate high school teachers, explorers, spiritual leaders without interest in amassing material wealth, and other austere professions that give inner strength and joy in terms of the value they bring to the society.

- **Huge pressure from family, friends and relatives** on the few people who are fortunate either have a job, have access to some cash. The community burden is intense. They must share their earnings with many who are less privileged. Brothers, sisters, friends out of work, or those working with poor wages have little incentives

outside of running to those they know can help, one way or another.

- **Patience does not appear to give any hope for survival anymore.** Anything to survive to the next day looks appealing, hence voting rights can be sold cheaply. Politicians can rent a crowd to give the impression of popularity among the people. Even though the people already know the fraud behind renting crowds, poverty makes it so easy to accept the peanuts and suppress their conscience.

ACTION STEPS

1. **Open the competitive space in Nigeria, as a global entity, for specialists and specialist companies to bid for National projects (Power, Roads, Rail, Sea, Housing, others) from design to construction and operations.** Experienced Nigerians including those working overseas are encouraged to participate in the rebuilding of our country.

We shall adopt a strategy like those adopted by the UAE, Malaysia, South African and Singapore for development. To make this attractive, we shall realize that the singular most important factor in this model is currency stability and in-country security for foreigners.

We should not aim to re-invent the wheel but adopt and utilize successful models from other countries. In relevant sections, I shall highlight more on how these would be structured. We simply need to create a functional and effective business and social

management system where best practices from across the globe can thrive. *To develop, as a country does not mean that only Nigerians or Nigerian citizens would perform all tasks. Thinking this way would be a crude form of tribalism.* Nigeria has enough population and market size that will easily support extensive commerce if the enterprise spirit and infrastructure is unleashed. We shall benefit from a strategy of international collaboration.

2. **Prioritize provision of stable, enough power across the nation.** We shall declare a NATIONAL EMERGENCY on POWER. This would unlock the entrepreneurial potential of the nation. And save significantly on capital flight, stabilize the Naira and generate more revenue for the Government. More jobs shall be created.
3. **Create multi-Lane National and Inter-state Highways across the country.** There would be an inner and an outer ring road that connects all 36 States of the federation. *This would create a significant increase in transactions and interactions for the 180+million Nigerians. Push for a national policy that appropriates a minimum allocation of annual revenues to continuing road construction and expansion. We should improve from mundane road rehabilitation and repair for very old roads to the expansion of old roads and building new roads. This would also create very many new jobs.*
4. **Create a national rail transportation system.** We would canvas for a consortium that would build an integrated power and rail system. Trams and city rail system would be explored for congested cities across the country. Lagos, Kano, Port Harcourt and Ibadan could be prime locations to initiate the light rail system.
5. **Provision of pipe-born water utilities across the country.** The benefits of this would be expansive and extensive.

This shall be treated as a basic human right for all Nigerians.

6. **Develop the frame work to finance these projects.** This would optimize on internally generated funds, reserves appropriation, counterpart funding, community funding and other creative platforms. Some measures include but not limited to the following:
 - a. **Push to create buy-in on the unity of purpose** for us to develop as a nation: a departure from tribal or clan development. We must all see Nigeria as Nigeria. And believe in the Nigerian Project. Even if this does not happen across the country, all the leaders must believe this. Must buy into it. There should be no alternatives around this.
 - b. **Reduce the cost of government:** We must develop our unique system of governance. Consider the use of a part-time legislature, rather than full time career politicians.
 - c. **Improve transparency in the oil and gas industry:** Greater accountability in revenue accounting.
 - d. **Engage in win-win partnerships** in road and rail construction and possibility of tolling the highways as part of the revenue recovery measures.
 - e. **Deregulate the power Industry** and allow for unleashing of creativity and entrepreneurship.
 - f. **Expand the power generation** base to include coal fired plants, hydro power plants, solar plants, wind plants, others. Uncouple the clogged power generation and distribution chain.
 - g. **Create a government supported funding for banks to finance** long term national aspiration projects such as interstate road and rail network, national monuments, tourism promotion, others.

- h. **Strengthen the security and regulatory framework** to stimulate improvement in compliance to international standards for ethics, reliability, operability and maintainability.
- i. **Appoint Nigerians with proven competence** in professional fields to steward these national projects, using functional management systems. Nigerians educated overseas and with good working experience can come home to contribute to developing our fatherland.

ON THE SOCIAL FRONT

On the social front, my perspective shall follow along these lines:

I would focus on initiatives that would primarily restore the social dignity and respect for patience, diligence and professionalism across the nation. Primarily, there should be a recognition system that encourages honest endeavours. We shall also communicate to the entire nation, the initiating of long-term projects that would restore national pride.

In 1984, the military government of General Muhammadu Buhari and Tunde Idiagbon, the Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters, introduced the war against Indiscipline (WAI) program to correct the endemic corruption and restore social order to the population.

Although there were cases of human rights abuse, it was evident that Nigerians self-corrected and people appreciated the order. People became orderly at bus stops. Anyone who attempted to side-track the process

was derided in unison. After a short while, order and diligence became the norm. Successive governments were to water down this initiative and the momentum was lost. As a young man in these periods, witnessing these gave me the insight into the inherently good nature of Nigerians. So, I believe that setting the pace is really the catalyst that the country needs.

Specifically, I would target to achieve these:

- **Initiate and stimulate the outlined national and regional projects that create jobs:** This would include government projects and private sector projects. The projects shall identify specific products, first to fill the needs of 180+m Nigerians, then create the organizational structures that would process the raw materials into the finished products with identified demand. With the structure of government and mass re-orientation, jobs created shall be self-sustaining. These details shall be fleshed out more in the latter segments of this book.
- **Publish names of companies and the directors** who get awarded government and national projects in the media (TV, national newspapers, online/social media) for accountability. Hold contractor companies and stakeholders responsible. This format would make the companies and personnel involved constantly conscious of the scrutiny from the whole country and not just the scrutiny of the contract holder in government.
- **Encourage private institutions to do the same.** Particularly on national development projects. NNPC/NAPIMS and other institutions shall publish names of companies handling different projects.

- **Institute recognition** awards across the country for outstanding performance in various fields of endeavour.
- **Establish a recognition system for heroes** of the society in sports, education, industry, tourism, social platform, trade, finance, etc. They shall be called the ***Nigerian Heroes***.
- **Prioritize the creation of Jobs** for the growing mass of restless youths. Job creation must work with enlightenment programs that encourage working as a natural means of earning a livelihood. Otherwise, quick riches may remain the preferred route in the mind of the many youths. When young musicians and movie stars appear to make it rich in a short time, the desire for such ostensibly fast-paced wealth would remain attractive
- **Promote national awareness** on the dangers of the quick-money syndrome on our today and the future.

THE SHAME OF INADEQUATE POWER SUPPLY FOR DECADES

“NEPA WAHALA¹”

WHAT I WOULD DO AS PRESIDENT

As the president, I would push for the Amendment of the 2005 Electric Power Sector Reform Act to be consistent with the Constitution. I would deregulate the power sector and create the platform for private sector involvement in local and sectional power generation, transmission and distribution. Specifically, these are measures I shall project for consideration and implementation.

- Deregulate Power Sector, as stated earlier. There is no point empowering a few people to become or stay mega wealthy at the expense of most Nigerians.
- Split the power projects into distinct zones and get technical professionals to develop the scope, boundaries, and expectations plus deliverables.

¹ NEPA Wahala- Local parlance for electrical power supply troubles.

- Invite foreign and local companies to bid for various power projects on a Build-Operate-and-Recover cost basis. Give concessions to companies who currently earn huge revenues exporting generators to Nigeria and those who export petroleum products to Nigeria. They may partner with Nigerian business men who are main importers of petroleum products and generators. This would allow them to generate alternative revenue streams to remain in business, help the employment situation and help the cause of local power supply. We shall strive for a win-win condition. We would need their support, buy in and collaboration to drive this initiative through. The goal is to develop Nigeria and not to strangulate anyone. It can be done.
- Allow one company or entity to handle the chain of generation, transmission and distribution per power zone or sub-zone. This shall eliminate the bottlenecks to existing interface between power generation companies, transmission companies and distribution companies (DISCOs). *(NOTE: The government shall publish the name of companies and Directors for ALL Projects in National newspapers and Media.*
- Expand power generation technology to coal, wind and hydro, including mini-hydro power plants. The current natural gas and natural gas fired independent power project system is not working.

Collecting energy payments from consumers remain a challenge. Costs to generate gas are added to

transmission costs, power generation costs, transmission and distribution costs. Such a bundling would make power costs to the consumer no longer competitive compared to other power generation options. Costs for drilling and processing non-associated gas remain high, hence a high dependence on associated gas produced along with the oil for power plants. This means that gas power plants shall be shut in or forced to operate at low capacities, when the common oil export channels are bridged or compromised. This is an ongoing challenge.

- Payments for contracts shall be domiciled in structures that would have minimal influence by governments to minimize hiccups when governments change. Or through the phases of projects that span across multiple terms of 4 years. A team of professionals shall debate and review this structure and come up with optimal solutions that would give project stakeholders confidence and a sense of security to commit their funds. No investor is foolish enough to want to put funds into high risk, high uncertainty projects.
- Allow owners of gas and coal for example, to benefit more in the revenues from utilization. The government shall gain or receive revenue from taxes and possibly not from sole ownership. This is a complicated area but can be easily done now for coal and other resources, because they are currently not being tapped or tapped efficiently. The power of government may be too

tempting to let go of the powers given to the government in the Land Use Act of 1978. It is a part of the Nigerian constitution which governs land use and administration in Nigeria: *It abolished all existing freehold systems, replaced this with a nationwide leasehold system. The leases are typically granted for 99 years, the maximum period stipulated by the Act.*²

- Encourage the creation and building of industries closer to the source of gas and coal. Linking these locations with good roads would be a strong factor in unlocking the industrialization and revenue generation potential of the country. Collaboration with road construction stakeholders would be explored along with the creation of industrial parks.
- Allow for community power generation platforms.
- Provide incentives and rewards for local companies who demonstrate exceptional performance.
- Nigerian Heroes shall be identified and rewarded.

² <https://africacheck.org/factsheets/factsheet-who-owns-the-land-in-nigeria/>

THE SHAME OF OUR INTERNATIONAL AND LOCAL AIRPORTS

WHAT I WOULD DO AS PRESIDENT

As president, I would realize that the ministerial structure for handling aviation is not working. It would be reviewed and made more functional. The aviation field would be unbundled, and the competitive space opened. Government will play the functional role of monitoring, but execution and projects would be outsourced, and private sector involvement deepened. Specifically, I would push for these:

- Create an **Aviation Emergency Task Team** to steward the new program.
- Develop a master plan for international and local airports across Nigeria. Consider entirely new airports in Lagos, Kano, Abuja and Port Harcourt to minimize interruptions or limitations to simultaneous operations and construction at the existing airports.
- Advertise for bids for developing and operating airports and possibly new airlines in Nigeria. This would be open

to foreign and local consortiums. Each bidder would select interested scope of delivery in different zones. Allow for tolled capital and operating cash recovery. Scope would include construction of hotel chains and ground transportation to support the air travel network for passenger value. Encourage Nigerian-foreign partnership consortiums by adopting some global best-practices.

- Create a funding/financial system that allows for easy forex transactions and revenue collection.
- Dismantle the stifling airport taxi hegemony at local and international airports.
- Review the tax policy on airline ticket-billing system.

THE SHAME OF OVERSEAS EDUCATION AS SOCIAL STATUS SYMBOL

WHAT I WOULD DO AS PRESIDENT

I would focus on several initiatives to revitalize our educational system. The focus would be to re-establish quality ethical education in Nigeria that would minimize or balance the craving for foreign education. And create affordable public-school opportunities for the greater Nigerian population. Specifically, I would push for these:

1. JAMB will be scrapped. It has outlived its value. Each university would compete for candidates. Every candidate should be free to apply to many universities of his or her choice. Each university would set their own entry criteria.
2. Federal Universities shall become autonomous but partly subsidized for a duration. At the expiration of the partial support period, they shall become self-funding. Universities shall be encouraged to partner with companies for win-win value sharing.
3. ASUU shall be dissolved. I shall move for this amendment. Some people may be affected negatively initially, but over time, the gains would shine through for all.

4. There will be an annual or bi-yearly competition among universities to show-case their contribution to industrial development in Nigeria. This competition shall form part of an annual ranking system for Nigerian universities. University fund allocation will be based on relative performance on annual competition. This should unleash the natural competitive spirit in the education sector.
5. Whistle blowing incentives shall be given to report school owners who engage in exam malpractices. Appropriate penalties including jail terms shall apply. Historical malpractices shall be forgiven. Future performance and conduct shall come into strong scrutiny.
6. There shall be no more waivers or forex incentives for overseas education.
7. There would be a national program to revive craft schools for the building, construction, auto-mechanics, carpentry and wood work, air-conditioning & refrigeration plus other fields.
8. There will be another award-giving competition for craft schools and polytechnics. The different role of polytechnics in our society shall be communicated for understanding by all. Polytechnics, unlike universities, are specialized institutions that offer programs more focused on improving the practical and technical skills of the students. Diploma or certificate courses that can be completed in shorter durations are awarded. I would

say that Nigeria is currently lacking in practical and technical skills. Our polytechnics may not be sufficiently equipped to offer current levels of practical skills and knowledge.

9. Foreigners shall be encouraged to open new universities and possibly secondary schools in Nigeria. They shall compete and cross-pollinate with Nigerians. The ethical standards that foreign institutions would bring into the country would be a stimulant for growth as competition between Nigerian institutions would intensify.

10. Our government shall create a competitive environment that attracts the best professionals from all over the world. On Emirates flights, it is always heart-warming to hear crew announcements proudly stating, along these lines,

“... on this flight, the crew have members from 13 countries and speak 15 languages...and we are here to make your flight enjoyable...”.

If such structure works and Emirates airline remains a UAE corporation, why would Nigeria not consider adopting a similar model?

11. The Government shall tax schools and universities set up by religious institutes who charge high school fees when compared to privately run schools. Reason for this is that private schools generate capital via free enterprise while religious bodies generate revenue via

voluntary donations and offerings. *Taxes shall be much higher when the religious bodies build schools with untaxed donations from members and the general public.*

Religious bodies shall be encouraged to subsidize education by following the models of missionary schools as previously set-up.

12. We shall ensure that grading and relative positions are restored at all levels of education. When children and young adults know their standing in a class, the natural competitiveness in humans would motivate students to give their best. And to challenge themselves to do more. This way, people who may have remained indolent may rise to become academic geniuses at some point in their lives. We never know how good we are until we competitively give our best.
 - a. Those who don't rank at the top of the class are not failures. They simply know their ranking on academics. They could rank top in other endeavours or fields in life. They could become top sportsmen, salesmen, entrepreneurs. They can excel in many other fields.
 - b. The developed world where non-ranking has been removed in schools can afford this because they have achieved significant development already. We cannot copy this without calibration. We need our competitive

minds to be awakened. Life is competitive. If you can't compete, someone eats your lunch.

- c. The market place is tough. If you are weak, others afford and buy what you crave for. The strength of a currency is tied to the balance of trade. If you import more than you export, your currency weakens. If we export more, our currency strengthens.
- d. If we can't create good schools in our country, foreigners reap the advantage and generate their livelihood from our sweat.

THE SHAME OF TRIBALISM

WHAT I WOULD DO AS PRESIDENT

As the president, I would push for the following to dismantle the walls created by tribalism and adopt a more efficient model to nationhood.

1. Abolish or modify the use of State of Origin in corporate and business documents in Nigeria to mean the state of birth or any state where a Nigerian has lived for 10 or more years. State of Origin shall no longer be a representation of tribe. In the current practice, many Nigerians born in different states still claim their tribal birthplace. This modification would help erode the primordial concept of tribalism. It would be replaced with ***State of Residence or Birth***.
2. We shall make some simple yet significant changes to the political structure.
 - a. ***No governorship candidate in any state shall be from that state. The position of a governor and deputy governor in all states of the federation shall be contested for, in each state, by non-natives. And by non-natives, it will exclude Nigerians whose parental origin are from that state. The candidates must not come from any of the tribes or clans in that state. He or she would be a Nigerian from other tribal descent and state.***

This would allow candidates to campaign and be elected on merit as administrators. The new structure would have several advantages:

Significant reduction in campaign and election costs. The traditional model allows for people from the communities to pressure candidates for one gratification or inducement. Candidates find themselves having to part with monies on regular basis before elections to 'buy' their support. This sort of campaign expense structure can drain the pocket of billionaires yet offer no guarantees. This model creates a strong incentive for corruption when elected for fund-recovery. To some degree, this should reduce the tendency for corruption in politicking and in office. Politicians seeking election into these offices may raise campaign funds from the people of the state who buy into their visions and experience.

It will be difficult for a non-indigene governor to be brazenly corrupt. Governors would be more conscious of transparency and scrutiny.

Even when a governor is impeached, he can only be replaced by a non-indigene.

Only candidates who have the experience, skill and passion as administrators, those who are confident in their capacity to steward a state to progress would bother competing. This will open the gates for Nigerians who are competent but otherwise scared

of politics to seek elective office. Career politicians may not thrive under this structure, so it is expected that they may vehemently oppose this idea. Many will argue it has not been done before. Or seek for evidence for where it has successfully been deployed. But such arguments would not suffice as there will always be a first time for anything in life. And if the world fears trying new things, innovation would die. Fortunately, innovation and testing of new ideas is the way the world has embraced, and we are all beneficiaries of this. We see new discoveries and solutions daily in our personal lives and in the society.

This idea is not entirely new as Nigerians have experienced non-indigenes in charge of state affairs. This happened the Military regimes where military officers were deployed as Military Administrators of different states of the federation. While corruption was possible in these situations based on the military ruling over civilian population, the same impunity would not apply in a democratic setting.

Commodore Ndubuisi Kanu (1977-1978), Commodore Ebitu Ukiwe (1978-1979), Mohammed Buba Marwa (1996-1999) were past military governors of Lagos State. Colonel Datti Sadiq Abubakar was military governor of Anambra state from 1978 to 1979, after John Atom Kpera (1976-1978). Rufai Garba was Military Administrator of

Anambra state from 1996 to 1998. Victor Ozodinobi was Military Administrator of Borno State from 1996 to 1997.

The political structure across the developed world is never the same. So, it is counterproductive to advocate one model of leadership as the only way to redemption. We can grow our unique style to solve our unique problems.

- b. **The same rule for governors shall apply to senators and house of Assembly members.** Local government chairpersons shall be indigenes and they shall help in language barrier issues and in the administration of their communities. The governor and the senators shall remain non-indigenes and they shall focus on governance.
3. Inter-tribal marriages shall be encouraged by the government with some incentives.
4. The government shall consider strategic political collaborations that has worked in other countries such as Malaysia for adoption in Nigeria. A conference shall be organized solely to develop a de-tribalized framework for moving the country forward. A conference terms of reference shall be crafted to make for a transparent and open deliberation anchored on the golden rule principle.
5. We shall create a platform that reduces the economic or financial power that accrues from political offices. We shall consider a reduction in the size of government. We shall consider part-time membership of the Legislature.

6. We must not adopt the exact models of political structure from economies already advanced but investigate options that would work for our stage of development. We shall recognize tribal difference but only so the nation shall tap into the strengths of each tribe, or the more endemic strong attributes from each tribe or social culture for nation-building.
7. Support our movie Industry to create movies that project into the future demonstrating the great values and benefits of a detribalized nation. Government would provide some support for movies of this genre.
8. In the *Nigeria Hero* recognition program, the ***detribalized Nigerian*** shall be an award category. This is hoped would encourage the emulation of such attitudes.
9. We shall develop a mass media education strategy that communicates the values of accepting Nigeria as an entity we can all be proud of: ***as we accept our birth by our parents***. We have or had no hands in selecting our biological parents, yet we make the most of it. The sooner we accept that we are together, one family, one country and in unity work towards our common objectives of security, health, food, shelter and social wellbeing, the faster would our nation grow. And when we grow as a nation, our individual lot would fare better.
10. In a similar way to how the world now treats racism, our administration shall outlaw tribal based comments in

the social media and social circles. There would be penalty for offenders. You may have the thoughts deep inside of you, but you can no longer be free to make open derogatory comments in public based on tribe. It would become a public shame for people to make negative sectional or tribal comments. But more than the shame, there would be a price to pay by the law.

The ills of tribalism and religious bigotry far outweigh the cumulative ills of racism. The world knows that all black skinned people originate from Africa. And regardless of how you or your parents got into the developed countries and became citizens, the colour of our skin is an immediate pointer to our African origin. And we are insulted because our Africa is very backwards compared to the rest of the world. The point is, racism is what others do to us to hurt our self-esteem based on the colour of our skin and the linked heritage.

But tribalism is what we do to and against ourselves that stunts our collective growth and development. Our backwardness is what racism reminds us of, and yet, we feel bad. How can we feel bad when we are racially abused, considering that our inherent tribalism has ensured we are not united enough to build better societies that would give us a pride of place in the world? If we can abuse and denigrate fellow Nigerians, fellow Africans, who we are not better than in any way, is it not hypocrisy we expect people from the developed world not to racially insult us? How often do Africans

complain of racism in his or her own country? Have anyone ever wondered why few cases of racism are reported by Caucasian white people? Is it because Africans and other races do not make racist or negative comments against whites?

I think we are more prone to racism when benefitting from the functional environment created by the forefathers and people of the developed world. The natural instinct of man is to feel superior, want to feel superior, and have a deep sense of worth. And this feeling often comes from knowing or thinking you are better than other people. And people with lower self-control often voice things that show their thoughts over others. Racist comments and tribal comments are quick signs of a superiority complex displayed by weaker minds. Such comments, you may agree, would come easier, when you see 'strangers', people of clearly different races in your community, your environment. The community you are proud of. Your society your ancestors had painstakingly built. Through hurricanes, floods, winter, extreme natural disasters. And now you see people leaving their origins, their more backward origins to come live among you. I think it takes the highest level of maturity, comradeship and love, for people not to be racist or make resist comments. Africans are not even so kind to fellow Africans from other tribes.

Enjoying the hard work of others may come with some price. I am not in support of racism by any means but only those who are completely de-tribalized may have any moral right against racism. I feel tribalism is a far worse crime against humanity than racism.

THE SHAME OF “I MUST LEAVE NIGERIA OR TRAVEL AT ALL COSTS”

WHAT I WOULD DO AS PRESIDENT

As the president, I would recognize that it is the right of every citizen to have freedom of expression, freedom of choice to travel or not to travel. As president, we cannot veto people's decision to travel. We accept the prerogative of foreign embassies to approve or reject the visa applications of any Nigerian.

I shall recognize the many contributory factors to the high rate of emigration from Nigeria

High rate of unemployment in the Country in one key factor. This creates a pervading sense of hopelessness in our youth population, hence the desperate desire to travel out of the country in search of greener pastures. This shame is also largely to blame on the failure of government and leadership.

Job creation shall be a pivotal objective of the administration. And in creating jobs, the government shall identify products and services that primarily would find consumption needs first in Nigeria and then overseas. Government shall support private

entrepreneurs with funding or funding guarantees in building local industries.

As highlighted, with progress on power supply, the government shall take these steps:

1. Invite foreign automakers to set up factories in Nigeria. The factories can be located close to oil and gas production fields, to enable them access cheap gas for affordable power generation and supply.
2. The government would back up the foreign-Nigerian Partnership by initiatives such as committing to vehicle purchase from Government, forex allocation and any other incentive such as tax rebates. This would create jobs, generate further revenue for gas production and save on pressures on the Naira.
3. Invitations shall extend to the building or manufacturing of high demand local consumables along with the developments in power and infrastructure. Nigerians would find a greater sense of pride in our country again. And optimism would arise again.
4. Invite experienced players in the tourism industry to develop our local tourism based on choice locations such as the Ikogosi Warm Springs, Olumo Rock, Obudu Cattle Ranch, Mambila Plateau, etc. This would not only create jobs but create a robust local tourism market that would attract foreign tourists, earning forex and reducing the monies spent on foreign tourism. Even if

foreign tourism is not affected, as our goal is not to stifle foreign tourism, the latent local tourism potential would be unleashed, creating commerce and value across several chains.

5. Develop our tourism market by creating a network of roads and 3-5-star hotels to provide comfort on the across the many tourist destinations in Nigeria. See the book for full details. With our all year round 'summer' weather, the revenue potential for all would be significant. We are truly a blessed country.
6. We shall communicate minimum standards for Embassy designs in Nigeria for visa applicants.
7. The Government shall match visible development with media messages to educate our people on the values of thinking of others, other Nigerians as we seek to make a living.

THE SHAME OF “OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM”.

WHAT I WOULD DO AS PRESIDENT

I would take a few actions. I am the first to admit these would not be easy as the many powerful politicians who benefit from the current arrangements would fight to the last. Whatever be the case, I would make the proposals, hope and pray for The Almighty God to grant us favour. The favour to have enough Nigerian heroes to help make these see the light of day. And the minds of the people to embrace the change for collective good.

Specifically, I would:

1. Propose a bill that would outlaw tribalism-induced comments in the public domain. This is applicable to social media, movies, radio, companies, the streets and anywhere in the country. I had made this point under the “*shame of tribalism*” but re-enforce it here for emphasis. This shall also include negative comments against religious affiliations. Tribalism and religious bigotry shall be treated in the same way as racism in the developed world. This is very pivotal to the change in national orientation. The envisaged effect would be significant.
2. Propose a bill that would have a rotational or zonal presidential system. This is to control the agitations centred on sectional agitations for position of President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Only candidates from a given zone can compete against each other,

regardless of the political platform or affiliation, for the position of the President of Nigeria. The president and the Vice President shall be from the same Zone. The impeachment or replacement of the President at death or another situation shall be by the Vice President from the same Zone. Another structure shall address inclusion and diversity.

3. The voting system shall be upgraded to assign a unique identification code to every Nigerian who attains the age of 18. Polling booths/centres would have networked computers for easy authentication and accreditation of every eligible voter. It is impracticable to expect every voter to live or be present, close to where he or she was initially registered. The existing structure allows for a high rate of voter disenfranchisement, thus giving room for easy manipulation and rigging. In the same way that bank account numbers and BVN³ are administered, voting cards/ID shall be administered for easy authentication anywhere in the world. Nigerians living overseas should be able to vote. This would be considered a pivotal activity by our administration. The potential for underage voters, ballot box snatching, illegal thumb-printing shall be eliminated by implementing a global best practice resulting from the recommendation of a committee of Nigerian Heroes. This shall be a priority task within the first 100 days in office. Execution shall target completion within the first 2 years of the 4-year term.

³ BVN- Bank Verification Number, abbreviated as BVN is a biometric identification system implemented by the Central Bank of Nigeria to curb or reduce illegal banking transactions in Nigeria. This can also curb illegal voting or voter activities

4. As a part of the zonal presidential model, the constitution shall also be modified to bar the president from appointing anyone from his tribe or state of birth into the cabinet, executives, political appointments and ministers, if the ministerial structure would remain. He will select tested Nigerian heroes from other zones in the country. And the zones shall be outside of the president's adjoining zones i.e. from zones with predominantly different tribes or ethnicity. This shall apply to any serving president. If a serving president dies in office or is impeached, a new president shall be selected from his constituency. Or the VP (Vice President) replaces the president and a new VP is selected. This will discourage other tribes from wanting to grab power by impeaching or eliminating a serving president. This is one measure to eliminate or reduce the deleterious impact of tribalism in leadership and on the nation.

This aspect shall be reviewed and refined to a workable structure based on the baseline intent. The intent is to eliminate the cycle where presidents can make appointments skewed along tribal or regional lines. Or the grab-power-at-all-cost syndrome, just to dig into the national cake or treasury for the benefits of people from the president's tribe, family or region. A mini-conference of Nigerian heroes shall be constituted to refine this amendment.

5. Amend the constitution to outlaw the switching of political parties by serving elected officers. Such switches, should they happen, would only be allowed if the elected official resigns first from his elected office. There would be no waivers to this law.

6. Propose a bill to make rigging of elections and general election malpractice as forms of treason with appropriate punishment by the law.
7. As stated under the “*shame of tribalism*”, only Nigerians from other states of birth or tribes can contest for governor and senators in each of the 36 states of the federation. In this way, governors and senators would be freer to run a state devoid of tribal or clannish influences.
8. There would no longer be additional states created in Nigeria. Focus shall be more on unity as opposed to further splits.
9. Propose a reduction in the size of the legislative body at national and state levels.
10. Propose the elimination of the offices of Ministers of State. Our needs as a country transcend beyond political appointments. We need action and need action fast.
11. Propose a *National Project Development Organization* with leadership tenures that do not terminate with the 4-year election cycle. The appointment or termination of the chairman or president of this body shall not be at the discretion of the president. The purpose of this body shall be to ensure the continuity of national development projects and minimize the role that politics and politicians play in the payment of contractors executing national projects. Project stakeholders need greater confidence to invest and participate on national projects. The ministry of works and housing has failed to live up to expectations for several decades. Something needs to be done to address this anomaly.

Yes, we have made improvements but the man on the streets needs to see visible progress in the community.

12. Reduce the financial burden on political candidates by establishing a system that encourages candidates to raise funds from the citizens. This way, politics would not be restricted to the mega rich. And the tendency to enrich the self when elected, to recover expense, would reduce to some extent. People who contribute to sponsoring candidates would inevitably vote for their candidate. The burden to spread cash to win votes or rig elections would be minimized.

THE SHAME OF NIGERIA NOT HAVING A NATIONAL AIRLINE

WHAT I WOULD DO AS PRESIDENT

As president, I would push for the return of Nigerian Airways to the skies. This time, we shall raise a joint venture company, a collaboration between Nigerian and foreign, non-Nigerian stakeholders. The model of ASKY Airlines is an example of an African effort involving an expansive collaboration of stakeholders, including private investors, public financial institutions and including Ethiopian Airlines, as the technical partner.

The root-causes of the past failures shall be tackled:

- **Overstaffing**

This was most likely due to pressures on the management to hire excess staff members due to issues such as federal character, nepotism, or some other jaundiced factor. To address this, the JV structure shall cede operatorship to the company with no intrusion from public officials on recruitment and manpower allocation. Overstaffing has not been an issue with international companies. This would be easy to address, as even in today's Nigeria, there are many organizations with staffing fidelity without undue interference from government. With the many parties

involved, the possibility of induced overstaffing would be strongly curtailed or eliminated.

- **Corruption**

Corruption usually thrives when the corporate structure is muddled up giving directors and stakeholders the room to pursue disjointed interests. The company board shall be structured to eliminate or minimize the potential for corruption to thrive. Best practices in other African countries and global experiences shall be explored and considered.

- **Conflicts of Interest**

The Nigerian Airways as a company may not be handed over to an airline currently operating in the country. It could present a conflict of interest situation that would not be fair to the airline. The operating joint venture shall be an independent entity.

- **National Recognition & Awards**

The people who drive this initiative to excellence shall be nationally recognized and treated as Nigerian Heroes.

THE SHAME OF MEDICAL TOURISM OVERSEAS

WHAT I WOULD DO AS PRESIDENT

As the President, I would realize that sermonizing will not help. Talk is cheap. I would see the need for visible action and steps would be taken to stimulate action, implementation and thus motivate our people to believe, to participate and feel the pulse of progress. We shall push for some of these and more:

1. Create a Medical Emergency Rescue Board, made up of *Nigerian Heroes*, detribalized, committed and filled with ethical pride to move the country forward. It will be men and woman at the point of legacy transition, who recognize that more-money is no longer the credo for their existence. These would be industrially satisfied men and women whose burning desire is to help leave a legacy for the coming generations. I am proud to know there are many Nigerians who already fit into this category. It will not be a committee to share money. Share naira or dollars. It is a committee of heroes.
 - a. Heroes who know that Nelson Mandela is not remembered today because of his wealth. Mahatma Gandhi is not remembered for his wealth. Isaac Newton not for his wealth. Men and women who changed their nations, their

societies continue to be remembered long after the richest men in history have been forgotten. It shall be called the Dr Ameyo Adadevoh Board, in recognition of the incredible sacrifice this woman, this Nigerian made for the love of her fatherland. To believe in this country when many have given up is worthy of recognition and celebration. Her mind transcends Ebola. Her mind is the mind of the Nigerian Hero. The mind to give all, for the greater good of the community.

2. Create 1,000+ bed ultra-modern hospital facilities complete with modern testing and laboratory facilities in each of the 6 geopolitical zones of the country. Foreign hospital and pharmaceutical chains will be invited to bid for the construction, commissioning and operations for 25+ years. Foreign groups shall partner Nigerian stakeholders, but operations will be in the hands of core professionals.
 - a. The government shall support the project with finance and guarantees. These hospitals shall provide multiple benefits for the country. These include platform for practical experience for future doctors and consultants, internship slots, jobs and a return to belief in the country. This would also reduce the pressure on the naira for sourcing forex for overseas treatments or medical attention. Foreign doctors would work side by side with Nigerian doctors.

- b. Besides the firm activities on power generation and road network projects in the country, there will be a linked strategy for upgrade and development.
 - c. Private organizations shall be encouraged to build more of these types of hospitals where the government shall provide incentives including but not limited to tax rebates and funding guarantees, among others.
- 3. Re-enforce the NHIS program as a minimum mandatory support system for all Nigerians. Seek views from tested professionals on how to make the system more effective.
- 4. Appropriate funds for the upgrade of medical schools in the country based on best proposals received from the institutions.
- 5. Institute an *Annual Recognition and Award scheme* for medical institutions and personnel. Special recognitions and awards shall be given to Nigerians who make significant breakthroughs and discoveries in the treatment of challenging diseases such as cancer, HIV/AIDS, diabetes, arthritis, heart diseases, sickle cell anaemia, stroke, Parkinson syndrome, fibroid, among others.
- 6. Recognize the ills of fake drugs and take appropriate steps to educate the people and discourage the

practice. It must not all be about money. At least, not money at all costs.

7. The government shall also officially recognize nutritionists and alternative/traditional health practitioners. There is no conflict. Both sides have the same objective. *Ona kan o wo oja*⁴, there are many roads to the market. We shall not discourage home grown medical practice as we all know that today's pharmaceutical drugs are basically synthesized chemical compounds based on field research on the therapeutic properties of organic plants and herbs. We shall recognize Nigerian Heroes in herbal/nutritional healthcare. Nigeria would have our own healthcare regulations and guidelines. We shall progress what works for our people.

⁴ *Ona kan o wo oja*. A Yoruba adage, literally translated means-There are many roads that lead to the market. Real meaning is that there are several routes to solving a problem.

THE SHAME OF LOST VALUE SYSTEM AND SOCIAL DISORDER

WHAT I WOULD DO AS PRESIDENT

As the president, I know social change takes time. However, I would push for some measures to shore up our overall performance as a people.

1. Appropriate matching budget allocations to upgrade the standard of police barracks in the country. Running water, steady electrical supply, improved remuneration packages and better weapons for the police and the military would be top priority for the administration. Equip the police and restore the pride to the force. The creation of infrastructure for pipe born water, power and other amenities could be prioritized for the Police force from the beginning. Pipe borne water and power shall be the right of every Nigerian citizen, regardless of social standing or region in the country.
2. Create a system where every citizen will play some security role, as practiced in some countries. I believe in the supremacy of crime prevention over crime mitigation. When people know they can be reported by everyday citizens watching out for the good of the nation, the load on the regular police force will reduce. To make this happen, first, there must be renewed faith

and belief in the country's governing body. With this new belief, mass mobilization should be easier.

3. Improved job opportunities by the new projects in the country shall provide avenues for profitable engagement for our youths. The natural incentive for crime and ritual based careers would decline. Socially, the government shall create campaigns that discourage quick-rich schemes including 'yahoo' things.
4. The minimum performance standard for all roads in Nigeria shall be ZERO Potholes. A road is only a road if it is smooth.
5. Improve national security. This would enable the military-siege type of roadblocks across national highways to be dismantled. This shall go with improved intelligence and security monitoring. The new Nigeria would auto-dismantle on negatives. With a country to be proud of, compliance with the law would become easier. Hopefully.
6. Our laws shall be updated to include how to deal with fetish crimes, together with efforts to rid our social sphere of the acceptance that Africans must be associated with fetish activities.
7. We shall encourage and reward lawyers and police officers who show *Nigerian Hero* attributes and performance.

8. Encourage making movies that downplay wealth as a common theme in the country. We should use movies to help shape our society.

THE SHAME OF “LOST PROFESSIONALISM IN THE CORPORATE AND CRAFT WORLD”

WHAT I WOULD DO AS PRESIDENT

This aspect of our country poses a significant challenge. It also happens to be an interesting challenge. It would require the cooperation of many stakeholders to address the problem. My initiatives shall include but not limited to:

- The Nigerian Society of Engineers and COREN must develop a Nigerian Engineering Standard and practice in 3 years without waivers to stimulate local engineering growth. They shall set the standard for in-country engineering application. The objective will be to create a platform of pride for the Nigerian Engineer.
- The Nigerian architects and engineers must develop a real model for the energy-efficient tropical housing. Even if these cannot be replicated for multi-story buildings, we would need a signature Nigerian, African feature on our houses, and such housing can be replicated in the villages and rural settings. National award and recognition shall be given to those who make this happen.

- We shall create 3-5 Building/Infrastructure projects to develop tourist sites and show a symbol for the New Nigeria. This could be a 70-Story Building, monuments or statues. It could be the largest non-electric-powered-air-conditioned structure in Africa, or any creative landmark to give pride to the designers and builders plus the image lift for the country. The designs and construction must stretch the frontiers of science and learning. This is a classic *Nigerian Hero* effort. Our engineers, scientists and architects would lead this effort.
- I would move for a bill to have educational institutions add or enhance a course or subject in the first and final years of study that clearly define performance standards and expectations for every graduating professional. These courses shall have 1-pager “take-aways” that serve as constant reminders of what it means to be an engineer, an architect, medical doctor, pharmacist, historian, journalist, lawyer, judge, solicitor, lecturer, teacher, dentist, etc. The same would be done for craft and technical schools across the country. There shall be no waivers to this requirement.

A mason, a tiler, and electrician, a plumber, must know what quality work is. There should be no options around this standard of delivery and performance.

The objective is to clearly communicate the specific professional expectations from every individual in the performance of duties, to merit or earn wages or money.

Carrying out a job must be to the satisfaction of defined standards and not according to the subjective views or thinking of the individual. Project managers, leaders, engineers, or some other stakeholder should also clearly define performance standards and expectations at the beginning and in contracts, offer terms and agreements signed off, showing understanding and commitment.

Emotional blackmail or such weak means that claim: *“pay me my money, I have completed the job”* would not suffice. If a supervisor is being mean or high-handed, the defined performance standard or measures would serve as valid reference.

- Building auto-factories in Nigeria would help provide training and skills to auto-technicians in the country. The same applies to other craft and industrial application field.
- The new landscape where universities and training institutes compete annually against each other would inevitably force universities to recruit and retain qualified lecturers/teachers, as opposed to compromising on standards. This would over time weed out unqualified teachers who otherwise could perpetrate mediocrity in learning institutions.
- The infusion of many nationalities into Nigeria's industrial space would help in the stimulation of professionalism and capacity development. This is part

of the basis for the earlier formulations stated in the get-rich-quick fix. With multi-nationals working on road, medical, water, and general infrastructure projects, the benefits would be massive. However, Nigerians would remain first class citizens in our country. We shall remain proud Nigerians. Not arrogant Nigerians.

- The ***Nigerian Hero Award*** and recognition system shall promote professionalism across fields in Nigeria. This is not the traditional National Award i.e., Officer of the Order of the Niger (OON). This recognition system would get to the streets, the grassroots. Tailors and dress makers who love their jobs and take great pride in exceeding customer expectations. Barbers, mechanics, teachers, engineers, medical doctors, Architects, hair stylists, technicians, craftsmen. Nigerians everywhere. This would help galvanize the spirit of professionalism across the land.

THE SHAME OF “OIL AND GAS” POVERTY

WHAT I WOULD DO AS PRESIDENT

The problems will not go away overnight, but I would make efforts along these lines.

1. Prioritize local consumption of gas to stimulate the business model for gas production, processing, transmission and utilization. Some measures would include but not limited to:
 - a. Develop gas distribution and consumption grids to industries and residential areas across the federation starting from the oil and gas communities. The existing single natural gas pipeline, the NGC pipeline is not enough to serve the nation. The project would be broken down into manageable sizes for ease of funding and completion. Residences should have the option to use electricity, natural gas or LPG for heating. Being a tropical country without extreme colds as experienced in winter, the gas need may be limited to cooking thus reducing net demand. This would be factored into the project scope definition and strategy.

- b. The main challenge to residential natural gas distribution and use is the applicable safety standards in the country. Whatever the case, Nigeria cannot have a population of over 180m, significant gas reserves and we keep flaring our gas. This is a challenge that must be tackled so our children don't wake one day and discover that their fathers and mothers have wasted their gas, through shameful burning in flares.
 - c. Our best minds would brainstorm through this challenge. If the exercise is carried out by *Nigerian Heroes* or people with minds of the *Nigerian Hero*, the mind of the detribalized Nigerian, the mind of legacy minded Nigerians, then the results can only be positive.
 - d. Review the gas pricing and taxation models to ensure a competitive framework is achieved locally to help gas utilization projects take off and get completed.
2. I would move for a plan that would lower the focus and reliance on oil revenue for recurrent expenditure. That the economy should be diversified is a no-brainer. However, we can appropriate 50% of oil revenue strictly for national development projects and to shore up our foreign reserves.
3. The government will consider the installation of adequate refineries in Nigeria a top priority. Whatever needs to be done, on the forex regulations, equity

participation or location of refineries must be done. It is no longer an option. How can people of the Niger Delta pay more per litre of fuel than people living in other parts of the country? Simply absurd.

- a. Refineries must be set up in the core Niger Delta states and regions. This is not a new initiative, but execution strategy remains pivotal.
 - b. Investors fear not recovering their investments in refineries as payments would be denominated in the unstable naira. Business men and women prefer to earn in US dollars. The projects are based on the US dollar. Basic wisdom dictates that where there is an established need, barriers must be broken down to meet the need.
 - c. Regulations must be shaped to favour local refineries.
 - d. And the fear of doing business in Naira needs to be addressed too.
4. The downstream petroleum sector would have to be de-regulated. As call rates and sim card charges were very high at the onset of the GSM licensing, market competition and forces drove costs down to the present levels. Competition always favour the consumer. We must see into the future. Neighbouring countries pay more per litre of fuel than Nigerians. De-regulation would not kill us. The Government is bleeding on subsidies. There are more innovative ways to apply subsidy. We can dialogue over these. But deregulation is the way to go. This is my opinion.

5. Revenues accruing to the oil producing states can be split into several areas;
 - a. One portion shall be channelled to building of refineries in the oil producing areas.
 - b. Another portion shall be cash based payments.
 - c. Another could be to sell the oil to the Niger delta refineries at discounted rates.
 - d. And another shall be on prioritized development of the region in terms of roads, hospitals, education (institutions), factories.
6. Oil exploration and production companies would receive incentives for locally refining a fraction of their oil production.
7. Development of other minerals shall be given higher priority and attention.
8. Nigerian local content initiatives should develop to have foreign companies who manufacture items for the Nigerian oil & gas industry to set up shops and factories in Nigeria and partnering Nigerians.
9. Building factories near to oil and Gas fields would be one way to improve on the utilization of associated and non-associated gas in Nigeria. This shall be encouraged. High penalties for gas flaring may not solve the problem, because when companies shut-down operations

because of high costs of associated-gas⁵ flaring, the government may soft-pedal. The reduced proceeds from shut-in production would inevitably affect government revenue and coerce some waivers and the cycle repeats. Accurate gas accounting may not be guaranteed readily. A win-win approach that includes funding and participation in the multi-chain gas production, transmission, and consumption process is the way to go.

10. The pollution of the Niger delta waters would need to be cleaned up. This is a morally right project and all stakeholders shall be involved to correct this devastation. To make this a holistic effort, the following would need to be done:

- a. Strengthen the environmental laws that govern waste water treatment and disposal. Monitoring and compliance would need to be effective for the laws to mean anything. The *Nigerian Hero* mind-set needs to be called upon here. Produced water disposal quality needs to be clearly defined by the Regulatory bodies and should be consistent with best-practices in advanced countries. There is some confusion in the application of these guidelines in the country. This needs to be addressed and shall be addressed.

⁵ Associated-Gas is the gas that is produced along with the oil from oil wells.

- b. International stakeholders and professionals would be involved in the clean-up efforts.
- c. Indiscriminate dumping of oily waste water and the bombing of oil pipelines in the creeks have contributed significantly to this pollution and environmental disaster. Future bombers of oil and gas pipelines may well consider this negative effect of pollution and attendant health hazards. It may be easy to say this from an outside view but when visible efforts are made by the government in the centre and in the states to recognize and reward host communities, I believe the tendency to bomb pipelines would significantly reduce.