

Buharimeter



Centre for Democracy & Development

Centre pour la démocratie et le développement



DELIVERING ON CAMPAIGN PROMISES: **THE FIRST 100 DAYS REPORT**

September 2015

ACRONYMS

APC – All Progressives Congress

AU – African Union

CCB – Code of Conduct Bureau

CDD – Centre for Democracy and Development

EFCC – Economic and Financial Crimes Commission

EU – European Union

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

GEJ – Goodluck Ebele Jonathan

HYPREP - Hydrocarbon Pollution Restoration Project

ICPC – Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission

IDPs – Internally Displaced Persons

KPMG - Klynveld Peat Marwick Goerdeler

MCCC – Military Command and Control Centre

MNJTF – Multi-National Joint Task Force

MW – Megawatt

NNPC – Nigeria National Petroleum Commission

OSIWA – Open Society Initiative for West Africa

PIB – Petroleum Industry Bill

PMB – President Muhammadu Buhari

PTFP – Presidential Task Force on Power

PWC - PricewaterhouseCoopers

SAN – Senior Advocate of Nigeria

TAM – Turn Around Maintenance

TCN – Transmission Company of Nigeria

UNEP – United Nations Environment Programme

USA – United States of America

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Contents

ACRONYMS.....2

TABLE OF CONTENTS.....3

I. INTRODUCTION.....4

II. METHODOLOGY.....4

III. SNAPSHOT OF 100 DAYS' ACCOMPLISHMENTS4

IV. HOW HAS THE SECTOR/ISSUE FARED?5

V. PERFORMANCE ANALYSIS7

VI. NOTICEABLE ACTIONS TAKEN BY THE GOVERNMENT7

Security7

Corruption8

Infrastructure9

Oil and Gas9

Agriculture10

Environment & Niger Delta10

Employment11

Foreign Policy11

VII. KEY CONCERNS11

VIII. RECOMMENDATIONS12

IX. ABOUT BUHARIMETER12



I. INTRODUCTION

The 100 days report's cards presents a short term assessment of the performance of President Muhammadu Buhari (PMB) and his party, the All Progressives Congress (APC), on the delivery of campaign promises made in the run-up to the 2015 general elections. The 100-day marker has become a practice in both developed and developing democracies. Its universality predicates on the assumption that the work governments do at the early stage of governance can serve as a model for the future. More so, governments are envisaged to be at their best when their leadership is fresh as they command legitimacy and exercise control over institutions that may directly or indirectly effect positive change in a nation.

Within the reporting period, the government has achieved 1 promise, made noticeable progress to

achieving 24, while 197 promises are yet to be rated. Areas where progress has been made so far include: National Security and Defence; Corruption; Agriculture; Oil and Gas; Environment; the Niger Delta; Foreign Policy and Infrastructure (namely power).

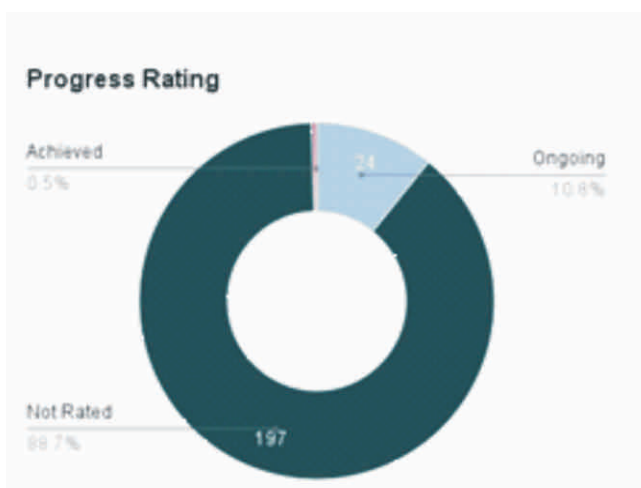
II. METHODOLOGY

The monitoring of PMB's tracked campaign promises was conducted by CDD. Data were collated through the daily monitoring of print and electronic media. An expert analysis of sectorial issues were undertaken; and citizens' views, as expressed in the media, were systematically rated, before making judgment calls on the status of the implementation of specific promises. Weekly in-house reports were also prepared for the purpose of trend monitoring. These reports are the building blocks for the monthly reports,

for which a database was created. We are working on strengthening our sources of information for the assessment of government's performance through creating a space on www.buharimeter.ng that allows citizens and other stakeholders to regularly inform us about government actions (IWitness).

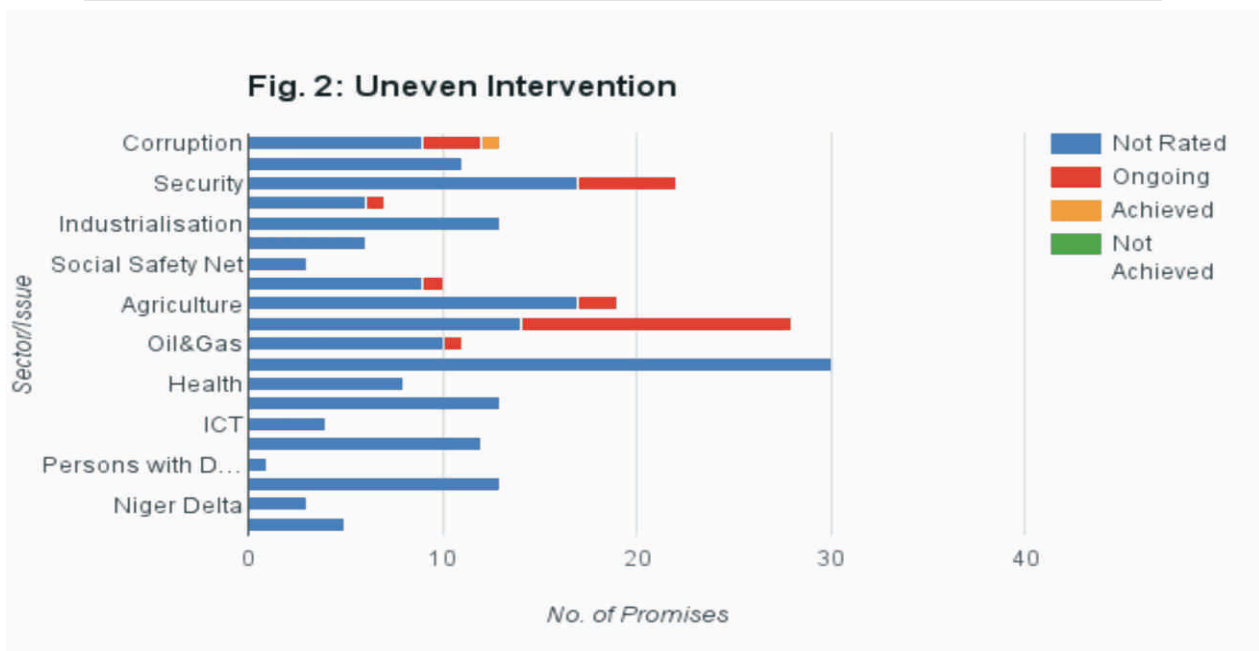
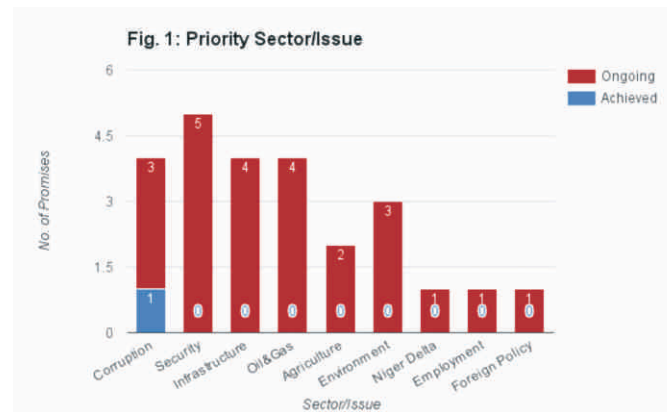
III. SNAPSHOT OF 100 DAYS ACCOMPLISHMENTS

This progress rating pie chart below provides a snapshot of the Nigerian government's accomplishments in PMB's first 100 days in office.

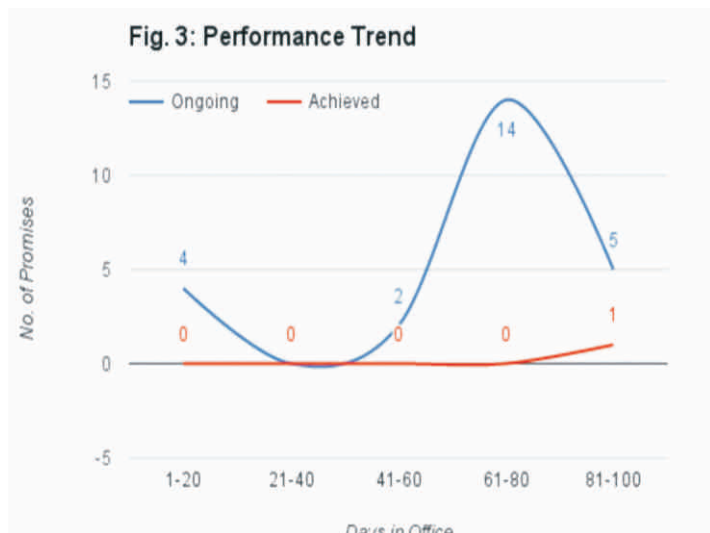


At a glance, we can see that, out of the tracked 222 campaign promises, the government has achieved just 1 promise, which constitutes 0.5 percent of the total promises. More so, noticeable progress has been made towards the achievement of 24 (10.8 percent) other promises, which suggest that the government is yet to make noticeable steps towards the achievement of the remaining 197 campaign promises, which are not yet rated and amount to 88.7 percent of the total tracked promises.

IV. HOW HAS SECTOR/ISSUE FARED?



V. PERFORMANCE ANALYSIS



VI. NOTICEABLE ACTIONS TAKEN BY THE GOVERNMENT

Security

After 100 days in office President Muhammad Buhari, in keeping with his campaign promises has prioritised resolving the Boko Haram insurgency in Northeast Nigeria. Right from his inaugural speech, PMB ordered the immediate relocation of the Military Command and Control Centre (MCCC), from Abuja to Maiduguri, Borno state¹. Since then, the administration has rejigged the Nigerian counter terrorism architecture with interventions ranging from the forging of regional and international alliances to the appointment of new security chiefs with a marching order to end the insurgency within three months² to improved security spending³ etc.

Of note in the first 100 days of the PMB administration is an effort to boost the morale and welfare of security agents. In the period under review, the Army has reinstated 3,032 officers and military personnel convicted by a General Court Martial (GCM) for offences committed while fighting BH insurgents in the North-East. The government also offered scholarships to the children of slain officers and cheques to their families. More so, apart from the immediate release of N5billion to bomb victims upon the directive from the President, Nigeria has received financial and technical supports from countries like China, Israel, USA, Switzerland, etc., and from the United Nations (UN) as well, to improve the victims' economic and social conditions.

The recent recapturing of the towns of Dikwa and Gamboru Ngala from the insurgents, reports of unsuccessful Boko Haram attacks⁴, and the rescue of some kidnapped persons from the den of the insurgents by the Nigerian Military are positive signals towards ending the insurgency.⁵ However, in the last 100 days, there have been over 30 successful attacks and bomb explosions which claimed lives of over 800 people and caused the destruction of properties worth millions of naira.⁶

¹ See Buharimeter monthly fact sheet June 2015

² At the inauguration of the new service chiefs PMB gave a marching order that the insurgency must be contained within three months

³ You can consult previously Buharimeter fact sheets

⁴ Amidst reports on the heinous attacks by Boko Haram, there are news reports on the recent counter-attacks by the Nigeria military to repel the insurgents' attacks in the Northern Nigeria. For example, Daily Trust (July 11, 2015) and ThisDay (July 15, 2015) reported that a renewed onslaught on Yobe State by suspected Boko Haram members was repelled by the Nigeria military. More so, Punch, Daily Independent and Channels TV (all of July 28, 2015) reported a statement from the Acting Director of the Army Public Relations saying that the military foiled two attempts by suspected Boko Haram insurgents to attack Buratai, a town in Borno State.

⁵ It was reported in Daily Trust and Premium Times of July 29, 2015 that the Nigerian Army rescued 30 people from terrorists in Dikwa. Likewise, the Guardian of July 31 reported that the Nigerian Army rescued 59 Borno villagers from Sambisa forest.

⁶ Media Monitoring of Boko Haram attacks since the inauguration of the new administration

Corruption

Under the corruption heading, Buharimeter rated four (4) of the thirteen (13) tracked promises as on-going. Immediately upon inauguration, the President and his vice-president opted for a fifty percent pay cut as part of their commitment towards reducing the cost of governance. In its bid to block leakages, the administration established a single treasury account for all federal revenues. To institutionalise accountability within the Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs), the President gave directives that civil servants must henceforth respond to the auditor's queries within 24 hours; and all pending queries must be responded to within 30 days. To strengthen his fight against corruption, a seven-member Presidential Advisory Committee

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In the last 100 days, the anti-corruption bodies, notably EFCC and ICPC have embarked on a renewed fight against corruption⁷. Several foreign nations have also committed to help Nigeria locate and retrieve stolen assets⁸. The federal government also appointed PricewaterhouseCoopers (PWC) and KPMG to conduct forensic audits into the accounts of all revenue generating agencies of the government⁹.

In the period under review, there were attempts to distance PMB from several of his campaign promises¹⁰; the uppermost on the list being the declaration of assets¹¹. His Special Adviser on Media, Mr. Femi Adesina, argued that PMB never promised to make public his assets and liabilities, but it was an APC promise instead. His assertion generated a lot of public backlash. On the 98th day of the administration, PMB and his Vice President made public their assets and liabilities in a press statement issued by the Presidential spokesperson, Mallam Garba Shehu¹².

⁷ For example, the President ordered EFCC to trace funds stolen under Jonathan as part of his efforts to know the exact amount stolen with a view of tracing them to foreign countries. More so, ICPC directed the chairman of Police Service Commission, Mike Okiro, to remit N133 million to the Federal Treasury through the ICPC recovery account at First City Monument Bank. The money was the balance of #350 million he received from the federal government for staff training and physical monitoring of Police personnel during the 2015 general elections. In furtherance, ICPC ordered the staff of the commission who was paid two-way return tickets and airport taxi fares to location with the FCT and states close to Abuja during the monitoring exercise to refund N11.75million to the treasury.

⁸ US to Buhari: We will help you recover stolen funds, Daily Trust, 21 July 2015 [Accessed on 24 July 2015 at <http://www.dailytrust.com.ng/daily/index.php/news-menu/news/60471-us-to-buhari-we-ll-help-you-recover-stolen-funds>]

⁹ Agencies to be audited include the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC), the Nigeria Customs Service, Nigerian Ports Authority (NPA), Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN), Federal Internal Revenue Service (FIRS), among others.

¹⁰ Clem Ejiofor (2015), Buhari Never Promised to Declare Assets Publicly – Adesina, September 3 [Accessed: Sept. 3 at <https://www.naij.com/519951-say-buhari-never-promised-declare-assets-publicly-adesina.html>]. Also Buhari did not make 100 days Promises, Presidency insists, Punch, September 2 [Accessed on Sept. 3 2015 at <http://www.punchng.com/news/buhari-didnt-make-100-day-promises-presidency-insists/>]

¹¹ Public declaration of assets and liabilities topped the list of promises of the President and the APC in the election period

¹² Buhari declares N30m cash assets, seven houses Punch Newspaper, September 3rd, 2015 accessed on 4/09/15

<http://www.punchng.com/news/buhari-declares-n30m-cash-assets-seven-houses/>

Infrastructure

Promises categorised under infrastructures include power (electricity) and transportation. On the issue of power, there is a noticeable improvement. Since inauguration, electricity generation and supply across the country has continued to improve. At the tail end of the Goodluck Jonathan's administration, Nigeria witnessed a decline in power output, to an all-time low of 1,327 megawatts (MW) in May, 2015¹³. On 29 July 2015, the management of the Transmission Company of Nigeria announced that the national

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grid transmission has recorded an increase from 4,000MW in early July to its highest peak of 4,810.7MW¹⁴, as at 25 August this year. More so, the Transmission Company of Nigeria (TCN) had shortlisted over 30 local and foreign investors to help the country's transmission infrastructure attain its target of 8,000 MW capacity by the end of next year¹⁵.

Oil and Gas

In a bid to address the perennial problems of fuel scarcity and subsidy scam in the oil and gas sector, PMB promised to revive and activate the minimally functioning refineries to optimal capacity. Preliminary operations resumed after the Turn Around Maintenance (TAM) of all the four refineries in Port Harcourt, Warri and Kaduna; and recent reports show that the refineries work at their installed capacity—60 percent, 80 percent and 70 percent¹⁶ respectively.

The ongoing restructuring of the state-owned oil firm to make it more efficient and commercially driven has created a lot of shake up. The top management personnel of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) has been pruned from 122 to 83; the NNPC Directorate has been reduced from eight to four, and twelve (12) personnel were recruited from the private sector into the top management to give the Corporation

¹³ Nigeria's power generation at "all-time low" crashed to 1,327MW, Premium Times, May 22, 2015 [Accessed on 1 August 2015 at: <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/183496-nigerias-power-generation-at-all-time-low-crashes-to-1327mw.html>].

¹⁴ Abdulwasii Hassan (2015), Nigeria generates 4,810.7 megawatts of electricity, Daily Trust, August 26 [Accessed on August 26 at: <http://www.dailytrust.com.ng/news/news/nigeria-generates-4-810-7-megawatts-of-electricity/108086.html>]

¹⁵ [Emeka Ugwuanyi](#) (2015), TCN shortlists investors for 8,000Mw transmission capacity, The Nation, August 13 [Accessed on 13 August 2015 at

<http://thenationonline.net/tcn-shortlists-investors-for-8000mw-transmission-capacity/>]

¹⁶ Fuel Subsidy: Refineries rebound threatens fuel importers, The Nation, September 2, 2015, page 2-3.

The top management personnel of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) has been pruned from 122 to 83; the NNPC Directorate has been reduced from eight to four, and twelve (12) personnel were recruited from the private sector into the top management to give the Corporation a new business outlook

a new business outlook. The President has also cancelled offshore processing and crude oil swap deals for refined products between state-oil firm NNPC and oil traders. Following the cancellation, NNPC started the process of setting out fresh terms for the selection of new traders. The Corporation eventually pruned the list of potential oil lifters from 43 to 16. Furthermore, 65 Nigerian companies have been granted licence to construct modular refineries with capacities ranging from 1,000 to 10,000 barrels per day.

The government is yet to take any concrete steps towards the implementation of its campaign promises: to pass a workable Petroleum Industry Bill; establish an independent Oil and Gas Regulatory Authority; introduce a strong local content legislation; and create a domestic supply chain, amongst others.

Agriculture

On the directives of the President, the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development set up four National Committees on the revitalization of the

agricultural sector in Nigeria. The Committees include operationalization of Federal Government storage and Agro Processing facilities; Resuscitation of Cotton, Textile and Garments; strategic Action Plan for the Development of Grazing Reserves and Stock Routes Nationwide; and Revitalization of Agricultural Extension Services in Nigeria. The Committees have submitted a report to the federal government with recommendations which includes the injection of N37.20 billion to revive the sector.



Environment & Niger Delta

To keep his campaign promises of instituting a Niger Delta clean-up plan and observing global standards for environmental protection et al., The President approved the cleaning up of Ogoniland as recommended by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) on the environmental restoration of Ogoniland. This decision was followed by an amendment of the official gazette establishing the Hydrocarbon Pollution Restoration Project (HYPREP) to reflect a

new governance framework on the project; and the constitution of a Governing Council, a Board of Trustees and the nomination of the Project management. To embark on an environmental remediation project, the President has charged multinational oil companies and the government to commit \$10million as a trust Fund for the project. This attempt resulted in the rating as ongoing of 4 out of the 13 promises made by PMB/APC during the campaign trail on the Environment and the Niger Delta. All the 4 promises are environment-related.

Employment

The President and his party perceive the oil and gas sector as an area which has the potential of creating more jobs for the teeming and educated Nigerian youth. In their commitment towards job creation, the government promised to develop a new generation of domestic oil refineries to lower import costs and create jobs. This undoubtedly warrants the recent approval of licences to 65 Nigerian companies to construct modular refineries with capacity ranging from 1,000 to 10,000 barrels of oil per day. This is a step towards achieving 1 out of 10 promises made on employment during the campaign trail.

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Foreign Policy

In its 100 days in office, the PMB administration has revamped Nigeria's foreign policy. While alliances with the United States and other western countries are being pursued, the administration has however placed emphasis on regional ties, particularly with regard to the fight to end the Boko Haram insurgency. Also, in its quest to make Nigerian national interest an overriding factor in its foreign policy, PMB pushed for the appointment of a Nigerian army officer as the head of the Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF).



VII. KEY CONCERNS

PMB in 100 days of office has made far-reaching changes in the oil industry, combating corruption and insecurity in North East Nigeria. However, his failure to constitute a cabinet continues to pose challenges for the country as there are no policy directions to engage with. It is particularly dire that Africa's largest economy has been without an economic policy for the past hundred days. This situation has seriously hampered investments in the country. Recently released data by the country's National Bureau of Statistics shows a

decline in the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) Annual Growth Rate to a record low of 2.35 percent. This is the first of such declines in years, as previous reports puts the GDP Annual Growth Rate in Nigeria at an average of 5.98percent from 2005 to 2015¹⁷.

In the same vein, the naira has seriously depreciated against major foreign currencies, with little gains made not sustainable. Fiscal policies such as restrictions on foreign exchange transactions introduced to curb the demand for dollars and halt depreciation are having otherwise negative effects. They are not only hurting businesses, but the resulting shortage of dollars further weakening the naira.

It is observed that the President's efforts at addressing insecurity in the country are primarily focused on ending the Boko Haram insurgency. However, this strategy itself is fraught with challenges as during the period under review over 800 innocent Nigerians were killed. The plight of the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) is yet to abate as illustrated by a recent protest some of them held in Abuja to protest such a plight. Emphasis remains on a military approach while efforts at transitional justice mechanisms are basically mere pronouncements of the government's intention to negotiate with repentant militants. It is imperative that a holistic approach be adopted towards ending the Boko Haram insurgency.

The period under review witnessed increasing armed banditry in Northern Nigeria, which mostly

affects the North central states of Benue, Plateau, and Nassarawa. States such as Taraba, Kaduna, Kogi, were not left out. The phenomenon of armed banditry is taken huge tolls on Nigerians as hundreds are being killed, whole villages razed, increasing internal displacement of citizens and thousands of cattle rustled. This is not only a security challenge but also portend grave economic implications for the country.

VIII. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The President in the coming week must constitute a cabinet to assist him in his responsibility for the smooth and effective running of the government on a day-to-day basis.
2. The President and the Government must immediately unveil its policy directions.
3. The President should urgently articulate a "Marshal Plan" to address security challenges pose by the incidents of terrorism, ethno-religious violence, rural banditry, kidnapping, amongst others.

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¹⁷ Nigeria GDP Annual Growth Rate 2005-2015 [Accessed on 31 August 2015 at <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/nigeria/gdp-growth-annual>]

4. The President should direct his efforts to implementing policies and programmes for employment generation. Also, efforts should be directed to the education sector, particularly in the areas of capacity building for unemployed youth through vocational trainings.

5. The President must take urgent steps to implement the other 197 unrated promises

IX. ABOUT BUHARIMETER

Buharimeter (www.buharimeter.ng) is a monitoring tool that enables Nigerians and pan-Nigerians around the globe to keep tab on the implementation of the campaign promises of President Muhammad Buhari and the All Progressives Congress (APC). It is an independent, unbiased and non-political monitoring platform and provides alternative opinion about

government policy, where necessary. By analysing data gathered through tracking of media reports; policy analysis; opinion polling; and rating government performance, we hope to empower Nigerians to take an active role in making the APC-led government live up to its campaign promises. Our progress rating is not based on mere policy pronouncement by the government, but actionable steps taken to achieve a promise.

Buharimeter is a project of the Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD) with support from the Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA).

Disclaimer: Views expressed in this report are those of CDD but not OSIWA.

About CDD



The Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD) was established in the United Kingdom in 1997 as an independent, not-for-profit, research training, advocacy and capacity building organisation. The purpose was to mobilise global opinion and resources for democratic development and provide an independent space to reflect critically on the challenges posed to the democratisation and development processes in West Africa.