

# MANIFESTO OF NAIJA RESISTANCE MOVEMENT

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## 1. Introduction

The masses of Nigeria have endured years of misrule since Nigeria gained its 'flag independence': instead of the change that both the military rulers and politicians keep promising since 1960, our rulers don put us for reverse, 'na back the country take dey walk' as the Abami Eda – Fela Anikulapo Kuti told us.

The people have suffered austerity, second tier, and now recession, while our elite, the members of the ruling clique, continue to enjoy their stolen wealth.

The Nigerian economy is at a standstill (which did not start with our current set of mis-leaders) and the masses are its victims. Despite all the promises of change, Nigeria now has:

- More than 50% rate of unemployment.
- Lack of affordable and quality health and education facilities
- Millions of restless, unemployed university graduates and post-secondary technological school students
- Numerous dependent professionals and artisans, who are underemployed most of the year
- An underdeveloped agricultural processing industry which can form the base for raw materials for a manufacturing industry. It is now cheaper to import palm oil from Malaysia than establishing the machine tools industry to make fabrication of oil mills and their repairs more economic. It is also now more beneficial to export yams whilst Nigerians can no longer afford to eat them.

The people therefore have a choice: between fighting for freedom or allowing oppression and corruption to continue in the country; between fighting for health or disease; between fighting for welfare or allowing poverty to continue. The people of Nigeria have decided to choose freedom, health, welfare, education, jobs, decent homes, efficient and affordable transport system, culture, and unity of the people under the condition of equality.

Naija Resistance stands to support the choice of our people and lead their fight against their oppression from a cruel and incapable set of mis-leaders. We refuse to sit back and do nothing while high levels of poverty, illiteracy, joblessness, homelessness, disease and exploitation continue. We have decided that we shall be by the side of the people in their struggle for freedom and that we shall support and lead their fight for jobs, homes, health, wealth, productivity and culture.

To win freedom, welfare, and justice for our people, we, the people of Nigeria have come to the decision that we cannot and must not go on as before. From the withdrawal of colonial masters

in 1960 up till now, political power has been in the hands of rulers who have used that power to frustrate and deprive our people. We shall build a Nigerian society that will put power into the hands of the exploited and oppressed masses; that will provide freedom, justice, equity, homes, health, and education.

Our people in general and our working people in particular voted into power political parties of their oppressors and exploiters. Election after election the hopes of our people were raised by promises of justice, jobs, education, food, healthcare, transport, etc for our people. Election after election the hopes of our people were betrayed. Today, the result is more poverty, more homelessness, more hunger, more disease, and more injustice in our country. These have happened largely because we, the people of Nigeria, have never successfully formed an organization powerful enough to intervene decisively on the side of those that produce our wealth and the poor who have been betrayed.

We, Nigerian masses and the working people have, now therefore, chosen to form our own movement that will resist our exploitation and oppression. We realise that a movement is needed to put an end to suffering, exploitation and oppression in our country. We have decided that the economic, political, social, cultural, labour, foreign policy and all policies that determine existence and progress of Nigeria shall be made and carried out in the interest of the Nigerian people. We want to work with the people to win political power for the Nigerian people.

Naija Resistance believes that good governance means being with the people, knowing their pains, abolishing their poverty, and solving their problems, that is how to govern the people and that is what Naija Resistance wants for the people. Whereas democracy is popularly defined as government of the people, by the people and for the people, this is not the case in Nigeria.

*Once conventional politicians have either been 'selected', 'elected', or rigged into power, they govern for themselves, their godfathers, and foreign interests, but not for the people. Moneybag political system has fully taken root, supported by the use of force, with a great mass of unemployed people available to be recruited by each contending politician.*

The experience of the ordinary people since May 29, 1999 when the politicians took over from the military has shown that nothing fundamental has changed. Governance has continued to be for the interest of politicians as opposed to being for the people. Our people fought against military dictatorship not because they hated the military uniform but because they strove to enjoy political freedom and economic comfort, unfortunately, they have not enjoyed either. The inability of the conventional politicians in power to satisfy the economic interests of our people has unjustly driven government to unleash political repression on the masses.

Many people are now asking: what are the benefits of the sacrifices made in fighting against military dictatorship? For example, instead of job creation, we witness job losses. In place of increases in real wages, workers experience wage-cuts and non-payment of salaries. Education at all levels is getting worse and more unaffordable. Houses are not being built. The roads are death traps. The hospitals are not better than mortuaries. Many people die simply because they cannot afford the cost of medical care. There is no water for domestic and industrial uses. And yet the ordinary people pay a large and increasing burden of tax, both legal and illegal that is deducted from various means such as transportation prices, food prices, and NEPA bills. The ordinary masses and working people are heavily taxed and heavily policed but they have no say in government. To the ordinary person, governance appears to be synonymous with unleashing sorrow, tears and poverty rather than providing assistance.

The people are justifiably shocked at the utter contradiction of abundance and poverty. Whereas the rulers swim in abundance and engage in flamboyant living, the citizens wallow in abject poverty. There is poverty in a sea of plenty. However, to change from governance for few to governance for the people, it is imperative to understand the nature of the root cause of Nigeria's economic crisis.

## **2. Historical Background**

The crisis of the Nigeria economy is rooted in the development strategy adopted by successive Nigerian governments under the influence of powerful foreign countries, their international companies and financial institutions such as the IMF/World Bank.

From colonial era till today, governance or development strategy in Nigeria has never been people-centred. The colonialists administered the economy and society in the interests of owners of private multinational companies and their home countries. At independence, they made sure that those who took over from them were people who would continue the same development strategy, i.e. governance based on promoting the interests of the big business and foreign countries rather than the interests of the Nigerian people. That is why the 1960 political independence of Nigeria is often tagged 'flag independence', to reflect the idea of change, without change, revolution without revolution. The major reason for this is to be found in the economic structure, which had been in operation since the birth of the country. In any society, where the ownership of the commander heights of the economy is based on private ownership, those who wield political power are those who have economic power. It goes without saying that such a government will fundamentally rule in the interests of the few capital owners as opposed to the interests of the general public, as the analysis below shows.

The growth of any economy is dependent largely on the manufacturing sector. Successive Nigerian governments have ensured that the Nigerian manufacturing sector is undeveloped. This is to maintain a dependent Nigerian economy, i.e. an economy that is dependent on import of manufactured goods, industrial equipment and machinery from foreign imperialist countries. Thus, the division of labour in the world economy makes Nigeria to produce primary products-raw agricultural product and unprocessed mineral resource which are bought cheaply in the international market, and to import highly priced manufactured goods. This pattern of world division of labour makes it inevitable for societies that are dependent on import of manufactured goods to resort to external borrowing to continue to finance their imports. External borrowing and the practice of charge high interest rate, coupled with high rate of corruption tend to make a dependent country to remain permanently indebted. That is why, in spite of being an oil rich country, the crisis of the Nigeria economy is partly the crisis of external indebtedness. In the long run, difficulties in meeting external debt obligations subject a nation's economy to the control and conditionalities of the IMF/World Bank. That was how Nigeria came to adopt the IMF inspired Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in 1986. The adaptation of the programme was the only basis by which Nigeria could obtain additional credit lines and reschedule her debts and keep the economy running within the imperialist paradigm. The principle components of SAP consist of anti-people measures: devaluation of the national currency, privatization and commercialization of public enterprises, trade liberalization, low wage regime and cuts in public expenditure on health, education, etc, among others.

Never mind the fact that the Western economies did not operate such a liberalization and privatization policy: where it is okay in the West for the state to build infrastructure, support education, and health care, the peoples of Nigeria and Africa at large are forced to liberalize, privatize, and devalue their currencies.

The practice of trade, commerce, and free competition among people engaged in various businesses has thrived in Nigeria and Africa before the onset of colonialism. That is not the problem with the kind of system forced on Nigeria. It is that this system results in the concentration of wealth among a few very people, whilst the vast majority are left with scraps. Selling off of state resources further impoverishes the people who lose infrastructure and assets at wildly cheap rates, whilst having to pay more for essential services (when the government and its privatised entities care to provide such services).

The combination of the policies of commercialization of public enterprises, rationalization of labour force, reduction of the real wage rates of workers, cuts in public expenditure, removal of fuel and other types of subsidies are all meant primarily to ensure availability of resources to service and repay external debts. These policies cannot lead to revamped economy. The economy requires development of vital human and capital infrastructure, not a siphoning off of

its available income to benefit foreign countries. When Obasanjo in his second term was praised for settling much of Nigeria's debt, he only ensured that Nigeria would be indebted in the future, as the country was less able to carry out crucial investments in vital infrastructure, agriculture, and industrialisation without the money Obasanjo gave away.

Due to massive opposition to its effects, the structural adjustment programme (SAP) is no more commonly referred to officially but the components are still being implemented. To govern in the interest of the Nigeria people, SAP and all its components have to be rejected. Imperialist inspired solutions must be rejected. IMF/World Bank solutions must be rejected. We must resist the practice whereby harsh anti-people policies, which are not and cannot be implemented in Europe and America, are forced down the throats of governments in our continent.

The danger of it all is that although the world powers in the so called G7 give the impression of supporting democracy, they know that only an authoritarian regime can succeed in implementing anti-people policies. In reality therefore, they have no fundamental opposition to corrupt and repressive regimes in our continent unless the people show in practical terms that they can no longer tolerate such regimes. There is a need to break Nigeria from the stranglehold of imperialism. There is a need for both economic and political freedom or independence for our people.

Whilst our mis-rulers have failed to lead us since the 1960s, they have also failed to produce a stable political order. They cannot organise free, fair, credible and acceptable elections; they practice politics as warfare in which those with the most money, bombs, guns and knives rig their way to power. They make our young people uneducated and unemployed in order to use them as an army of thugs in their fights among themselves for power. As a result, our rulers plunge the country into constant crisis. Unable to unite the people, they manipulate ethnic, regional and religious differences to divide the people. From 1960 to 1970 they dragged our people into a murderous political crisis and civil war that claimed the lives of millions of our ordinary people and soldiers. For over thirty years, military dictatorship did not resolve the crisis caused by our rulers. Rather, the military served to prevent, through dictatorship and terror, a democratic solution to the crisis, from below. In other words, the military served to prevent the masses and working people from taking over power.

Our so-called rulers cannot provide stable and good leadership. They also cannot protect Nigeria's sovereignty. Nigeria's public wealth is up for sale – NEPA, in the energy sector, NITEL, in the communication sector, banks, ports, education, etc are being stolen by public officers in collaboration with their cousins in the foreign dominated private sector. Virtually all social welfare institutions education, health, transport, water supply, etc. are in a state of decay in Nigeria.

In summary, our historical and national situation – both our economic and political situation and the history of the people’s struggle of resistance – is marked by the following features:

- 1) Imperialist hold by the multinationals or the transnational corporations with the imposition of ideas that promote capitalism as if it were the end of history. No local solutions to local problems are allowed, despite the Western industrial countries having become built through their own peculiar, local situations.
- 2) These leading western industrial countries consolidated their control by backing reactionary rulers in “third world” countries, to foster civil wars to expand their accumulation (e.g. Congo).
- 3) Nigerian ruling cliques attempted a transfusion into becoming a ruling class by attempting control of certain vital sectors of the national economy, by indigenisation decrees, and by state investment in other sectors like construction, local assembly of manufactured goods but without the steering political ideas to direct such Nkrumahist or Gadafist ventures. They failed to gain us our independence.
- 4) There was a failure by the radical and social democratic elements of the oppressed, newly independent countries to make gains from mass interventions in these countries. Nigeria’s attempt failed woefully, aborted by the military
- 5) Where there were popular struggles in Nigeria, there were some partial successes. But the ruling clique mounted repressions against students, labour, peasants (Bakolori massacre), and essential workers.
- 6) Having destroyed and co-opted practically all modes of struggle and resistance, the ruling clique has deliberately destroyed the education sector in Nigeria. Whilst their own children enjoy the benefits of education in rich foreign countries, paid for by our common stolen wealth, the youth of the country are left to struggle to finish education up to university at which point the vast majority are unemployed. In such poverty of wealth and mind, resistance to their horrific mis-rule has become muted; where there are progressive minds, they are quickly bought off or killed off.
- 7) In the present day, there is no more struggle, no more voice for the masses. Where there is so-called struggle it is undertaken in the mode of ‘protests’ that involve making a lot of noise and leaving everything unchanged. Protests are now hijacked through finance and other means by different political sides of the ruling clique and/or betrayed by those meant to serve the workers and masses. Protesters have become like NGOs - who claim to want to make things better for the people, but who, by their very nature cannot, since the concern of the leaders of such protests and organisations first and foremost is how comfortable they can become and who become very dependent on sources of funding from rich donors.

Naija Resistance resolutely declares that enough is enough. Now is the time for the true, genuine and radical change not the change-by-reverse that our governments have been forcing down our throats. Any government that cannot improve the well-being of the people does not have the right to continue to rule. The time has come to stop looking up to foreign powers, and the IMF/World Bank for solutions to our problems. It is high time we stopped running our economy from the standpoint of foreign interests and their local agents. The people must henceforth be the focus of governmental policies, policies and programmes that are appropriate to our specific circumstances, that allow each and every person to fulfil their natural abilities, develop, and grow in health and wealth.

The fight against the masses' oppression must also change. Instead of protest, we need resistance; we need genuine change and the mobilisation of the mass of the people not to protest in order to be ignored and be used for one political side or the other. Rather the people can and must actualise a real change in the leadership of this country through using the power they have as the majority. In a democracy, the majority should rule; it is time to put power back into the hands of the majority of the people – the working peoples, employed, underemployed, and unemployed, who work hard each day so that a few rich can live happily.

As Seun Kuti says, 'You see I have done the protest thing and realized that it just makes people rich and some kids of the elites who are benefiting from our pain can absolve themselves of guilt. You see everyone can protest but not everyone can RESIST. I give u #naijaresistance.'

As demonstrated in North Africa in 2011, a mass rising of the oppressed people is the path of successful transformation of our time.

### **3. Our Objectives**

Naija Resistance has been formed in response to this history of misrule, oppression, exploitation, betrayal and corruption and its attendant consequences – mass poverty, suffocating injustice, suffering, unhappiness, disease, illiteracy, and shame for the country. We have decided that the crisis of the Nigerian polity cannot be resolved so long as power remains in the hands of the same class that has ruled and ruined the country since 1960. We have decided that the working people of Nigeria, rather than the current class of callous and blood sucking parasites, must rule Nigeria.

We have decided that it is time to organise and make a new start to change the basis of economic, political and social life of Nigerians. We have resolved that the time has come for the working people to seize the historical initiative to free Nigeria from the chains of domination and retrieve our national sovereignty. The working people want genuine democracy.

For us, the minimum ingredients of democracy include:

- (a) The power of the majority, the working people, i.e. people's democracy,
- (b) The access of all citizens to jobs, healthcare, education, and other social welfare goods,
- (c) The protection and advancement of individual and collective rights, and
- (d) Absence of class, gender, racial, religious and ethnic nationality oppression.

A working people's democracy is the answer to the problems of poverty and suffering in Nigeria.

Given the lack of independence that characterises the peoples' of Nigeria since this country's formation, achieving real democracy and prosperity implies 3 other objectives:

1. Socialism
2. Pan-Africanism
3. Freedom from Mental Slavery

These objectives stem from our historical background as an exploited peoples in the same situation as other African peoples. Without the achievement of either of these interrelated objectives, no country in Africa can be genuinely free or maintain a stable government.

## **1. Pan-Africanism**

The various peoples of Africa have never been and can never be held back behind artificial barriers which seal off territories labelled "Nigeria", "Togo", "Senegal", and so on.

The African "nations" of today, which were artificially created by their foreign colonisers, do not fit in with our African way of life or habits of exchange with one another. They are not even economically viable. Yet each one separately struggles on hopelessly, while the real obstacle to their development, imperialism, is operating on a Pan-African scale.

As that great African leader Kwame Nkrumah said, it is time that we also plan our economic and political development on a continental scale. Our ultimate objective is to pursue democracy and prosperity for the masses through an all African struggle against leaders all across the continent who serve the interests of foreign governments and imperialism not the interests of the people that they rule. The interests of the peoples of all countries on the continent are common, no country can stand alone against the united mass of the imperialist powers who force them to carry out unworkable policies such as liberalization. Without recognising our common

condition, which arises from a common history of being a colonized people with artificially created nations, we would be unable realise the means to reaching our liberty.

Furthermore, African people in the diaspora and former slaves now in the western world all benefit from working together against a racist oppression.

## **2. Socialism**

For the African peoples to achieve prosperity and true freedom, they cannot build their economy on the basis of an imported neo-liberal ideology that ensures wealth is concentrated in the hands of the few whilst the vast majority of people are left in poverty. Even the countries of the West did not reach the mode of development they have through such neo-liberal policies.

Socialism implies that political and economic power is in the hands of the majority of the people:

1. An economy in which the commanding heights are:
  - a. Under public popular control, with an appropriate role for the private sector.
  - b. Pursuit of a dynamic national economy that regenerates increasing self reliance and protection of Nigeria's national sovereignty.
  - c. Establishment of economic policies of the state for popular participation.
2. The state shall be based on and nurtured by the political power of the Nigerian working people and the broad masses.
3. The state shall govern and defend its legitimacy on the basis of popular working people/mass based mandate.
4. The state shall protect, sustain and expand the economic, social, political and cultural rights of all the people. It shall pursue the interests of the working people/broad masses irrespective of the ethnic, regional origins, gender, or religious affiliations. It shall discourage all kind of ethnic chauvinism; forge a truly national consciousness, and a harmonious relationship among the various nationalities in the country.

The true democratic state shall be a state deriving its power from "below"; that is from the people. Its policies and programmes shall reflect and realise the real needs of the working people and the broad masses.

The ideal we aim for is political power in the hands of the masses of the people, with the entire body of working and striving people possessing the necessary machinery through government with which to express their needs and aspirations. This concept is one that arises from the humanist and egalitarian spirit which characterised traditional African society, **though it must be applied in a modern context**. All are workers; and no person exploits another.

However, we must guard against measures by the ruling clique which claim to be "socialist" and "Africanist" but which do not in fact promote the people's economic and social development. Such measures are frequently used to blind and distract the people whilst the elite get away with their exploitation.

The only way to achieve the liberation of our people is to devise policies aimed at general socialist goals, which take their form from **the concrete, specific circumstances and conditions of a particular country at a definite historical period**.

Only under socialism can we in Nigeria and Africa reliably accumulate the capital we need for our development, ensure that the gains of investment are applied to the general welfare, and achieve our goal of a free and united continent.

### **3. Awakening Consciousness – Positively Igniting the Minds of Nigerians**

Not only has an economic and political domination been forced upon African peoples since the colonisation of the continent, there has been a sustained effort at controlling the minds of the people, to believe they do not have the ability to change their own circumstances. The Nigerian ruling clique benefits from this propaganda, doing its utmost to promote it.

Therefore, people are made to take as gospel truth certain ideas, including:

- a) That western-style democracy are the only valid ways of governing; that African states need to copy such models in order to succeed at governance.
- b) That capitalism, free enterprise, free competition, etc., are the only economic systems capable of promoting development; that the western powers have mastered the liberal-capitalist technique perfectly; that there is no reason to put an end to the policy of "co-operation" with western powers pursued during colonial times; and that any attempt to be independent of western powers would be dangerous since the imperialist power will withdraw "aid".
- c) That the western culture and educational practices, including language, is superior to Africans' own.

With a continuous and deliberate destruction of the educational system in Nigeria, this indoctrination that the people do not have the ability to change their circumstances is ingrained and an inferiority complex is embedded.

Young people in particular no longer know the history of their lands, and believe all there is to life is the pursuit of wealth and money. There is no longer pride in indigenous culture except as it is mixed with foreign religions.

As the Kenyan writer, Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong'o said, the mind of Africans need to be decolonised.

The key objective of Naija Resistance is therefore an awakening of African peoples' to take pride in themselves, their history, and their ability to bring about solutions to their own local problems.

The minds of Nigerians should therefore be positively ignited through awareness of positive cultural values such as social and community relations as opposed to rampant individualism. Positive African values, such as communalism, cooperation, transparency, mutual support, fairness, honesty, and a rational approach to challenges would also be encouraged among our members.

## **4. Programme**

Naija Resistance supports programmes that fulfil its key objectives, which will liberate the people from poverty and economic dependence. Some of these are listed below.

### **1. Work**

The alarming rate of unemployment in Nigeria is disturbing. It cuts across all categories of school leavers include university graduates and professionals like doctors, engineers, lawyer, accountants, etc. Today, some of our best brains in various fields have been lost to foreign countries in what is generally known as brain drain for lack of jobs and fulfillment.

The right to life, which is usually guaranteed in all successive Nigeria constitution, can only be given practical effect if work is provided for every person of working age. Work is a fundamental right. Unemployment allowance should be given to anyone of working age who is not employed. The government should carry out massive investments in state-owned enterprises. Though private sector participate and competition in the economy should be guaranteed, we oppose privatization of the commanding heights of the economy such as petroleum sector. The wealth of the nation should not be concentrated in a few hands. Corruption and inefficiencies hitherto associated with public enterprises should be discouraged by

severe punishment, by the power of example of transparent, honest and disciplined life-style of the political leadership of the country. If politicians are allowed to get away with theft and obscene wealth, what example does that set for those working in public enterprises?

There is nothing mysterious about job creation. Employment creation is a consequence of political, economic and social policies of the particular government in power. Once conscious, serious, honest and well organized efforts are made to deal with the problems of food, agriculture, education, housing, health, transportation, energy, power & steel, electricity, communication & telecommunication, pipe-borne water, industrialization, etc., millions of jobs will be created automatically in the process. There will be a major shift from contract system syndrome whereby public works and projects are given out to private firms, foreign and local, to a system that will utilize the capability of public sector workers in the execution of public works. All agencies of government that are concerned with public works will be properly equipped and staffed.

A living minimum wage should be introduced that rises as inflation rises. Workers should have a right to job security until retirement. The welfare interests of pensioners should be protected as those who had served the nation in their youthful and productive years should have no cause to regret old age. Full trade union rights should be strenuously protected.

The availability of work is connected to investment the government makes in agriculture and education, with an emphasis on what is appropriate to our particular conditions. The country is rich in land and agricultural resources that should be put to use as a base for raw materials for the manufacturing industry. Education should not just be education for education sake, but based on appropriate planning, skills centres should be set up that boost specific skills needed in developing areas of industry.

## **2. Food**

Food is man's most important need. Millions of Nigerians go about hungry in the midst of abundant natural resources and national income. Although Nigeria is reckoned to be one top richest country in the world in terms of natural endowment, ironically, ordinary Nigerians are one of the poorest groups of people in the world. Starvation is now prevalent throughout the length and breadth of this country. The government must put an end to starvation.

Massive investments should be injected into food crop and livestock production. Farmer's cooperative should be encouraged. Agricultural subsidies in terms of seeds, tools, equipment, machinery, grants and soft loans should be provided, with corruption diligently monitored in its disbursement by ensuring that farmers directly control them and there is transparency.

Cheap or affordable food should be made available for our people. Producing to meet the food needs of the people internally rather than producing for export should be the primary focus of government's agricultural policy.

### **3. Education**

Education is the means by which society reproduces itself in terms of passing to the new and fresh generation, the shared societal culture, mode and quality of management of different sectors of the economy, technological and scientific skills and knowledge, production of new sets of people with various skills.

In spite of the centrality of education to national transformation, the nation's educational system has virtually collapsed.

Only about fifty percent of school age children are in school at all levels. The national literacy rate of 57% lags behind the average for both industrially underdeveloped and industrially developed countries. From primary to tertiary levels there is acute shortage of teachers, textbooks, basic infrastructure such as building, equipment and furniture. The libraries- where they exist have no current literatures. The laboratories – where they exist, are poorly equipped. The end result is over – crowding, poor sanitation, poor working environment, poor quality of teaching, cult- related violence and general declines in the standard of education.

The problem is compounded by poor condition of service, non – payment of salaries as and when due, threats of job insecurity, leading to brain- drain. On the whole, the Nigerian education system can be described as schooling without learning. This is because for much of the time, schools are shut down due to legitimate incessant strikes by the staff or justifiable protests by the Students themselves. In most cases, only a few months are used to cover the syllabus for a whole year.

At the end of the day, the graduates of the school system are hardly better off, in terms of knowledge acquisition, than they were before they were admitted.

Education is in severe crisis and a serious government serving in the interests of the people would invest heavily in education. Education should also be a right, not a privilege – students should not be made to pay fees way out of their reach when our mis-rulers send their own children overseas. Education should be free up to tertiary level.

The education curriculum should also be thoroughly revised to ensure it fits the needs of students locally, rather than being a copy-cat version of western education. Local languages should be emphasised and taught and African history should be a core subject up to Secondary School.

The education curriculum and extra-curricular activities should emphasise the importance of social and community cooperation and interaction and the immorality and dangers of rampant individualism.

There should also be a focus on skills acquisition at post-secondary level rather than learning for mere degree sake.

Private involvement in education delivery should not be discouraged but established statutory standards relating to private educational institutions should be strictly enforced.

Teachers should be paid well and treated well - this will help to reduce the corruption that has thoroughly infected the education sector. There should be genuine academic autonomy for educational institutions by making direct statutory allocations to them and industrializing democratic management by the involvement of students, teachers and the non-academic staff in decision making bodies.

#### **4. Health**

Provision of cost- free medical services is a fundamental right of all Nigerians. Any person who requires medical treatment should receive it free at state expense. We reject the argument that the nation cannot afford free medical services for all Nigerians – it is wrong that we can afford to spend unnecessary amounts on our system of government whilst people’s health is considered unimportant – the lives of people should matter. Health care is in crisis, with the majority of the people unable to afford medical fees for what are substandard services even in the private institutions that people go to in order to avoid logjams in public facilities. There needs to be a sustained investment in our medical facilities to ensure the right to life. There should also be emphasis on preventative healthcare which is a path to reducing the need for medical services as seen in the success of Cuba. Our traditional medical practices should not be discouraged – rather there should be investment in research and development in this area as well as in modern medical practices. The lack of pipe-borne treated water for domestic use contributes to poor health and should be immediately addressed by government. Medical staff should also be paid well and on time; it is very wrong that our governments force doctors and other medical staff to go on strike because they refuse to pay their wages and allowances on time. In a country serious about its people, its medical staff should be revered and respected for the services they offer to the people.

#### **5. Housing**

Housing is one of the basic inalienable rights of every human being. But the reality is that many Nigerians are homeless. Many able-bodied but unemployed Nigerians, live day and night, under bridges and in the streets.

Many so-called houses are hardly good enough for animals. Millions of Nigerians in urban cities crowd their families in single rooms in various ghettos and slums under the most unhygienic environment-without kitchens or access to the basic facilities like toilets and water. Yet, the mis-rulers, including their sycophants, minions, stooges, personal assistants, personal secretaries, personal adviser, etc live in luxurious mansions and palaces in the choicest parts of the country and abroad. The few houses built by the government are out of the reach of the common man because of high prices placed on them.

The time has come for a highly determined action to salvage the people of this country from the aching problems of housing and accommodation. The right to shelter should be guaranteed. There should be a massive investment in housing, with a housing programme in the interest of the poor strata - market women, self-employed, artisan, farmers, public sector workers etc. There are new technologies that enable houses to be built for cheaper – government should support research into local technological solutions to affordable housing rather than relying on imported materials that are wholly unsuited to the heat of our environment.

#### **6. Water**

It is a crime that majority of Nigerians have no access to clean pipe –borne water in spite of official claims of enormous resources that had been committed to it. In urban cities, majority of the people have no access to pipe-borne water. The rural areas where majority of Nigerians reside are completely forgotten. Enterprises that are heavily water dependent close down for lack of water. In an age where scientific revolution enables people to live in other planets other than earth, Nigerians lack basic amenities to survive on earth. Many of the diseases ravaging the lives of our people, particularly children, are water –borne. A government serving in the interests of the people would commit adequate resources to implement an efficient and effective pipe-borne water programme to encompass the entire nation.

#### **7. Electricity**

The power of electricity is at the heart of any industrial growth and business, social and domestic upliftment. Electricity is not available to most of our people. Where it is available to a tiny minority, it is unreliable and epileptic. The unreliability has compelled individuals and businesses to invest in personal plants which push up the cost of production. Consequently, the price of goods and services rise beyond affordable levels for the implication for unsold stocks of goods and services, leading to workers lay-offs. This is unhealthy for the nation's industrial breakthrough.

In attempting to solve the problem of epileptic power supply, successive governments in recent time have begun privatizing the national Electric Power Authority (NEPA). But privatization is not an automatic solution to the issue of efficiency and effectiveness. Even if privatization ensures efficient and effective power supply, the cost to Nigerian consumers who are already

ravaged by poverty in the midst of plenty will most likely be higher, thus leading to the same problems of high cost of production and rise in the prices of goods and services. A disciplined and focused government, which places the needs of the people above profit consideration, can provide subsidized electricity thereby leading to cheap and affordable access by the people.

As the great Fela Anikulapo Kuti sang,

na so so sunlight for Africa / Plenty plenty energy for Africa / Energy for sun, energy for moon, energy for oil / Na the big big people dem go get electric

A people-oriented government would focus on harnessing natural, clean energy sources such as solar power, which is where the world is going and leaving Africa – which has such abundant energy – behind. There should be investment in research and development to provide such energy sources for electricity.

### **8. Transportation**

Rail, Road, Air and water transportation systems are in disastrous shambles. They constitute a major obstacle to our national development. Costly, unavailable, mismanaged and based on obsolete technology, the transportation systems of this country needs an organized programme of action to meet the yearning and yawning needs in the economic, political and social subsystems of the nation if the country must advance in this competitive world.

Apart from motorways that the country needs, there is serious necessity of building up the railways. No country can industrialise and gain prosperity without them.

Transportation should be affordable for the masses rather than left at the mercy of numerous private interests and union/thug control.

### **9. Oil and Petroleum Products**

Due to mismanagement and mis-leadership, Nigeria's oil sector that should be a source of wealth for the country has become a source of suffering and poverty. It is therefore one of the country's worst ironies that it exports crude oil but imports finished petroleum products. This is despite the fact that it has three refineries which are producing below capacity because our governments have lacked the common sense to fix them.

Our oil sector is a symbol of our lack of independence. Once it was obvious that Nigeria had crude oil, foreign governments through their oil companies have increased their hold on our economy. We have now reached the stage where we are completely dependent on the importation of everything, even things that we produce the raw materials for.

The peoples of Nigeria have constantly struggled to have affordable fuel prices through maintaining petroleum subsidy. Instead of ensuring affordability of fuel prices, our insensitive

governments have instead continued to increase the prices of petroleum products, which are imported at prices higher than their international market prices. New governments that claim new agendas simply increase the price of petrol and therefore the suffering of the people. This heavy burden must stop.

A government serving in the interests of its people would ensure that Nigeria no longer uses imported finished petroleum products. It would fix and ensure the proper maintenance of the refineries as well as building new ones as necessary. Such a government will also ensure that both the upstream and downstream sector of oil and gas in Nigeria are localised and no longer in the hands of foreign companies and their agents.

### **10. Telecommunication**

An effective, efficient, reliable, affordable and modern communication system is a vital engine for rapid promotion of social-economic and political development, internal integration and participation in the global market. Investment in the communication sectors of the economy. In this age of globalization, there is an urgent need for rapid modernization and expansion of the Nigerian telecommunications system. Not only is Nigeria's telecommunication system inefficient, it is one of the most expensive in the world. Where government should ensure the provision of adequate infrastructure, the people are being made to pay the cost for poor services. There should be a national telecommunications policy that will put effective, efficient, reliable, expansive, affordable and modern telecommunication services at the door-step of every Nigeria in both the urban and rural areas.

### **11. Security**

Since May 29, 1999, there has been an upsurge in the wave of insecurity of lives and property in Nigeria. Robbers operate incessantly with relish-stealing, snatching, raiding personal properties and leaving a trail of blood in their routes.

The state of insecurity is compounded by executive lawlessness. Peaceful assemblies, rallies processions by workers, students and local communities are violently repressed by security agents. Shoot-at-sight orders characterized the conduct of the executive arm of government. The degree of state terrorism tends to make the experience under militarily dictatorship to pale into insignificance. Cult related violence is on the rise again.

Given the magnitude of today's insecurity, the distinction between robbery and assassination has become very thin. The government has no answer to mounting ethnic intolerance, ethnic violence, communal clashes, religion mayhem, police-induced violence and extra judicial killings.

The root cause of insecurity of lives and property is largely economic and it is particularly occasioned by lack of access to a welfare programme. Economic hardship pushes many otherwise honest people into all sorts of crimes.

A people-oriented government would therefore demonstrate commitment to solving economic problem afflicting the Nigerian masses. The masses should form the core of our security needs – in their neighbourhoods and across the country. There should be compulsory basic military training for all participants in the national youth service corps (NYSC) programme and other adults between the ages of 18 and 30. All those who have such basic military training should be organized into security reserve Core (SCR) for both internal and external security needs. Community Security committees at local levels should evaluate, assess, and complement the security needs of each locality. Member of the committee will include elected representatives of the established security agencies and elected representatives of the civil society.

All the institutions that are involved in the administration of justice and the promotion of the rule of law and its due process should be made to function effectively. Police and corruption in the legal system should be addressed – the people are not provided police for their own security, rather it is as if they themselves are the victims of the police. The security services must act as if they serve the people, rather than as if they are their masters. The whole apparatus should be reformed.

## **12. Women and youth**

Although the role of women in anti-colonial and in struggles against oppression has been acknowledged (e.g. Aba Women's Uprising), gender equality is far from the Nigerian reality.

The degree of a country's level of awareness may be measured by the political maturity of its women. However, the degradation of all aspects of life in Nigeria caused by our leaders has included the dis-empowerment of women. And so, according to a recent shameful statistic, Nigeria has the lowest proportion of women in the legislature among all Sub-Saharan countries.

The stagflation of the national economy has also led to an alarming quantum growth of unorganised women labour and women in extreme poverty.

Unlike the West, where women traditionally were treated as second-class citizens, women in most parts of Africa occupied roles in work, trade, and government. The import of Western ideals has led to women in Nigeria considered unimportant to the building of the country. Therefore, the country has managed to lose out from the leadership abilities of half of its population. This has to change if Nigeria is to be free.

The women of Africa have also shown themselves to be of paramount importance in the struggle for better life and freedom in this continent. They gave active support to the

independence movement in their various countries, and in some cases their courageous participation in demonstrations and other forms of political action had a decisive effect on the outcome. Women must therefore take active part in leading the resistance against bad leadership.

A government of the people would establish programmes geared towards attaining full gender equality in Nigeria, within the overall struggle for a complete reconstruction of Nigeria. Women would occupy central positions in this struggle. Women must occupy positions of enhanced power and leadership status in the economic, political and social life of Nigerians.

Our youth have also been abandoned by successive governments. They are exploited and degraded and are increasingly taking their cultural models from the culture of poverty and exploitation imported from the United States of America and Europe. Instead of community based behaviour, individualism has become the norm. Rather than thinking about helping one another, the youth simply believe in get-rich schemes and dreams.

A government for the people will create new conditions for the development of youth through free education at all levels, through community orientation, struggling to abolish gender discrimination and the provision of employment for the youth.

A government serving in the interest of the masses will also implement programmes outside of formal education to increase the self-esteem and cultural orientation of the youths, and ensure their participation in segments of governance, politics, and economy.

### **13. Culture**

The cultural domination of our people through education and the arts, the radio and television, etc. has eroded their cultural self-confidence.

A government of the people will establish and pursue the policy of resistance to cultural imperialism and for the emergency of human, national culture in Nigeria. The emergence of a national culture shall not cancel out the right of each nationality to preserve its culture and language. However, all forms of cultural chauvinism shall be discouraged.

Apart from a new resistance, Nigeria urgently needs a new renaissance that would tap into a rich cultural heritage and the vast talents of its peoples. Instead of films and music influenced by foreign styles, there should be a focus on the creation of films, music, cartoons, comics, books, etc that are indigenous, original, and of the highest quality.

### **14. Corruption**

It might be asked how all the programmes mentioned above would be supported. There is an abundance of wealth in the country but it is stolen away by our politicians and civil servants and given away to foreign interests in the give-away sales of our assets, and so on. Corruption

should no more be tolerated. High office holders caught stealing money should face the severity of capital punishment. Our rulers should serve the people, not their own interests. A money based political system should be restructured so that huge sums of money are not necessary to gain high office (after which, the holder of such office will steal it back). An expensive political system that merely copies Western countries should be replaced with something less expensive and which is appropriate to our local conditions.

### **15. Naija Resistance and The Global African Diaspora**

We understand that the systems and institutions of oppression and exploitation are global, so must be the resistance effort. The era of Globalization has allowed imperialist, neocolonial, and corporate forces to further reinforce their power while provoking further divisions from the exploited and oppressed classes, who are left to fight among themselves for the few remaining opportunities and resources that the capitalist and the imperialist have left behind.

Naija Resistance seeks to embrace, unite, organize, and coordinate with the Global African Diaspora in our efforts to liberate and empower our people. We find African Emigrants and African Descendants in all nations, who suffer discrimination, oppression, second-class citizenship, and violence; we understand that anti-Africanism is the world's only universal ideology; and we accept that only a Globally United Pan-African Movement has any chance of providing security and returning All Africans to our proper station.

In most regions of the African Diaspora our Brothers and Sisters have not only embraced their African Heritage, but have sought to build formal political, economic, and cultural ties with their home continent. Africans in the Americas, the Caribbean, Europe, and Asia are prepared to heed the call of their Mother Continent, and the Naija Resistance movement will work to do its part to facilitate the call and advance the mission.

No longer will the capitalist, imperialist, colonialist, and racists be able to play one Black or African population against the other, no longer will they manipulate the children of Africa into acting against the best interest of African and Africans, at home or abroad.

Naija Resistance will allow for direct membership and participation of Africans of the Diaspora, as well as form formal alliances and partnerships with existing organizations in the African Diaspora.

We will pool resources, create and strengthen bonds, and build a truly Global African Liberation struggle, based on Pan-African principles to fight Globalized Systems of Oppression.

# Naija Resist!

The programme supported by Naija Resistance outlined here represents a minimum. We can improve and maximize its possibilities.

Once again in Nigerian history, the masses of Nigeria tired of struggling and suffering are calling for an end to suffering and a new, exciting beginning.

Enough of the stealing, exploitation of all kinds, lying, opportunism, and self serving ethnicity while the country goes to the dogs and millions die in starvation or semi-starvation!

Naija Resistance is here to support this cry of the people and be their vehicle for freedom, emancipation, and prosperity. It is time to positively ignite the mind of our peoples so that they can fulfil their enormous potential.

***Africa Must Be Free!***