



A People's Manifesto for Total LIBERATION

The AAC Program for Revolutionary Transformation of Nigeria, 2022.

www.aacparty.org



HARUNA MAGASHI
AAC VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE 2023

OMOYELE SOWORE
AAC PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE 2023

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FOREWORD

Nigeria is a rich country with poor people. The country is blessed with abundant human and natural resources. But, throughout the colonial period, and since Independence, a small elite have appropriated the vast resources of our lands, and the wealth created by the labor of the impoverished working people.

The struggle for Independence was waged by workers with strikes, women in revolt, and the resistance of our communities. However, successive governments of the elite class which took power in 1960 have failed to ensure that Nigeria works for the vast majority of its people. Nepotism, corruption, lack of vision, lukewarm economic planning, poor leadership and systemic exploitation of the masses have left the majority of Nigerians entrenched in intergenerational poverty.

More than 95 million Nigerians now live in extreme poverty, according to the World Bank's 2022 Nigeria Poverty Assessment report. Furthermore, we have seen the erosion of democratic principles and practices, the weakening of civil society, and ever-closing civic space, leaving almost no room for public participation in policies and programs. This situation has led to normalization of the status quo of kleptocracy and corruption in governance.

AFRICAN ACTION CONGRESS is an anti-imperialist, Pan-African, Eco-socialist party which is unequivocally committed to the struggle for the total liberation of the Nigerian people. We will achieve this through a systemic transformation of the country, based on sustainable development and the building of a just and open democratic space that enables all Nigerians to take part in the development of our great and beloved country.

Through our manifesto, which has been formulated over eight months, with widespread consultations, and its programmatic implementation when we come to power, the Nigerian masses will reclaim their power, and we will be able to stand proud in the comity of nations, as a leader on the African continent and diaspora, as well as a global leader in the historic struggle to build a better world. Through our party's social, economic and political policies, we will create a Nigeria that generations will be proud to call home, a land that puts the people and planet first, a land that wipes out poverty and protects the environment, a land which plays a leading role in the global struggle against poverty, and for environmental justice. Another Nigeria is possible, a better world can be built; and we plan to lead this process with the full participation of all Nigerians.

As such, our party will focus on four (4) main pillars that unify the broad and ambitious plans that we are proposing to implement, thus:

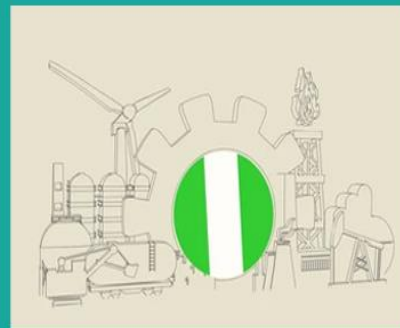
- 1. Security is Peace and Justice for All**
- 2. A Green Economy that Works for the People**
- 3. Social Policy for A Just Society**
- 4. Building a Better Nigeria; Winning a New World**

We will provide leadership for the self-emancipation of the exploited and oppressed people in Nigeria from the shackles of poverty and insecurity as a collective and participatory project, based on the full participation of all Nigerians, building on our great human, intellectual and physical resources. Together, these pillars are key to realizing our goal of shared prosperity, sustainable development and the people's liberation, once AAC gets into power with your support at the ballots, in your workplaces, communities, campuses and on the streets.

Omoyele Sowore

National Chair & Presidential Candidate

African Action Congress (AAC).



PILLAR ONE

SECURITY

IS PEACE AND
JUSTICE FOR ALL

A JUST SOCIETY
IS A PEACEFUL
SOCIETY

STOP THE BLEEDING

ADDRESS ROOT CAUSES
OF ACTIVE SECURITY
CONCERN

JUSTICE, PUBLIC
ACCOUNTABILITY AND
SUCCOR FOR VICTIMS

REFORM OUR SECURITY
AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE
SECTOR



The situation

Faced with widespread outrage regarding the abysmal security situation in the country, Nigeria's ruling elite and politicians have been compelled to pay lip-service to addressing this issue. But in practice, their attempts to respond to the crisis, both at national and state levels, have ranged from the half-hearted to counterproductive. Indeed, the politicians and oligarchs have largely used the state of perennial conflict as a pretext to both plunder our nation's resources and to divide our people

along sectional lines in order to advance their narrow political interests. Their failure to fix the ongoing breakdown in law and order threatens to shred our delicate social fabric.

We will not merely respond to the urgent symptoms of the problem, we will equally address the root causes of insecurity, including the history of economic deprivation, lack of education and opportunities, long-held grievances tied to justified agitations over fair and equitable access to resources, and entrenched failures to provide justice. Nothing short of a revolutionary response is required to reverse and transcend the tide of insecurity in Nigeria. And AAC is the only party with the program and political will to provide this. The African Action Congress will rise to the challenge of the moment through a series of targeted policies and interventions designed to stop the bleeding; provide justice, accountability, and succour for victims; and reform our security and criminal justice sectors. While we are aware that each conflict hotspot bears its own unique and local triggers and remedies, we also recognize that there are many common factors which can create better local conditions for a lasting peace if addressed with sensible federal and state-level interventions, such as those an AAC government will bring to bear. In line with this, the African Action Congress will implement the following programs:

“The AAC government will immediately treat Nigeria’s chronic insecurity with the urgency, humility, seriousness, creativity and energy required.”

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Our alternative:

1.1 STOP THE BLEEDING

Inaugurate a National Amnesty and Sustainable Peace Program (NASPP) designed to absorb, institutionalize, nationalize, and revolutionize the existing presidential amnesty program. We will mandate this program to go beyond the 5 existing patchwork of ad hoc, secretive, and failed negotiations, amnesties, and deals struck between armed groups and state and federal governments. We will equip the NASPP to commence transparent peace

negotiations with major armed combatant and paramilitary groups across Nigeria, permitting ALL legitimate demands for referendums and reintegration to receive a fair public hearing, on the condition of cease-fires as a path to ultimate disarmament. We will be open to international – especially regional – mediation where necessary, and the implementation of the program will include the active participation of victims, and community and human rights organizations. We will ultimately seek to build and institutionalize the program into a national peace negotiation process that will put an end to the currently shady and opaque approaches to mediation between Nigerian governments and armed groups. The NASPP will also set up state/regional ‘jobs for guns’ hubs, equipped to provide psychological/drug rehabilitation and skills training for all repentant combatants, following an initial profiling of each applicant's previous level of involvement in violent crime. Following their graduation from rehabilitation programs, combatants deemed to have not been high-level participants will be integrated into the range of newly created federal work relief programs.

- **Set up an inter-agency, ‘special & violent crimes task force’**, comprising exemplary operatives from across the Nigerian armed and border management services, to respond to kidnappings and other security emergencies as they arise. The force will be overseen by a **newly created civilian crisis response oversight board** of seasoned and respected representatives of the judicial, legislative, and executive branches as well as trade unions, professional associations and credible national civil society organizations. The special & violent crimes task force will be **nimble enough to deploy, on a rapid response basis**, and equipped with state-of-



the-art human rights, mediation, and investigative capabilities; multi-lingual, and highly skilled in community relations, and capable of navigating rural and forested terrains to effect search and rescue and criminal apprehension missions. The task force will be required to submit detailed post-operation human rights reports to the Community Level Mediation Committees (CLMCs) (see below) in every community where it is called to undertake operations. This task force will also be empowered to investigate violent crimes committed by state security agencies and to submit detailed prosecutorial dossiers to its overseeing board.

- **Set up and provide grants to elected Community Level Mediation Committees (CLMCs)**, located at the ward-level across Nigeria, composed of local elected members but including representation from locally deployed state and informal security operatives. Building on existing community alternative dispute resolution institutions and forums, CLMCs will provide a local democratic alternative to the State level peacebuilding agencies that have emerged in states such as Kaduna and Plateau. The CLMCs will be required to maintain a 50/50 gender balance as well as representation across ethno-religious and livelihoods (farmers, herders, fishermen/women, etc.) divides, reflecting the local character of all wards in the country. We will equip CLMCs to submit reports directly to civilian oversight bodies at the federal level to investigate local human rights violations by state or non-state actors.
- **Strengthen ECOWAS and regional security initiatives.** Given the cross-border nature of contemporary insecurity in West Africa, and particularly across the Sahel, under an AAC government, Nigeria will urgently move beyond rhetoric and ad-hoc engagements towards institutionalizing cooperation. As a first step, this will mean releasing the funds Nigeria has pledged under the ECOWAS' 2020 - 2024 Action Plan to eradicate terrorism in West Africa. Aligning with that plan, Nigeria will take the lead in ensuring that regional cooperation in border management and intelligence and information sharing are rapidly improved. We will also deepen the integration of technology in border management in ECOWAS and support institutional forums where security and border management agencies across the region can regularly raise and address problems. Against the current climate of institutional rivalry, Nigeria, through ECOWAS, will push to strengthen cooperation and encourage linkages and coordination among the various regional security initiatives, including the G5 Sahel, the Lake Chad Basin Commission, and the Accra Initiative.

1.2 Address root causes of active security concerns

- Invest in economic recovery and reintegration:** We take due note of the cross-cutting economic and environmental origins of many of the root causes of insecurity. While our entire manifesto and plan details a path for economic development and social welfare that will lift all Nigerians out of their current state of undignified living, we will pay special attention to addressing the humanitarian crisis and economic deprivations in sections of the country that have endured decades of violent conflict. We will create economic recovery and social integration plans for each of these areas, in a collaborative and participatory approach which is people-centered and led. The pillar of the manifesto, entitled “A green economy that works for the people” covers in more detail our wider economic recovery plans, while our commitment to stemming the environmental emergency is put forward in a sub-pillar of our social policy.



1.3 Justice, Public Accountability and Succor for Victims:

- Inaugurate and support local truth and reconciliation commissions,** roughly modeled after the Rwandan ‘gacaca court’ system that local judicial officials will oversee in collaboration with elected CLMCs. Nigerian communities have endured a lot of loss, pain and grief, which has been largely unrecognized. It is important that every violent

act, every crime against humanity and every death is remembered and grieved. We need a process of healing, and this can only come from telling the truth. (See Pillar 4)

- **Overhaul and improve existing institutions responsible for catering for welfare, health, and life insurance of members and veterans of Nigerian armed services**

Given the heroic sacrifices made every day by members of the Nigerian armed services, their conditions of work, as well as retirement and health benefits will be dramatically improved. In addition, we will introduce life insurance policies to cater to the wellbeing of the family members of fallen armed service personnel. Never again should the widows/widowers and children of departed armed service personnel be allowed to languish in penury. Families of armed service members will be made eligible for special scholarship and welfare opportunities. We will improve Veterans benefits, and they will be audited to ensure that the junior ranks of our ex-servicemen and women are afforded the dignified retirement currently reserved only for senior security officials.

- **Audit and expand the existing Victims Trust Fund**, to be financed in part by seized proceeds from organized crime and land grabbing. The VTF will also play a coordinating role for donor funded relief efforts to reduce the currently haphazard, overlapping, and uncoordinated structure of foreign donor funded conflict relief efforts.
- **Increase the capacity and national reach of the missing people's register** and create a national network of data centers at the LGA level equipped with storing and analyzing data of missing people.
- **Create a national monument and museum** in the F.C.T. and in select state capitals honoring the victims of the civil war, interethnic and religious wars, violent crimes against humanity, and fallen citizens in the struggle against organized crime, banditry, and terrorism. Audit and expand existing funds to support the families of departed state security agents. We will also work to have museums that remember the genocide of the Civil War and the massacres, including those orchestrated by the state, which have impacted so many communities across the country. We must remember our history in order for us to move forward as a people. National monuments and museums show us the scars of our history but lead us forward on a path towards reconciliation.

1.4 Reform our Security and Criminal Justice Sectors

- **Reform the Nigerian Police "Force" and Security Agencies.** AAC leaders, members and allies have frequently been the victims of abuse by the security agencies, an experience we share with numerous innocent Nigerians across the country. Security Agencies' junior personnel have also been abused and put to degrading uses which, moreover, frequently fall outside their constitutional duties. Nothing short of a root and

branch overhaul of Nigeria's security services will suffice. The foundational pillars of a redesigned security system must be accountability, human rights, and justice. Ultimately, we will transform the existing police "force" and other security "forces" into security and policing "services" – shorn of brutality, respectful of citizens, and able to detect and investigate crime and threats effectively.

- i) **Inaugurate and staff a "Human Rights Desk" in Every Police Unit:** We will deploy a Human Rights Officer to every police station with a mandate of preventing abuses and maintaining a record of incidents and citizen complaints. Human Rights Officers deployed at the Unit level will improve the effectiveness of the Police Complaints Response Unit.
- ii) **Redistribute policing personnel and resources from protecting private entities and "VIPs" to catering for public safety:** By the Police's own estimates, the number of its personnel deployed to protect "VIPs and unauthorized persons" number above 100,000.¹ The military and other security forces are likewise inappropriately deployed to carry out irregular assignments, which exceed their constitutional duties. The deployment of security resources will be systematically reviewed and redistributed to enable the development of a 'public safety' ethos among the security agencies.
- iii) **Abolish Police Barracks and discourage segregated housing for Security Personnel:** Our wider social housing policy will also cater to Nigerian Police and Security personnel, allowing them to have their own homes and live among civilians. This process would contribute to changing the mentality whereby security agents see citizens as "bloody civilians"
- iv) **Improve training and ethos of Security Agencies:** We will systematically review and revamp the rules of engagement, conditions of service, recruitment and training procedures, public complaints procedure, and even the uniforms of the police and other security agencies. The epicenter of these efforts to create a new "service" mentality within the security agencies will be the newly set up "special & violent crimes task force" created as an interagency initiative spanning the main security agencies (see "Stop the Bleeding section above").
- v) **Improve Information Access:** A crucial step in any serious police reform effort must be the publication of all the reports of judicial panels of inquiry set up to investigate police brutality in the wake of the historic #EndSARS mass protest, as well as previous efforts at reviewing police and armed service brutality. We will bring all identified human rights abusers within the police and armed agencies to face justice and provide adequate compensation for all victims.

- **Enhance the ability of the courts to prosecute funders, instigators, and unrepentant participants in communal violence, kidnapping, terrorism, and other atrocities** Working within the bounds of due process, we will make certain that judicial proceedings dealing with the prosecution of such individuals are streamlined and closely monitored to ensure that perpetrators are held to account.
- **Re-engineer the National Human Rights and Police Service Commissions to deal with the prosecution of state security and judicial related human rights violations, with utmost transparency.** We will make sure that these commissions periodically submit public reports of the total number of complaints received and account for the numbers of outstanding cases.
- **Train, regularize, and fund existing local security initiatives including neighborhood vigilante networks, the rangers of the National Park Service, and local hunters' guilds** to strengthen their existing roles as community policing and constabulary units across Nigeria. We will make these bodies accountable to community level mediation committees. While remaining unarmed, these operatives will receive advanced training in human rights, basic investigative models, evidence handling, and community relations, and will be equipped to provide step-down personal-security training for women and youth.
- **A National Public Defender initiative will be introduced and expanded.** We will make federal funds available to support public defender offices across the federation. In addition, we will make ensure respect for the right of a defendant to “defend himself in person or by legal practitioners of his own choice” as is guaranteed in section 36 of the Nigerian Constitution, as well as in the Shari'a legislation introduced by northern states. We note that a majority of Nigerians are not aware of this right. To remedy this, we will inaugurate a pilot In-Prison Paralegal Program (IPP) to train inmates and Prison Officers as Paralegals to help write and file appeals for inmates who would like self-representation in court. The program, which is a pilot, will be expanded to cover other prisons after a successful roll out stage in select over-crowded prisons.
- **Inaugurate, and adequately staff a national 'Justice for All Program' (JFAP)** We recognize the class character of the justice system. Rich people who steal billions of naira from the public purse hardly end up in jail. Their pricey lawyers know how to game the system, even when they are charged to court. And in the few instances when they are sentenced, they still enjoy “five-star” treatment in incarceration. Justice for all requires lifting the burden and shame of imprisonment off the shoulders of many who are in prison due to petty crimes, or even simply because they cannot afford the judicial process to establish their innocence. Thus, we will set up Mobile In-prison Special

Courts to adjudicate remand/Pre-trial prisoner cases throughout the country, with the goal of achieving a just decongestion of prison facilities. And we will pay compensation to all citizens and families of citizens who have been wrongfully imprisoned or murdered.

I. The above will include a **Prisoners Rehabilitation and Release Program** - We will ensure that all prisons have libraries and education programs, including creating opportunities for degree certification for all prisoners. We will make sure that all prisoners are enrolled in work programs, so that they will have economic means for survival and security, upon release and reduce recidivism. We will institute a counselor visitation program where counselors will visit and have focus group meetings with ex-prisoners for one year post release to ensure that they are appropriately reintegrated into society and do not return to prison. We will work towards prisoner release programs based on good conduct and behavior. We will ensure that we protect the Human Rights of prisoners. We will ensure prisons are kept in sanitary conditions and that all prisoners have their basic human rights protected. We will introduce family visitation programs and weekly calls will be made available for all prisoners.

ii) Prison Reforms – a **National Prison Reform Committee** focused on ending prisons and introducing alternatives to prisons. This will **include amnesty and non-custodial sentencing for non-violent and minor offenses**. We will immediately make an assessment of ALL cases within prisons and grant amnesty to all prisoners who have served time without trial for non-violent offenses. We will end minimum sentencing laws and decongest all our prisons. We will institute a time limit of no more than 180 days for all awaiting trial cases to be processed. We will also ensure strict implementation of the provision of the Administration of Criminal Justice Act (ACJA) 10 mandating magistrates to visit police divisions on a monthly basis to review cases of people being held.

- **Ending the death penalty, cruel and unusual punishment and torture** - we will work to immediately end the death penalty and end all forms of cruel and unusual punishment for prisoners including solitary confinement. We will institute a rehabilitation for victims of torture and punishment program to ensure past victims.
- **Towards restorative justice and abolition** - We will work towards making prisons obsolete. including ending bail and surety, emptying prisons of non-violent offenders. Juvenile detention centers will be closed, and solitary confinement will end. As a society, we must work towards ending policing and prisons. While this is a long-term goal, we

must have it as an end goal in sight and pursue what Mariam Kaba calls a ‘jailbreak of the imagination’ in thinking beyond prisons and how we can make prisons obsolete.





PILLAR TWO

A GREEN ECONOMY THAT WORKS FOR THE PEOPLE

ENERGY AND THE ECONOMY || INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION FOR NATIONAL TRANSFORMATION
INFRASTRUCTURE AND DEVELOPMENT || AGRICULTURE AND FOOD SOVEREIGNTY
ENTERTAINMENT AND TOURISM SECTOR | FINANCIAL SECTOR, TRADE, TAX AND PUBLIC DEBT



PUTTING THE PEOPLE AND MOTHER EARTH FIRST

The situation:



The Nigerian economy has been working for a handful of people who benefit from patronage, with little concern for investment in productive activities that result in gainful employment for the many and lifting people out of poverty. The country's GDP grew at an average of 7% in the first decade of the 21st century largely due to revenue generated from the sales of crude oil and some degree of growth in the service sector, particularly in the film industry. There was little value-addition to production. The country has thus remained unindustrialized, and economic growth has not translated into development. Only a handful of people benefited from the economic growth, with increasing concentration and centralization of wealth in a few hands. The overwhelming majority of Nigerians have nothing to show for it. The wealth of the five richest Nigerians was more than that of 98 million Nigerians by 2018, according to the annual Oxfam global report on inequality. By 2022, it was just three people whose wealth was equal to that of 108 million Nigerians.

When we come to power, development will be driven by, and primarily for the benefit of, the poor working people. We will make the economy work for the many and not the few. Our economic policies will also go beyond "growth" and



the building of a strong productive base. They will include environmental safeguards, to mitigate the climate crises and avoid environmental catastrophe. We will ensure a balance of the web of life between people and nature. We will promote system change and not climate change, as an integral element of our developmental strides.

Our program for the economy is as follows:

"The African Action Congress will establish a democratic developmental state of the working people, which shall drive a green industrial revolution, to modernize our economy and foster prosperity for the masses."

2.1 ENERGY AND THE ECONOMY

The energy industry is at the heart of industrialization. Fossil fuels, such as coal, oil and gas, and electricity, have been the driving forces behind the development of modern industrial society, over the past few centuries. We are confronted with the challenge of unleashing an industrial revolution, which will have transition from fossil fuels to renewable energy as an integral concern. We will rise up to this challenge with the creative utilization of an energy mix of fossil and renewable energy, in the current period. AAC will implement far-reaching structural and institutional reforms which put the people and planet earth first, before the profit and primitive accumulation of the elite class. This will involve active public participation in the formulation of energy and energy-related policies; a genuine and radical renewable energy transition strategy; and social ownership of the energy infrastructure.

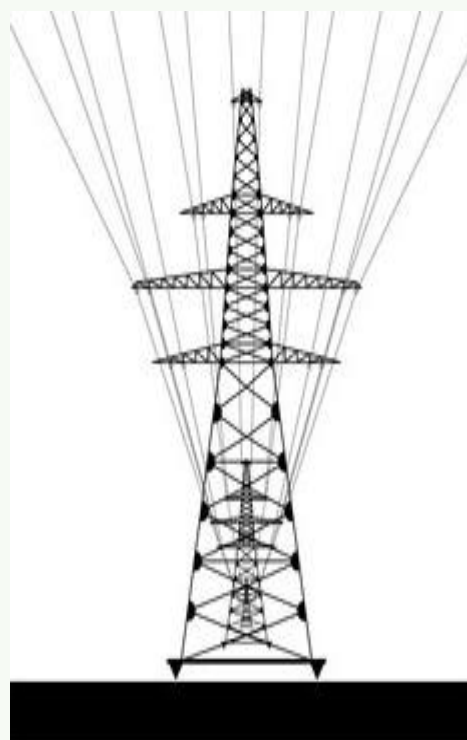
I. POWER SECTOR

A. TOWARDS A GREEN POWER SECTOR

- **Decentralize existing Power Generation:** The national grid has experienced 222 partial or total system collapses over the last twelve years. Five of these have been over the last one year alone. This situation, which arises due to the centralization of power generation, creates chaos in the economy and social life of the country. **We will decentralize power generation and promote distributed electricity generation to enable stable and adequate electricity supply.** We will enact a policy to encourage industrial hubs establishment of Independent Power Project (IPP), with appropriate regulatory guidelines. Our use of renewable energy will equally be off-grid and will entail financial and governance collaboration with states and local governments in the local environment of their power generation. To drive investment in renewables, we will remove all tariffs, duties and taxes on the import and manufacturing of renewable energy components and consumables for the next ten years.
- **Phase out coal:** Experts have argued that Nigeria has the capacity to increase power generation to 53,000MW by 2030, with the right policy mix, and commitment of government, without increasing reliance on fossil fuels. Unfortunately, while the APC government verbally commits to a renewable energy transition and even came up with an Energy Transition Plan in July 2022, it still hankers for expanding the use of coal-fired turbines. Following the pathway of the PDP government which promoted an accelerated utilization of coal for power generation (C2P) along the Nsukka-Enugu Axis in 2011, the APC government intends to establish six new coal-fired power plants by

2037. This is in contradiction with the spirit of Nigeria's commitment towards achieving net-zero carbon emission. We will phase out coal for power generation. **Our power sector strategy will seek to expand the energy mix to include other sources like wind, solar, coal, and biogas.** This will be with the ultimate aim of doing away with fossil fuels, such as gas, for power generation by 2045.

- **Expand natural gas as transition fuel:** In the short- to mid-term, we will have to expand gas-fired turbine generation, to meet the power requirement for industrialization, and social wellbeing of people. It has the lowest emissions of fossil fuels for power generation, which is why it is considered a “transition energy source.” And Nigeria has about 5,761 billion cubic meters of gas reserves. Expert opinions indicate that with half of this, we could generate 35,000MW of electricity annually, for over 50 years. We will, however, take all necessary steps to mitigate the impact of extraction of natural gas on people and the environment, including with the active involvement of the communities in decision-making regarding such expansion as a temporary measure, and with the ultimate aim of ending gas flaring in view.
- **Increase biofuel generation:** We will take necessary steps to ensure that gas-fired generation is gradually phased out for renewable energy within ten years, starting from 2035. To achieve this, we will commence gradual replacement of gas with biofuels from biomass for the existing gas turbines and bolstering the installation of de-carbonized alternatives within our energy mix, immediately.
- **Expansion of Solar and Wind Energy production:** We will establish and encourage regulated private sector investment in the establishment of solar plants within the first four years of an AAC government, focusing on states with high annual solar radiation. We will also install wind turbines in states with high wind speeds, i.e., over 5 m/s, in the far northern and coastal parts of the country. Toward driving investments, we will implement targeted and temporary suspension of tariffs, duties and taxes on the import and manufacture of renewable energy components and consumables.
- **Expand hydropower and tidal generation:** We will equally expand hydropower generation, which is the most sustainable renewable energy for our climes. This will include small scale hydropower plants to serve rural



areas where this is geographically workable. We will equally exploit tidal energy and wind energy in the coastal areas of the country

B. Working Towards Sustainability in the Power Sector

- **Ending Corruption and inefficiency in the power sector:** Two main reasons why successive governments of the country have failed Nigerians in the sector are corruption and inefficiency. Despite the expenditure of PDP and APC governments of N5.864 trillion on the sector from 1999 to 2019, Nigerians remain without regular power supply. The sector has become one of the major conduits for elites' self-enrichment at the expense of economic development and the wellbeing of the people. Without addressing corruption and inefficiency, it cannot become sustainable. One of the boldest expressions of the self-serving interest of the ruling elite in the sector is the unbundling and privatization of power generation and distribution. We will reverse the power sector privatization, without compensation. We will equally probe the process, including the subsequent subsidization of the power Distribution Companies (DISCOs), of up to N2.3 trillion. AAC will work closely with the staff and trade unions in the sector to make it more efficient, haven done away with the malaise of corruption. We will further recruit adequate numbers of competent and credible professionals, and re-train existing staff, to enhance the sector's efficiency and uphold accountability.
- **Popular sovereignty and participatory energy governance:** Popular sovereignty and participatory governance are key pillars of the energy democracy approach which AAC adopts towards establishing and sustaining a green power sector. The people are the subjects of energy for social and economic development; as workers who produce, and as end-users. The AAC government will actively promote 14 information access, inclusiveness, transparency, and awareness raising on energy-related issues. Representatives of trade unions, professional associations, civil society organizations, communities, tertiary institutions and the organized private sector, who do not have any vested interests in the power sector will be involved to advise and hold our government accountable on the power sector policy process.



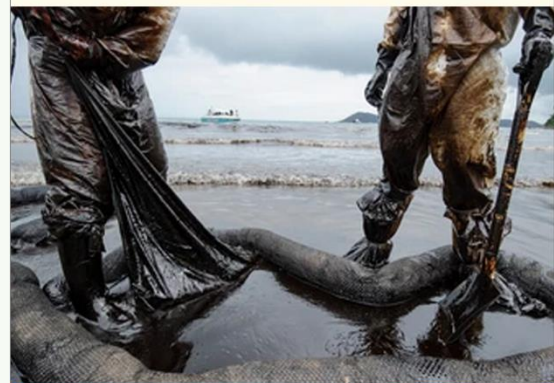
- Expanding transmission capacity:** Increasing electric power generation capacity without expanding the capacity of the transmission network that evacuates power from the generation point and transports it to end-users will be futile. Currently, there is about 20,000 km of transmission capacity to support less than 7,500 MW of generation capacity, i.e., an average of about 3.77 km/MW transmission assets. With the current installed transmission asset base, we estimate that about \$40 billion investment in transmission infrastructure will be required to support the incremental 17,000 MW of power generation capacity that will be built.
- Investment and integrated coordination:** It is estimated that Nigeria will need not less than \$410 billion spread over forty years to achieve universal access to clean energy. This will require public spending at all levels of government. But this will not be enough. AAC will thus explore an array of funding sources, including international development funding and responsible private sector investment. We will establish a Power Sector Sustainability Investment Board to integrate and coordinate the process. The Board will include representatives of trade unions, private sector and civil society organizations. We will provide incentives for investment in renewable energy, including for the manufacturing and maintenance of devices for power generation and storage.
- Research and innovation in tertiary institutions:** We will support research work that will enable informed policy decisions and innovation in the sector, strengthening research-to-policy and policy-to-action linkages. In this light, AAC will promote studies on the best mix of renewable energy sources in the country. Since we will still be constrained to utilize gas-fired turbines for some time if we are to meet the energy needs of the people and industry, we will also encourage technological development for carbon capture and storage (CCS) and carbon capture and utilization (CCU), towards meeting our short- and medium-term emissions targets.



- **Captive generation and cooperative renewables:** We will promote off-grid captive power generation by big industries, industrial parks and institutions such as universities. We will also provide incentives for housing cooperatives to use renewables to provide power for residents of housing estates.

II. OIL AND GAS

- **Stamping out corruption:** Weeding out corruption in the oil and gas sector requires a revolutionary government, with activist-leaders that cannot be bought, like the AAC cadre. We will institute strict laws against corruption in general, and with particularly stringent laws for stamping out this malaise in the oil and gas sector. We will investigate and prosecute all identifiable parties involved in the huge hefts of crude oil, which have cost Nigeria billions of dollars. And we will actively involve the local communities, and their popular associations, trade unions and relevant civil society organizations in bringing an end to the era of grand oil theft.
- **Curbing foreign control:** We cannot overemphasize the overwhelming influence and control of international oil companies in the oil and gas industry. This inordinate influence is lubricated by corrupt enrichment of people in government, as a series of WikiLeaks exposés have revealed. There is a lack of transparency in Joint Venture Contracts with international oil companies. And these companies leverage their technological know-how to actually benefit much more than what should accrue from their officially maximum of 40% stake in JVCs. And little



respect is given to the official Nigerian content development regulations. We will take a serious stance against undue foreign control of the oil and gas sector. Some of the leading oil companies in the world such as the Saudi Aramco and the Brazilian Petrobras are either state-owned, or publicly held corporations. We will nationalize the oil and gas sector as a commanding height of the Nigerian economy. International oil companies that want to do business with us will have to do so on the terms that benefit the Nigerian working people, under the AAC revolutionary democratic government.

- **Niger Delta development:** We will promote the development of the Niger Delta with an eye on expanding employment and the wellbeing of the people of this region, who have thus far little to show other than sorrow, tears and blood, for having such wealth in their lands. We will ensure community co-ownership of the industry with the Nigerian state and community self-organization, to ensure democratic accountability. The Niger Delta Development Commission will be overhauled to ensure that it is no longer merely a conduit pipe for a few elites, but rather, an agency for furthering the urgent and systematic development of the Niger Delta region.
- **Workers leading roles:** The working class will play a central role in making the oil and gas sector work for the people. We will include the oil and gas trade unions in every decision-making body in the sector. The use of contract staffing will be brought to the barest minimum. We will also foster relationships between the working-class and the communities of the Niger Delta, and ensure enhanced local employment, and the training of youths in the region for employment.
- **Enhanced integration with the rest of the economy:** We shall make targeted interventions to promote and strengthen linkages between the oil and gas sector and other industries. We will, enhance research and bolster diversification of the oil beyond its energy purposes with the production of petroleum derivatives such as pharmaceuticals; polyolefin products - including for export; rubbers and fibers for structural and non-structural applications in the building industry, and as feedstock for the chemical industry.
- **Sectoral reforms:** We will reform the regulatory governance architecture of the sector to maximize the country's economic benefits, meet the needs of Nigerians, mainstream environmental protection, and strengthen democratic accountability to the people. We will integrate elements of earlier reform projects which fit into these goals. We will thus amend the Petroleum Industry Act (PIA) 2021 to:
 - effect payment of the hydrocarbon tax on crude oil from deep offshore exploration, as with onshore exploration.

- revoke the monopoly power vested in private refining companies to import petroleum and petroleum products in the event of shortfall in local production. 16 ○ repeal the provision of 30% of profits of the NNPC and 10% of rents on petroleum prospecting licenses to a Frontier Exploration Fund.
- decriminalize the euphemistically put “duty and responsibility” of host communities’ role regarding the protection of oil and gas assets. We know those at the heart of the major thievery of oil. These are the high and mighty whom we shall stop in their tracks.
- ensure the active, participatory and democratic involvement of the people at the grassroots in the decision-making processes of the Host Community Development Trust Fund.
- **Gas flaring:** We will end gas flaring within our first tenure in office, and harness associated gas, as a transition fuel. This will bring an end to the dithering of past governments over the decades and help save over \$750 million lost every year to this environmentally harmful practice. We will lay the policy and infrastructural basis for this within the first six months of our administration by: demanding the immediate submission of field development plans by operators which include executable gas utilization plans in line with commitment to meeting our set deadline; set stiff regulatory and financial penalties for failure to operationalize this plan, and; rapidly establish gas pipeline networks for uptake from the gas fields to homes and industry.





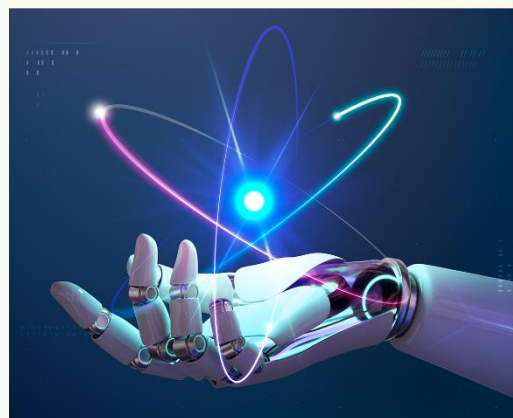
2.2. INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION FOR NATIONAL TRANSFORMATION

AAC clearly understands that industrialization is of pivotal importance for modernizing economies and societies at large. Every single advanced economy in the world rose on the sails of an industrial revolution, starting with Britain 200-300 years ago, and thereafter other European countries like France and Germany, and more recently the Newly Industrialized Countries like China, India, and Brazil. The world is now at the point of a Fourth Industrial Revolution. But Nigeria remains an unindustrialized country, which relies mainly on the primary sector as the engine room of its development. AAC will spur an eco-developmental industrial revolution by prioritizing industry and manufacturing; science and technology; and the integration of micro, small and medium enterprises (MSMEs) into our industrialization policy.

I. Industry and Manufacturing

- **Expand manufacturing base:** We will take far-reaching steps to expand the manufacturing base of Nigeria as a fundamental basis for: expanding productivity of the economy to achieve import substitution and export expansion; Boosting the foreign earnings capacity of the country and addressing the scourges of unemployment and poverty in the land. AAC appreciates the fact that, as a 21st late industrializer, which we will make Nigeria, it cannot be business as usual, as with earlier industrialization projects which contributed significantly to the climate and environmental crisis.

- Increased funding for and re-tooling of the Bank of Industry:** This will be geared to support the expansion of manufacturing enterprises and conglomerates and addressing infrastructural concerns for industry. This will spur job creation and with the strengthening of labor market institutions, enable increased remuneration that would drive enhanced aggregate demand, thus impacting positively on the supply and demand sides for enhanced capacity utilization.
- Create Green jobs:** The renewable energy industry, including solar energy production, will be a key part of our strategy for generating climate jobs. We will establish capacity for production of storage batteries, building and maintenance of turbines and related activities. University, polytechnic and technical colleges levels curricula will be developed to equip a renewable energy workforce with the requisite skills.
- Developmental state for national planning:** We will make a U-turn from the neoliberal abandonment of national development plans. AAC will convene all stakeholders in manufacturing and other industrial sectors, science, technology and engineering experts, trade unions in the industrial sector and other relevant bodies to develop a national industrial policy collectively, that will inform the formulation of a strategy for a green industrial revolution in our national development plans. We will draw lessons from the shortcomings of the earlier experiences of national development planning on over-reliance on foreign expertise, and Western imperialist funding. We will put greater efforts into establishing backward and forward linkages of the sector with the primary and tertiary sectors of the economy respectively.



- **Rural infrastructure development:** AAC is committed to sustainable industrial development in the fullest sense. Thus, we will embark on rural infrastructure development and further provide inducements for companies to set up industries, including Agro-industrial complexes, in rural areas. This will help stem the tide of rural-urban migration and ensure balanced national and regional development. We will equally raise the technical capacity of the agricultural sector, by encouraging the manufacture of improved implements, fertilizers and other inputs. We will introduce technological innovations in the construction and woodwork industries. These will include exploiting the use of mud and bamboo for buildings and furniture.

II. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

- **Improve and adopt technology transfer:** Improve and adopt technology transfer: In Nigeria, where we can even talk of such, has been turnkey transportation, without adequate adaptation, including upgrading. We will take concrete steps to build the material base for improved production and assemblage of consumer goods. This will include phasing out outdated technology and aim at expanding capacity utilization.
- **Upgrading technologies for capital goods production:** Nigeria requires technological development to enhance productivity and spur industrialization. We need to go beyond the limited production of consumer goods. We need to produce machines and other tools which we can use for production. The AAC will thus prioritize the rehabilitation of the Osogbo machine tools industry and breathing of life into the five steel mills in the country (i.e., Ajaokuta, Aladja, Jos, Katsina and Osogbo), within its first four-year term in office.
- **Beneficiation of raw materials:** We will overhaul the Raw Materials Research and Development Council, towards enhancing the value-chain, and self-reliance with innovative application of science and technology. Science, Technology & Innovation hubs will be established in industrial clusters to support indigenous industry. And we will update the local content requirements to include enhanced beneficiation of commodities in the production process.
- **Artificial Intelligence and Robotic Automation:** The increasing trend of automation has long been predicted to result in mass unemployment. With the advent of machine learning and artificial intelligence, robots and computers are now even more equipped than ever before to intelligently execute tasks that were previously the exclusive domain of humans. This has made unemployment an even bigger threat within capitalist systems, where the primary purpose of automation is to cut labor costs. AAC welcomes technological innovations that reduce the need for physical labor. An AAC government will see the introduction of automation in every industry as an opportunity to reduce

the number of working hours of the Nigerian people without job and income loss. This will allow working Nigerians to spend more time with family, and in pursuit of their intrinsic motivations. To this end, our government will enthusiastically support the development and upscaling of mass production technologies that rely on AI and robots, with the purpose of freeing more hands to perform jobs that still require human inputs. In practice, this will result in fewer working hours for each person, without compromising on productivity and reward.



III. SOLID MINERALS AND EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRIES

- **Institutional and governance reform: We will take steps to reform the sector, by:**
 - **Aligning Nigeria's mining legislation and policy with the African Mining Vision (AMV);** We will ratify and domesticate all AMV related African Union treaties.
 - **Ensuring transparency and full public access to mining information:** We will tear away the veil which corruption lies behind. We will strengthen the Nigerian Extractives Industries Transparency Initiative and Freedom of Information Act for this purpose.
 - **Participatory involvement of the people:** We will move away from empty talk about engagement with mining communities, or collaboration with handpicked CSOs that has been the traditions of past governments. We will ensure the active involvement of representatives of mine workers, mining communities, youths and relevant CSOS, with accountability to their grassroots members, in all aspects of the governance of the sector.
 - **Grievance and dispute resolution:** We will put in place mechanisms for just dispute resolution between mining concerns and mining communities. These

will include Alternative Dispute Resolution mechanisms, as well as arbitration where ADR fails, or is considered inappropriate.

- **Stamping out institutionalized corruption:** A lot of would-have-been revenue is lost due to corrupt practices. We will put measures in place in the Local Government Areas to promote transparency of both government agencies and the private mining concerns. We will mete out stiff penalties to persons, businesses or agencies that go against the new, genuinely anti-corruption ethos and policy that will be brought to bear on the sector, by an AAC government.
- **Strengthen coordination between different tiers of government:** we will ensure greater involvement of the states and local governments in the governance of mining and strengthen coordination between the federal and sub-national governments to optimize effective regulation and governance of the sector.
- **Regulation and support for artisanal miners:** We shall bolster the registration of artisanal miners; decentralize the license application process for them; support them to ensure high quality environmental impact assessment through relevant government agencies and promote the establishment of artisanal mining cooperatives.
- **Improving Mining Revenues and Management of Mineral Rents:** We will maximize revenue generation for development from the mining sector by enhancing the share of mineral revenue accruing to the Nigerian state, and its judicious management, by:
 - **Reviewing tax incentives:** we shall review the overly generous tax incentives that governments have given to mining companies, including their cronies, with the aim of revoking them. Nigeria is losing a lot of money from these incentives, without adequate justification.
 - **Abrogation of qualifying capital expenditure and losses:** We will do away with the practice of allowing investors in the mining sector to declare.
 - **The Solid Minerals Development Fund:** We will reorganize the SMDF, and recover monies stolen from its coffers by past government officials and their collaborators.
 - **Review of the NEITI and NSIA:** We will review the statutes of the Nigerian Extractives Industries Transparency Initiative (NEITI) and the National Sovereign Investment Agency, to enable focus on solid minerals and precious metals.

- **Improve the fiscal management regime:** We will institute a clearly defined fiscal regime for the sector which promotes both tax justice and a reasonable level of profit for private sector investors.
- **Geo-scientific data and information:** We shall strengthen the gathering, analysis and use of geosciences data and information to have a clearer understanding and unleashing of the potential mineral wealth of our country for development.
- **Integrate the sector into our green industrial revolution:** We will make the solid mineral sector a pivot of industrialization, which it is meant to be. It is not enough to export minerals and precious metals as primary products, as successive governments have done despite verbal commitments to value chain addition. We will establish new, and reinforce existing linkages between the solid mineral industry and manufacturing, by:
 - **Integration of solid minerals development into industrial policy:** We will mainstream the prioritization of investments in solid minerals extraction focus on beneficiation, value addition and manufacturing.
 - **Integration with infrastructure development:** We will integrate development of access to solid minerals into our development of infrastructure as part of our national development plans.
 - **Research and development:** We will enhance research and development that will qualitatively spur the development of the sector. We will transform the Nigerian Geological Survey Agency into a National Geosciences Research Institute; establish departments of mining engineering, geosciences, and other related courses in federal universities within the localities of major solid mineral deposits; support the training of more geoscientists and mining engineers within and outside Nigeria, towards acquiring top-notch competences and capacities.
 - **Vocational training and capacity building for artisans:** We will not limit education and training to top level human resources for the sector. We will equally integrate minerals extraction-focused vocational training to equip artisans and other workers in mining areas with improved skills. We will also develop on-the-job training programs in local languages to enable those that are already carrying out mining activities and that might not be able to leave these to benefit from the capacity-building projects.

- **Mainstreaming Environmental and Social Issues:** We appreciate the environmental, health and social problems that could be consequences of mining activities. As an eco-socialist party committed to the all-round development of the country and all its residents, we will take all necessary measures to curtail environmental despoliation and the tearing of the social fabric of mining communities. We will implement these measures with the active participation of the people and their organizations, and not simply for the people. We will also mainstream them into every stage of work in the sector from planning through mining to regular evaluation, including:



- **Implementation of all subsisting environmental laws:** We will ensure that existing environmental laws, including as reviewed by an AAC government to further enhance eco-social justice will be implemented without fear or favor.
- **Review of sectoral laws and policies:** We will review all mining-specific laws and policies, and include specific provisions which promote eco-social justice, gender equity, human rights and the social wellbeing of persons living in mining communities.
- **Accountability to mining communities:** We will facilitate the accountability of mining concerns to the people in mining communities. We will remove any ambiguity on what is meant by community, to make it clear that these are the working people, women, youths, elderly people, persons with disabilities, and other people in these communities, who as a result of their class, gender, age or any other social station in live are economically disadvantaged and socially vulnerable.
- **Environmental Impact Assessment:** We shall be strict in ensuring that any mining operation is preceded by an Environmental Impact Assessment. No mining activity will take place where evaluation of the analyses provided by such assessment reveals there will be adverse impact that cannot be adequately mitigated on the environment or health of the population. We will provide

support for artisanal and small-scale miners for carrying out such Environmental Impact Assessment.

- **Environmental protection oversight:** We will not limit environmental impact assessment to that done before initiating mining procedures. We will monitor the impact of mining on communities and the environment on a regular basis to ensure that mining companies and other operators maintain the highest eco-social standards possible.



IV. Micro, Small & Medium Enterprises (MSMEs)

- **Financing Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs):** It is impossible for the Bank of Industry, Microfinance Banks and Community Bank alone, so access to credit from commercial banks is crucial. We will creatively address bottlenecks associated with the financial and legal documentation requirements for MSMEs to access credit from commercial banks, such as Corporate Affairs Commission registration, audited financial reports, insurance coverage, documented business plans, and registered business addresses. We will establish registration units in Local Government Areas for micro enterprises that do not have the resources for procuring offices. Commercial banks will be able to utilize these units for the purpose of addresses, in lieu of those that such businesses would have had to provide. We will also provide state-guaranteed credit facilities for MSMEs, and informal sector producers engaged in cooperative production and for others who are themselves directly engaged in the labor process,

who engage not more than four paid workers in that process, and whose yearly income is not more than that of a skilled wage worker.

- **Building managerial and production capacity of MSMEs:** We will restructure the Small and Medium Enterprises Development Agency of Nigeria (SMEDAN). And one of its key tasks will be helping to build the managerial and entrepreneurial capacity of MSMEs. This will be through training, which is aimed at expanding their ability to plan, organize, direct, coordinate and adequately utilize human, material and financial resources. We will also empower a research coordination unit in SMEDAN, with offices in each state of the federation, which will collaborate with business schools in our tertiary institutions, and other experts in supporting MSMEs development with research aimed at expanding their range of products, value-addition.
- **Innovation and vocational training:** We will provide affordable low-interest loans to MSMEs and develop a small business innovation fund that will provide non-dilutive equity funding for breakthrough ideas by MSMEs. We will also provide state supported training and retraining of MSMEs/informal workers, which equips them with modern business development and technological skills for the 21st century.
- **Tradesmen Standardization Institute:** Currently, on average in every state in Nigeria, there are over 40,000 working people who are employed in the various housing construction and maintenance industries such as masonry, carpentry, plumbing, painting, and iron-bending. However, most of them are poorly trained, mostly uncertified, unlicensed, and completely uninsured. Improving the skills of this workforce is critical to the building and construction sectors. Our government will establish a Tradesman Standardization Institute as a modern, comprehensive and holistic approach to developing and maintaining standardization of skill amongst artisans in the various regions, while also introducing a clear and effective process by which a citizen in need can engage skilled workers of any trade with trust and peace of mind. The institute will take on the following responsibilities:
 - Set up a national/regional database for conducting tests to certify and license skilled workers.
 - Issue certificates of apprenticeship to skilled workers of any trade after the candidate has passed the relevant test.
 - Maintain ongoing efficient operations.
 - Enroll interested youths and construction skilled workers into training programs that lead to certification and issuance of licenses.
 - Ensure licensed skilled workers adhere to ethical standards while performing their jobs.

- Make sure that all skilled construction workers are licensed before getting bonded in construction works.
- Renew the certificates of skilled and semi-skilled craftsperson every three years subsequent to their paying the appropriate enrolment fee and taking a short refresher course.
- Ensure policy interventions in the construction sector to enable skilled workers to get evaluated for competence and obtain certificates.
- Provision of social disability care and support, care of the elderly and support in MSMEs and in the informal sector, where they are mainly absent. protection: We will pass legislation and take action to extend social protection measures such as maternal care and support,
- **Democratic rights through cooperatives for the MSMEs sector:** We will create and provide a Cooperative Social Protection Scheme where members of the informal sector including farmers, agrarian workers, market traders and other workers in the non-formal sector can have access to social protection through their cooperative. We will ensure regulated rights to the city with access of vendors to public space under democratic control and management of their representative bodies, urban planners, and other relevant stakeholders, instead of merely hounding them as part of gentrification projects. We will also provide for a framework of MSMEs/informal sector elected representatives to engage regularly in collective negotiation and bargaining with Local Government Councils, and relevant states and federal governments' agencies and departments to resolve issues around licensing, accessing public spaces, environmental sanitation, provision of child care for informal workers, maternity and paternity leave, relevant training including fire-fighting skills and other important services.



2.3 Infrastructure and Development

We need the establishment and maintenance of robust infrastructure to facilitate and enable economic growth and social development. A well-functioning and growing economy must have good roads, well-functioning airports, and sea and dry ports for the transport of goods and people. An efficient rail system allows for the rapid transportation of heavy goods and raw materials. A modern nation must have housing for its people and drinking water and sewage treatment plants that will ensure that citizens have access to clean water in their homes and a pollution-free environment. Infrastructural development is a key plank of our national development plan. Over the first four years of our government, we aim to implement a program that will double Nigeria's rail and road infrastructure. We estimate the cost of our ambitious infrastructure development programs to be about \$485 billion over four years.

I. TRANSPORT SECTOR

Roads & Rail

- **Improve and repair road networks:** We will prioritize road projects that enhance commerce, link farms and industries to markets and facilitate the seamless and timely movement of persons and goods across Nigeria. We will emphasize the creation of dual carriageways that will enhance safety and expand the capacity to use roads for supporting trade and commerce.
- **Rebuild and expand railroad and light railways:** Our infrastructure development program will strongly emphasize inter-regional connectivity. We will thus fix inter-state

roads and pay due attention to rural road rehabilitation and expansion, as well. Nigeria currently has about 3,557 km of a national rail network. This translates to about 0.01 km of rail infrastructure per sq. mile of land mass. When our road infrastructure is compared to a relevant developmental peer such as South Africa, which has 0.04 km per sq. mile for South Africa — four times what we have, the gross inadequacy of our rail infrastructure is laid bare. It is the goal of our government to double Nigeria's rail infrastructure within four years.

- **Ensure and Expand and Energy efficient public transportation:** Priority will be given to rail projects that enhance commerce, link farms and factories to markets, and facilitate the ready movements of persons and goods across Nigeria. We will discourage the current pervasive use of road transport for freight, in favor of rail. We will encourage public transportation. Environmentally friendly mass public transportation schemes, such as metro lines and rapid bus transportation, will be put in place in major cities. Minimize the use of private means of transportation, like cars. We will also provide incentives for carpooling towards furthering a drastic reduction in cars on urban roads.

Ports and Inland Waterways

- **Expand and make existing ports functional and build new ports:** We will fix Apapa Ports Complex and break the conceptual and practical gridlock. The AAC government will commit to expanding connecting the Apapa Port Complex via rail and promote judicious use of the underutilized ports outside Lagos. We will make existing ports at Onne, Calabar, Port Harcourt and Warri function and expand them.
- **Increase use of existing waterways:** Governments over the years have also failed to utilize the over 3,000km of navigable inland waterways in Nigeria adequately. We will exploit this means of transport for linking landward connections to ports, as well as for general transportation.
- **Ship building and expansion of freight shipping:** Nigeria has the largest shipyard facility in West Africa. But out of the 10 ship repair yards in the country, barely 6 are operational. Similarly, the military government liquidated the Nigerian National 24 Shipping Line in 1995. We will rehabilitate the repair yards and expand their functions into ship building within our first tenure in power. In the medium-term, we will work towards re-establishing a national shipping line to enhance exportation.

Aviation

- **Decrease reliance on air travel:** Through our commitment to zero carbon emissions and reduction of air pollution and emissions, our focus will be to create reliable public infrastructure for transportation of humans and freight which will drastically decrease the need for air travel. Work towards carbon offsets in the aviation industry.

- **An energy efficient pan-African airline:** AAC is a party that is committed to pathway of sustainable development. This requires the promotion of an energy efficient approach to aviation for Nigeria and Africa, considering the enormous carbon footprints of the sector. This is why we stand against the duplication of functions, where efficiency can be better met by mergers. Africa is already gifted with excellent examples of functional airline careers, including Ethiopian Airlines, Kenyan Airlines, Egypt Air, RwandaAir, Asky and South African Airlines. An AAC government will immediately commence multilateral talks with all African countries to work out the modalities for the merger of all national air carriers. The goal will be to form a pan-African airline that will be co-owned by participating governments. Success will immediately eliminate the destructive competition that exists between African airlines flying the same routes. The newly formed airline will be operated by a company that will be set up through the agreement establishing it. Its name, headquarters and management will be democratically decided by the representatives of the participating countries.

II. Information infrastructure, communication and digitalization

- **National Summit on IT and Industrialization:** We realize the catalytic role that Information Technology (IT) could play in driving industrial revolution. The current focus of the government on information and communication as simply a means for growing the “digital economy” fails to connect the dots between information, communication, digitalization and the real economy. We will connect these dots, and work assiduously to establish and strengthen linkages, with specific targets, between industrial sectors, particularly manufacturing, and IT. The first step we will take is to bring together experts, associations, trade unions and other key players in the IT sector and industrial sectors such as manufacturing to brainstorm on laying a solid foundation for sustaining much needed inter-sectoral coherence, within the first six months of our coming to power.
- **Build Domestic Production Capacity:** We will take necessary steps to address the shameful overreliance of Nigeria on importation for the ICT needs of its people and industry. Over the last few seven years, enterprising tech savvy Nigerians have produced a number of assembled-in-Nigeria phones such as Ankara K2, Plirisblazex-64, and AfriOne. These were before the ITF mobile, which was simply 25 assembled as well, but presented as the “first made-in-Nigeria phone” [1] by the Federal Government. We realize that what the ICT sector requires is concrete support and not merely false claims. We will provide such support, to ensure not just assembled-in-Nigeria, but actually made in Nigeria phones and tablets, just like the Mara phones of Rwanda, within the first three years of our administration. We will also support the manufacturing of computers

and computer products such as network cables, wireless access points, switches, routers, modems, and server computers.

- **Bridging the Digital Divide:** We will take concrete steps to bridge the digital divide towards ensuring universal access. We will integrate e-learning facilities into our educational programs that will cover every local government area in the country; build the ICT skills of young people, including in rural areas; and revamp the Computers for All Nigerians Initiative (CANi) to make it more effective. We will pay special attention to bridging the gender digital divide. We will make it more visible, by gathering national data on ICT use disaggregated by sex, and take action based on this, to upscale the access of women and girls to digital technologies.
- **Digital Switch Over:** The Nigerian government has repeatedly failed to ensure nationwide Digital Switchover (DSO) from analogue broadcasting to Digital Terrestrial Television (DTT) broadcasting. This is not acceptable to AAC, not simply because it puts us behind in the comity of nations, but because of the loss of benefits that Nigerians would have had with the generalization of DTT. We will ensure nationwide Digital Switchover in Nigeria within the first year of our administration, with the full complement of FreeTV made available to everybody within the first two years of our administration.
- **Retooling the Nigerian Communications Satellite Ltd (NigComSat):** The Nigerian Communications Satellite Ltd. (NigComSat) has great potential to aid development and transformation of the information and telecommunications sector. But the company has been mired by cronyism, lack of managerial competence, utter disregard for due process, and “massive corruption.” This has led to telecommunications companies’ preference for foreign satellite companies to meet their needs. We will ensure that, that only competent hands are saddled with the task of managing this important national infrastructure. We will also put in place regular training and retraining of technical personnel, and institute zero tolerance for corruption in the agency.
- **Big Data Management:** We will put in place General Data Protection Regulation to safeguard personal and industrial data. We will restructure the Nigeria Data Protection Bureau to ensure active involvement of end-users, industry and civil society in its management.



2.4 Agriculture and Food Sovereignty

Nigeria is a land of abundance, but Nigerians are hungry. Nigerian children are the fifth most stunted children in the world. But contrary to some economic policies, rapid industrialization of the agriculture sector and the turn to an industrialized food system will not only create additional stressors to the already precarious state of the environment, but it will also follow global trends that are decreasing biodiversity and increasing greenhouse emissions. Rather than follow the path of the West which has led to pandemics of obesity and food waste, we will seek alternative solutions that focus on food sovereignty and mitigating climate change through the existing army of over 70 million Nigerian small holder farmers who work and maintain the land. We will support and pursue a new pathway in line with the growing research and evidence base³ that modern agricultural practices are destroying the world. We will pursue a policy of support for small holder farmers and transform our food systems with regenerative approaches and the creation of a sustainable food system based on the culture and food needs of all Nigeria. Rather than depleting the environment, we will encourage practices that are protective and build climate resilience. Our programs are the following:

- **Support small-scale farmers:** Support the establishment and expansion of farming cooperatives towards enhancing sustainable food production, food sovereignty and agricultural markets, by pooling together resources. Small-scale farmers are central actors in boosting food production and preserving the environment while women are

also part of the engine room of small-scale farming, production and distribution. We will work to appropriately modernize agriculture while paying attention to sustainable farming and livestock rearing practices that protect the land and do not lead to soil degradation.

- **Towards Food sovereignty:** Protection of Nigerian agricultural produce and the expansion of consumption of local foods while protecting farmers and producers from low-cost foreign imports. We will pursue an import substitution plan which supports Nigerian farms and protects them from open markets. We will encourage the consumption of local produce to enhance the quality of health and wellbeing while providing support to local farmers. We will appropriately tax and regulate the entrance of imports that displace local agriculture. Millions of Nigerian children and adults are undernourished and malnourished, in a country that produces abundant food and has the capacity to produce more. Food is a right and a part of our cultural preservation.
- **Ending malnutrition through Project Feed and Nourish the Nation:** According to UNICEF, Nigeria has the second highest burden of stunted children in the world, with a national prevalence rate of 32 percent of children under five. An estimated 2 million children in Nigeria suffer from severe acute malnutrition (SAM), but only two out of every 10 children affected is currently reached with treatment. Seven percent of women of childbearing age also suffer from acute malnutrition.⁴ We will support and expand existing integrated management systems for preventing malnutrition and providing necessary nutrition for all Nigerian children.
- **Embracing agroecology and biodiversity for climate resistant agriculture:** We will create a resilient, culturally appropriate and resilient food system for Africa based on the research and policy



recommendations of the Alliance for African Food Sovereignty which outline how agroecology is a viable alternative to large scale farming that destroys the soil and environment, entrenches poverty, and is not resistance to climate change. We will embrace and approach to biodiversity in agricultural that builds on traditional and indigenous systems of farming that protect the land and provide sustainable options for the future.

- **Overhaul the agricultural sector development finance institutions:** We will ensure transparency in the operations of the Nigerian Agricultural Cooperative and Rural Development Bank, Nigerian Agricultural Insurance Corporation and the Bank of Agriculture, to ensure adequate funding of agricultural and agro-allied ventures. with the democratic involvement of Farmers' associations and cooperatives, as well as rural communities' associations, agricultural experts and anti-corruption, civil society organizations as stakeholders in the running of their affairs.
- **Strengthen agriculture extension services:** A virile agricultural sector relies on a network of strong extension services allied with agricultural educational institutions and targeted research institutions and organizations that develop advanced methods for cultivating crops and animals and bring such knowledge to the attention of farmers and other players in the agricultural sector. We will strengthen funding for agricultural research and extension support through existing agricultural research centers and agricultural departments in tertiary institutions. We will also extensively leverage technology to ensure that farmers receive timely and relevant information for enhancing crop production and output.
- **Create value addition platform for agricultural entrepreneurs:** We will provide training and access to start up funds for 1,000 agricultural entrepreneurs in each of Nigeria's 734 local government areas thereby creating 774,000 new agricultural jobs. We have projected that the training of these individuals will cost about N50,000 per person. They will also be paid N50, 000 per month for the first year after they graduate from the training course, while their businesses take off. These seed monies will be repaid by them from the proceeds of their endeavors.
- **Create a platform to facilitate market access for farmers:** We will enable the creation of supply and logistic networks that will ensure that farmers have access to local and foreign markets in a timely fashion. This will include the creation of marketing boards that will facilitate the establishment of trading networks and futures markets for agricultural produce in Nigeria.
- **Leverage infrastructural plan for a strong agricultural sector:** Our infrastructural plan is intended to support the emergence of a strong agricultural economy. New road

and rail networks will ease the movement of agricultural produce and stable power will allow the maintenance of cold chains that will minimize spoilage. Improving the cold chain and creating zonal processing centers.

- **Guarantee protection of local agriculture through fertilizers:** Access to fertilizers has become a politicized issue in Nigeria. We will work to remove every restriction to the free and unfettered access to fertilizer organic and inorganic fertilizer products in Nigeria.
- **Stop the dispossession of farmers:** We will immediately put an end to the dispossession of farmers by state and private actors, particularly peasant and small-scale farmers in rural areas. For those who have been so dispossessed, their lands will be returned to them. We will further encourage them to form farming cooperatives that will be supported with agricultural inputs and extension services, ensuring the protection of the land and sustainable practices that are climate aware and not harmful to the well-being of farmers.
- **Protect local farmers from predatory financing and aid schemes:** An AAC government will put a stop to the predatory financing and aid schemes that are typical with donor-led initiatives. We reject the colonization of our farms with patented/designer seeds which are used to kill off local options and create a perpetual dependency on foreign donors.



2.5 Entertainment and Tourism Sector

The media and entertainment sector has contributed significantly to the country's economic growth and employment of people in the 21st century, particularly in the last decade. Nollywood alone contributes 2.3% of the country's GDP, with more than 2,500 movies produced annually. This amounts to an average of \$600 million in revenue, with most of these receipts coming from the African diaspora, making it an important foreign exchange earner. The music industry has also expanded significantly. It generated \$26 million in 2014. This has increased to \$34 million by 2018 and is expected to rise further to \$44 million for 2023. Yet, it is still far from reaching its peak. This creative industry has blossomed due to the resourcefulness of young Nigerians and increasing use of new information and communication technologies to project their versatility. The federal government's intervention to support the flourishing of up-and-coming artistes and thus enhance the growth and development of the sector, has been at best lukewarm. The Creative Industry Financing Initiative (CIFI) set up by the Central Bank under the APC government is a top-to-bottom program ridden with inefficiency. The government has also failed to squarely address issues of critical concern to the sector like piracy. APC, like the PDP has also failed to deliver on creating an enabling environment for the industry, through such steps as passing the Motion Picture Practitioners Council of Nigeria (MOPICON) Bill after a decade of discussions on it in the National Assembly, with attempts to stultify such a Council with self-serving officials, instead of the film practitioners. Travel and tourism have equally contributed appreciably to national economic growth. Despite the substantial impact of the state of generalized insecurity in the country on the industry, it contributed 4.4% and 2.8% (i.e., \$11 billion) to GDP growth in 2019 and 2020 respectively. The industry also provides

employment for not less than 897,500 Nigerians. Government's failure to ensure the maintenance and rehabilitation of major tourist sites and poor policy implementation, shoddy health and other social amenities at tourist sites, inadequate collection and analysis of data, a crippled aviation sector, and the generally poor state of our national infrastructure are important problems hindering the travel and tourism sector which Nigerian governments have thus far failed to address. We will tackle all these headlong. For many Nigerians, sport is a way of life, which helps to unify our heterogeneous society. But our country's sports women and men have had to run on their own steam, with little or no tangible support from the government for the great strides many have made on the world stage. And the huge potential of sports as a business sector has been frittered away on the altar of lack of vision on the part of governments, including the sitting APC government. It cannot but be laughable that the contribution of sports to the national GDP in 2020 was just 0.005%. Our interventions in this sector will be:

- **Active involvement of practitioners in planning and decision-making:** We will organize a series of summits of the creative industry, sports sector, and tourism sector within the first six months of our coming to power to hear from the practitioners on the best way to help consolidate the growth and development of these sectors. We will prioritize the involvement of associations of active practitioners in the establishment of all decision-making bodies related to the media, entertainment, travel and tourism industry. They will thus have delegated authority from their associations/unions.
- **Protection of Intellectual Property Rights in the Creative Industry:** We will take concrete steps to strengthen enforcement and protection of intellectual property rights (IPR) in the creative industry, to ensure that our creative minds benefit from the originality of their work, and hard work, and are encouraged to do more. Thus, we will:
 - o Domesticate the Rome Convention for Performers, Producers of Phonograms and Broadcasting Organization which Nigeria has failed to integrate in its national laws, despite ratifying the treaty in 1963, and the Patent Cooperation Treaty which Nigeria ratified in 2005 but has not domesticated as well. This will support the enforcement of our artists and broadcasting organizations IPR both nationally and internationally, within the context of a globalized world.
 - o Review the Nigerian Copyright Act (2004) in light of the changing social and technological context of piracy over the last decade.
 - o Strengthen the Nigeria Copyright Commission (NCC) to tackle infringements on the IPR in the creative industry more effectively and organize mass public awareness campaigns on the dangers of piracy.
- **Policy support for developing the creative industry and sports:** We will create the necessary policy space to support the growth and development of the creative industry. Initiatives of veterans in the industry will be supported and we will also 30 enable the

fulfilment of the dreams of up-and-coming creative minds in the industry. Towards this, we will:

- Set up of creative villages/centers in collaboration with associations and unions of musicians, film makers, etc., and creative arts departments of tertiary schools. These villages/centers will be spread across the six geopolitical zones and we will run residency programs in these villages/centers.
- Establish sports villages in a similar manner, working with associations/athletes of footballers and athletes, and physical education departments. We will also establish sports academies which would include both formal education curriculum and rigorous training in different sports for the talented students of these academies.
- Support training academy initiatives of creative industry practitioners and sports experts. This will be achieved with fiscal measures such as tax breaks for a period of time to enable them to stabilize operations on time. We will also draw from the Brazilian model of a Sports Tax Incentive Law such that entities could make deductions from their income tax payments as verified deductions meant for supporting defined sports and sports training projects for a limited period of time.
- Overhaul the Creative Industry Financial Initiative of the Central Bank of Nigeria to make it more fit for purpose, both in terms of amounts loaned and process of recouping the loans



2.6 Financial Sector, Trade, Tax and Public Debt

A pertinent question that must arise for any serious industrialization plan is “how will it be funded?” And often, ideologues of the status quo do their best to try discredit revolutionary programs for social-economic transformation. Starting with assumptions that there is no money, especially in situations such that which the ruling elites have thrown Nigeria into, as a result of decades of corruption, mismanagement and financial recklessness of governments that have supposedly left the state broke. First, it must be clear that the revolutionary transformation of Nigeria to the benefit of its toiling masses, who are poor in a very rich country requires not just a new government, but indeed a new type of state. AAC stands boldly for building such a working people’s democratic developmental state. This comes with a different set of assumptions, which put people first before profit, without prejudice to the continued existence of a thriving private sector, which respects the new order. This will inform our policy on financial services. Second, the AAC government will not only serve the people, but it will also facilitate and promote the active participation of the people in all facets of social life as subjects and not as mere objects of policy. This will include domestic resource mobilization involving strengthened cooperatives and credit unions.

Third, our international trade and foreign investment policy, as well as debts, will put the Nigerian people first. We are not only the giant of Africa. With the large number of our population and its creative energies, we have a market that few serious investors will not take seriously. We will leverage on these to ensure that our terms are pivotal in the business relations that foreign capital enters into with us. Fourth, the low levels of industrialization, beneficiation of mineral materials and purchasing power of the vast majority of Nigerians are stumbling blocks to expanding our country’s financial resource base in the first place. These are

issues which our economic program will address squarely. Thus, in the mid-term to long-term, the steps that we will immediately take when we come to power will set a transformed base for an economic virtuous cycle that will ensure lasting prosperity for the people. Our agenda for growth and development is no doubt big and ambitious. But it is practical and achievable. For Nigeria to be set on the path to prosperity for the many and not just the few, we must make vital investments in our people and in infrastructure, with the people themselves at the heart of our actions as well as our aspirations. We will do things differently. Nigeria's total exports in 2021 was worth N18.91 trillion. Mineral fuels, including oil, alone amounted to 89/1% of total exports. And most of the top ten exports were primary products, such as cocoa, oil seeds, zinc, and aluminum. Manufactured products, including tobacco grossed a mere 0.2%. Meanwhile, the worth of imports was N39.75 trillion, leading to a trade deficit of N1.94 trillion. The main imports were machinery (including computers), vehicles, electrical machinery and related equipment, cereals, plastics, pharmaceuticals, sugar and sugar confectionery, and other chemical goods. A good number of these goods can be produced locally, with a radical government committed to the revolutionary industrialization and transformation of the country being in place. AAC is such a party. Super rich Nigerians and multinational corporations do not pay their fair share of taxes. Instead, they are further enriched through tax waivers. Aliko Dangote alone secured over N16 trillion in tax waivers between 2019 and 2021. This is almost equal to the worth of Nigeria's total export for 2021, and far more than the projected N10.74 trillion federal government revenue for the 2022 budget. We do not see any reasonable justification for this bleeding of resources that could have been used for expanding the country's industrial base, and provision of social services. We will combat corruption like no administration has ever done in the country before, because we represent a totally different approach to nation-building from the elite-serving past. But closing leakages of about \$9.5 billion annually [1] is not enough. We will reengineer the financial sector to support economic growth, development, and transformation. We will boost revenue from taxes by making the rich and corporations pay their fair share, whilst protecting the poor by avoiding regressive taxation. We will revolutionize our international trade, aligning it with our industrialization agenda. And we will redefine the bases, terms and use of debts that we incur.

Our solutions:

I. Financial sector

- **Support for real sector:** We will ensure strong support of the financial system for the real sector and develop policy positions to involve banking and non-banking financial institutions which include commercial banks, microfinance banks, developmental finance institutions, primary mortgage institutions, discount houses, insurance

companies, and pension funds, in this direction. An expansionary monetary policy will be utilized to stimulate local industrial growth, in the first term of our government.

- **Stamping out corporate cronyism:** We will stamp out corporate crony capitalism, such as situations where 20 individuals owe ailing banks N3.3 trillion and corruption such as situations where Polaris bank is about to be sold to a family member of the president for N40 billion after the Central Bank bailed it out to the tune of N1.2 trillion. We will tighten regulatory powers of the Nigeria Deposit Insurance Corporation (NDIC) and the Asset Management Corporation of Nigeria (AMCON), towards wiping out corporate cronyism and ensuring stability of the financial system. Trade unions in the financial sector and relevant civil society organizations with the required expertise will be included in the management of these institutions to safeguard their transparency. We will push for revocation of the independence of the Central Bank of Nigeria, whilst ensuring that no active member of any political party serves as its governor.
- **Coordination of Development Finance Institutions:** A new framework will be established for coordinated supervision of the Bank of Agriculture; Bank of Industry; Federal Mortgage Bank of Nigeria; Nigeria Export Bank and Infrastructure Bank, under the Development Bank of Nigeria, which shall be nationalized as a pivotal institution modeled along the lines of the Brazilian Banco Nacional de Desenvolvimento Econômico e Social (BNDES).
- **Strengthen Cooperatives and Credit Unions:** We will overhaul the National Cooperative Financing Agency of Nigeria (CFAN) to boost its capacity for grass root mobilization and expansion of cooperative groups nationwide. The renewed CFAN will be supported to facilitate financial linkages between the myriad of esusu projects which millions of Nigerians self-organize.
- **Pension funds:** Pension funds in Nigeria stood at \$33.4 billion in March 2022, representing 19% of the country's gross domestic product. We will leverage this for investment in the country's public infrastructural development. Trade unions and the Nigeria Union of Pensioners will be actively involved in the management of this process to ensure protection of the retirement savings and interests thereof, of Nigerian pensioners.
- **Nigeria Sovereign Wealth Fund:** Nigeria's sovereign wealth fund ranked the second worst in the world in 2019, in terms of its governance, transparency and size in relation to the country's GDP. The fund which had assets worth \$2.56 under its 33 management at the beginning of 2022 is managed by a Nigeria Sovereign Investment Authority, is governed by a council which includes state governors, and representatives of the private sector as well as representatives of Nigerian youths and academics who are chosen at

the discretion of the president. We will overhaul the SWF governance to enhance transparency and the democratic involvement of non-state actors, which will include trade unions in the sectors critical to infrastructural development. The framework of the fund's investment will equally be geared towards boosting our revolutionary social-economic transformation agenda.

III. International trade

- **Import substitution trade**

policy: We will develop an import substitution trade policy, aimed at supporting rapid domestic industrialization. We will stop the imports of goods which we can produce in Nigeria, or institute high tariffs on them, which will make “made in Nigeria” commodities



competitive with them, where the supply from the Nigerian industrial sector is not yet strong enough to meet domestic demand. Local industry will be promoted using requisite tariff and duties to ensure their access to semi-processed components. And we will support the development of local manufactures to be fit for export, deemphasizing the almost dominance of our primary products in our exports to the world. We will encourage the establishment of car assembly and production plants. These will include electric cars, which we will grant temporary tax breaks for accessing lithium. We will give consideration to trading partners, based on their respect for our choices, giving preference, where need be to newly industrialized countries in the Global South, who share our aspirations and appreciate our late industrialization concerns.

- **Reorganization of the Customs Service:** We will reorganize the Nigeria Customs Service (NCS) to fit in with our new international trade policy. We will institute a zero-tolerance level in the NCS, as our point of departure for its revolutionary transformation. We will enhance the use of technology to ensure the required efficiency and effectiveness of its service delivery. The Nigeria Integrated Customs Information System (NICIS) will be upgraded to promote transparency and accountability.
- **Review International Trade Policy:** We will carry out a comprehensive review of the country's international trade policy and review Bilateral Trade (Investment) Agreements with the view to ensuring strong linkages between trade and investment on one hand and the construction of value-added chain to our industrial strategy. We will

prioritize expanding our trading base and partners with countries in Africa and the Global South. This will be without prejudice to building on trading with Global South countries that are ready to reverse centuries of unfair terms and conditions of trade. We will work assiduously with other countries in the Global South to democratize the processes of decision-making in the World Trade Organization and call for a reopening of the Doha development round of talks, to promote trade as a genuine instrument for the development of all countries and not a few powerful ones, at the expense of the others.

III. Taxation

- Review and cancellation of tax incentives:** Several multinational corporations are granted tax incentives, despite the proven evidence that these are generally considered to be low on the priority list of international investment decisions. No less than \$2.9 billion is lost every year as revenue due to tax waivers granted to multinational corporations by the government. A few well-connected individuals equally benefit from indefensible tax breaks, such as Aliko Dangote who enjoyed tax breaks of up to N6 trillion between 2019 and 2021. We will carry out a comprehensive and systematic review of tax incentives for domestic industrialists and multinational corporations. Only in instances clearly spelt out in our eco-developmental social and economic programs will tax breaks of any sort be allowed. And these will be temporary with clearly defined time limits.
- Upward Review of Personal Income Tax for the rich:** The Personal Income Tax (PIT) in Nigeria is skewed in the favor of the super-rich few. The highest PIT rate is 24%, for anybody who earns N3.2 million and above. The total tax revenue in Nigeria was just N7 trillion, with 41 million registered taxpayers in 2020. The same year, South Africa generated N13 trillion in tax from 21 million taxpayers. More significantly, out of this amount N10.9 trillion was generated from only the top 6.4 million taxpayers in the country. This is because they pay upwards of 45% PIT rate. We will thus deepen the progressive taxation system in Nigeria to peak at 45% for the super-rich, who must be made to pay their fair share for the revolutionary transformation of Nigeria.
- Review of corporate income tax:** The corporate income tax rates in Nigeria currently stands at 0% for small companies with gross turnover of N25 million or less, 20% for medium companies (with gross turnover of between N25 million and N100 million) and 30% for large companies (with gross turnover greater than N100 million). We will review the tax regime to 2.5% for small companies; 25% for medium companies and 35% for large companies.

- Tax Evasion and Tax Avoidance:** Nigeria lost an estimated N5.4 trillion to tax evasion by multinational corporations between 2007 and 2017, according to the Federal Internal Revenue Service (FIRS). Nigeria thus accounted for 30.5% of the total amount lost to Illicit Financial Flows in Africa. This is unacceptable. Tax evasion and tax avoidance is also not the sole preserve of multinational corporations. According to Oxfam, about 30% of companies in the country are involved in tax evasion. And 25% of all registered do not pay tax at all. It is poor people and small companies that bear the burden of taxation. We will take wage an all-out battle against tax evasion and tax avoidance as a critical element of our domestic resource mobilization strategy. Towards this, we will put in place stiff anti-corruption policies; restructure the FIRS to enhance its effectiveness, massively raise behavioral change awareness; and review our tax policy to address loopholes. We will also review the country's Double Taxation Treaty Framework and every Double Taxation Agreement entered into by preceding governments to stop tax base erosion and profit shifting by multinational corporations.

IV. Public Debt

Sovereign states incur public debt from both external and domestic sources to bridge the gaps between governments' revenues and expenditures, and this has become generalized in capitalist social formations. There are just a handful of countries in the world that are not indebted. Where such sovereign debts are prudently used for developing the productive base and infrastructure of a country, they could contribute significantly to economic growth and development. However, unsustainable debts become burdens on countries social and economic debt, and could lead to debt distress, leaving a country unable to meet up with its financial obligations, including restructuring of its debt. The debt situation of Nigeria has become quite worrisome. The country's public debt has increased by over 230% under the current administration. From N12.6 trillion when it came to power, it rose to N41.6 trillion by the first quarter of 2021. According to the Debt Management Office, it had risen to N42.8 trillion by June 2022. And the country's debt service to revenue ratio stood at 118.9%, making it the worst case in the entire world. Sluggish GDP growth of 3.5% worsens this precarious situation. The Federal Government defends this abysmal situation with the argument that public debt-to-GDP ratio, at 23.06% is still below the country's self-imposed limit of 40% and way below the 77% tipping point for significant economic slowdown, drawing from the conventional wisdom of the World Bank. Their apologists point to South Africa, which has a debt-to-GDP ratio of 69% or Ghana at 78%. They conveniently forget to add that the government revenues gulped by debt servicing is far less in both countries (i.e., 20% and 46% respectively). The Strategic Growth Revenue Initiatives launched by the government in 2020 have been halfhearted with little sign that these will lead to growing the economy. Despite claims of blocking leakages in the national budget,

trillions of naira that could have been used for developmental purposes, beyond debts, continue to find their ways into the pockets of those in power. The ruling elite's irresponsible public financial management, poor strategic decisions on how to best address growing public debt and an underdeveloped production base reinforce each other in saddling Nigerians, including generations yet unborn, with a debt burden that is not justifiable.

To tackle this problem head-on:

- We will review all the debts that Nigeria is alleged to owe. We will propose rescheduling of the servicing of debts that are legitimate, in ways that will not undermine our industrial development. We will not pay odious debts and will mount an international campaign for the cancellation of such debts, allegedly owed by developing countries.
- We will make the outgoing government account for outstanding public debt and international reserve assets, including the \$3.5 billion Special Drawing Right 36 allocations to the country in 2021, for mitigation of the pandemic associated economic crisis.
- We will access the G20 Common Framework for Debt Treatments and request for a deep debt restructuring that will entail a reduction in the net present value of our established debts.
- We will strictly implement the provision of Section 42(1) of the Fiscal Responsibility Act, 2007, which the Federal Government has continually breached, which empowers the President to “set overall limits for the amounts of consolidated debt of the three tiers of government” subject to approval of the National Assembly.
- We will pursue a Debt Recovery Management strategy which identifies and blocks channels of illicit financial flows and is aligned with our broader tax policy.
- We will make debt servicing transparent, with the formulation of a new Debt Servicing Strategy which includes relevant CSOs and patriotic financial experts in the decision-making process guiding Nigeria's debt management.
- We will make the linkages between all incurred public debt, and the country's social-economic development crystal clear, with open Freedom of Information access to all necessary documentation.



PILLAR THREE

SOCIAL POLICY FOR A JUST SOCIETY

HEALTH CARE
ACCESSIBLE, AFFORDABLE
AND HOLISTIC HEALTHCARE
FOR ALL NIGERIANS

EDUCATION
RE-ENGINEERING THE
EDUCATION SECTOR
FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

WOMEN'S LIBERATION
YOUTH DEVELOPMENT

DIGNITY OF LABOUR
AND SOCIAL PROTECTION
FOR WORKERS

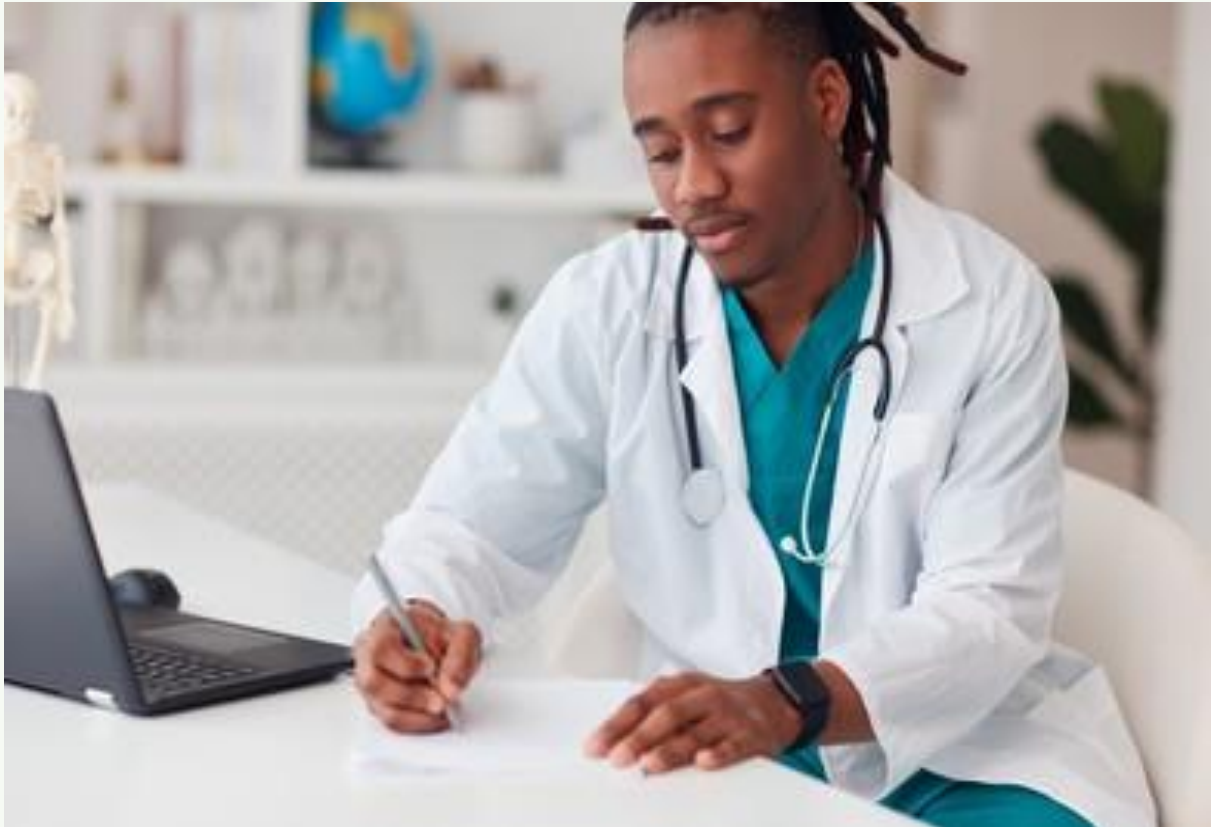
HOUSING

THE CLIMATE EMERGENCY
AND ECO-SOCIAL JUSTICE

It is at the heart of our eco-socialist welfare program to ensure the all-round social wellbeing and dignity of all Nigerians through rescuing the social sector from its current state of decay and planning cost efficient and high-quality social infrastructure that will sustain the people for generations to come.

The poor people in Nigeria do not enjoy basic social, economic and cultural rights such as the right to education, the right to health, the right to housing, the right to water and access to basic facilities and the right to a dignified living. This is despite the fact that the Nigerian state has ratified several international agreements which uphold these rights, which are equally spelt out in Chapter Two of Decree No 24 (i.e., the 199 “Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria”). We can never have a society that is based on justice without ensuring the universal enjoyment of these democratic rights. Education, health, and labor rights are the foundation for a society and a country where one’s income or inheritance does not determine their position in life or their future prospects. According to the Nigeria Bureau of Statistics, more than 91 million people currently live below the poverty line. And the number is expected to grow, if decisive action is not taken now. It is clear that economic growth has not been beneficial to the majority of Nigerians, and that there needs to be dramatic changes in social policy to lift us out of the present mire. Nigeria ranks 150 of 157 countries in the World Bank's Human Capital index. High levels of economic inequality and lack of social infrastructure leave people vulnerable and create an unstable society that is unable to deal with the shocks of globalization. The AAC’s policy thrust for the social sector relies on building strong institutions and refashioning our systems of accountability within the public sector. Research shows that public institutions and universal access to quality public services are key to building a strong democracy and a path towards inclusive national development. Policies that target poverty have been ineffective because they do not target system change that needs to take place to ensure equity for ALL Nigerians through robust public institutions that can foster active and democratic citizenship, justice, and a safe and healthy Nigeria for ALL.

Our social policy will be geared towards instituting radical reforms that will address social inequality, exclusion and vulnerabilities, wipe out poverty, redistribute wealth and enhance equal opportunities.



3.1 Healthcare: Accessible, affordable and holistic healthcare for all Nigerians

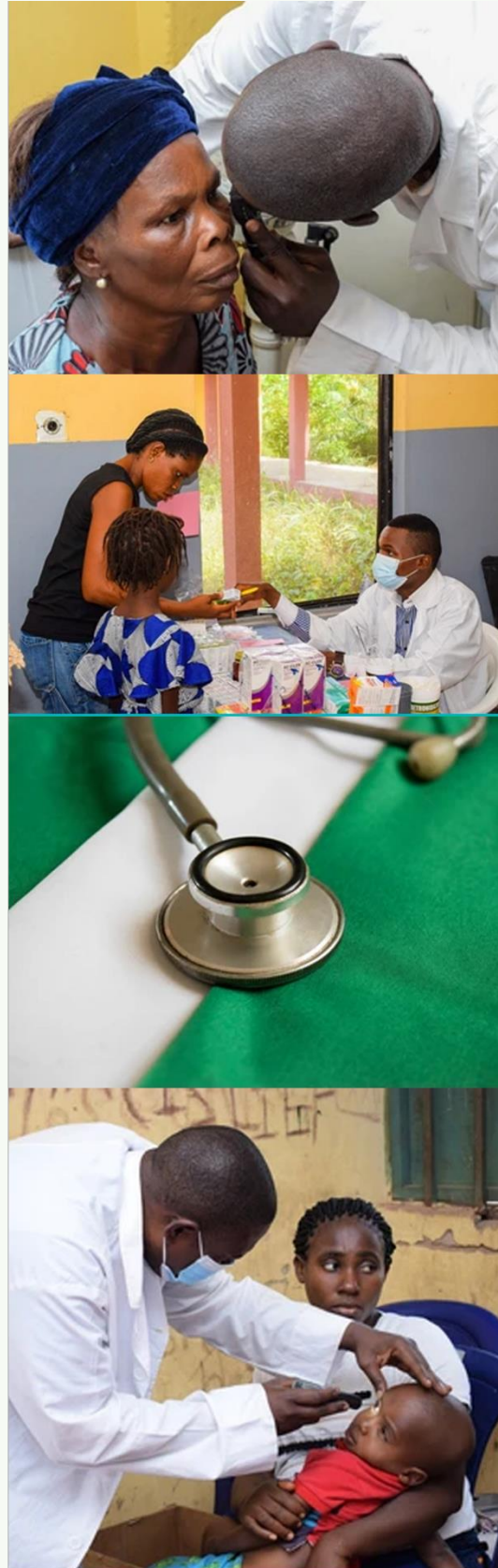
Nigeria has only 3.8 doctors per 10,000 people and would need an additional 200,000 doctors to meet the global recommended ratio of the United Nations for 1 doctor per every 1000 people. Despite this acute need, every year thousands of Nigerian doctors and health care workers leave the country to work abroad. For its population of over 200 million, Nigeria has only 24,000 hospitals and over 30,000 primary health care centers, of which only 20 percent are actively and adequately functional. While there are pockets of innovation and brilliance, the elites who have run Nigeria for six decades have failed to deliver a healthcare system that truly serves the people, due to poor funding and bad governance. The elites, including elected leaders, do not even entrust their own health and well-being to the Nigerian healthcare system. In May 2022, the Minister of Information, Alhaji Lai Mohammed informed that upwards of \$1.6 billion is spent on medical tourism outside Nigeria, every year. Meanwhile, the budgetary allocation for health was equivalent to \$1.06 billion. Health is wealth. Health is strength. Healthy workers are more productive workers. Healthy students are better learners. Healthy citizens live longer and contribute more to their societies. The current decay of our health system is an enabler of poverty.

To address the chronic inadequacy of the healthcare system, we propose the following programs:

- **Special Task Force on Comprehensive Primary Healthcare:** We will create a special joint federal and state task force to create short-term and long-term plans for the health care sector and to address the current crisis with a collective, coordinated approach. The task force will be made up of all unions in the health care sector, including medical doctors, nurses, health technologists, pharmaceutical workers, traditional medical practitioners, midwives, and public health workers.
- **Health Care Workers Support and Training Scheme:** We will incentivize healthcare workers to remain in the country: Nigeria is currently losing workers daily to the international healthcare workforce. We will create incentives by increasing salaries and enhancing hazard allowances for all healthcare workers working in difficult conditions, including crowded urban hospitals and rural areas. We will create incentives such as housing and inflation supplements to entice workers to remain in the country. We will introduce a Health Care Workers Support Scheme which includes a package to support family and personal welfare and provides cooperative savings schemes as well as other collective approaches to helping health care and front-line workers stay on the job. We will work with unions to ensure the welfare of all healthcare workers. We will provide immediate training for community health extension workers to address gaps in vaccine coverage and primary care.
- **Rehabilitation and Expansion of Primary Healthcare Centers:** The distribution of, and access to, healthcare resources is lopsided. The few doctors, nurses, health technologists, health technicians, and medical resources that we have are concentrated in urban areas. PHCs, where most of our rural populations access their health care, tend to be grossly underserved and under-resourced. As a matter of national urgency, our government will immediately deploy 10,000 new primary healthcare workers across Nigeria's 774 local government areas. We will be exploring the use of all societal institutions to host these centers. We will close the gap in the quality of healthcare: Currently, the Federal Government has jurisdiction over the tertiary healthcare centers, expending a significant portion of the national health budget on a few institutions and centers. Individual states administer the balance of the funding for healthcare, in widely varying forms, causing a wide variation in the quality of care. We will set minimum resource standards at the state and local levels and ensure that these requirements are used as a basis for deploying resources and benchmarking performance across the entire sector. The PHCs should be the place to access all basic healthcare needs. Unfortunately, these centers are under-resourced and do not have even the most basic

amenities for basic healthcare including drugs and basic equipment. As a result, secondary and tertiary hospitals are burdened by uncomplicated ailments which should be managed in a robust primary care system. The lack of effective Primary care further complicates the disease profile as late presentation is the norm. We will urgently review the Family Health curriculum and set minimum certification requirements that will ensure that no private clinic should be providing primary care without their personnel being rigorously trained first.

- Accreditation and Regulation of Healthcare Facilities:** Currently, the Federal Government has jurisdiction over the tertiary health care centers, expending a significant portion of the national health budget on a few institutions and centers. Individual states administer the balance of the funding for healthcare, in widely varying forms, causing a wide variation in the quality of care. We will set minimum resource standards at the state and local levels and ensure that these requirements are used as a basis for deploying resources and benchmarking performance across the entire sector. Additionally, we will address issues related to accreditation of all healthcare facilities, and regulation of private healthcare delivery.
- Retraining and recertification of Medical and Health Professionals:** We will enhance the quality of medical and health training with a goal to ensure high quality delivery. We will also bring the facilities of our teaching hospitals up to international standards. We will ensure that high minimum



health delivery standards are established, and that training covers functional medical and health skills and ethical concerns.

- **Prioritize Mental Health and Psychosocial Wellbeing:** The socioeconomic and environmental crises in Nigeria is driving a mental health pandemic. The psychosocial wellbeing and mental health of Nigerians have not been prioritized by previous governments. The lack of priority for mental health therapy has left millions of Nigerians in states of despair, contributing to increasing spread of depression, and rise in suicide. We will prioritize the mental health and psychosocial wellbeing of Nigerians with measures that appreciate and address the underlying social, economic and biomedical causes. Due to stigma and societal lack of understanding of mental health as an illness, mental health is not accorded the priority it deserves. We will recruit, train and support mental health workers including psychologists, psychiatrists, social workers and counsellors. We will update our psychiatric hospitals and curricula of psychiatry and psychology departments in tertiary institutions. We will ensure that Community Health Workers receive training in basic mental healthcare delivery, including the early detection of mental health conditions and organizing public awareness campaigns to encourage people to seek and receive mental health care.
- **Prioritize wellness, recreation and play:** As the Nigerian economy gets increasingly sucked into globalization, the factors affecting health and well-being are also evolving. Stress related illnesses are on the rise, families are being broken and depression and suicide is creeping in as well as alcoholism, and drug abuse, especially 40 among youths. Creating programs for wellness and well-being as well as sites for recreation and well-being is an essential part of public health infrastructure. We will develop a national system for promoting mental health and psychosocial wellbeing by investing in wellness programs, living wages, work-life balance and creating options for commuters such as a four-day work week. We will explore reformulating labor laws to ensure private corporations prioritize the wellness of their employees. In addition, public health is linked to environmental health and the sectors of the economy that focus on greenways, pools, forests, playgrounds, football fields and recreation.
- **Focus on public health and early detection of terminal diseases:** Nigeria is dealing with multiple pandemics while fighting both infectious and noncommunicable diseases. Malaria still kills more than 200,000 people every year, while cancer is a growing danger, with rates rising even as we see long-term illnesses such as diabetes increasing at alarming rates. The continued development of our national public health system must accompany the focus on prevention and primary health care. We will prioritize and fund our public health systems and ensure early detection of disease including the availability

of regular checkups and access to life saving detection technology is available to all Nigerians.

- **Achieving Universal Healthcare:** We aim to achieve universal healthcare. Towards this, we will enroll at least 50% of Nigerians in the NHIS by 2030 in line with Target 3.8 of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). This requires going beyond the pace that the current and past governments have grown health care access in Nigeria. Currently, barely 13.5 million Nigerians are covered by health insurance in one form or the other. About 7 million of these are people that are covered through Federal and State health insurance schemes for civil servants and their families, while the balance is mostly based on individual and private sector driven enrollments. Private, out-of-pocket health spending accounts for 74 percent of all health expenditure in Nigeria, sometimes sending families into poverty. Social health insurance is critical to shield families from catastrophic health expenditure, while also promoting health care access. Health Insurance allows individuals to pay some amounts of money into the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS) with the potential to access up to 10-25 times the amounts that are paid as fees in medical care and access costs.
 - **Reform the National Health Insurance Scheme:** The National Health Insurance scheme, as presently structured and run, is not fit for purpose. Working with all stakeholders in the healthcare sector, we will institute urgent reforms that will assure high-quality access to enrollees and ensure that providers are fairly rewarded for all services rendered. The NHIS currently does not promote cross-subsidization, which could enable poorer people to access required but costly medical and surgical procedures. We will thus reform the NHIS, to ensure risk equalization that will make it possible for every Nigerian to access quality healthcare services.
 - **Invest in research, data management, technology and innovation:** Nigeria is data poor, and this is partly due to the use of the old system of paper records across most government health institutions. We will digitize health records and make all health institutions paper-free by 2027. All participants in the NHIS Will be required and trained to utilize electronic health management systems. We will also pursue telemedicine and mobile solutions for healthcare delivery as well as the training and mobilization of community healthcare workers, as successfully utilized in other parts of the world. Funding will be increased for research and the capacity of universities and research institutes expanded to speed up research and innovation on preventable diseases, infectious diseases, and noncommunicable diseases.



- **Research, development and Investment in traditional (ethno-medicine):** We will develop our capacity for pharmacology, train and develop self-sufficiency in basic pharmacology and pharmaceuticals. This will entail the inclusion and development of African traditional medicine in the curricula of selected medical and health colleges as a pilot project We will also support research to enhance and expand access and professionalization of alternative and complementary medicine, as well as support local development of pharmacological products.

- **Special services for the most vulnerable:** Nigeria continue to have unacceptably high levels of poor maternal health outcomes, and high infant and child mortality rates. There is an urgent need to improve maternal health care as well as Infant and child mortality rates. Because a significant amount of maternal health care delivery occurs at the PHC level, a significant effort will be expended by our government towards providing robust training at the PHC level to shore up the capabilities and skills of our front-line healthcare workers.

- **Child health program:** A comprehensive child health program will be offered to every child and every child will be registered at birth while other children will be traced and receive their card through schools, community centers and religious institutions. The child health care program will include vaccinations, wellness checks including checks for eye health, hearing, dental and learning and cognitive disabilities. The child health program will cover all children under the age of 18. A critical part of this is the expansion of the birth registry, is to ensure that

every birth is documented as well as enrolled in the Child Health program, thus working to ensure higher vaccination rates as well other preventative health measure including

adolescent child healthcare which focus on prevention of STDs, reduction of early pregnancies and mental and physical health for teenagers. Child health programs will work through a multifaceted approach with both the PHC and the school system playing a coordinated role to target healthy living at an early age which can be sustained through adult life. Early nutrition will also be a key part of the child health program.

- **Maternal health program:** We will rapidly address maternal and child mortality. A significant amount of maternal health care delivery occurs at the PHC level, a significant effort will be expended by our government towards providing robust training at the PHC level to shore up the capabilities and skills of our front-line healthcare workers. This will include increasing the recruitment and training of skilled midwives, including traditional birth attendants and the introduction of midwife home visits in rural areas to ensure adequate prenatal care. In addition, we will include a rapid referral system where potentially complicated cases are referred on to tertiary care in hospitals. This differentiation will ensure uncomplicated pregnancies are dealt with at the PHC level and free up space and availability for complicated pregnancies at state and federal hospitals. In addition, community health workers will work through an outreach program to visit and follow up on children up to the age of 5 to reduce infant and child mortality through access to immunizations.
- **Elderly care:** The elderly in Nigeria have relied on support from the family, as part of our cultural values. While these values of the community are important and will continue to be defended in the African spirit of ubuntu, we appreciate the fact that the fast-paced nature of work and social life in the 21st century is quickly eroding some elements of the social structure that supported younger members of families in fully bearing responsibility for the care of their aged family members. The present government recently passed the National Citizens Center Act 2017 to address these eroding support structures, but this Act has only entrenched bureaucracy without addressing the problem. The AAC government will review the 'National Policy on Ageing for Older Persons in Nigeria' towards enhancing the physical, mental and emotional health of our senior citizens. We will train social workers to provide quality care to elderly people. We will revamp the National Pensions Commission, and work towards the payment of all pensions while encouraging and supporting states to pay all backlog in pensions. We will compensate families whose loved ones have died while awaiting pension.

- **Sexual Reproductive health and rights (SRHR) and Gender Based Violence:**

We will take immediate measures to ensure that Nigeria complies with international and human rights obligations in the provision of access to maternal health care services, abortion, and other reproductive health services, with particular emphasis on conflict zones. Nigerian women and girls are particularly subject to sexual and gender-based violence including rape, sex trafficking, and forced marriage, and forced and



unintended pregnancy. We will work towards the full realization of the United Nations Convention on Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) through the creation of a special policy arm within the National Human Rights Commission for the protection and promotion of the rights of women and girls. Furthermore, we will work to increase family planning services provision through the Primary Health Care system from the current 20-25 percent to 75 percent of MCH facilities by 2025. We will ensure the distribution of free contraceptives and menstrual pads through PHCs, schools, and faith-based institutions. In addition, we will increase the support to Nigerian women led NGOS and organizations who have led the cause for women's rights over several decades to ensure they continue to play an active role in advocating for women's rights through relevant institutional support.

- **Persons with disabilities and special needs:** We will work towards ensuring the implementation and domestication across the states of the Discrimination Against Persons with Disabilities Act of 2018 and providing policy implementation support to ensure that the 25 million Nigerians living with disabilities have access to healthcare, housing, education and work to end the stigma and discrimination of peoples with disabilities. We will seek to end all forms of street begging for people with disabilities by creating free and accessible social housing, healthcare, and vocational training programs to support people living with disabilities. We will ensure that all new public buildings are equipped to ensure access for people with disabilities and special needs by 2027.

- **Water, sanitation, and hygiene:**

- Update and expand the existing water supply system: In our first four years, we aim to provide drinking water to an additional 30 percent Of Nigerians, and sewage treatment to 20 percent of Nigerians. At an assumed per capita water usage rate of about 40 gallons per day, we estimate that 4,347 million gallons per day of sewage capacity and 2,021 million gallons per day of drinking water capacity would be required.
- Creating closed sewage and energy efficient toilets: No modern city can function with open gutters and lack of infrastructure for sewage and waste management. This not only causes disease but hurts the environment. We will create closed gutters and sewage systems in all major cities and towns.



3.2. Education: Re-engineering the education sector for the 21st Century

Nigeria's educational system is in a state of total collapse. Public schools have been diminished and many of our universities and tertiary institutions are places where functional illiterates are trained. Nigeria has over 20 million children out of school according to a 2022 report from UNICEF. Nigeria's once illustrious and accomplished public school system is now a shadow of its former self. Schools are grossly underfunded. Whatever little funding exists is very often not judiciously utilized.

Enrollment rates at the primary school level remain relatively low at about 64 percent compared to a global average of about 89 percent. The youth literacy rate in Nigeria continues to be low and shows a disturbing gender trend with about 76 percent for males and 58 per cent for females.

Nigeria continues to rank poorly on most metrics that track progress within the education sector. According to UNESCO, over 20 million of Nigeria's children are out of school. Schools remain terribly under-resourced, and the resulting effect has been a worsening of educational outcomes at all levels.

Vocational schools have all but disappeared. And it is increasingly the case that businesses that are seeking solid technical skills will have to look beyond Nigeria to neighboring countries for decently skilled technical labor.

At the tertiary level, the quality of education which graduates passed through is unacceptably poor, because the schools lack much needed equipment; current academic literature, including access to journals; and materials such as reagents for science students.

In several states, tertiary institutions have been closed for extended periods of time, due to funding issues. The lack of resources and the incessant closures have taken a toll. Far too many students graduate without being equipped as they should, to make meaningful contributions in workplaces. Education cannot be an afterthought. It cannot be an item that is funded out of convenience. Extended tertiary school closures and the rampant diversion of funding from schools to other areas during budgetary shortfalls, cannot be allowed to continue in a nation that is serious about development.

The goal of schooling must change to be transformative and collective. Nigerians are leaving school without requisite skills, adequate knowledge or socially critical perspective. It is our assertion that they need both skills and knowledge, for the critical thinking needed for a progressive national reorientation. Focusing on skills only does not take into account the changing society and rapid evolution of what the world of work requires of individuals which will quickly render many job-specific skills irrelevant. Similarly, without education helping to equip youths with the tools of critical thinking, we will not get to build the new, liberated nation we aim to build.

All the children must be educated. There is a clear correlation between the opportunities that are available to people to realize their full potential and their educational exposure and 44 attainments. We are concerned that in the north, millions of children, particularly the almajiri, are shut out of the national education system. If this is allowed to continue, we would have disadvantaged large numbers of children from having a decent chance at being equipped for a better life in the Nigeria of the future. This will lead to dire consequences for them and for our nation.

We stand against the privatization of education. Every Nigerian citizen, irrespective of social status will be able to access quality public education under an AAC government.

Our proposals to re-engineer the education sector are the following:

- **State of Emergency and Education Rescue Plan:** In the first 100 days of office, we will declare a state of emergency in the education sector and call for a united plan of action to rescue Nigerian education from its current state of crisis. Subsequently, we will convene state and national stakeholders' meetings to create a rescue plan with all relevant stakeholders including parents, teachers, lecturers, admin staff, students, and community members to rescue education and finalize a four-year plan for the revival of the education sector at local, state and federal levels.

- Strengthen Academic and Non-academic Staff Unions at all levels:** We believe that substantial investment needs to be made to address the deficiencies in teaching, learning, and research. We are committed to funding public education at all levels, to halt the crisis in the sector, and we will demonstrate good faith in relations with the unions, as the first condition to prevent industrial actions, and work closely with them to ensure our institutions stay open and that the needs of teachers and faculty members are met. In the immediate term, we will encourage the restoration and sustenance of democratic processes within all education unions, including student unions. Independent students' unionism will be restored and reinforced in every tertiary institution, and student representatives' councils put in place in senior high schools. A national panel made up of representatives of our government, schools' managements, students, lecturers and relevant civil society organizations will be constituted to look into cases of victimization of students' leaders. It shall have the power to recommend reinstatements, rehabilitation and compensation as it deems fit on a case-by-case basis to the AAC government. We will also encourage the return of students' representative organs to secondary schools. We will create the right atmosphere for independent unionism of teachers and non-teaching staff at each level of the education system and establish a National Joint Industrial Council for the sector, which will facilitate collective bargaining processes.
- Diaspora visiting faculty and student teaching program:** We will immediately implement a Diaspora visiting faculty program, to supplement and provide support to faculty, including teaching agreements for summer employment for qualified graduate students from universities across the world to teach. We will invite qualified undergraduate and graduate students to provide summer schools to ensure all students in primary and secondary school are brought up to the reading level at their grade level, and for students who have failed national and regional exams including WAEC, NECO and GCE. We will provide incentives for Nigerians and friends of the Nigerian people in the diaspora who want to contribute to strengthening higher education in the country, to do so, as visiting faculty and graduate students.
- Teacher welfare, re-training, and professional development:** Due to the collapse of education at all levels, many teachers are not adequately qualified. We will provide extensive support to our existing teachers by retraining and providing continuous professional development for them. We will conduct an assessment of all teachers across the country and provide a recertification pipeline where needed. We will institute continuous professional development through colleges of education which are required

for teachers on an annual basis. We will also institute pedagogical days once every six weeks for teachers to appropriately plan their curriculum.

- **Special Education (SPEED) schools and Community Outreach Workers for Out-Of-School Children:** We will provide an emergency back to school program to get all out-of-school children back to the classroom. We will work with traditional and religious leaders across the country and create school-based management committees who will make immediate assessments and work with their communities to bring all children back to school. We will institute education outreach workers to each ward to ensure full enrollment of all children within those wards: we will provide families with vulnerable children support grants to enable families to start or revive their small businesses and provide basic needs for children to go to school. We will provide speed schools to bring all students up to grade level within four years.
- **Bottom-up Participation in Education Reform:** We will work immediately to restore the autonomy of higher education institutions at the state and federal level, while increasing transparency and accountability of all administrative systems within these institutions. We will democratize the administration of tertiary institutions by ensuring all categories of communities in such institutions (i.e., academics, non-academic staff & students) have a say in the process of determining school heads. This practice is already in place in other Global South countries, so we will draw lessons from their experiences in implementing these reforms. We will also restore the autonomy and decision-making of junior and secondary schools as well as technical and vocational colleges.
- **Curriculum reforms for emancipatory education for the 21st century:** We will review school curricula with the view to building critically minded citizens with values of a new society based on social justice, and also equipping them for innovation and competence at work. While focusing on the need for innovation in technology and marrying curriculum reforms towards development planning and national unification, we will at the same time embrace liberal arts, interdisciplinarity, and the social sciences as the heart of emancipatory education. We will end punitive practices and corporal punishment in schools and make schools centers for safety and creativity, the living soul of national rejuvenation, and our sustainable modernization project.
- **Sector by sector rescue plans:**
 - **Early childhood education (ECE) (0-5 years):** Parents are essential to child development, and their roles in early childhood upbringing are essential. Parents should be supported in their quest to raise their children with adequate resources to enable them to make the best decisions for their wards. We will institute one year of paid parental leave, which can be shared between the

parents, to enable adequate care for their children. All private sector companies will be required to conform to this policy. We will introduce a supplementary childcare program to supplement private and community providers of early childcare from ages 0 to 5. We will provide supplements to reduce the cost of early childcare to the parents and ensure the standardization and regular monitoring of all creches and early child development centers. We will also provide supplements for home-based childcare, where community members and parents can open their homes for childcare to 5-8 children and create a safe and warm environment for children in the community. We will also expand childcare creches to marketplaces and other community sites of non-formal labor, in order to ensure children are safe and cared for by community members in farms, markets, and other sites and to ensure that women can access work while caring for their children.

- **Re-evaluation of Basic and Secondary Education:** We will provide high quality, free education from age 5-18 from kindergarten through the end of secondary school. We will continue to build on the basic education model which goes up to the end of junior secondary school to ensure that schools are high quality, teachers are well trained and well paid, class sizes are reduced to no more than 30 children per class, all classes have desks, chairs and basic equipment, and all schools have adequate toilet facilities and water supply. We will create a Solar for Schools program to ensure that every school has electricity through a hybrid of solar and wind power as well as energy powered playgrounds and waste to energy facilities. Each school will also have a school farm that grows healthy and organic food and enhances the school feeding program, which will be implemented and supported by the community. We will also ensure safe schools including the adoption of community-based mechanisms to enhance early warning systems and community-based school safety programs. We will work to reopen the thousands of closed schools in the North due to constant conflict. We will work to ensure that all senior secondary schools are completely free, that there are no fees associated with secondary schools, and that all secondary schools are properly equipped with technology and broadband high-fiber networks. We also recognize that there is a need to fully evaluate the 9-3-4 system and its usefulness to students and for national development. We will conduct a national assessment and create a new development plan for education to meet with the SDGS and national targets. One key area to address is the current curriculum and the usefulness of all subjects,

the directing of all students towards higher education, and the inclusion of language, history and culture in the curriculums as well as technical and vocational education and ICT education. We will adequately fund and ensure free secondary schools and free examinations for all students including free WAEC and NECO exams.

○ **Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET):**

Restore vocational training and instructional institutions to provide the required technical skills to grow our economy as well as to offer a viable alternative career path for young people. Nigeria has 171 technical colleges, 235 vocational educational institutions, 99 monotechnics, and 123 polytechnics, yet has less than 20,000 teachers. Of these, only 4000 are women. In addition, TVET is often seen as an inferior field that is thus not adequately funded and receives far less attention than universities and secondary schools. We will work to uplift and upgrade all our TVET institutions and standardize and promote professional certifications and their credibility. We will strengthen and build the capacity of the National Board for Technical Education (NBTE) and ensure democracy within TVET institutions. We will improve the quality of TVET by increasing funding. We will enhance the curriculum and the quality of teaching for lower vocational courses in secondary school, and courses for National Vocational Certificate, Trade



National Business Certificate programs at the upper secondary level. We will strengthen and adequately fund the National Commission for Mass Literacy, Adult and Non-Formal Education (NMEC), and National Directorate of Employment (NDE) and all their state apparatuses. We will source for financing multiple pots. We will strengthen relationships between training and practical experiences of students, creating a robust evaluation and feedback program to ensure efficiency and best practices. We will also strengthen teacher training of TVET teachers through adequate funding from Federal Colleges of Education (Technical).

- **Tertiary Education:** We will update all institutions of higher education, including the guarantee of high-speed internet on all campuses, the provision of water and solar power, and the updating of hostels and student facilities to international standards. Rather than creating new institutions, we will strengthen current institutions and update their systems to ensure efficiency and accountability in all systems, including learning, administration and student life. Within three years, we will update all campus facilities, including the use of paid labor of students through a work-study program. We will work with institutions to create 5- and 10-year plans for restructuring tertiary education including revision of curriculum, admissions processes, and aligning tertiary education with 21st century best practices. We will end tuition charges for tertiary education and create FREE tertiary education in universities, polytechnics and colleges of education. We will do this by increasing the education tax fund on all businesses and multinational corporations and by overhauling the TETFUND to increase transparency and accountability. We will actively expand existing institutions by creating additional campuses for state and federal institutions to meet the high demands for higher education in the state. We will also expand the capacity of polytechnics and colleges of education. We will expand admission processes to go beyond JAMB and UTME and to be based on holistic accounts of a student's secondary education. We will create partnerships in the Global South and Global North to expand our research capacity. We will work towards restoring a uniform and regularized school calendar by removing all backlog enrollments by 2025.
- **Adult education, family literacy, and remedial education:** We will revamp the National Commission for Mass Literacy, Adult and Non-Formal Education (NMEC) and create family literacy programs across the 36 states. We will ensure there are adult education and literacy classes in every primary school and create

support systems such as childcare for mothers to be able to learn to read and write while their children are cared for. It is estimated that over 70 million Nigerians cannot read or write in English, which is currently the country's official language. And in states such as Zamfara, women's literacy is as low as 7 percent. We can't continue like this. We will strengthen adult literacy programs in colleges of education, making sure that there are adequate teaching staff for adult learners and that learning is designed to take into account the peculiar needs of adults and families. We know that literate parents foster literacy in children, we will therefore work to make sure family literacy programs, which also build literacy in young children, are emphasized. Remedial and non-formal education will also be made available for adult learners who began school but had to drop out so they can obtain their primary and secondary school without having to go to a classroom with children, which is completely inappropriate.

- **Mainstreaming Almajiri Institutions:** We will take necessary steps to integrate Almajiri institutions into the mainstream education system, including providing food and teaching. We will address the unwillingness of Northern states to adopt the program through the creation of a federal support program for the integration of Almajiri schools which will have community members and experts on Islamic education as well as former Almajiri students to reframe and reshape almajiri schools while respecting the religion of Islam. We will create Islamic education programs within colleges of education and integrate UBE standards into all schools including the provision of training of school leaders and principles, who must have the necessary certifications alongside their Islamic training. We will also include Almajiri schools in national feeding programs and ensure they have adequate funding while protecting students who must receive a standard education up to the end of basic education, as outlined in the Child Rights Act.
- **Innovative programming in the education sector - the Pathways Program:** We realize that there are millions of youths that are not skilled and not able to enter the university system. We will create a pathways program which will channel youth into technical skills or higher education through a two or three-year program. The AAC government will establish Pathways Programs to further the education of students who have completed high school and want to proceed to tertiary institutions but have not been able to secure admission due to their scores or the backlog of JAMB admission. Such bridge programs will include career training to equip them for jobs, particularly for those that might eventually not proceed to tertiary schools.

- Initiatives for children in precarious situations (orphanages, IDP camps):** Hundreds of thousands of school-age children are internally displaced in Nigeria, due to conflicts, particularly in the Northeast, according to UNICEF. We will give particular attention to ensuring that they continue their education. Children in orphanages and in other precarious circumstances will also be attended to through the setting up of makeshift schools and the mobilization of teachers to affected areas.
- School counselors as essential educational workers:** We will consider guidance and counseling staff in primary and post-primary schools as essential workers and ensure that every public school has at least one. Towards doing this, we will expand 49 guidance and counseling training programs in the universities and colleges of education.
- Address Outdated Learning Practices:** Many students have gone through school, but are not properly educated, for no fault of theirs. We will provide at each primary and secondary school supplementary evening schools, which will bring students up to speed on all subjects, including basic literacy and computer schools.
- School and National Libraries Project:** Our government will restore and digitize National libraries across the country and work with community organizations, NGOS, and the private sector to ensure that there are community libraries in every local government. We will work towards the digitization of library resources, the updating of library facilities, and upgrading all libraries with modern computers and high-speed broadband internet. Our digitization drive will allow residents of every local government free access to the contents of the community library. We will update the library's collections with a focus on African literature, African history, and languages while ensuring access to global databases of journals and relevant e-books. We will collaborate with international organizations and interested tertiary institutions to retrain librarians and library management staff to work towards a modern library that is the home for education in every community.
- Student welfare, economic wellbeing and campus life:** Student welfare and wellbeing is at the heart of the academic experience. A campus is not just a place where students go to learn 'book' but also to grow socially, economically, politically, and holistically towards responsible citizenship. We will encourage and support student enterprises on and around campuses, including the creation of student cooperatives which will provide necessary labor and services in and around campus communities. We will restore the capacity of student unions to run campus services including transportation systems in and around campuses. We will create a work-study program for students who are on bursaries from the government, ensuring that students have relevant work experience and finances to complete their studies.

- **End Predatory Practices on Campuses and NYSC Camps:** We will create stringent policies and penalties that end sexual harassment including ‘sex for grades/posting’ in schools, universities, and in NYSC camps. This will include predatory practices that commodify sexual relations, and further the exploitation of young women. And restore the dignity of student life through the rehabilitation of campus housing and the provision of low cost high standard housing around campus for students who cannot be accommodated on campus grounds.
- **Education financing:** Currently the education budget is insufficient to achieve education for all in Nigeria. And due to years of neglect, it will be impossible to immediately turn this sorry situation around. We commit to a steady increase in public funding of education to upwards of 26% by the end of our fourth year in power.
- **Increasing research capacity and promoting global standards:** We will invest in research & development and utilize universities and other tertiary institutions for driving economic growth through innovation. We will restore high standards in the educational system through the strict enforcement of inspectorate oversight and national and international performance benchmarks for students and teaching staff.
- **Build Cost-efficient Infrastructure Extensions of Current Facilities:** The answer to creating better institutions is not in building more and more infrastructure, it is in making the best out of the infrastructure that is currently available, in ways that promote learning, lift the spirits of students and ensure ecological balance. We will thus rehabilitate and expand existing schooling infrastructure, building the schools of tomorrow, from today.
- **Sustainable solutions for teachers:** We will create a National Teachers Corps, comprising well-paid teachers, and volunteers, comprising competent activists and retirees who want to contribute to the renewed spirit of the Nigeria we envision, in the area of education.
- **Strengthening Parental and Community involvement:** We will continue to strengthen parental and community involvement through the creation and expansion of School-Based Management Committees as well as the strengthening and democratization of the Parent-Teachers Associations at all levels. We will encourage parent participation at the school level as well as for communities to play a more active role in the development of schools through SBMCs and the creation of school governance boards.
- **Curriculum and Language of instruction:** Nigeria’s National Policy on Education ensures the provision of education in the mother tongue up to grade five. However, this is not operationalized in a manner that is beneficial to the student, as many teachers are

not trained to teach in Nigerian languages nor to offer up English as a second language through instruction in the classroom. Instead, Nigerian languages are coined as vernacular and punished. We will revive the policy of using Nigerian languages for instruction in primary schools and increase the capacity of teachers to teach English as a second language. We will continue to make Nigerian languages compulsory for secondary school education but improve on the pedagogical methods and modes of instruction to ensure bilingualism and multilingualism is fully embraced as an education policy.

- **History, language and culture:** History education is already a compulsory subject in our schools due to advocacy from organizations and as part of a new policy on education. However, there are inadequate textbooks and teaching materials which focus not just on Nigerian history, but African history and world history. We will ensure the creation of adequate modern teaching materials for history instruction as well as make history a compulsory subject for secondary schools and for a minimum of one year in tertiary education.
- **National Teachers Corps and Colleges of Education Expansion:** To end teacher shortages, we will create a National Teachers Corps which will provide accelerated training for teacher certification through a short course in colleges of education. We will also upgrade and expand the capacity of colleges of education to ensure high quality trained teachers emerge from these schools as well as universities.



3.3. Women's liberation

While Nigerian women have historically and presently contributed to every aspect of national life including economic, political, social, and cultural; Nigeria has, since its inception, failed to live up to their aspirations. A few of these damning statistics are as follows: 60% of Nigerians living in extreme poverty are women, Nigeria now occupies the 168th position out of 170 ranked countries on the UNDP's Gender Inequality Index (GII) of 2021, Nigeria ranks number 4 among the countries with the worst maternal mortality ratio (917:100,000) and Nigeria is among the bottom 25 countries for adolescent birth rates (101.7 births per 1,000 women ages 15–19), Nigeria ranks 23rd out of 52 African countries on the Africa Gender Equality Index (AGEI) and it scores only 46% on the OECD's 2019 Social Institutions and Gender Index.

Nigeria is a deeply patriarchal country. The few constitutional conferences that have been convened to define the essential national character of Nigeria were done to the exclusion of women. The current ruling elite have not helped matters, because the majority of them are men, and they are the primary beneficiaries of the current system. We only need cite one example to highlight their dangerously retrogressive attitudes towards the political inclusion of women in the sociocultural, political and economic spheres of Nigeria: During a state visit to Germany in 2016, President Muhammadu Buhari was asked about his wife's, Mrs. Aisha Buhari's criticisms of the Nigerian ruling party, APC, and he responded, saying "*...she belongs to my kitchen and my living room and the other room*". With attitudes like this, it is no wonder that Nigeria has not only consistently performed atrociously in all the major global indices and reports on gender

inequality, but its position has significantly deteriorated since the current administration got into power.

At the base of these dire numbers is the economic exploitation of Nigerian women, who are the key drivers of the Nigerian economy in the formal, informal and domestic sectors. It is estimated that women contribute up to 76 percent of GDP in critical sectors. Such exploitations manifest as discriminatory practices such as unequal pay at the workplace, restriction of women to domestic labor, lack of adequate support for women's physical and biological needs at workplaces, systematic exclusion of women in leadership roles and at all levels of government, discrimination in education, Gender-Based Violence (GBV), disenfranchisement by discriminatory laws, policies and practices, sexual harassment in schools and other social institutions, human trafficking among other repressive practices. The economic disenfranchisement of women has the collateral effect of hollowing out the sociocultural and political agency of the Nigerian woman. For instance, despite the fact that half of the Nigerian population are women, they have only about 4.5% representation in the country's highest legislative body. To justify and further entrench the marginalization of women, cultural and religious fundamentalism are often cynically deployed by Nigeria's ruling and political elite, such as was done by President Buhari in 2016.

At AAC, we believe that there is no liberation for the Nigerian people without the liberation of Nigerian women.

The AAC's program for women's liberation is an explicitly anti-patriarchy program. We acknowledge that Nigerian women's organizations and movements have been part of every critical gender conference and gender advocacy globally, yet the domestication and implementation of the resulting international pacts, laws and policies is often elusive in Nigeria. We respect and agree with the "What Nigerian Women Want" demands, also known as the WOMANIFESTO, which was created through the convening of women's organizations in 2019 at the National Center for Womens' Development. Our struggles against the patriarchy will draw inspiration from the demands therein.

Our solution:

I. Laws and policies

- Domesticating International laws and treaties including the Convention to End All forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).
- Implementing and funding agencies to enforce the **Gender Rights Policy** and its domestication at the state level as well as the domestication of the Child Rights Act including its provisions against early child marriage.

- Ensuring the right to inheritance for all women and the amendment of the Land Use Act
- Uphold and implement the Womanifesto which includes
 - I. Declaration of a state of emergency on violence against women and girls
 - II. Establish special courts and fast tracking of existing cases of SBGV and the creation of shelters for victims of SBGV and Sexual Assault Resource Center
 - III. Launch a nationwide campaign through the National Orientation Agency to challenge negative attitudes towards women and girls
 - IV. Affirmative action of 35% appointed and elected positions which we will increase to 50% of appointed positions.
 - V. Review of electoral laws for gender responsiveness
 - VI. Mainstreaming gender equality and inclusion in public policy

II. Political Participation

- Providing a **Women's Political Leadership Program** to train and support women's participation in local decision making and to prepare them to run for office at the local government, state and federal levels.
- **Increase representation of women in political office to 50 percent within 8 years** through a political training program that focuses on female leadership and the development of a female political pathways program that enables women to begin the process of leadership development from secondary school, through university and up to the highest office in the land.
- Ensure political party leadership is 50 percent female through the amendment of the Electoral Act and ensure INEC enforces female representation in party structures. Ensure all forms of all political parties are free of charge to women.
- Ensure that women are not limited by norms or policies on indigeneity and forced to run for office by norms that ask them to claim their husband's or father's state of origin as their own.

III. Economy

- **Fund and support women led MSMEs** including equal access to loan, micro credit, training and business support and providing hubs to support and train in business management and development.
- **Agricultural support for women smallholder farmers.** Nigerian women make up 70-80 percent of smallholder farmers and produce about 70 percent of Nigeria's food, while only 14 percent of them hold rights to the land that they farm. Our government will provide support for Nigerian women to purchase and own the land they work, provide agricultural inputs and strengthen women's participation in the supply chain including the provision of training and implements in environmentally safe and soil protective

modern farming inputs including tractors, cold storage, refrigeration facilities and the complete management of their agricultural produce.

- **Financial literacy and strengthening women cooperatives.** We will support existing knowledge of women and their financial capacities through financial literacy, which focuses on inclusion in the formal financial sector and protection of female consumers from exploitative financial practices, including bad lending practices.

IV. Civil society

- Create and support a **Women and Gender Equity Civil Society Fund** that supports women-led civil society initiatives and the expansion of support for local women's groups to strengthen their associations, credit facilities, cooperatives, lending mechanisms and democratic practices.
- Support the activities of local women's groups to expand their activities and programs to include ending discrimination against women, promoting and advocating for gender-based policies and serving as watchdogs for the integration of women's concerns in decision making.

V. Gender, Health and Wellbeing

- Increase access to reproductive and maternal health care through a special initiative, as outlined in the health section of our manifesto.
- Provide sanitary items to all girls in secondary schools free of charge and focused **initiatives on menstrual health and hygiene** with menstrual products as a fundamental human right. Increase the local production of high quality, non-toxic, menstrual health products including high quality menstrual pads and tampons, reusable pads and other modern menstrual care products.
- Support the **trauma informed practices and the rehabilitation of women in conflict zones and others affected by SGBV** in conflict areas. We know that rape and gender based sexual violence are weapons of war in conflict zones, as well as the presence of thousands of women who have been raped, forcibly married, and forcibly made to bear children for their captors and rapists. We will focus on trauma-based care for victims of SGBV in conflict and post conflict zones.
- Ensure that women are trained and supported in their participation in peacebuilding and conflict resolution
- We will accelerate and focus on **bringing back the Chibok girls and ALL women, girls and other captives of Boko Haram** and other kidnapping victims, working to ensure their full rehabilitation and reintegration into society.
- Support **cancer research on breast and ovarian cancer**, alongside other research that focuses on cancers.



3.4. Youth development

Young people are Nigeria's greatest asset and strength. In strengthening youth, we build a better and more sustainable future for generations to come. Youth represents the linkage between the present and the future of any society. Any government that is genuinely committed to lasting national transformation must concretely express concern for youth development with policies, programs and projects that benefit youths physically, mentally, financially, culturally and ideologically. Unfortunately, several governments, including the serving APC government have only at best paid lip service to youth development. This has led to great disillusionment among the youth, who now face massive unemployment and under-employment, pervasive insecurity, and a general sense of hopelessness. We are well aware that rapid globalization has changed the workplace and the marketplace, but this also offers youth opportunities for careers that are non-traditional and embrace technological advancements. Economic growth must embrace youth and women, or it is not taking us where we need to go. We will ensure decent work of all kinds for young people, as outlined in the Sustainable Development Goal Number 8. We will work to ensure youth with disabilities, youth in conflict and post conflict are beneficiaries of our policies and programs. We will not continue to uphold policies that serve as picture ops for politicians but leave youth in working poverty, chronic underemployment, and continued financial hardship. We will also not continue with policies that see youths as simply an economic generational category. Our policies will be shaped to address the economic, social, psychological and cultural vulnerabilities of youths from poor backgrounds who constitute the immense majority of their generation and who do not have the benefit of backgrounds that

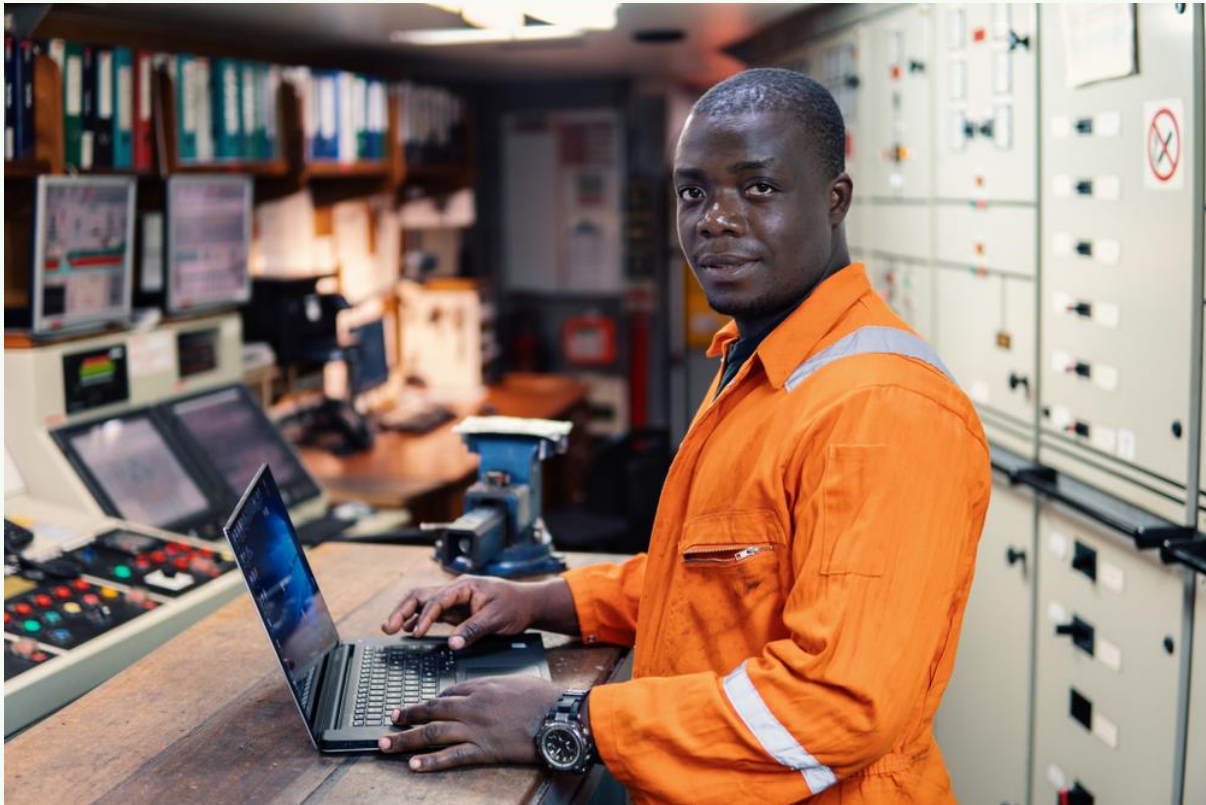
could otherwise safeguard them against such vulnerabilities. AAC is best equipped to turn this situation around. Our ranks are teeming with youths and activists who cut their teeth in the struggle for a better Nigeria as youths. Addressing the situation and giving youth development the priority position requires a deep, methodical and strategic understanding of the current state of youths in Nigeria. Our programs for Nigerian youths are as follows:

- **Youth Economic Empowerment Support Scheme:** The economic empowerment of youth is a key priority for our party. Young people deserve decent work and having suffered from decades of inept education systems, they have shown great ingenuity and purpose in pursuing economic means of survival. But we want youth to do more than survive, we want them to thrive. When youth thrive, their communities prosper. In line with our education agenda, we will focus on three areas: youth self-employment, youth cooperatives, and youth workforce development and job readiness. For youth self-employment, we will ensure that support for youth led MSMEs and create avenues for young people to take out loans and have business training to enable them to manage their businesses well. Secondly, we will support the formation of youth cooperatives, both for the organization of youth who own micro and small businesses but also for artisans, tailors, plumbers, farmers and all skilled labor. Finally, we will focus on job readiness and workforce development for youth that seek to be employed within various sectors including government, the private sector and civil society. We will attach workforce development programs to secondary schools to ensure that every school leaver has a path to economic wellness. We will ensure that they have the necessary financial literacy and knowledge of the political economy so that they will not be prey to economic exploitation of many kinds.
- **Empowering Youth Entrepreneurship:** We will support and help build youth-led micro and small businesses through the creation of youth Business Support and Innovation Hubs, facilitated through civil society organizations that have specialization in economic empowerment and who have been operating in the country for decades. We will provide training and support for youth businesses, including business leadership classes, and loans that are accessible to young people who may not have the necessary collateral to get money from a regular bank. We will work hand in hand with micro finance banks and ensure the policies of the banks are followed so that young people are not exploited or prone to default on their loans, but rather, supported towards success. We will continue to develop the current curriculum on entrepreneurship in secondary schools, focusing on fostering creative, critical thinking and problem solving rather than on skills that may become obsolete in the ever-changing global marketplace.

- **Improving Employability Through Internships and Training:** We will foster the culture of internships and practical hands-on training in tertiary institutions and enhance the work available to students by creating and standardizing laws and policies for practicums and traineeships for students. We will work with all sectors including the private sector, the social sector and government sector to create short-term employability programs and pathways to work for those who wish to enter into the labor market.
- **Expanding The Role of Youth in Governance and Civil Society:** We will restore and strengthen democratic processes within the National Children's parliament and National Youth Parliament and strengthen the National Youth Council. We will require all political parties to offer forms for contestation for free for female and youth candidates. As noted in the education section, we will ensure that all secondary schools and tertiary institutions have active and democratic youth councils and unions, and support youth leadership training through their participation in governance at the school level as preparation for the leadership in their communities. We will encourage youth to run and support their participation in local government politics, particularly at the ward and LGA levels. We will begin a Youth in Governance Program which is linked to the LGAs and provides opportunities for youth participation in Local Government work as well as in elections and electoral politics at all levels. We will create a Youth Led Civil Society Fund which supports the growth and development of youth led civil society organizations.
- **Ending youth trafficking and slavery:** We appreciate the fact that migration is a human right. In the final analysis, we are all migrants. However, we acknowledge that trafficking in persons and smuggling of migrants are crimes defined under the United Nations Convention on Transnational and Organized Crime and its protocols. UNICEF estimated that human trafficking in West Africa exceed the trade in guns and drugs. Every year, millions of Nigerians are at risk of illegal migration. Every year, thousands of Nigerian youths make dangerous pilgrimages across the Sahara Desert and the Mediterranean ocean, with thousands dying in the process. Furthermore, many youths remain stranded in countries such as Libya and Italy, either illegally detained or held captive by their traffickers. We will work with foreign governments to create optional and legal PATHWAYS FOR RETURN, based on successful initiatives and best practices of anti-trafficking organizations globally. We will strengthen NAPTIP and ensure that it creates programs to both prevent trafficking and address return and reintegration including psycho-social and economic support for returned youth. This program will be created with the cooperation of stakeholders such as the UNODC, the National Agency

for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP) and the Nigerian Immigration Service as well as strong civil society organizations who have been engaging in this work without the necessary support of the government. We are also well aware of the internal trafficking of young boys and girls within the country, where families of poor families send their children to work as servants in the homes of the wealthy. Many are abused and maltreated, and the wages are so low and meagre that they do not contribute to the alleviation of poverty beyond having one less mouth to feed. It is important that we work with families to ensure economic welfare so that young people are not sacrificed on the altar of family wellbeing.

- **Visiting Diaspora Youth program:** We will encourage the diaspora to contribute to youth development by providing mentoring, training and support. We will provide housing and stipends to young people who wish to return to work as teachers or educators in non-formal programs. We will create a Youth Diaspora Summer Program, run by civil society organizations and supported by the government, to engage youth in different tasks in nation building and support their eventual return and reintegration into society.
- **Youth and the Digital Economy:** Young people have already played great roles in Nigeria's digital economy, and we want to continue to support their innovation, creativity and talents. Through a program called Digitize this! We will support youth-led innovation in the digital economy through the support of digital hubs in all major cities supported by the private sector and facilitated by civil society organizations with specialization in ICT, the digital economy and tech leadership.



3.5 Dignity of Labor & Social Protection for Workers

The working and living conditions of Nigerian workers have worsened over the last three decades. Real wages have plummeted, even with the nominal increase of the N18,000 (\$108) national minimum wage in 2011 to N30,000 after a struggle, in (which is now equivalent to \$44). Apart from the impact of the devaluation of the naira, inflation which has risen from 10.84% in 2011 to 19.64% makes nonsense of their purchasing power. Effectively today, the average worker's take home pay cannot take her/him home. Yet, even the paltry sum is not paid as and when due. Several states' governments and private employers owe backlogs of salaries and pensions for months. Workers now face increasing job insecurity as well, with the increasing casualization of labor and precarious work for even those on permanent contracts. 45% of the workforce in Nigeria's formal sector now work as casual workers on fixed-term contracts. In contravention of the Labor Law, employers refuse to make such workers permanent staff after two years, particularly in the private sector. They would rather sack them and get them to re-apply for another fixed-term contract, such that there are tens of thousands of workers who have been working on fixed-term contracts for upwards of twenty years! They continue to work under such illegal circumstances out of fear of being thrown into the labor market if they complain. With the unemployment rate at 33%, this is a palpable fear. The situation is hardly better in the public services. The public sector reforms initiated in 2005 led to the sack of tens of thousands of workers and the phasing out of several cadres of staff, particularly in the junior ranks. The accompanying monetization scheme benefited only the few

senior administrative staff and public officer holders, whose earnings comprise a significant portion of the public sector wage bill. Occupational safety and health concerns are not prioritized in public and private workplaces alike, despite Nigeria's ratification of the ILO Convention 155 in 1994, and enactment of a National Policy on Occupational Safety and Health. This lukewarm take on workplace safety resulted in the death of 2.78 million workers from work-related accidents and diseases in 2019 alone, according to the Minister of Labor. Nigeria now has one of the highest annual work-related deaths in the world. The rights to organize and collective bargaining are equally constrained. Union busting has become the norm in many industries. Workers are not slaves. Their labor creates the social wealth of any modern society. The AAC government will treat workers with the dignity and respect they deserve. And we will support the working class to recreate the world of work, towards birthing a more humane world. We shall take concrete steps to protect and promote the physical, mental, social, cultural, and economic welfare and well-being of Nigerian workers with (1) labor market institutions interventions and (2) the Decent Work Agenda:

I. Labor Market Institutions Interventions

Minimum wage

- **Minimum wage as living wage:** We will ensure that the national minimum wage is a living wage. As a matter of top priority, within the first month of our coming to power, we will initiate tripartite dialogue to institute a new national minimum wage that will not be below the monetary value of the "basic needs basket" for qualitative living, which we envisage cannot be less than N100,000.00
- **Sliding scale review of minimum wage:** We will subsequently legislate automatic upward review of the national minimum wage in the face of inflation with the institution of a cost-of-living index/minimum wage sliding scale

Employment protection regulation

- **Review of Employment Protection Legislation:** We will review employment protection legislation and the implementation of regulations that are supposed to guard workers against arbitrary hiring and firing practices of employers. We will repeal outdated labor laws, many of which are rooted in the oppressive colonial system. The labor law provisions which formally protect labor laws, but which employers get away with not implementing will be unequivocally enforced. and we will plug loopholes in the subsisting labor laws, which employers utilize for the casualization of labor.
- **Combatting casualization, protecting temporary workers:** We will discourage temporary working contracts and have strict procedures which protect the worker in industries and situations where they are necessary. Combatting the phenomenon of casualization of labor will be taken with all the seriousness it deserves by the AAC

government. Fixed-term contracts shall not have two terms of 2-year contracts. Subsequent to this, the employer will be obliged to put the worker on a permanent employment contract. The employer will be barred from replacing such a temporary worker with another worker, in a bid to circumvent the law

- **Unemployment benefits and a labor exchange that works:** We will institute an unemployment benefit system and revamp the National Electronic Labor Exchange (NELEX), to make it genuinely functional in helping unemployed workers to find jobs. NELEX bureaus, with professionals that can guide job seekers, will be established in all the Federal Ministry of Labor and Employment offices in all states' capitals. And job centers, which will be local units of the NELEX will be domiciled in the Local Government Councils. Data allowances will be included in the unemployment benefits paid for job-hunting workers so that they can access the NELEX platform. We will also make sure there are hotspots within the NELEX bureau where prospective employees can access the internet.

Right to organize & collective bargaining

- **End union busting:** We will uphold the right of unions to organize and the constitutionally recognized right of workers to belong to a union, without intimidation and without any ambiguity. Companies that refuse to allow unions to operate in them will be severely reprimanded.
- **Sanctity of collective bargaining:** Lack of respect of government (and private sector employers, to a lesser extent) for the collective bargaining process and collective agreements is at the heart of most trade disputes in the country. We will stop this disgraceful approach of government (and employers) to industrial and labor relations. The federal government abuses its dual role as (the largest) employer of labor and regulatory body of industrial relations. This is partly because the trade dispute resolution procedure vests the power of mediation and referral for conciliation and arbitration in the federal ministry of labor. We will change this anti-democratic arrangement, by vesting such powers which are now exercised by the Federal Ministry of Labor and Productivity (FMLP) in the tripartite National Labor Advisory Council (NLAC).

II. Decent Work Agenda

Job Creation

- **Employment opportunities:** We will put measures in place to open employment opportunities that align with the desires, competencies, and capacities of all cadres of workers. The current situation where people train to be engineers for example and end

up selling akara because they cannot find jobs, and this is described as creating job opportunities will gradually be made history.

- **Employment-intensive investments:** In the first tenure of our government, we will embark on public spending for job creation with a focus on employment-intensive schemes which optimize the use of labor, particularly unskilled and semi-skilled labor. This will link our industrialization strategy and infrastructure development with the massive generation of employment and the eradication of poverty. Sectors such as building, and construction will be central to this plan. We will replace the contract system for public works with direct labor, as part of a Nigerian Employment-Intensive Program (NEIIPP). Local communities, trade unions, and informal sector operators will play active roles in the planning and implementation of NEIEP schemes on the ground. Coordination of the NEIEP at the national and state levels will include trade unions, relevant civil society organizations, professional associations, and the organized private sector. We will integrate capacity-building mechanisms into the projects of the NEIIPP for the replication and scaling up of our employment-intensive approaches.

Rights at work

- **Fundamental principles and rights at work:** We will fully make sure that the Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work (FPRW) are fully respected by all employers in the public and private sector:
 - Freedom of association and the right to collective bargaining will be guaranteed
 - Forced labor in all forms and under any guise will be eliminated o Child labor, in all forms, will be abolished
 - Discrimination at work will not be tolerated
 - We will ensure a safe and healthy working environment for every worker.

The AAC government will domesticate all ILO Conventions related to the FPRW. And they will be enforceable as Laws of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. We will strengthen the inspectorate division of the Federal Ministry of Labor and Employment to effectively monitor workplaces and empower and take prompt and decisive action against erring employers

Social protection

- **A comprehensive social protection system:** Social protection floors in Nigeria are some of the most ineffective in the world, and with grossly inadequate coverage for working people. We will work towards ensuring a comprehensive social protection system before the end of our first tenure in office.

We will guarantee the right of every worker to adequate quantity and nutritional value of food with our “basic needs basket” approach to the foundational upward review of the national minimum wage, which we are committed to do as soon as we get to power.

We will ensure that every worker is enrolled on the National Health Insurance Scheme by their employer. The employers' contribution to the NHIS for a worker will be increased to 15% of the basic salary (or 5% of consolidated salary) whilst the employee contribution will remain at 5% of the basic salary (or 1.5% of consolidated salary).

- **Employees Compensation Act (2010):** We note that, while the Employees Compensation Act (2011) addresses some of the gaps in the Workmen's Compensation Act (1987) which it repealed, it is still far from being just a social protection instrument. The AAC government will thus review the ECA (2011), thus:
 - A worker can get compensation based on the ECA only when injury or disease suffered is disabling, no matter how severe such an injury or occupational disease is. But there are several physical and psychosocial injuries that might not lead to clearly visible disability. We will thus amend the law to ensure that irrespective of whether disability occurs or not, the worker is entitled to compensation where the case of a work-related injury or disease is established.
 - We will also review the law to ensure that the worker is entitled to compensation in the case of an accident on the way to, or from work, if s/he under whatever circumstances, and not simply "the direct way" as the ECA demands.
- **Salaries and pensions:** Income security is not possible and social protection is undermined when workers are not paid their salaries as and when due. But delayed salaries and pensions, for upwards of months and even years, have become a norm in Nigeria, in contravention of the labor law. We will put institute criminal prosecution against any employer who refuses to pay workers and pensioners their salaries and pensions respectively, on time.
- **Active Labor Market Policies (ALMPs):** The AAC government will actively intervene in the labor market to protect workers, equip job seekers and facilitate their opportunities to find jobs. Towards this:
 - NELEX and the job centers will provide employment services including job matching, labor exchanges, and placement assistance,
 - Job training and retraining.
 - Direct employment generation.

Social dialogue

- **Bipartite collective bargaining:** We will make sure that the unilateral and arbitrary rule of employers is not passed for management prerogative. All procedural and substantive issues related to wages and working conditions of workers shall be subjected to collective bargaining at the workplace.

- **Tripartism:** Workers, and employers, are central to national development. Thus, we shall promote tripartism, which is not limited to the bread-and-butter concerns of wages and working conditions. We will ensure a tripartite social dialogue of trade unions and employers, as social partners, with the government, informing the formulation, monitoring and assessment of our national development of strategy and related policy.
- **Co-management:** We will foster the flourishing of co-management. Trade unions will be represented on the management structures of all businesses, and the financial books of the business concerns shall be open to the workers.

Decent working time and Worker Owned Enterprise

- **Reduction in Working Time:** We will reduce the working time to not more than a 35-hour working week, without loss of pay. And we will work towards reducing the working week to four days (Monday to Thursday), except in the case of essential workers who shall not work more than the 35-hour working day. This will enable workers to have more time for their social development, improve their mental health and transform the ethos of work beyond one of drudgery. This will also contribute to the necessary decarbonization of our environment, by reducing the extent of work-related commuting.
- **Worker Owned Enterprise:** We will also promote the establishment and expansion of workers cooperatives as well as worker-owned and worker-run enterprises, as part of our strategic commitment to recreating the world of work.



3.6. Housing

According to the International Human Rights Commission (IHRC) “Nigeria faces a severe housing deficit”, and the situation keeps getting worse. Within the last four years alone, the housing deficit has increased from 17 million housing units to 28 housing units.

Yet, in major cities, there are still thousands of empty houses on one hand, with hundreds of thousands or even millions of people living in shanties, slums, face-me-I-face-you houses, or under the bridge, on the other hand. This reality is unacceptable for our party, which stands for the total liberation of the people.

Our programs for housing are:

- **Affordable Social Housing Development:** We will build affordable housing units across the country to address this inequity. And we will make sure that these are not “low-cost houses” that a few rich people buy up and then rent out at high prices to the poor masses. We will undertake a massive program of social housing development to provide decent, secure, and affordable housing for poor people in urban centers and rural areas. We will provide land, building materials, and loan securitization for non-profit building societies and cooperatives undertaking housing projects.
- **Revamping the Federal Mortgage Bank:** We will revamp the Federal Mortgage Bank of Nigeria to make it actually useful for millions of Nigerians, in both the formal sector and informal economy, to benefit from mortgage schemes with terms of 20 years at no

more than a 10 percent rate, for workers that will want to build their own homes themselves.

- **Research and Development for the Building and Construction Sector:** Our government will support research and development in the building and construction sector to move away from an over-dependence on cement and a tie to the cement monopoly. We will research, develop and expand the use of local raw materials as well as recyclable materials to see how abundantly available materials such as mud and bamboo could be used as cheaper but durable materials for building houses.
- **Upgrade Informal Settlements:** We will upgrade informal settlements such as slums that are unfit for human habitation with methods and arrangements which include their inhabitants in developing alternative housing while minimizing permanent or long-term human displacement and social dislocation; all demolitions and forced evictions will be stopped.
- **Rural Housing Innovation Scheme:** We will create a rural housing innovation scheme to encourage and support rural development and reduce urban flight, we will invest in a rural housing innovation scheme to encourage expansion and growth of the housing sector and affordable high-quality housing in rural areas.



3.7. The Climate Emergency and Eco-Social Justice

Nigeria, and the rest of the world face a climate crisis and environmental emergency of existential proportions. According to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), if these severe problems are not addressed in the next ten years, the world would be heading to a point of no return from extinction.

We have already started witnessing terrible signs of the looming catastrophe. These include flash floods, soot in the air, desertification, drying rivers, extremely hot weather, extremely cold harmattan seasons, and biodiversity loss.

But the climate and environmental crises are not natural events. They are mainly the result of social and economic activities which primarily benefit the few rich and corporations. They are also because governments fail to act, despite a lot of sweet talk, because they represent the elites who drive these economic activities. They are equally because governments as well fail to implement social policies that will safeguard poor people, leaving them little choice, but to also contribute to global heating and environmental degradation through activities such as using wood as fuel, and the use of shifting cultivation for farming, thus contributing to deforestation.

We will take drastic measures to address the climate emergency. AAC will put Nigeria at the forefront of the global climate and environmental justice movement, because we know that action in our country alone will not be enough to stave humankind from the doomsday of planetary

calamity. The advanced capitalist countries, and their corporations have benefited from and continue to be responsible for the main economic activities causing global heating.

We will uphold the struggle for “system change, not climate change.”

Our climate and environmental emergency program will address:

I. Land degradation (deforestation; desertification; gully & coastal erosion)

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Addressing deforestation

- **Protection of existing forest:** We will ensure protection of the forests. Forest guards will be equipped to effectively stop illegal logging, and other economic activities in our forest reserves.
- **Reforestation:** We will aggressively pursue a policy of reforestation and ensure the planting of at least two trees for everyone cut by economic actors. We will institute a forest audit program, to provide evidence base for strengthening our forest conservation regulatory framework.
- **Create a paperless future:** schools and offices will be encouraged to restrict, and eventually do away with the use of paper. This will go hand-in-hand with our programs for enhancing the use of new information and communication technologies
- **Public reorientation:** we will organize behavioral change campaigns to orient the people to the critical need for forest preservation, as part of our environmental education programs.

Reversing desertification

- **Agroforestry practices:** We shall strengthen the work of the National Council on the Great Green Wall (NCCGW) and introduce initiatives such as; the scattered farm tree approach; silvo-pasture practices which integrate the planting of trees in woodlots and plantations, and forage for grazing; agro-silvo-pastoral systems which integrate the raising of food crops, trees and livestock on the same land area; and shelterbelt extension and innovations with the planting of rows of eucalyptus and neem species of trees at right angles to wind directions.
- **Post-planting maintenance of trees and extension services:** We shall promote a culture of maintenance of trees planted in the affected communities. This will be supported with extension services that include the on-site provision of advice and through the use of traditional and new means of communication such as posters, leaflets, electronic media (radio and television broadcast), and WhatsApp broadcast, mainly using the indigenous languages. We will also equip relevant extension services to improve rangelands with reseeding and education of the concerned communities on the timing for regeneration planting and the use of new fodder and forage crops.

- **Enhanced animal husbandry:** We will help improve the quality of cattle, sheep, and other domestic animals through disease control, selective breeding, promotion of sedentary livestock production, and increased annual livestock off-take.
- **Soil management:** We will organically enhance the ability of soil to support the growth of vegetation in areas affected by desertification. This will include the planting of nitrogen fixing plants such as species of Acacia and Tamarind, to increase soil nutrient levels.

Ending gully and coastal erosion

- **Institute a bottom-up approach to erosion and water management:** One of the main reasons why environmental issues are not adequately tackled is corruption and inefficiency. Governments at different levels have constituted a number of agencies that are ostensibly meant to address the problem and have rather become conduit pipes for enriching elites. The Nigeria Erosion and Watershed Management Project (NEWMAP), which was established in 2010 as a World Bank-assisted project is a good example. We will take a different approach rooted in the active involvement of the people in affected communities as the agency for pushing back erosion.
- **Appropriate road design:** we shall make sure that the design and construction of roads include an environmental impact assessment that prioritizes the reduction of erosion.
- **Mining activities:** we will curtail the impact of mining activities on the spread of erosion through strict implementation of the results of environmental impact assessment, which shall guide such activities to ensure the least possible negative impact of such economic activities on the environment.
- **Runoff diversion measures:** we will build diversion drains in roads prone to erosion as part of our gully control, and storm management program. We will embark on mass sensitization of farmers in those areas and provide extension services on the use of contour cultivation to help protect soil integrity and prevent erosion.

II. Combating Biodiversity Loss

- **Active Grassroots Involvement:** We shall ensure the active participation of people at the grassroots and environmental justice civil society organizations in our drive to halt biodiversity loss. We shall organize massive awareness campaigns and include leaders of local communities in the formulation and implementation of our biodiversity conservation policies.
- **Policy Coherence:** We shall ensure policy coherence and streamlining of agencies involved in our conservation programs and establish linkages, from the bottom-up, between our programs to halt land degradation and our biodiversity campaigns.

- **Enforcement Personnel:** We shall train, employ, and equip adequate personnel for the enforcement of conservation laws, and prosecute environmental crimes with severity.
- **Domesticate Biodiversity Treaty:** Nigeria signed the Convention on Biological Diversity in 1992 and ratified this international treaty in 1994. But there is still no national legislation on biodiversity. We will domesticate the treaty and pass a comprehensive national biodiversity legislation.

III. Reducing flood incidents

- **Flood management policy:** We will repeal the outdated National Erosion and Flood Control Policy (2004), and develop a National Flood Management Policy that is fit for purpose in the light of a decade of persistent and severe floods, within three months of our coming to power. This will guide our systematic, all-of-society interventions.
- **Pre-flood relocation:** We will ensure that the flood warnings are not merely issued, while poor people who cannot afford to relocate before the floods arrive are left to their own devices. We will relocate those without the means, once it is established that their areas of residence could be flooded.
- **Regional and urban planning:** Poor urban and regional spatial plans contribute significantly to the devastation of floods. Where planning laws exist, they are hardly implemented. And drainage systems are in states of disrepair or nonexistent. Our regional and urban policy and plans will include a focus on expanding and maintaining drainage systems that will help mitigate the impact of floods. And the plans will be strictly implemented.
- **River channelization:** We will build water canals at flood flashpoints subsequent to the environmental impact assessment, to mitigate flooding.

IV. Pollution and waste management

- **End Oil Spillage:** The Nigerian masses deserve clean and healthy air, pristine rivers and unsoiled lands. Multinational corporations, particularly international oil companies, have gotten away with slaps on the wrist by the federal government. Most awards for compensation by peoples of the Niger Delta have been won by the affected communities, only outside the shores of our land, because the government accepts conditions that are far less stringent than what obtains in these companies' homelands. We will stop this impunity, and enact stiff penalties for spillages, including compensation that is not less than what would be won in their countries, for any multinational corporation that wants to continue operating in Nigeria.
- **Community Engagement:** Towards establishing the moral right to hold oil companies duly liable, we will maintain the fullest transparency and active involvement of the concerned communities in addressing oil pollution in the Niger Delta.

- **Provide Clean Cooking Fuel:** We will make sure Nigerians, particularly in the rural areas, have greater access to clean cooking fuels and technologies, including improved cooking stoves, to drastically reduce household air pollution. We will also scale up services to diagnose and treat pneumonia and improve nutrition, toward building the people's immunity levels.
- **Plastic Ban:** We will ban the use of plastic bags and increase taxation of bottled water to reduce the use of single-use plastic, within the first two years of our administration.
- **Incentivize Recycling:** We will provide incentives to businesses to create and use recyclable materials and to provide alternatives to single use plastics.
- **Democratize Access to Potable Water:** We will increase the availability of potable drinking water to replace the use of plastic sachet water, by creating public drinking fountains in cities and creating water taps in villages.
- **Encourage Reusable Water Bottles:** We will encourage businesses and individuals to create and use multiple use water bottles to decrease dependence on plastic.
- **Waste Management Tariffs:** We will support indigent households to pay tariffs for waste management and exercise a strict regimen on general compliance with domestic waste disposal procedures.
- **Implement Waste and Hazardous Material Handling Procedures:** We will strictly implement the relevant provisions of the Harmful Waste (Special Criminal Provisions, Etc.) Act, and the Management of Solid and Hazardous Wastes Regulations.
- **Equip Waste Management Authorities:** We will equip waste management authorities with modern equipment and provide adequate training and retraining for their staff.
- **Review Existing Legislations:** We will work closely with the Waste Management Society of Nigeria (WAMASON) towards review of existing regulations and legislation guiding waste management, towards ensuring a more robust waste management and disposal regime, for environmental sustainability.



BUILDING A BETTER NIGERIA

WINNING A NEW WORLD

**DEMOCRACY
FROM BELOW;
EMBRACING ALL
NIGERIANS**

**ANTI-IMPERIALIST
INTERNATIONALISM
FOR GLOBAL JUSTICE**

The Situation:

For too long, successive Nigerian governments have not taken the pursuits of the rights of Nigerians seriously. This is a feature, not a bug of the Nigerian establishment. In colonial times, Nigeria was established as a resource extraction outpost of Britain, the colonizing power. Today, Nigeria still fundamentally exists as an extraction outpost, with

the only change being that the extractors are both local and foreign. This means that the elite few see everything in Nigeria, including the people, as simply means for them to become wealthier. This extractive relationship thus often results in the neglect or outright violation of the poor masses' rights by powerful private and state actors. We find this neglect expressed in the most dramatic of ways, whether it be the fact that 2 in 5 Nigerians live in extreme poverty or the dilapidated infrastructure across the country, or the gross violation of human rights by the country's armed forces, or the violent electoral process in the country.

It is no accident that elections, the one exercise that is meant to be an expression of democracy, is consistently marred by mass voter apathy. Since 2003, eligible voter participation in Nigeria's elections has monotonously declined from a peak of ~70% to ~35% in 2019. The Nigerians masses need much more than hollow rituals of democracy.

AAC understands that the preceding decades of violence have not only caused incredible damage to the psyche and self-confidence of the Nigerian person, but it has also prevented Nigeria from projecting an alternative vision of international relations and meaningful solidarity to the world. AAC will rectify this situation by pursuing a series of policies that will redefine the Nigerian person as a self-confident, conscientious, socially aware, and solidary being.

Our approach will be 2-pronged. In the first instance, we will vigorously champion **democracy from below; embracing all Nigerians**, which will lead to the revolutionary transformation of the political, economic, and social realities of all Nigerians. And on the global scene, we will project a new type of **internationalism for global justice** that is established on mutual benefits, affirmation, and solidarity with the rest of West Africa, Africa, other Global South nations, and oppressed people everywhere in the world. To this end, we propose the following:

We want power to genuinely belong to the people, at the grassroots. We are tired of a handful of elites manipulating us every four years to determine which of them will have greater access to the wealth of our toil and lands.

4.I. Democracy From Below; Embracing All Nigerians

AAC stands for democracy from below, which will embrace all Nigerians by guaranteeing the social, economic, and political rights of everybody in the country. Human rights will no longer be an empty slogan. We will uphold the people's and human rights in every aspect of social life.

The dehumanization of the immense majority of Nigerians by a handful of elites and imperialist forces over centuries of colonialism and neocolonialism will be reversed. We will, together with you all, build a new Nigeria and a better world, which we will be proud of together. We will implement our agenda to this end in phases as follows:

I. Legal reforms to end discriminatory practices.

- **Repeal discriminatory laws** that harm historically oppressed, exploited, or marginalized people such as women, LGBTQ+ people, children, and minority ethnic groups. Among others, some of the laws we will be targeting include **section 6 of the criminal code**, which legalizes spousal rape, the **same sex marriage prohibition act**, and **section 26 of the 1999 constitution**, which does not confer citizenship by marriage to men married to Nigerian women.
- **End discriminatory employment practices**, by making it a penal offense for any Nigerian to be denied employment based on their gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, disability status, and age. We will also enact laws that protect the rights of service workers (e.g., domestic workers, nurses and health technicians, and retail workers). We will support their unionization and collective bargaining. Besides this, we will institute
 - 12 months of paid parental leave flexibly shared between parents.
 - Flexible working policies around menstruation and menopause.
- **Reinforce the body sovereignty of Nigerians** by legalizing abortion and putting the decision solely in the hands of the pregnant person. We will also enforce laws against domestic abuse (e.g., the Violence Against Persons Prohibition Act) and ratify all treaties against domestic and workplace abuses, which have not been ratified by Nigeria, such as ILO Convention 190. We will legalize gender-affirming surgeries for transgender people.
- **End child abuse** by outlawing corporal punishment in schools and at homes, abolish child marriage, and set a universal legal age of consent to 18 years. We will make education free and compulsory up to junior secondary school and ensure that school lunch is free for all primary and junior secondary school students. We will also enforce provisions within the child rights act, including child labor.

- **Make Nigeria accessible for Persons with Disability by**

- Mandating that existing public infrastructure and buildings are upgraded to include disabled access.
- Ensuring that all infrastructure projects attain an accessibility compliance certificate from the **National Commission for Persons with Disabilities (NCPD)** before funding and execution.
- Ensuring proportional and non-discriminatory participation of people living with disabilities in public and private institutions.
- **Initiating a nationwide political education project**, through the National Orientation Agency, against discrimination of minority groups.

II. **Human and People's rights**

- **Equip the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) to ensure** that all government policies and laws are assessed for their impact on the rights of Nigerians, with a view to creating a fairer country for all. We will also empower the Commission to propose new policies towards the same end.
- **Create an equality database** that monitors the effects of class, ethnicity, gender identity, sexual orientation, and disability status on the participation of Nigerians in the political, economic, and social spheres of the country. This database will follow an intersectional approach, looking at how a confluence of factors may affect access and outcomes for individual Nigerians. The **National Bureau of Statistics** will work with the NHRC to develop and implement means of data collection.
- **Affirm unity in ethnic diversity and linguistic plurality by**
 - Granting protected status to minority ethnic groups and ensuring their inclusion in the social, economic, and political spectra of national consciousness.
 - Mandating the Ministry of Information and Culture to work with state governments to preserve and teach all indigenous languages.
 - Protecting, developing, and promoting the use of indigenous languages and pidgin for official and pedagogical purposes in regions and embarking on a project to translate educational materials and state documents into indigenous languages in the different regions and states. We will also encourage their development by translating official and pedagogical documents into those languages.
- **Protect and promote cultural heritage by**
 - Injecting resources and restoring museums and national monuments, to ensure that Nigeria once again embraces its rich culture and history and becomes a home of cultural production that is enviable across the world.

- Restoring and digitizing national archives so that present and future generations of our peoples can easily access our history in libraries throughout the world.
- Investing in indigenous archaeological research to decolonize our history and piece together missing parts of it for proper documentation.
- Mainstreaming the fight to return all artifacts stolen from our peoples by imperialist forces, during colonialism, to Nigerian museums and update our national museums to the highest international standards. We will work to protect and preserve cultural sites and to improve the infrastructure of cultural sites across the country.

III. National reconciliation and restructuring

National reconciliation, reorientation, and rebirth

- **Set up a National and States Truth and Justice Committees** tasked with unveiling and documenting the histories of state terrorism and the oppression of peoples, and making recommendations for reparative justice, which the AAC government will implement without delay.
- **Transform the National Orientation Agency** for reorientation of the Nigerian masses, by the Nigerian masses, for the Nigerian masses. It shall comprise activists and representatives of the mass democratic organizations of the people at both national and state levels, as key players, working closely with staff of the agency. We will charge the transformed NOA with the task of promoting the values of cooperation, solidarity, and revolutionary democracy.
- **Stamping out corruption and “tribalism”** in high places which are key channels the elite class uses to divide us, the poor working people, while they collectively exploit us and our national wealth. We will take all necessary steps, including the use of technology and reorientation brigades, to stamp out corruption, and ensure equality of opportunity. All those who have stolen public funds will be prosecuted, without fear or favor, and made to pay back what has been stolen. Nepotism, partiality, and favoritism in accessing public services or wealth will be rigorously combated.
- **Strengthening local government structures**, with the people at the center of governance, because all politics is essentially local. Trade unions, communities, women and youth, artisans and traders, and all other identified strata of the people will be democratically elected to representative roles in the Local Government Councils which will no longer be left with politicians. And we will safeguard the democratic process at this local level from the overbearing influence of state governments.

Self-determination and restructuring

- **Affirm the right of nationalities to self-determination**, up to the right of secession will be recognized and protected. We firmly believe that people cannot be coerced into a federation, and there will be lasting peace and development. We also believe that a united Nigeria under a focused revolutionary leadership that we will provide will be stronger and all its peoples, and Africa as a whole, will benefit immensely. We will thus consistently advocate for the unity of the poor masses of all nationalities in Nigeria, based on mutual respect and shared values for a better world.



- **Renegotiate and restructure Nigeria.** Only the Nigerian elites and colonial administrators participated in the conferences where the first constitution for an independent Nigeria was formulated. And all subsequent constitutions have essentially been imposed on us by military governments, who introduced the notion that “Nigeria is indissoluble” and “Nigeria’s unity is not negotiable.” We will pursue the renegotiation of Nigeria in the interests of the poor working people, through a bottom-up process that will lead to the popular formulation of a People’s Constitution, which will herald the economic, social, political, and national restructuring of Nigeria on the basis of justice and equality for all.
- **A People’s constitution for A New Nigeria:** Within our first year of governance, we commit to initiating a constitutional review process that will be people-led involving open bottom-up discussion, debate, and determination of proposals and suggestions by the working people in urban and rural areas, in factories, on farms, in the Diaspora, on school campuses, in neighborhoods, market places, workplaces, mass media, social media, etc. This process will also consider the various proposals and documents that have been put forward over the years, towards consideration of alternative ways to restructure our society to usher in a new dawn of liberation for the masses across the various regions of the country. In our second year in power, we will put the harmonized

report of this national debate before the Nigerian people in an inclusive Sovereign National Conference comprising elected delegates of workers, professionals, women, youths, and all other strata of the people, from all geo-political zones of the country. By year 3, we commit to put forward the draft constitution resolved upon by the National Constitutional Conference to the people in a referendum. The National Conference will be Sovereign, and thus vested with the powers to address any and every issue of concern to the nation, towards formulating the draft of a new constitution. As the convening authority, the AAC government will put the following questions before the SNC-in-session for consideration:

- Determination of what it means to be a “true Federation” in the Nigerian context. We must address issues such as the extent of devolution of powers desired by Nigerians, the levels of governance in the federation (i.e., to re-introduce regions or maintain states, as federating units), the responsibilities for governance that will reside at each level of governance, and the oversight functions that the Federal government will have in ensuring that the quality of governance does not suffer at the local level
- What security powers and functions should reside at the Federal, State (&/or Regional) and Local Government level? Should sub-national governments have their own police force and paramilitary units?
- Should more of the responsibility for development be passed on to local authorities that are closest to the issues and the people? What is the appropriate level of oversight and monitoring from the state/regional and federal authorities that should occur to ensure that local authorities do not abdicate their responsibilities without accountability for their failures?
- What rights and controls should states have over the resources that they are blessed with?
- What type of legislative systems should we have in Nigeria? Does our bicameral national assembly need reform?
- Should Nigeria adopt a regional six zone geopolitical structure as the basis for the federating units?

IV. Rule of Law and the Judicial System

- **End Arbitrary State Powers:** We shall do away with arbitrary wielding of state power and personality cults. We will ensure that nobody is above the law. Appropriate sanctions will be meted out for conduct harmful to the wellbeing of the people, including corruption. We will end the current practice where big criminals get away while petty thieves and criminals are caught.

- **Introduce Transparency into Law-making:** We will make the law-making process more transparent and inclusive, and we will promote the framing of laws in simple, accessible language. We will strip the judicial process of ambiguities and make it more democratic, including the introduction of the jury of peers' system.

V. Justice, Equity and Liberty

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- **Abolish Exorbitant Emoluments of Politicians:** We will abolish politicians' huge emoluments; no elected or appointed official will earn more than the average salary of a skilled official in the civil service. We will cancel the payment of humongous amounts as pensions for governors, lawmakers and all other politicians after serving for just four or eight years.
- **Compulsory Public Declaration of Assets for Public Office Holders:** We will push legislation to make sure that all elected and appointed officials publicly declare their assets on taking office and publicly disclose their financial situation annually to ensure due probity.
- **Progressive Taxation:** Our government will introduce a steep progressive tax system to make sure that rich persons and corporations pay their fair share to ensure a fair society. We will cancel all tax breaks, except as explicitly included in our green industrial revolution program. We will abolish all double taxation treaties that enable base erosion and profit shifting.
- **End Political Persecution and Imprisonments:** We will release all political prisoners and end all forms of persecution of people based on their political ideas, religious beliefs or ethnic identities.
- **Legalize Trade Unions Affiliation with Political Parties:** We will lift all legal and policy restrictions on the affiliation of labor unions with political parties, based on democratic resolutions of such working-class bodies.
- **Democratize Access to Internet:** We will take all necessary steps to guarantee internet access, as a right which is necessary to enable the full enjoyment of their freedom of expression and opinion. We will equally ensure protection of the data security and privacy rights of all citizens, from undue state surveillance and unsolicited for-profit interests.
- **Pursue 100% Literacy:** With broadband made available to everybody in both urban centers and rural areas, we will carry out massive literacy and education programs for children, youth and adults to ensure 100% literacy rate and a population with the needed critical thinking for winning and consolidating democracy from below.
- **Repeal Divisive Laws:** We will repeal all laws which separate citizens along the lines of "indigene" versus "settler" in whatever way. We will further carry out massive education

to discontinue practices which entrench these divisions through persuasion. Every citizen shall have equal rights as citizens in any state of the federation.

4.2 Anti-Imperialist Internationalism for Global Justice



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The global political economy has been shaped by centuries of imperialist domination and exploitation which enabled the underdevelopment of Africa and other countries of the Global South by the elites of a handful of North Atlantic countries. 12.5 million able-bodied people were brutally taken away from Africa to be made slaves in the Americas between 1525 and 1866. The imperialist powers then put colonialism in place with wanton brutality, plundering our natural resources and desecrating our cultural heritage.

The working people and youths of Africa rose, demanding “Self-Government Now” after the second imperialist World War. Forced to negotiate their impending exit, the departing colonialists did not hand over power to the masses at the anti-colonial barricades. They rather passed on power to local ruling elites molded in the colonialists’ capitalist image to sustain the exploitative structures of imperialism as local collaborators of the global captains of capitalism.

The imperialist powers reinforced the structures of our exploitation with structural adjustment programs that heralded the current global era of neoliberalism, marked by deregulation and

free trade that have deepened the dependency of our economies within the logic of global capitalism. The people of Africa and the Global South continue to be deprived of any real right of self-determination.

Our foreign policy, as AAC, will be aimed at breaking the chains of imperialism on our development. We will resist imperialist domination over the economic and political affairs of African and other Global South countries. We will establish relationships with countries and peoples which are based on solidarity, mutual respect, reciprocity, and the building of a new ecologically, economically and politically sustainable world.

I. Africa and the Global South

- **A People's African Union:** We will mobilize the peoples and governments in Africa to establish such a united front based on solidarity, to stop illicit financial flows, and efficiently utilize the resources thus being lost at the moment, for the political, economic and social development of a united Africa. As a united bloc, we will avoid the current race to the bottom, where individual countries negotiate as individual units with the rest of the world, particularly the collective EU bloc, the United States and China, who currently play on our divisions and use their enormous political and economic might to promote competition between individual African countries with similar resources or goods and services; to our collective detriment of low prices and little if any value added. An AAC government will push for collective African negotiation through the framework of a United people's AU, which acts as a unitary political and economic system. This will strengthen the power of Africa as a negotiating bloc. AAC will ensure that this negotiating power is used to prioritize technology transfer from the global north, and the construction of major primary infrastructure which will facilitate social and economic growth across the continent.
- **Expand the Technical Aid Corps (TAC):** The Technical Aid Corp (TAC) was set up in 1987 to foster a spirit of cooperation between Nigeria and African, Caribbean and Pacific countries. While this program has seen Nigerians play important roles in knowledge transfer in countries like Fiji and Republic of Benin, it has yet to fulfil its potential as a way to strengthen the bonds of solidarity between Nigeria and other global south peoples. Under an AAC government, we will expand the remit of TAC to include technology sharing for rapid co-development of partner countries. We will also encourage scholars, technicians, experts and engineers from our global south partners to take part in the program by coming to Nigeria to exchange knowledge and relevant expertise. We will set measurable goals for the program and carry out periodic assessments of its impact, with a goal to enhance its solidarity strengthening mandate.

- **Diaspora relations:** The AAC stands for the reconnection of oppressed Africans across the world with the continent. An AAC government will champion the following programs so that all exploited, oppressed and marginalized Africans everywhere can collectively get to the task of liberating and developing their respective communities and the motherland.
- **Functionalize the Nigerians in Diaspora Commission (NIDCOM):** In addition to its current remit of connecting with all diasporas Nigerian organizations which maintain links with Nigeria, the Nigerians in Diaspora Commission (NIDCOM) will be tasked with forging a strong connection between Nigeria and all African descendants in the diaspora, according to the AU definition of 'African in Diaspora'. Among other things, NIDCOM will:
 - **Work with INEC to attain Voting rights for passport holding Nigerians in the diaspora:** In 2017, the senior special assistant to the president on foreign affairs announced that there were **15 million Nigerians in the Diaspora**. This is a significant number of Nigerians whose voices are not being heard, as presently, only Nigerians who are resident in the country are eligible to vote. **In March 2022, the Nigerian senate**, consisting mainly of members of the regressive parties, APC and PDP, rejected an amendment to the electoral act that would have allowed passport wielding Nigerians in the diaspora to vote. This is disgraceful! An AAC government will push for legislation to create a legal framework for Nigerians in the diaspora to vote. Subsequently, NIDCOM will be instructed to work closely with INEC to facilitate the setting up of voting infrastructure in all our embassies abroad.
 - **Push towards the establishment of an African Union for Caribbean nations:** AAC considers the Caribbean nations as a part of our diasporan family. Evidence of this abounds; whether it is in the shared origins of the different variations of Pidgin English/Patois spoken by tens of millions of Nigerians and Caribbeans, or the traditional divinity practices that connect Nigerian and Caribbean syncretic religions, or our mutual love for fried plantains. This shared cultural history makes it imperative to widen the AU's function to cater to the welfare of all Africans across the world. To this end, an AAC government will campaign for the admission of Caribbean and Pacific countries to join the AU as voting members. We will also explore ways to engage with Africans in the Americas through NIDCOM.
 - **Right of return program for the descendants of kidnapped and enslaved Africans.** An AAC government will initiate a right of return program for

descendants of enslaved Africans. We will implement this program through national consultations. We will engage with and win the endorsement of members of communities where any resettlement is to be carried out, so that the program is implemented with their consent, and in a manner that mutually benefits both the communities concerned and our returning sisters and brothers.

- **Instituting an ECOWAS of the People:** The establishment of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in 1975 heralded great hopes of integration of peoples and national economies of the sub-continent. While some progress has been made in enhancing the movement of people, goods and services across the fifteen ECOWAS countries, we are still very far from the achieving the aspirations of West African people, almost half a century after the regional economic bloc was formed. The need for a more deep-seated integration resting on the popular basis of the people cannot be overemphasized. The following programs will be prioritized:
 - ECOWAS Monetary Union and Single Currency: the target of launching the *Eco* as a single currency by 2020 was abandoned. This was due to the inability of ECOWAS Member States to achieve macroeconomic convergence. While we take due cognizance of the challenges this poses, we do also appreciate the multifarious benefits that a single currency and an ECOWAS Central Bank would bring for the development and transformation of the sub-region. We will thus work assiduously, in conjunction with other ECOWAS Member States, to realizing a currency union of West Africa, with the *Eco* by 2030.
 - We will campaign for the building of an ECOWAS of the people, rooted in the ethos and spirit of the African Charter of Peoples and Human Rights. This will include the fullest participatory involvement of the peoples in the sub-region in the life of ECOWAS, including through referendums on revision of its treaty and key resolutions, as well as the strengthening of, and active involvement of pan-ECOWAS movements and organizations of the people such as trade unions, market traders' associations, peasantry, cooperative bodies, organized private sector and students/youth, in the regional bloc's decision-making structures and processes.

II. A New Global Political, Economic and Environmental Order

- **United Nations:** With the AAC in power, Nigeria will seek to shift the power of decision making and binding resolutions from the purview of the UN security council to the purview of the more democratic arm, the UN general Assembly. We will campaign for rescinding the veto power of the Security Council and insist that Africa and every other

region of the world must have at least a permanent seat on the UNSC. Global governance and development must no longer be constructed based on the World War II winner's prerogative in the 21st century.

Thus, we will equally demand a return to the principles of the *Declaration for A New International Economic Order* and the formulation of a radical program of action to put this into force, in the light of the damages wrought to the world with neoliberal triumphalism over the last four decades.

- **Alternative models of Multilateralism:** We will support global initiatives that strengthen multilateralism and the empowerment of countries to develop at their own pace, in ways that are best suited to their unique conditions, and the protection of Mother Earth. Where current multilateral institutions prove too difficult to reform, we will explore co-developing alternative institutions with change-seeking countries and peoples in the Global South, to cater to the developmental goals of countries bearing the burden of imperialist domination.
- **Reciprocity and mutual respect:** An AAC government will fiercely defend the integrity of the Nigerian people on the global scene. Nigeria will act with respect and responsibility towards other countries and will demand the same from other countries. Crucially, we will pursue a policy of reciprocity towards other nations, with a view to preserve our collective dignity.
- **Exit from the Commonwealth:** The commonwealth was established by the dying British empire to maintain political and economic influence over its ex-colonies. Today, it only serves as an outdated remnant of colonial nostalgia for the British ruling class and its settler-colonial outposts. For the rest of the Global South membership, we cannot point to any usefulness of the Commonwealth. The so-called Commonwealth did not stop the "Windrush scandal" where Britain forcefully deporting Jamaicans and other Black people from the Caribbeans who emigrated to Britain to rebuild the country after the second imperialist World War.

Being in the Commonwealth has not stopped Nigerian economic migrants from being extorted through exorbitant UK visa fees and immigration health charges, while people from European countries, who do not belong to the commonwealth are enthusiastically welcomed. Under an AAC government, Nigeria will immediately withdraw its membership from the Commonwealth. In addition, we will vigorously campaign alongside sister ex-colonies and communities who are seeking redress for the historical and recent injustices meted out to us by the British empire. This will include but will not be limited to the campaign for reparations to all ex-colonies of the British empire.

- **Campaign for the cancellation of all odious debts:** the debts which developing countries are supposed to owe are “mathematically unpayable.” And a significant number of these are illegitimate. The leading imperialist countries and the international financial institutions which they control use this as a means of economic and political domination and control. A genuinely new international order, which benefits all countries and peoples, must include the immediate cancellation of all odious debts. We will play a leading role in this respect, with other countries and the international civil society movement, which stands up against the injustice that these debts represent.
- **Transformation of the global financial, trade and tax systems:** there is no way that most developing countries will ever be economically independent, and the poor masses in our countries will be relieved of the burden of poverty and diseases, if the existing financial, trade and tax systems are maintained. A few countries control the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. International trade rules are developed by these same countries and foisted on us all. These rules allow \$32 trillion which could be used to wipe out poverty and build a better world to be salted away in tax havens due to an international tax architecture that promotes the interest of rich people and countries. As part of our advocacy for a New Global Order:
 - We will vigorously advocate for the democratization of international financial institutions to enable equal power for all peoples and the active decision-making involvement of the international trade union movement, international peasants’ movement, and international movements of all marginalized strata of the society including women, people with disabilities, and youth.
 - We will fight for the overhauling of the World Trade Organization and for the cancellation of plurilateral *free* trade agreements. We will insist that trade must be based on a democratic ethos that puts the health and wellbeing of people and the Earth before the profit of multinational corporations and the few who benefit from this. We will advocate for automatic waiver of trade-related intellectual property rights where necessary to enable pandemic preparedness and response, environmental emergency response, and systematic fighting of poverty.

- We will advocate for a new international tax regime which makes the rich pay their fair share in making the world a better place. Tax havens will have to be abolished. We will fight against tax-related race to the bottom, by combating illicit financial flows and setting a global corporate tax rate floor that will promote wealth distribution within and between countries.

III. Solidarity With Oppressed Peoples

- **Promote international relations** based on fostering the global struggle and solidarity of working-class people to defeat imperialist domination and win the total liberation of the exploited and oppressed people across the length and breadth of the world.
- **Foster Pan-Africanist unity** of the poor masses on the African continent, towards ensuring genuine, equitable social transformation of Africa and to create a safe haven and a source of hope and encouragement for Africans in the Diaspora.
- **Create a plan to address the legacy of slavery** and the reparation of our African descendent sisters and brothers globally, through the creation of a path to citizenship and a reparations scheme for them to return and live on the land.
- **Advocate for declaration of a global emergency on the climate** and ecological crisis, to inform adequate and urgent action by all governments.

Promote solidarity and mutual assistance with progressive social and political movements all over Africa, Asia, the Americas and the rest of the world in the true traditions of working people's mutual support and solidarity.



