Crisis of Nigeria's Neo-colonial Capitalist Economy and the Split in the Ruling Class-what is to be done towards the Revolution-in Permanence: Conditions for a Victorious Revolution

The conditions outlined by Lenin for a revolution to be consummated are summarised broadly as objective factors and subjective factors of history and a revolution becomes VICTORIOUS when there is a convergence of these: (1) abject poverty as more than 100 million Nigerians are said to be poor who could not afford $1 dollar a day, that is, more than =N=300 (three hundred Naira), more than 60 million of these are said to be JOBLESS, more than 10 million of the jobless are unemployed graduates-the official figure of greater than or equal to 35 million was the figure the Bureau gave more than 10 years ago; but at a retreat by the National Assembly, the unemployed were said to be 50 million more than 10 years ago!!! Poverty wages are being paid while austerity measures, as a result of the protracted CRISIS OF WORLD CAPITALISM which IMF and the ’’ECONOMIST’’ of London predicted would last 20 years meaning 20 years of cuts in living standards globally, are to be intensely increased in Nigeria in particular, as revenue from the main stay of Nigeria’s dependent capitalist economy decreases, the resultant of America’s SHALE OIL reducing the size of Nigeria’s world market; (2) the working people, the grassroots’ masses and most importantly, the working class, are prepared to resist under the influence of IMPERIALIST TRIUMVIRATE OF IMF, WORLD BANK AND WORLD TRADE ORGANISATION (WTO-formerly General Agreement on Trade and Tariff, GATT by the time General Babangida introduced the SAPIST conditions and austerity measures since 1985 which the Nigerian RUINING CLASS applied to destroy/debase NIGERIAN ECONOMY) as the grassroots (including working class as leaders) are not prepared to be ruled in the old...
ways ;(3) the middle class are in ferment as exemplified by their participation in the rehearsal for the REVOLUTION-IN-PERMANENCE, the January 2012 Revolution and 40-million strong spontaneous occupy movement on the streets as a result of 8-day GENERAL STRIKE that shook Nigeria;(4) the inability of the RULING CLASS to govern in the old ways as the GOVERNING CLASS are divided on how to solve the crises in NIGERIA’S NEO-CONIAL CAPITALISM as a result of the ruining class morbid adherence to obnoxious policies of NEO-LIBERALISM foisted on Nigeria by agents of IMPERIALIST POWERS who hold the country by the jugular for 30 years now!!!

NOW, on the subjective factor of history which should match the objective situations above, that is, one of the lessons of January 2012 REVOLUTION when the CONSCIOUSNESS OF GRASSROOTS’ MASSES MILITANTLY CHANGED AGAINST JONATHAN WITH A BANG!!!And this REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE in consciousness is what the TRADE UNION AND THE LARGER LABOUR MOVEMENT should consolidate and build on with the urgent RESUSCITATION OF LASCO AS THE ONLY UNITED FRONT OF ALL TENDENCIES IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT ACROSS ETHNO-RELIGIOUS LINES !!!This is what is playing out as the RULING CLASS CONTINUES TO CUT OUR LIVING STANDARDS.

But without the leadership of the forces of Marxism which are being built anyway by seismic events for the past 30 years both openly and covertly to set agenda for the LABOUR MOVEMENT, the REVOLUTION cannot be VICTORIOUS!!!THE REVOLUTION-IN-PERMANENCE,REVOLUTION-UNTIL VICTORY,REVOLUTION-FROM-BELOW needs a revolutionary Marxist leadership for FULL DEMOCRACY,GRASSROOTS’ DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM TO BE CONSUMMATED!!!
In a paper I presented entitled POLITICAL ECONOMY OF STRATEGIC PLANNING IN NIGERIA IN THE CONTEXT OF TRADE UNIONS, CIVIL SOCIETY AND ALLIANCE BUILDING, THE FUTURE OF LABOUR MOVEMENT AMIDST THE CRISIS OF WORLD CAPITALISM AND FUNDAMENTAL OBJECTIVES AND DIRECTIVE PRINCIPLES OF STATE POLICY, CHAPTER TWO OF 1999 CONSTITUTION: A Case Study of Centrally Planned Economy in China Versus "Free" Market Economy in India (1940-2012) at the University of Ibadan in December 2012 to commemorate the 100 years of trade unionism in Nigeria organised by Professor Funmi Adewunmi and Comrade Barrister Femi Aborishade, it was stated in the abstract that BOURGEOISDOM is collapsing at the microcosmic level of Nigeria which is reflecting the present deep crisis of global capitalism at the macrocosmic level in a dialectical fashion as a logical conclusion from the prognosis and laws by Karl Marx, Lenin and Trotsky who predicted from about 160 years ago in (1) Laws of cyclical economic crisis of capitalism which is even more rapid now as if it were written yesterday since the cycle is now about 5, or 6 or 7 or 8 and not up to 10 years in DAS CAPITAL, about 140 years ago, after the predictions in THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO written more than 160 years ago, (2) Law of the tendency for the rate of profit to fall; and (3) Law of combined and uneven development propounded by Lenin and Trotsky to prove that REVOLUTION can happen in an underdeveloped country which further explains colonial revolution for independence and against manifestations of NEO-COLONIALISM like the inseparable Siamese twin policies of DEREGULATION and PRIVATIZATION.

It is common place that the crises in Nigeria's neo-colonial capitalist market system have been increasing since General Babangida imposed IMF/ World Bank / WTO inspired SAP. The crisis in the
power sector, petroleum sector, financial, education, health, communication sectors etc.; are well known. But reforms and counter reforms since 1985 have been done illegally or unconstitutionally, against the letters and spirit of the grund norms - 1979 and 1999 Constitutions. Despite the MANTRA of rule of law being sung by the ruling classes at all tiers of government, human rights are being violated with impunity.

Perspectives for World Revolution

The world capitalist crisis is a long and protracted one. The IMF and the "Economist" of London have predicted that it would last 20 years meaning that the ruling classes would impose more austerity measures on the grassroots' masses. This economic crisis which is dragging every country down has no precedent in more than 200 years of capitalism.

In dialectics, the law which states that consciousness always lags behind objective reality is valid. Events all over the world, occupy movement in more than 100 cities in the USA, the Arab spring, revolutionary movements in Asia, Latin America especially the Bolivarian Revolutionary movements in Venezuela and Bolivia; in Africa, South Africa, Egyptian Revolution, the January 2012 Nigerian Revolution, Spain, the near takeover of power in Portugal, the recent mass movements in Italy, France, Mexico and the revolutionary mass action that overthrew Compaore in Burkina Faso have proved that the consciousness of the grassroots masses is matching the level of reality of the capitalist crisis. It is exploding with a bang.

That is exactly what a revolution is. The refusal by some left activists to give the second Egyptian Revolution or January 2012 Nigerian Revolution its birth certificate depicts their lack of understanding of what a revolution is or they are not genuine Marxists at all. How
could they describe the second Egyptian Revolution as a coup d'etat. A coup is a conspiracy of a small minority behind the grassroots masses.

Do you call 17 million people on Egyptian Streets conspirators? Lack of revolutionary Marxist leadership denied the 17 - million strong masses the opportunity of taking power since the leadership was confused. In the case of January 2012 Nigerian Revolution, there was no revolutionary Marxist organisation big enough to lead. But the Nigerian case study was led by the only united working class front called LASCO comprising NLC, TUC and radical left grand alliance*. It is disgusting to hear a pseudo Marxist like Jaye Gaskia who describes January 2012 Revolution as an "uprising" ( ordinary occupy movement which worships spontaneity that is what they always mean by their own ' Revolution - from - below ' misinterpreting Rosa Luxembourg anyway - spontaneity has limitations )." Revolution - from-below ", yes, but it must not be worshipped. We say : Revolution-in - Permanence in Nigeria, Revolution - until - victory, Revolution - from - below .January 2012 Revolution is a rehearsal for Revolution-in - Permanence in Nigeria! Our critique of social democrats, left reformists, ex Stalinists, the sects, sectarians, ultra - leftists and Anarchists, their political exposure and our attacks on them in terms of theoretical struggle would have to be sharply intensified.

Lessons of January 2012 Revolution. What lessons?

*In struggle and unity lies the strength of the labour movement.

* It is consistent struggle that will make Labour or any left party like PRP/DA/NCP/PMP/NAP ,e.t.c win the confidence of intellectuals/intelligentsia, middle class and the other strata of the grassroots that Labour can fight back.
* Labour should not succumb to divide-and-rule tactics.

* The trade unions centers, NLC and TUC should adopt a non-sectarian united working class front of all the tendencies or trends in the movement.

* An economic general strike can be made to dovetail into a political general strike.

* Labour should not just tell workers to stay at home but to join the picket lines and mass actions.

* An alliance forged in action by Labour and other civil society organisations should not be unilaterally broken.

* For any revolution, there is a counter-revolution.

* State repression and killings during the mass actions are reminiscent of parliamentary dictatorship (Bonapartism or civilian dictatorship and budding or growing (incipient) fascism on which activists should set agenda for Labour. How do we prevent military-police dictatorship, that is, a coup (a possibility) again in Nigeria? How do we defend picket lines and mass actions against attacks by the state and fascists?

* Embryonic organs of dual power were established at least on the economic plane and the picket lines/assemblies at work places and/or factories and the neighborhood grassroots action committees/grassroots assemblies on the streets and joint actions committees of trade unions.

* There is the need to RECLAIM THE LP FROM THOSE WHO HIJACKED IT and build the LABOUR PARTY as a revolutionary party on the basis of Socialism and Grassroots Democracy.
The focus of the TUC is encapsulated in the resolutions adopted in Benin, 2010 from which further lessons are learnt as follows: social security, social dialogue, Decent Work Country Programme, inadequate human capital development, poverty and corruption, sanitization of the banking sector to be in line with the existing labour standards, regulations and laws such as statutorily and constitutionally stipulated to revamp other areas of the economy; appropriate stimulus package for small business; legislation against casualization; for government to establish employment information centre; mandatory setting aside of a reasonable percentage of budget for workers training by employers; reversal of massive deindustrialization; rejection of neo-liberalism; no return of business as usual; conference supports a new model of economic development that is economically efficient, socially just and environmentally sustainable and calls on the labour movement in Nigeria, civil society and affiliates of TUC to mobilize to fundamentally change Nigerian economy so that it ensures respect for human rights including workers’ rights, gender equality, sustainable development that generate decent work for all; TUC’s opposition to casualization; opposition to all forms of discrimination; visible fight against corruption, bad governance and inept leadership; forging of new alliance with progressive bodies and strengthening of existing ones with the NLC, LASCO e.t.c., affiliates to compliment and cooperate on programmes, projects and other events at the centre; issue guidelines to the state councils of the TUC; organizing and unionizing the informal sector and other ununionised workplaces; charter of demands for political parties AND JOIN IN THE RE-ORGANISATION OF THE LABOUR PARTY (emphasis mine); TUC’s observation on labour laws; TUC women commission on women’s participation in politics; need for paradigm shift and a new model opposed to NEO-LIBERALISM; accountability and transparency;
Africa’s development of its national economies; opposition to speculative financial markets; TUC’s campaign for Global Jobs Pact; on Trade Union Declaration at G20 Summit in Pittsburg; Internationalism and opposition to IMF/World Bank/WTO.

In addition, LASCO, in some of its general meetings, resolved to adopt the Labour Party (January 17, 2009) and on February 22, 2010 proposed on forms of ACTIONS…..holding CANDLE EVENING/Demonstrations to reject the policy of deregulation; the need for LASCO standing committee to respond to issues; the need for LASCO to regularly make statements on the true position of the body on deregulation and other national issues; the need for a major press conference on LASCO opposition to deregulation and the state of the nation….and LASCO should go beyond its current limited agenda to define its agenda of struggle for POLITICAL POWER; and by extension the RE-ORGANISATION OF THE LABOUR PARTY TO MEET THE POPULAR EXPECTATIONS OF THE NIGERIAN WORKING PEOPLE.

TUC, NLC, Working People and Youth Alliance, WPYA, LASCO & Labour Party and their role in the Freedom Charter Campaign FCC, for a New Minimum Living Wage, System Change and Full Democracy to End Deregulation, Privatization, Neo-liberalism, Poverty, Corruption, Electoral Fraud, Climate Change, the Resultant Problems of National Question and Civilian Dictatorship.

TUC (formerly SESCAN) has been participating in partisan politics. It has not been sitting on the fence. Based on TUC’s historical documents, it cannot be politically neutral in terms of partisanship. That will be cowardly. It will be cowardice borne out of opportunism or political naivety, a political crime.
TUC (then SESCAN), in collaboration with the NLC, radical and pro-labour activists spear headed the 1989 Labour Party (NLP), “killed in the cradle”, (according to Prof Eskor Toyo), and moved into SDP. At different times Professors Babawale and Festus Iyayi advised TUC to participate in partisan politics (lectures organized by TUC). A problem analysis will be done presently, but let us raise a poser: Sectoral Reforms or System change, which way Nigeria?

This is a call to action on the grassroots masses to form the following STRUCTURES of struggle:

(1) Workplace or factory committees

(2) Popular Committees on Prices, Rents and Tariffs (PCPRT)

(3) Peasant committees in rural areas

(4) Working peoples self-defence committees/mandate protection committees

(5) Neighbourhood Grassroots Action Committee(s) on each street or in each community (Neighbourhood GAC(s)).

(6) Joint Action Committee of Trade Unions (JACTU) at local, state and central levels

(7) Grassroots assembly in each of the wards, state constituencies, local government areas (LGAs), federal constituencies and senatorial districts

(8) Working people’s assembly in each state to co-ordinate the Grassroots’ Assemblies

(9) Regional Grassroots Assembly in each of the six (6) geo-political zones.

(10) Supreme Grassroots Assembly at the center, Abuja.
MEMORANDUM FOR REVOLUTION-IN –PERMANENCE

DATE: June 1, 2014

FROM: ’Kunle Oladejo (A.K.A KULU TEMPER), President, Working People and Youth Alliance (WPYA) and Secretary-General, Marxist League for Workers’ Internationalism (MLWI-Sympathising Group of the International Marxist Tendency, IMT that has been giving critical support to Venezuelan Government which is leading the Bolivarian Revolution against Neo-colonialism and anchoring HANDS OFF VENEZUELA CAMPAIGN against imperialism ), Secretary for Labour, Democratic Alternative, DA, and Director of its party school (the only party school according to INEC at our Ilorin Convention in 2008, Director-General, INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR GRASSROOTS’ RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVE, INTERCEGRADI and Executive Secretary of its project, National Unemployed Labourers’ League (NULL); An agitator, propagandist, organizer, economic and political risks analyst, researcher and consultant (member, Political Commission of the Trade Union Congress, TUC)

TO: Labour-Civil Society Delegates in the National Conference and other activists, left reformists and genuine revolutionary comrades

SUBJECT: TURNING POINT: The political situation in Nigeria under civilian dictatorship and budding fascism-Beyond the Governing Class rule of Law, S.O.S to comrades-is a coup possible?

OTHER ESSAYS AND MEMORANDA ON CONTEMPORARY ISSUES OF NATIONAL FOCUS AND OTHER MATTERS ANCILLIARY THEREOF
ADVANCE TOWARDS A SUPREME GRASSROOTS’ CONFERENCE (OR ASSEMBLY) OF WORKING PEOPLE ON THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF NIGERIA’S NEO-COLONIAL MARKET SYSTEM AND THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE CRISIS OF WORLD CAPITALISM ON THE LABOUR MOVEMENT: FOR A FREEDOM CHARTER CAMPAIGN


Dear Comrades,

IS A COUP POSSIBLE? S.O.S TO LABOUR-CIVIL SOCIETY DELEGATES TO TNC, OTHER COMRADES, LEFT REFORMISTS AND GENUINE REVOLUTIONARIES

Earlier I had posted to facebook my comments on the intervention of foreign military powers on counter terrorism (I have refused to use counter insurgency because of the fallacy of hasty generalisation of the concept of insurgency to enable the state increase military expenditure under the pressure of imperialism and its adjuncts, military–industrial complexes in advanced capitalist countries which smacks of negative Keynesianism as the world powers try to buoy up world capitalism in serious crisis (its death agony after the collapse of BOURGEOISDOM and the end of CAPITALIST TRiumphalism in 2007-imperialism has been sponsoring small wars since 1945!!!)

This is what I shared:” I am sharing this to point out the following points
1. The imperialist powers especially the USA are notorious for destabilizing countries they perceive as too big to control and bring to the sphere of influence.

2. Have my comrades forgotten that America intelligence network had predicted the disintegration of Nigeria by 2015 and those documents from CIA/American War College revealed by TRIBUNE last year that the "North was preparing for war"?

3. That imperialism is not interested in Nigerian UNITY!!!

4. That the CIA/USA/IMPERIALISM has been accused of being the mastermind of Boko Haram since General Obasanjo-PDP central government hijacked it (BH was established in 2002 under his regime)

5. That MKO ABIOLA, a CIA agent via ITT was alleged to have been killed by a US citizen SUSAN who gave the tea he drank. Recall that MKO ABIOLA was involved in CIA/pro-imperialist coups in Nigeria like the General Babangida coup against General Buhari in 1985 and Dimka coup against General Murtala Mohammed in 1976.

6. That Western imperialism, from my own strategic studies as a Marxist-Leninist, apply double standards regarding international/world relations. It opposes the right to self-determination of pro-Russian activists in Ukraine and accuses Russia of destabilising the country forgetting that USA is destabilising Venezuela because that country is leading an anti-imperialist BOLIVARIAN REVOLUTION against world capitalism in its DEATH AGONY which is signalling the end of CAPITALIST TRIUMPHALISM for more than 20 years since 1989. Recall that imperialism lied against Gaddafi of Libya which they destabilize to stop the number one anti-imperialist country which succeeded Abdul Nasserite Egypt.
7. That the anti-imperialist BOLIVARIAN REVOLUTION in Venezuela would have been stopped in April 2002 had the grassroots masses including the labour movement not mobilized to re-install Comrade Hugo Chavez to power and that another pro-imperialist coup was aborted in the first quarter of 2016 by President Maduro who succeeded Comrade Hugo Chavez

8. That imperialism's DOUBLE STANDARDS were revealed by Russian intelligence on Syria versus rebel who are still backed by the imperialist powers most especially USA/SAUDI ARABIA which was accused by Russian intelligence and Syrian government of funding the use of chemical weapons through a SAUDI PRINCE!!!

9. That in fighting GUERRILLAISM, the kind of military strategy adopted by BH, all generals know that you can win SOME BATTLES, BUT YOU CANNOT WIN THE WAR!!! Case studies: VIETNAM, IRAQ, AFGHANISTAN

10. That we should also recall the NOTORIOUS ROLE being played all over the world by CIA/USA ARMY against populist regimes like Mousadeg's in the 1953 coup; 20 years after in Chile when CIA/ITT backed General Pinochet removed Allende from power and killed over 200,000 workers. And that pro-imperialist DUO of Generals OBASANJO and T Y DANJUMA sacked General Victor Malu because he opposed the invitation to Senior US Army trainers coming to train junior officers on the same course(s) for which many Nigerian Senior Army Officers have been trained in the USA!!!. Why doesn't Nigerian government learn from current events in Maiduguri where popular militia vigilante group's called CIVILIAN JOINT TASK FORCE, CJTF, is achieving some relative success. WHY HAS THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AT THE CENTRE NOT IMPLEMENTED SECTION 220 OF 1999 CONSTITUTION ON COMPULSORY MILITARY TRAINING FOR
ABLE BODIED NIGERIANS AGED 18 AND ABOVE(The answer lies in the regime of impunity since 1999 which dovetailed into President Jonathan's plans which could include a civilian coup/palace coup or outright military coup on the flimsy excuse of INSECURITY to impose pro-imperialist policies of the TRIUMVIRATE AGENCIES: IMF,WORLD BANK &WTO!!"

And labour,NLC and TUC corroborated the points above thus:"http://naijatelescope.wordpress.com/2014/05/12/labour-union-caution-fg-over-foreign-help/?utm_source=dlvr.it&utm_medium=facebook.

Labour Union Caution FG Over Foreign Help

Prominent leaders of the Nigeria Labour Congress and Trade Union Congress have fired warning to the federal government on the acceptance of foreign help to rescue the abducted Chibok girls...

Labour Movement and radical civil society organisation should demand for the investigation or probe to be initiated by the House of Representatives on the former Chief of Army Staff, General Ihejirika and other service chiefs sacked after a decided case determined the issue of their illegal and unconstitutional appointments in favour of the suit which Festus Keyamo took to Court, and the involvement of the Presidency in the sponsorship of BOKO HARAM TERRORISM.

U.S Wants Ihejirika’s Sudden ‘Billions’ Probed

http://pointblanknews.com/pbn/exclusive/u-s-wants-ihejirikas-sudden-billions-probed/#.VB8nw3Mo7KU.facebook

A former Chief of Army Staff, General Azubuike Ihejirika is in the cross hairs of the United States as that nation is insisting that the former
army top gun be probed for alleged diversion of funds meant for the procurement of weapons and other warfare equipment meant for the army.

Pointblanknews.com sources hinted that Ihejirika who arguably one of the wealthiest retired Generals allegedly pocketed billions of naira meant for the Army.

According to our source, the US Ambassador to Nigeria, James Entwistle raised the issue when he met recently with President Goodluck Jonathan in Abuja.

Ambassador Entwisle at the meeting at the Presidential Villa, said the U.S is particularly concerned about the sudden riches of Ihejirika.

Ihejirika, who was fingered as one of the sponsors of Boko Haram by the Australian hostage negotiator, Davies, is the front-runner for the Abia
Pointblanknews.com learnt that the US Ambassador told Jonathan that the Americans who were in Nigeria to assist in the fight against insurgents were shocked to find out that what was on ground did not match the billions allocated under Ihejirika’s watch.

There have been pockets of grumbling amongst the army rank and file over obsolete and some times lack of top shelf weapons. This boiled over when some soldiers mutinied against a General. Those soldiers were court martialed and sentenced to death.

In 2012 alone the defence budget for capital expenditure was N34.36 Billion with a whooping N5.71 Billion earmarked for the acquisition of equipment by the Army.

U.S President Barack Obama or the Secretary of state, John Kerry is expected to discuss the issue with Jonathan at some close sessions during
the United Nations General Assembly.

The alleged rot and high level corruption in the military, sources said, has affected the morale of the Americans who here as technical partners and advisers.

Entwistle, it was learnt told Jonathan, every top military officer should be held accountable if he wants the US to be part of the fight against insurgents.

Pointblanknews.com also gathered that the high level corruption, contract inflation and purchase of obsolete equipment and arms cut across the three services.

This rot made Defence minister General Aliyu Gusau to insist that every contract or procurement must pass through his office. Curiously, this move did not go down well with the service chiefs who had hitherto enjoyed
autonomy.

Said our source “ the Americans want Ihejirika and his cohort probed. They are insisting that the Government must hold thieving Generals accountable if Nigeria wants them to be part of the fight against Boko Haram” “The Ambassador expressed his nations unhappiness with what Ihejirika did with the billions allocated to the Army. They are insisting he be probed.

We all know he is one of the richest retired Generals around. He made billions that is why he wants to be Abia Governor,” said our source

REVOLUTION –IN-PERMANENCE -The need for Labour and its Civil Society Allies in LASCO to start a Freedom Charter Campaign

The strategic Objective of the FREEDOMCHARTER CAMPAIGN is to apply a political economy of development planning in the FUNDAMENTAL OBJECTIVES AND THE DIRECTIVE PRINCIPLES OF STATE POLICY, CHAPTER TWO OF 1999 CONSTITUTION for grassroots empowerment projects, good governance and working people’s democracy.

Objectives

(1)To examine all grassroots empowering instruments, the constitution and other relevant laws on development in the paper
(2) To share the experiences of centrally planned economies and their advantages over "free" market economies focusing on China and India

(3) To do a brief critique of "Asian Miracle"

(4) To look at sector reforms or system change as a way forward in Nigeria

(5) To examine the issues of accountability, transparency, best financial practices and corruption

(6) To further examine the issue of full federalism or fiscal federalism in relationship to a national minimum living wage demanded by labour

(7) To do a comprehensive critical analysis of neo-liberal economic paradigm or developmental state paradigm or the New Economic Paradigm

(8) To do a critique of deregulation and privatization

(9) To consider the resultant problems of national question, Niger-Delta crisis and other deep-rooted and violent conflicts, their implications for development focusing on the failure of Niger Delta Regional Development Master Plan (RDRDMP) in its first phase, 2006-2010, as a lesson for states in other regional geopolitical blocs. NDRDMP IS NOW SIX YEARS OLD.

(10) To further consider a set of transitional demands by civil society on governments at all levels and the labour movement.

FREEDOM CHARTER CAMPAIGN-The Manifesto of the Marxist Workers’ Tendency of the Labour Movement in Nigeria for System Change, Grassroots Democracy, Socialism and Reclamation of the Labour Party from Hijackers.
According to Alhaji Balarabe Musa, the leftist former Governor of Kaduna State between 1979 and 1981 on the platform of the People’s Redemption Party, PRP, “We are living today in times of great changes. The old order is crumbling fast and new ways of life and activities are emerging. Our task is to understand these changes and utilize them for human progress” (University of Ibadan, 1981 before he was impeached by the reactionary forces of the NPN which dominated the State Legislature). More than one hundred years before him, Karl Marx said: ”Philosophers have interpreted the world this way or that way, what matters is to change it”

On Sunday, July 28, 2013, one of the reactionary politicians and demagogues in NPN told Sunday Guardian that he wanted a “bloodless revolution”. No doubt social revolution is required to change the present capitalist social system to a new social order on the basis of grassroots democracy and socialism. But whether the social change is going to be peaceful or violent is a function of balance of forces, the balance of power equation as exemplified by the revolutionary situation in Egypt when the imperialist/Western backed Mohammed Morsi was removed and his far smaller supporters continue to protest and recently in BURKINA FASO!!!!.

The political situation in Nigeria is such that there are so many contemporary issues more than those listed by the Nigeria Labour Congress in a Communiqué referred to in this CHARTER. We hereby outline those issues around which the labour movement should seriously campaign, representing the forces of FUSION, THE ONLY UNITED FRONT of grassroots’ masses which has been cutting across the REACTIONARY forces of FISSION, the disintegrationist forces working to consummate the agenda of IMPERIALISM, FORMER COLONIAL MASTERS, TO BALKANIZE NIGERIA, which have been germinating on ETHNO RELIGIOUS CONFLICTS (see the expose in this
The January 2012 Revolution, which was a rehearsal for Revolution- in - Permanence in Nigeria, led by the NLC, TUC and LASCO as a PAN NIGERIAN MASS MOVEMENT cutting across ethno religious lines: minimum wage and the exclusive list, food and food security, inflation, insecurity and instability, deep-rooted conflicts, individual terrorism, guerrilaiasm and war, crisis in the education sector and other sectors, cumbersome provisions of FOI Act and Press Freedom, justice, land reform, child rights, pension, justice versus disobedience to the rule of law and impunity, full democracy/federalism, the Niger Delta, and constitutional reform versus system change.

A CRITIQUE OF JAYE GASKIA'S MYOPIC AND NARROW MINDED SOCIAL CHARTER, AN UNMARXIST-LENINIST PATH OF ECONOMISM: FREEDOM CHARTER CAMPAIGN IS THE HOLISTIC AND POLITICAL ECONOMY APPROACH

Human rights are inseparable. Whether they are economic, social and cultural rights (otherwise known as ECOSOC rights), political rights and new generation of rights or not, all human rights are labour rights, trade union rights and, of course, women's rights. "Economics determines politics, and it in turn influences economics....Politics is concentrated economics", according to V.I Lenin. ECOSOC rights are part of the "FUNDAMENTAL OBJECTIVES AND DIRECTIVE PRINCIPLES OF STATE POLICY" in chapter two of the 1999 constitution which is more than 90 percent 1979 constitution. Chapter two is the philosophical or ideological foundation of the supreme law regarded by the foremost constitutional lawyer, Professor Ben Nwabueze as the best part of that constitution and by the Emeritus Professor of Mathematical Economics and Political Economy, Eskor Toyo (in agreement with his
co-thinkers, Comrades Olaoye Sanda, Baba Omoyola and Ola Oni) as our socialist programme.

3. SPATIO-TEMPORAL DIMENSION OF ITS ENFORCEMENT AND/OR NON ENFORCEMENT

Ajaokuta steel mill, Aladja steel plant, other steel rolling mills all over the country, machine tools in Oshogbo, Kaduna refinery, low cost housing (Shagari Estates)/Jakande Housing estates, free education, free health, bursary awards, free education in Kaduna and Kano states were products of chapter two of 1979 constitution: "FUNDAMENTAL OBJECTIVES AND DIRECTIVE PRINCIPLES OF STATE POLICY". In fact, between 1979 and 1983, NPN-Shagari Government did not budget more than $50 billion, and for 4 years of Jakande's Government, he did not budget up to $1 billion. And Chief Jakande constructed the road that linked Epe with Victoria Island. Comrade Balarabe Musa wrote off the debt which my cousin, now a medical doctor who graduated from OAU and practices in the USA, owed to Kaduna state government. Governor Rimi got an award for his mass literacy programme when 500,000 people became literate and rural development projects.

But more reactionary forces and nouveaux riche class mentored by General Babangida's SAPping regime are now playing politics with the enforcement since 1999. The debate on whether chapter two is justiciable is not necessary since comrade Aturu (JUST DIED-MAY HIS SOUL REST IN PEACE) won a case against deregulation and privatization on the basis of our laws and the chapter two of 1999 constitution. It will be a PLUS if, as proposed by Comrade Femi Falana, one of the subsections of its section 6 is deleted (it is on the cards in the National Assembly's constitutional reform process). But in one of the decided cases by the Supreme court against a governor
of Ondo state on the issue of corruption, the oaths of office coupled with item 60 which places chapter two on the exclusive list and says that the National Assembly shall establish an authority to "promote and enforce" it leading to the enactment of Fiscal Responsibility Act and Procurement Act in 2007; and on December 1, 2009, the Chairperson of TNC, Rt Honourable Kutigi made the Fundamental Human Rights Enforcement Procedure Rules in which AFRICAN CHARTER ON HUMAN AND PEOPLE’S RIGHTS (in which are encapsulated ECOSOC and labour rights), cap 10, Laws of Nigeria, is cited by the then Chief Justice of Nigeria - and locus standi, on the basis of human rights jurisprudence, became a thing of the past. ACHPR, as part of our laws further enforces chapter two, and my friend, Comrade Aminu of PILL will agree with me that section 224 of 1999 constitution empowers us to institute a case against PDP and APGA whose manifestos and constitutions do not conform to it and chapter two should have been the parties to be deregistered!!! LP, Labour Party, and NCP have their constitutions and manifestos conform to section 224 and chapter two. All the left parties were unconstitutionally deregistered (Comrade Jiti Ogunye): PRP, NAP, DA, PMP, E.T.C. They have been singing the mantra of rule of law since 1999, but they, PDP governments, have been violently violating laws and most especially the constitution.

4. THE ECONOMY: The GDP has been re-based, but the ECONOMY is being debased from 1985! This is an era which signals the END OF CAPITALIST TRIUMPHALISM and the DEATH AGONY OF BOURGEOISDOM. An apposite historical perspective on how economic boom became doom for the desperately poor and the more than 60 million strong jobless, should have been given. I will do just that. It is common place that crises in Nigeria’s neo-colonial
capitalist market system have been increasing since General Babangida imposed IMF/World Bank/WTO inspired SAP.

The Campaign for Minimum Living Wage

In view of the fact that the defective 1999 constitution says in chapter two that: “…reasonable national minimum wage, old age care and pensions and unemployment, sick benefits and welfare of the disabled are provided for all citizens” (section 16(2) (d));

Considering that (1) naira has been devalued by more than 28,000 per cent since the 1980s and responsible for inflation; (2) that N125 (Basic salary) in the minimum wage law passed in 1981 without leading to inflationary spiral, was about $250 (now worth N60,000 when the rates of inflation and foreign exchange are calculated in addition to cost of living, (3) that neo-liberal economic policies, deregulation and non-intervention by the government to tame the market forces of demand and supply, inflation rate will go up again, cost of living will increase, consumers will cut their consumption and industries will not be able to sell creating stagnation in growth and inflation – STAGFLATION (recession and inflation); (4) that capacity utilization may be stagnant or even decrease, and this may worsen if the prices of petroleum in the world market fluctuate again and FG and marketers increase fuel prices again; (5) that PDP-led central government has been saying that MARKET FORCES WILL DETERMINE EVERY ECONOMIC POLICY OF THEIRS; (6) that before long, the extent of the devaluation of the naira could be imagined per dollar;

Remembering that in the short-sighted or myopic vision 2010, N18,000 minimum wage was recommended, (2) noting that in the exclusive legislative list, part 1 of the second schedule, item 34 forbids disparity created between the salary levels of federal and state public servants during General Obasanjo’s regime (1999 –
2007), Labour refused to accept that the state and local government cannot afford the meagre salary package as there are indeed enough resources to pay more in this country if FISCAL FEDERALISM were not abandoned in revenue sharing formula;

Further considering all these, LASCO should maintain that a N52,200 minimum wage and teachers salary structure can be paid if the government embarks on a programme which must include the restructuring of public expenditure, greater efficiency in the use of resources and the elimination of CORRUPT enrichment by government officials, legislators, political appointees, their relatives, friends, associates and smuggling, bunkering by powerful people (including serving and retired military officers); but we hasten to point out that in the absence of any price control mechanism, the new minimum wage is bound to result in the final analysis in higher inflation. It is necessary therefore for the federal and state governments to show their sincerity in this matter by working out with workers and the grassroots masses an effective price control mechanism through which the LASCO should play a leadership role;

In further view of the fact that a non-inflationary approach to increasing real wages and improving the living standards of workers is to improve social services and reduce their costs. That way, the workers income spent on accommodation, transportation, education, food and other basic necessities of life will come down, allowing more financial room for self-development and truly human existence which can be guaranteed if there is a SYSTEM CHANGE which LASCO has been campaigning for since 2005.

”Clear and Present Danger”- NATIONAL QUESTION, THE NIGER-DELTA CRISIS, OTHER DEEP ROOTED AND VIOLENT CONFLICTS AND THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION: Constitutional Reform or
System Change? For Social Revolution, Grassroots' Democracy and Socialism.

Being a paper presented by KUNLE OLADEJO, Director of Studies/Secretary, Governing Council, NIPID (DA'S Party School) and Secretary for Labour, NEC, DA][August 2008]

NATIONAL QUESTION AND THE NIGER DELTA CRISIS: August 14, 2008 will be remembered as the saddest day for the poor Niger-Deltans and Nigerian grassroots masses. Yar 'Adua, the "rule-of-law-abiding" President of Nigeria, the so-called advocate of due process, unconstitutionally handed over Bakassi Peninsula. This act is an impeachable offence and flagrant disobedience of court order.

The Bakassi issue again brought the National question more to the fore and deepened the problems in the Niger-Delta. The Niger Delta is of tremendous significance to system change, a new social order and transition to full democracy. This is where the limits of full democracy is being set and defined ".........the bulk of the country's bio-diversity and some of its best human resources" ("DEMOCRACY IN NIGERIA: Continuing Dialogue(s) for Nation Building" by International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance,(International IDEA, 2000)

The position of the Democratic Alternative is crystal clear on National Question. We (late Comrade Chima Ubani and this writer) presented the position paper by the Democratic Alternative (DA) to the Conference of Nationalities organised by the Campaign for Democracy (CD) held between December 17 and 19,1998 in Lagos entitled :
"RESOLVING THE NATIONALITIES QUESTION IN NIGERIA"
The (DA) concluded in the paper :
"In summary, the democratic Nigeria within which frame work the Nationalities and other social questions in our society can be resolved cannot be the one presided
over by the exploiters (bourgeois) class which thrives on ethnic politics as a means of confusing the people, diverting their attention from the real issues, dividing them in order to better secure their exploitation. The free Nigeria of our dream can only be realized in the context of the class power of the working people; cannot come to power without having a political party of their own or without organising themselves across ethnic lines. We, in the DA are committed to building a mass party of the working people of Nigeria and waging a total struggle to wrest power from the current exploiter class of military dictators and civilian politicians and build a new Nigeria where the vast wealth of our society will truly belong to the people and will be used for their welfare. This is our commitment"

Ethno – religious Conflicts

Observing the tinge of ethnicity in the military attack of January 15, 2004 on a community in Delta State, that religious bigotry, sectarianism, extremism or fundamentalism lead to armed conflicts, violence and individual terrorism, e.g the Taliban uprising and Boko Haram, all these deep-rooted conflicts have increased and evoked ethnic chauvinism and separatism; ceding the Bakassi Peninsula to Cameroun; other deep – rooted ethno-religious conflicts and the Niger – Delta crisis have brought the national question to the fore for resolution: The working masses of Nigeria are not ethnic chauvinists. It is the ruling class through selfish private accumulation of property or wealth created by labour, which has been setting the Nigerian poor masses against themselves by fanning the embers of ethnic and cultural chauvinism, separatist regional politics to disorientate the campaign for fiscal federalism. It is obvious that these rulers are not at all interested really in the unity of the grassroots masses, but in the division of resources and post among themselves. The governing
classes also intentionally fan the embers of ethnic and cultural differences in order to prevent the unity of the working people which threatens their ruling class interests as we witnessed in January.

According to Lenin, “In the question of the self-determination of nations, as in every other question, we are interested, first and foremost, in the self-determination of the proletariat within a given nation. What position did the Norwegian and Swedish proletariat take, and indeed had to take in the conflict over secession?

After Norway seceded, the class conscious workers of Norway would naturally have voted for a republic and some socialists voted otherwise, it only goes to show how much dense, philistine opportunism there sometimes is in European socialist movement (Emphases mine) (Asterisk in the original, pg 39).

Lenin explains the asterisk:* Since the majority of the Norwegians was in favour of a monarchy while the proletariat wanted a republic, the Norwegian proletariat was, generally speaking, confronted with the alternative either revolution, if conditions were ripe for it, or submission to the will of the majority and prolonged propaganda and agitation work” (Emphasis mine) (LENIN, “The Right of Nations to Self-Determination” PROGRESS Publishers – Moscow; Eight Printing, 1983 (pp 36-39)

Still on the Niger Delta which I see as the cauldron or point of conflagration, which has been providing the combustible materials to spark off the Nigerian revolution and/or counter revolution. It is in crisis that seriously threatens the march to full democracy. This region demonstrates one of the laws of dialectics in Marxist philosophy, the struggle and unity of opposites.

A short historical materialist perspective is apposite here.
HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

1886 and 1898 Witnessed gunboat diplomacy and exaction of treaties by coercion: Trading kingdoms which were flourishing in the first half of 19th century, but were later colonised: Aboh, Bonny, Brass and Opobo. Colonialism implies (1) unequal relationship between the Niger - Deltans and external forces with the Niger - Deltans being aware of (2) the loss of their fundamental human rights, (3) Master - servant relationship has existed between the dominant external force and the indigenes of the Niger Delta. The minority ethnic groups are interpreting neo-colonialism, since independence, as internal colonialism of the Niger-Delta by the majority ethnic groups.

Let us remind ourselves of the concessionaire era in the recent history of the region (1914-1969). Monopoly of oil concessions in Nigeria was granted to "British or British allied capital" through the 1914 Colonial Minerals Ordinance. Nigerians were excluded from any meaningful participation in the industry due to that 1914 legal framework. Shell Darcy and later shell-BP were granted licenses for most of the Niger Delta. Some of shell's petroleum acreage were surrendered to Mobil, Gulf (now Chevron), Agip, Safrap (E L F), Texaco, other oil multinational corporations and the state from 1957.

The 1959 Petroleum profit tax Ordinance gave 50% of oil revenue to the government and the other to the multinational Corporations (MNCS) "........... under the concessionaire era, the oil industry was dominated by the oil multinationals, (and) government's role was limited to collecting rents and royalties from oil Companies and making laws to regulate the activities of the industry"(AMU, a former Director of NNPC, noted in 1982)

The Niger-Delta, a point of conflagration providing the combustible materials to spark off the Nigerian Revolution for approximately 20 (twenty) years now (specifically since the 1990s) witness the Ogoni Resistance movement against Shell. We have also seen deep-seated Conflicts (inter-ethnic) in the region: Ijaws/Yoruba, Ogoni/Okrika, Itsekiri/Urhobo, Ijaw/Itsekiri, Ogoni/Andoni and intra-ethnic conflicts between Nember/Kalabari, Bassambri/Ogbolomabiri, and Okpoma/Brass.

The central and State governments encourage violent conflicts leading to State repression and/or informal repression. Sequel to this, individual terrorism, guerrilaiasm (rural/urban), abduction or Kidnapping, and hostage taking (particularly workers in the oil industry) Started in 1998. After Kaima declaration of December 11, 1998, the central government reacted with military operations against the youths leading to Egbesu wars.

What are the issues thrown up?

Restructuring Nigeria and right to self-determination? Including right to resource control implying relative autonomy?

Ogoni Bill of Rights (October 1990) in which a reparation of $30 billion (1958 - 1990) was demanded. In the document, it is stated that the Ogonis lack representation in the Central government, pipe borne water, electricity, job opportunities in Central, State, Public and Private sector companies, and benefit from no socio-economic projects of the Central government.

According to Ken Saro Wiwa, "Shell Petroleum Development Company of Nigeria Limited does not employ Ogoni people at a meaningful or any level at all, in defiance of the Federal Government's regulations. That the search for oil has caused severe
land and food shortages in Ogoni, one of the most densely populated areas of Africa. That Ogoni people lack education, health and other social facilities. That it is intolerable that one of the richest areas of Nigeria should wallow in abject poverty"

=> Poverty and lack of infrastructure development.

=> Gender equality.

=> Environmental degradation.

=> Implications of the Niger-Delta Crisis and other deep-sealed conflicts on the transition to full democracy.

I would like to remind participants of the problems engendered by deep-seated and violent conflicts, not only in the Niger Delta (constantly bringing the National Question more to the force), throughout Nigeria. But Nigeria's neo-colonial market economy, Capitalism alias "Neo-liberalism" is the causative factor of the crises as follows.

- Poverty, including unemployment.

- Marginalisation

- Oppression, exploitation and exclusion of women.

- Lack of infrastructure

- Irresponsibility of the oil companies (especially in dealing with the environment) and other MNCs operating in Nigeria.

- Deep-rooted conflicts which as Malcolm X said," You cannot have capitalism without racism". I add that "you cannot have capitalism without racism, deep-seated ethno-religious and violent conflicts, Xenophobia and other forms of discrimination ", the position of the International Marxist Tendency at the World Conference Against
Racism (WCAR) in 2001 organised by the UNO to which I was invited by the world body, but ill-health prevented me from participating.

The present cauldron in Nigeria, the Niger-Delta is currently in a state of war. But the other points of conflagration occasioned by electoral fraud and deep ethno-religious conflicts germinate constitutional crisis and wars.

“2015: North prepares for war • Beware of another civil war, US report warns Nigeria

Posted to the Internet by: Steve Ogbonmwan <Steveogbonmwan@aol.com> On Jul 21, 2013, at 3:19 PM

Written by Olawale Rasheed - Abuja Sunday, 21 July 2013 00:15

A new report entitled “Nigerian Unity in the Balance” authored for the United States Army War College has, again, warned Nigerian leaders to beware of another civil war or an outright break-up following what it called on-going divisive trends in the country.

The report released by the Strategic Studies Institute of War College was written by two former American servicemen, Gerald McLaughlin and Clarence J. Bouchat. McLaughlin is a graduate of the U.S. Army War College while Bouchat is also an adjunct professor at the U.S. Army War College (USAWC)

The report, whose foreword was written by the Director, Strategic Studies, Institute and U.S. Army War College Press, Professor Douglas Lovelace, observed that divisive forces were becoming more stronger than uniting forces in Nigeria, warning that unless this was reversed, Nigeria`s existence could be jeopardised.

According to the report, “Parochial interests created by religious, cultural, ethnic, economic, regional, and political secessionist
tendencies are endemic in Nigeria. Under such stresses, Nigerian unity may fail.

“Should Nigeria’s leaders mismanage the political economy and reinforce centrifugal forces in Nigeria, the breaks to create autonomous regions or independent countries would likely occur along its previously identified fault lines,” the report warned.

“Having already experienced one brutal civil war, Nigeria is at risk for a recurrence of conflict or dissolution, especially since some of the underpinning motivations of the war remain unresolved,” the report observed, detailing many fault lines speeding up disintegrative tendencies in the country.

“Indeed, East Timor, Eritrea, Croatia, and Somaliland indicate that the weakest point of failing states is along colonial borders. Of more interest for Nigerian unity is that this may also occur between regions separately administered by a common colonial power, as occurred between Malaysia and Singapore, and North and South Sudan, where differences proved irreconcilable after the departure of British administration. At least, some of the resulting regions and states of a possible Nigerian devolution may divide along such internal lines,” the report projected.

While conceding that Nigeria’s fate is primarily in the hands of Nigerians, the report noted that such could be positively affected by actions of the US, adding that “Nigeria’s future is in balance and the United States should help tip the scales.”

The report particularly warned that religious differences were taking the centre-stage in the emerging conflict situation in the country, disputing repeated reports that economic reasons were to blame for the insurgency and other conflicts in the country.
The Strategic Studies Institute (SSI) is part of the U.S. Army War College and is the strategic-level study agent for issues related to national security and military strategy with emphasis on geostrategic analysis”.

“Arms stockpile: North prepares for war over 2015?

Written by Tayo Babarinde

Sunday, 21 July 2013 00:00

RECENT discoveries and interception of arms and ammunition in some parts of northern Nigeria has raised fears and alarm in security and southern political circles as to the goals of the forces behind the smuggling of arms. While similar arm discoveries had happened in some southern states in recent past, the frequency of such discoveries in the North in recent days has reportedly increased the level of intelligence shadowing and surveillance in the area.

As insurgency remains a major headache in the Northeastern part of the country, the growing cases of arm stockpile in the North-West states are said to be giving security analysts sleepless nights, especially as clues as to the motives of the masterminds are yet unclear. As of the time of filing this report, security agencies are said to be focusing on both local and external sources in their bid to unravel the sudden surge in the trafficking menace.

Sunday Tribune was told that the initial suspicion was that the importation of arms was due to transnational islamist terrorists arming local jihadists, as well as using Nigeria as a transit route in the Sahel arms and related smuggling trade. This line of thought was reported to be the main preoccupation of the security agencies for sometime until in the last one month when political motivation reportedly entered the review process.
While analysts are yet to find direct linkage between political actors and the arm storage and smuggling, there are fears that threats from key leaders suggest a zone preparing for war depending on the outcome of the 2015 race. An insider told Sunday Tribune that the intensity of arm stockpiles correlates with the heightening of tension and mounting attacks on the presidency by political opposition and political dissenters within the ruling party.

It will be recalled that the arm cache found in Kano is still a mystery despite the ongoing prosecution of the Lebanese involved in the entire saga. The security agencies are also said to be at a loss over what alleged Hezbollah Shiite agents will be doing with the Sunni-led Boko Haramists on the arms stockpile. Boko Haram is said to belong to the Sunni school of Islam, attributing a link between them and the Lebanese under trial over the arms cache is said to be proving very difficult among intelligence analysts in the country. Though it is being suggested that the Shiite group could have its own separate mission in the country.

The Kano arms discovery, therefore, is reported to have given rise to many theories, one of such is the possibility of a non-religious involvement, with political undertone being the chief reason. This theory was said to have gained ground after the Zamfara State government got embroiled in an arm importation controversy, claiming it wanted to arm vigilance groups in the state. The way and manner the state government imported the arms allegedly without police approval had since become a subject of investigation which is said to be attracting attention of many within the security circles.

A security official confessed under the condition of anonymity that importation of arm without prior approval is a violation of the law.
Said he: “for a state government to have done that, it is a matter to be taken seriously”.

Though the Zamfara State government had since justified its action on the need to combat criminal gangs operating freely in the state, keen watchers of the 2015 drama, however, pointed out that arming vigilantes in the countdown to 2015 sent mixed signals. Many people believed that once Zamafara succeeded on this matter, other state governments would follow suit, leading to proliferation of arms in the country and a potentially explosive electoral year in 2015.

While the controversy over Zamfara arm importation is still boiling, a tanker filled with assorted arms and ammunition was impounded between Kebbi-Zamfara axis with the source of the importation still unknown.

With hundreds of such tankers in remote parts of northwestern Nigeria, fears are spreading that there may be a deliberate programme to acquire arms by some unknown elements in the northern parts of the country ahead of 2015 elections.

Four days after the tanker was impounded, another arm cache was discovered in the sleepy state of Jigawa with exchange of fire between security agencies and those described as Boko Haram operatives. Security analysts, however, faulted the reference to Boko Haram, as Jigawa has never witnessed any Boko Haram attack since the insurgency started. Others claimed the exchange of fire did not explain the owner of the arms or who masterminded their stockpile in the state.

Another source told Sunday Tribune of the fear being nursed in that sector, saying “the situation is scary. We cannot say for sure that all these arms are imported by islamists. We cannot prove that. We can
also not prove that politicians are behind the caches of arms for electoral purposes. All what we know for sure is that there is an arms build-up in the core North”, the security, a security official, said.

While the real motive behind the huge arms stockpile is still under investigation by security agencies, the statement credited to the Chief of Staff to the President, Chief Mike Oghiadohme, warning against civil war is cited by other analysts to argue that the presidency already has more facts over security situation in the country and, particularly, about arms build-up in northern part of the country than it is letting out. Oghiadohme had called attention to the tragedy of the last civil war, warning that leaders and elders should beware of actions and utterances capable of plunging the nation into another conflict.

The arms build-up situation has become an open issue within the Nigerian military, which is battling insurgency in the North-East. Though the military is not ruling out political opportunism, it however suspects the Islamists to be behind the arms build-up, while the wider intelligence community are fingering political forces as being neck-deep in the menace.

Sagir Musa, spokesman of the Joint Task Force in Borno, while confirming the arms proliferation gave greater insight into the problem facing the North and the country as a whole in a recent statement on the issue.

Said he: “Nigeria’s borders are massive with hundreds of footpaths crisscrossing to neighbouring countries of Cameroon, Chad and Niger with links to Mali, Libya and Sudan. From conservative estimate by locals, there are well over 250 footpaths from Damaturu/Maiduguri axis that link or lead direct to Cameroon, Chad or Niger. These paths, which are mostly unknown to security agencies, are unmanned,
unprotected and have continued to serve as conveyor belts for arms and ammunition trafficking into Nigeria.

“It is disheartening and unfortunate that the “merchants of death” have since devised methods to beat security agencies at the borders, chief among them, through the footpaths. These methods include the use of camels, donkeys and cows to traffic arms, ammunition and drugs such as cocaine into Nigeria. The fact that the weapons are small, light and collapsible makes it easy to be concealed and moved on camels and donkeys’ backs in a specially crafted skin or thatched bags mainly meant for the illegal “expedition” undetected. Similarly, some cows and grains merchants in the North-East sub-region of the country device means of hiding cache of arms and ammunition in empty fuel tankers, vehicle engines and bags of grains.

“The “grains” are transported in large number via trucks, trailers, lorries and old model pickup vans and Jeeps with little attention given to them by security agents. The use of Jega-type of tricycles (KEKE-NAPEP) as well as camels, donkeys, and cows (moving in flocks) to deceive, hide and conveniently traffic arms in some parts of the North are ways hitherto unknown, not well known”, Musa noted.

He explained further that “the Libyan and Malian rebels are desperate to exchange arms for money to Boko Haram terrorists, their financiers and collaborators as the sect has since been affiliated to Al-Qaida in the Maghreb. This has added to the overwhelming challenge of the influx of illegal aliens, arms, ammunition and sophisticated IED materials into the country and an efficient and effective fight against terrorism”, Musa had stated.

Sunday Tribune was, however, told that the political angle is already taking the center stage of discreet investigation into the discoveries. Already, it was gathered that investigation into the Kano arm caches
has been extended to foreign soil, while the security agencies are said to be mounting pressure to ensure that Zamafara vigilantes are not armed with weapons.

As the arms influx expands, the questions on the lips of keen security analysts are many. Who is preparing for war? Is the North becoming a Somalia? And is the South too secretly building up its own arms, and /or has not been undetected? Could the flexing of muscles by politicians a subtle declaration of war over 2015?

Only a thorough investigation by the security agencies can provide the necessary answers “

What is the position of Lenin on this war and Revolution?

War and Revolution

According to Lenin, “It seems to me that the most important thing that is usually over looked in the question of the war, a key issue to which insufficient attention is paid and over which there is so much dispute – useless, hopeless, idle dispute, I should say – is the question of the class character of the war, what caused that war, what classes are waging it, what historical and historico –economic conditions gave rise to it, and what is the war being waged for.

From the point of view of Marxism, that is, of modern scientific socialism, the main issue in any discussion by socialists on how to assess the war and what attitude to adopt towards it is this: We Marxists do not belong to that category of people who are unqualified opponents of all wars.

We say our aim is to achieve a socialist system of society, which, by eliminating the division of mankind into classes, by eliminating all exploitation of man-by-man and nation by nation, will inevitably eliminate the very possibility of war.
But in the war to win that socialist system of society we are bound to encounter conditions under which the class struggle within each given nation may come up against a war between the different nations, a war conditioned by this very class struggle. Therefore, we cannot rule out the possibility of revolutionary wars, i.e. wars arising from the class struggle, wars waged by revolutionary classes, wars, which are of direct and immediate revolutionary significance…”Lenin saw in class struggle and war a dialectical relationship. He also knew that a strike movement as a method and weapon of class struggle is a war between the working class, the proletariat, and the capitalist ruling class, the class of the oppressors and exploiters, the dominant class in a “free” market economy which worships neo- liberalism or neo – classical synthesis.

He quoted “the dictum of Clausewitz, one of the most famous writers on the philosophy and history of war, which says. War is a continuation of policy by other means”

He, therefore, recommended “class struggle and war to win peace and end all wars”


DEEP –SEATED CONFLICTS IN NIGERIA AND THEIR IMPACTS ON DEMOCRACY AND GOOD GOVERNANCE - THE NEXUS BETWEEN POVERTY, CONFLICTS, REPRESSSION AND ELECTORAL VIOLENCE

Frequent expression of youth grievances through violence reflects levels of alienation of the youth from the political decision- making processes. Entrenchment of violence by means of legitimate grievance expression is caused by the failure of the system to increase access to such peaceful awareness for inclusion. Needed is a
systematic infusion of the knowledge, attitude base and skills to access the peaceful grievance expressions and resolution potentials afforded for the existence of a vibrant, people-focus legislature or National Assembly.

About 70% of Nigerians were reported by the "National Concord" of September 7, 1999 to be poor and that the number living below poverty line increased from 17.7 million to 67.1 million by 59.4 million between 1980 and 1996.

There are at least 10 million unemployed graduates in Nigeria, but the ILO figure is higher at 37.5 million for all the jobless while the Federal office of statistics gives a figure of 35 million.

The National Assembly has also quoted 50 million as the number of the unemployed. If the system does not concretely set into motion machinery for solving the problems of unemployment, the resultant macro-economic instability could derail the transition to full democracy as there is a nexus between poverty and conflicts-deep-seated or ethno-religious.

The present democratic experiment has the framework for information dissemination on development alternatives, awareness spreading on how the system could support reforms and enforce human rights especially the right to development, the right to self-determination, resource control etc. through legislative and judicial processes.

We have seen the role being played by the unemployed, the poor grassroots especially youth in the prosecution of past and present inter and intra ethno-religious conflicts in Jos (Platous State), Idi-Araba, Surulere (Lagos State), Warri (Delta State), and since May 29, 1999, the beginning of this transitional democracy.
Levels of alienation of the youth from the political decision-making processes are underscored by the frequent expression of youth grievances through violence.

Failure to heighten access to such peaceful awareness for inclusion that currently exists in the system can only entrench violence by means of legitimate grievance expression.

Needed is a systematic infusion of the knowledge, attitude base and skills to access the peaceful grievance expressions and resolution potentials afforded for the existence of a vibrant, people-focus legislature.

According to Professor Ahmadu Sassay of Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, conflicts can be categorised into two types: "interest related and value-related." He said that interest –related conflicts are more easily managed than the value-laden conflicts which are more difficult to resolve or manage (February 1999). (Train-the-Trainers Workshop.AFSTRAG / ACCORD/CASS, Ibadan, February, 1999 convoked by Major General Ishola Williams).

“Ethnicity .... Includes but is not limited to ethnocentrism. It is behavioural in form and CONFLICTUAL in content. First, ethnicity exists only within a political society consisting of diverse ethnic groups... Relations between ethnic groups within the same political system produce ethnicity"(Emphasis ours) (“ETHNICITY IN NIGERIA" Prof. Okwudiba Nnoli, Department of Political Science, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, 1987; pp 5 & 6).

In July 1999, several people died as a result of clashes between ethnic Hausas and sub-ethnic Remo speaking Yorubas in Shagamu and the retaliatory attacks on ethnic Yorubas and non-indigenes in Kano by Hausas. Meanwhile, the Niger-Delta crisis worsens, inter-
ethnic conflicts deepen especially in Warri, Delta State; the clash between Ijaws and sub-ethnic Ilaje speaking Yorubas in Ondo State.

We witnessed the Ife/Modakeke crisis, TIV, Jukun war of attrition, the Ogoni crisis (1992 - 1995), Zango-Kataf crisis (1992), Bauchi civil disturbances, riots in Kano and other Northern states (1980) and other inter-religious holocausts of the 1980s and 1990s, the Nigerian civil war (1967 - 1970) which was sparked off by the pogrom of ethnic Ibos in the North as a result of the coup and counter coup of 1966, the bloody TIV riots of 1959, 1960 and 1964.

Speaking on "Unitary and Centripetal Developments: 1966 - 1998" in his paper: "SETTING THE AGENDA FOR CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT" at the Conference of Nationalities in December, 1998, Professor Itse Sagay said, "With the military take-over in January, 1996 centralization of governmental powers, followed centralization of command. General Gowon who was the military head of state from August 1966 to July 1975 was mainly responsible for this development. It is indeed ironical, that Gowon as Head of State, after overthrowing the government of General Ironsi, his predecessor and killing him, was that by Decree 32 of 1966, Ironsi tried to establish a unitary government for Nigeria by abolishing the regions. Indeed, one of the first things Gowon did was to repeal decree 32 of 1966. And yet it was under Gowon's government that the regions, later states, became systematically emasculated.

Apart from various individual Decrees, the very first decree issued by every successive military regime usually destroys the foundations of federalism".

Prof. Sagay continued that the military governments "completely undermined the federal status of Nigeria by giving itself the power to make laws for the peace, order and good government for the whole
of Nigeria with respect to any matter whatsoever. It is as if the regions or later states did not exist." (Prof. Itse Sagay, Conference of Nationalities, December 1998).

Let us consider the PROPOSAL by the leading authority on CONSTITUTIONAL LAW, Professor BEN NWABUEZE posted to the internet by FUBARA DAVID WEST: From:"Fubara David-West davidwest62@yahoo.com [NaijaPolitics]" <NaijaPolitics@yahooogroups.com>

Date:Tue, 4 Nov, 2014 at 7:42 PM

Subject:[NaijaPolitics] Re: [africanworldforum] STATES CREATION: PROFESSOR NWABUEZE MAKES A COUNTER PROPOSAL

This is a thoughtful proposal. Nigeria should not create any more states. Furthermore, the regional conglomeration of states, should have the exclusive authority and obligation to create local governments within their jurisdictions, and to fund them with 95 to 100 percent of revenues, generated within those jurisdictions, including the local government districts.

I thank you.

Fubara David-West.

On Tuesday, November 4, 2014 10:07 AM, Okwukwe Ibiam <o.ibiam@gmail.com> wrote:

Sunday, November 2, 2014

Igbo elders propose regional govts, restructuring by Ihuoma Chiedozie, Enugu

The Igbo Leaders of Thought, a body of eminent socio-political leaders in the South East, has rejected the creation of 18 additional
states in the country as recommended by the recent National Conference.

The group, which is led by Prof. Ben Nwabueze, insisted on the restructuring of Nigeria into ‘regions or zones,’ and the devolution of powers to these units, at its meeting in Enugu.

They argued that restructuring the country, and ceding 50 per cent of the powers currently wielded by the Federal Government to the zones, would provide the enabling environment for a peaceful, united and progressive Nigeria.

Also, they pointed out that the zones would develop at their own pace, and according to their peculiar characteristics and needs, without interference.

Nwabueze, who addressed journalists after the meeting, faulted the confab’s recommendation for creation of additional 18 states, noting that the proposal was not in line with the need to restructure the country.

He noted that the proposed restructuring did not necessarily require the dissolution of the existing 36 states but their merger along regional lines.

Nwabueze said, “To create a better, new and united Nigeria, the federation should be restructured in a way that at least 50 per cent of the central powers will be handled by larger political units to allow these individual units to develop at their own pace and way without interference.

“By restructuring, we mean the merging of the existing 36 states into zones not necessarily the dissolution of the states.
“So when you take away about 50 per cent of the powers of the central government and give them not to the existing 36 states not even to talk about the 54 states, but to zones which are larger political units better equipped to handle such additional powers.

“This is the whole essence of what we are saying.

“The zones can do this without doing away with the states because it took a lot of effort to create these states.

“This is part of the decisions we have taken resulting from the decisions of the delegates at the National Conference.”

He listed the benefits of restructuring the country to include ‘good leadership, quality democracy, social and economic rights, accountability and adequate security.

**COMMENTS BY THE FREEDOM CHARTER CAMPAIGN**

*The proposal by Professor Ben Nwabueze-led organization is coming at a time when TNC put forward some reactionary recommendations which included creation of more states. In 2001, the UNITED ACTION FOR DEMOCRACY, UAD, the National Coordinating Council of which I am a foundation member (since 1997) representing the CAMPAIGN FOR WORKERS’ AND FARMERS’ DEMOCRACY as the full-time and Secretary-General since 1994 (it is now an affiliate of the WORKING PEOPLE AND YOUTH ALLIANCE, WPYA of which I am the President)-UAD became the first CSO/political movement to have a MODEL CONSTITUTION placed before the National Assembly. Comrades from the DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVE, DA, of which I have been its Secretary for Labour after the Jos Convention in 1998-Late Chima Ubani, Late Bamidele Aturu, coming fresh from the DA’s National Conference on Ethnic Minority Rights, in Abuja, where one of our resolutions creation of 6"
or more regions with their own constitutions including states with their own constitutions. UAD started the campaign for REFERENDUM, under Dr Olisa Agbakoba as the first Convener during which UAD forwarded 1 million signatures to the National Assembly.

But that part of UAD’s model constitution requires an ADDENDUM: I am proposing that the American Presidential system modified as President-in- Council in which Vice-Presidents elected by each Region will be in the council for six years with each representative of a region as a Vice-President holds OFFICE for 1 year in turn in alphabetical order of the region’s name, be jettisoned for the system which is not cumbersome and very expensive like the Presidential system. I propose an AMALGAM, the French or Russian model where the President-in-Council takes charge of the armed forces and foreign affairs while a Prime Minister takes charge of the economy and other domestic affairs. How is the AMALGAM, French/Russian model to be applied in Nigerian context?

I participated in many discussions before TNC was inaugurated. One of it was chaired by Dr Tunji Braithwaite for the SOUTH WEST. Description of the Presidential System as cumbersome and expensive forms part of the Resolutions. Another one being the proposal for decentralisation and power to be devolved to the REGIONS/ ZONES. Before this, PRONACO led by Late Chief Enahoro, Professor Wole Soyinka and Late Beko Ransome Kuti, after extensive research and a National Conference at Magodo, Lagos State recommended 18 regions in its Model.

It is easy to start from the central level thus: (1) The six Zones are created as REGIONS which will have a PARLIAMENT of 2 (two) chambers, Regional House of Assembly and House of Chiefs (to be
restricted to cultural affairs and religion with the Chair of each state Traditional Council as members in the Region). Each Region elects a Vice-President into the Central Government for 6 (six) years in the case of 6 regions or for 18 years in the case of 18 regions. If there are 6 regions, each Vice-President holds Office as President-in-Council for 1 year in turns beginning from 2015 without postponing the general elections. A PREMIER/DEPUTY PREMIER emerges from each REGIONAL HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY rotated among the states in the Region according to the formula in ITS constitution. In the case of 18 Regions, according to PRONACO, each Vice-President holds Office at the Centre as President-in-Council for 4 months. A Prime Minister emerges from the House of Representatives as a parliamentary system without term limits while the Senate as the upper chamber is retained.

(2) While this “system change” continues, by 2018, the present SENATORIAL DISTRICTS would have become states making a total of 109 states with each State represented by 1 person at the Senate. The Governor/Deputy Governor of each state emerges from the State House of Assembly without term limits.

(3) States can then create as many LOCAL GOVERNMENT COUNCILS as possible

Resurgence and persistence of ethnic and religious conflicts are borne out of divide and rule tactics of the colonial masters, 28 years military rule and unitary system which destroyed federalism, crisis in Nigerian economy, and the secularity of the state not being enforced.

To guarantee their privileges, selfish interests and the status quo of corruption, mismanagement and mis-leadership, the ruling elite
manoeuvre to fan the embers of ethno-religious chauvinism and conflicts.

Informal repression and deep-seated conflicts have relevant features which are briefly outlined as follows:

a) Economic: distribution of resources, territory, economic power, employment prospects;

b) Identity: more complex, persistent and ingrained, uncompromisable, non-negotiable and cannot be traded-off;

c) Persistence: ethnic conflict as an example.

Conflict can be positive or negative. It is the interaction of antagonistic aspirations and goals in which disagreements are processed, but not finally resolved. But conflicts are manipulated in such a way that as part of the divide and rule policy of elite in power, state sponsored violence erupt. According to Article 19 (International Centre Against Censorship) in a report entitled "DEADLY MARIONETTES" (October 1997),"often this has entailed stimulating ethnic violence, either favouring one faction against another in long-standing and latent rivalries or inciting new ones between communities which had previously lived together in harmony.

Typically this phenomenon of state sponsored communal conflict ... appears to be a self-fulfilling prophecy, justifying the government's claim that democracy would be accompanied by ethnic strife".

The state resorts to a different means of repression so as to avoid public opposition since siding specific factions in persistent or potential disputes or inciting fresh conflicts affords the elite in power to shift the blame for human rights violations on ethno-religious clashes.
From the problems of informal repression associated with conflicts, informal repression can be simply defined as a surrogate repression lying outside the direct controls of formal security legislation and which are exercised by state security agents at one end and by unknown persons at the other end. Ogoni versus Andoni war is a fresh example.

Exclusive electoral process: Electoral and post-electoral conflicts.

"electoral and post-electoral conflicts are the result of incompatible interests that come to the fore both before and after elections, between political parties on the one hand, and between political parties and the state/government/or its agencies, on the other.

Issues which ... can and do frequently lead to electoral conflicts in developing countries: for instance, the division of constituencies. Are the constituencies equal as far as possible? Is there an incident of gerrymandering?" (Prof. Ahmadu Sassay, February 1999).

Problems involved in monitoring, Resolution and management of conflicts. Monitors or observers will encounter the following problems:

(1) Lack of free access;

(2) Reluctance of a witness to provide information;

(3) Badly conducted interview and alienation of victims and witness;

(4) Psychological involvement in conflict or subjective disposition;

ASSESSMENT OF THE NIGER-DELTA REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT MASTER PLAN:

The laws that are relevant to the issues raised here are as follows:

Fiscal responsibility Act 2007
Procurement Act 2007


Fundamental Human Rights Enforcement Procedure Rules, December 1, 2009

Fiscal Responsibility Act which have their roots in the 1999 constitution in Chapter 2 of that Constitution, "Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policies some of which CAP 10 laws of Nigeria (African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights, 1990) have been made enforceable despite the fact that section 6 (6) (c) has been misinterpreted as having an ouster clause which it does not have.

6 (6) (C) "the judicial powers vested in accordance with foregoing provisions in this section (c) shall not, EXCEPT AS OTHERWISE PROVIDED IN THIS CONSTITUTION, extend to any issue or question as to whether any act or omission by any authority or person or as to whether any law or any judicial decision is in conformity with the fundamental objectives or directive principles of state policy set out in Chapter II of this constitution.

But the constitution "otherwise provided" in item 60 of the Exclusive list, second schedule, part 1 "The establishment and regulation of authorities for the federation or any part therefore-

To promote and enforce the observance of the fundamental objectives and directive principles contained in this constitution which gave birth to the Fiscal Responsibility Commission, due process office and anti-corruption agencies and authorities.
The constitution furthermore makes it mandatory for political parties to be registered under section 224 to have their manifesto conform to the fundamental objectives and directive principles of state policy (224) "the programme as well as the aims and objectives of a political party shall conform with the provision of chapter ii of this constitution"

It is otherwise further provided in the seventh schedule regarding oaths taken when an elected/appointed officer is been sworn in at local government or state government or federal government level as follows "That I will strive to preserve the fundamental objectives and directive principles of state policy contained in the constitution".

The poser is: have they been enforcing chapter 2 or any law to develop the Niger-Delta since 1999? The failure of the NDRDMP for the first four years is the correct answer to this. Right to participate in government, right to free education at all levels, right to free medical care, right to shelter, decent work and a reasonable minimum wage, right to safe environment, resource control, fiscal federalism, self-determination and development are all guaranteed in our laws in addition to other rights.

CSO's should educate grassroots stakeholders in the Niger-Delta region on their rights by organizing stakeholders democratic conferences and invoking recall provisions in the 1999 Constitution to sanction representatives who divert funds meant for the development of communities or constituencies. Public interest litigations could also be intensified by CSO's.

Campaigns and serious mobilizations shall be organized on the link between, unemployment, poverty, conflicts, repression and electoral violence: unlocking the synergies of peace, participation and sustainable human development. These shall apply the scientific,
development focused processes of eliciting, collating and disseminating of practical information on youth needs and/or concerns in their areas of activity. The information generated by the practical application of these research methodologies will be packaged and presented through a participatory, FCC, NULL, WPYA, NLC, TUC and LASCO facilitated, sensitisation meeting between the grassroots’ masses and the legislature.

In view of the fact that ECOSOC rights, as contained in Chapter II of the 1999 constitution ("Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy") which were thought to be unenforceable by virtue of section 6(6)(c). But this section of the same constitution has no ouster clause, and have been made more actionable or justifiable by the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (Ratification and Enforcement Acts Cap 10 Laws of Nigeria 1990) and there was a bill on the problems of unemployment in the National Assembly in which social security benefits were not approved.

Considering further that more than $250 billion ($0.25 trillion) was spent by the government within the past 30 years without any appreciable development in the economy, more than $12 billion, the windfall occasioned by the gulf War, was not accounted for during General Babangida's regime, about $10 billion was stashed in private foreign accounts during General Abacha's regime, the provisions of Chapter II are now more than practicable.

On May 29, 1999, the whistle was blown for starting anew the march towards full democracy signalling the usefulness of democratic space and structures as civilian government was inaugurated. The breathing space for the business of negotiation and dialogue (process) has thus been created. With the National Assembly and the
Presidency inaugurated, channels of communication have been opened.

Unlike the period between 1979 and 1983 when the pro-democracy movement was not strong, the present and coming periods witness pro-democracy coalitions like the United Action for democracy (UAD), Alliance for Credible Elections, ACE, and Transition Monitoring Group (TMG) which would dialogue with marginalized groups and other stakeholders with a view to convincing them to live with peaceful settlements of ethnic conflicts by their being flexible on tactics and application of constitutional or democratic lever.

Pressures from pro-democracy groups, labour, NLC, TUC and the international workers movement would be brought to bear on the present civilian government to "Level the playing field" and adopt an all-inclusive approach. But mass education of stakeholders and parties involved in deep-rooted conflicts would be intensified.

1999 constitution is even being seen by the Presidency as a "Transitional pact" between the civilian and military elite without masses' involvement. There is a consensus for the need for amendments or a new one and adoption via a referendum (section 10, article 20 of the African charter on Human and Peoples Rights (ACHPR) states inter-alia: "All peoples shall have right to existence. They shall have the unquestionable and inalienable right to self-determination. They shall freely determine their political status and shall pursue their economic and social development according to the policy they have freely chosen”.

This right to self-determination has been made actionable or enforceable by the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (Ratification and enforcement) Acts CAP 10 Laws of Nigeria, 1990. Therefore, to start with, the InterCEGRADI will embark on litigation
as part of the campaign for full federalism in collaboration with some human rights groups.

Since stabilizing forums and institutions for consensus building are being established, reconstruction and development of communities involved in deep-rooted conflicts (especially in the Niger Delta and the North) could begin; there are levers of constitutionality or legality for the resolution and management of conflicts, notably, asymmetrical federalism (to enforce minority rights and the right to self-determination), the legal basis for autonomy and solutions which would make the following advantages viable:

* Minorities would have fiscal powers in addition to power sharing in decision making;
* Demands for secession could be compromised or dropped;
* Ethnic groups would be more integrated;
* Emphasis on the rule of law, devolution of powers (decentralization) and independent institutions would contribute to constitutionalism;
* Organising autonomous regions as geographic entities would solve the problems of ethnicity;
* Breathing space would be provided by an end to deep-seated conflicts.

A parallel government or dual power, on the basis of this “free” market system, is impossible or not feasible in the scenario considered as practicable for the resolution and management of deep-seated conflicts in Nigeria. "Sovereign" National conference, being pushed by some pro-democracy groups as the only option, is a parallel government, which will create a dual power situation
thereby precipitating a constitutional crisis. It is a disintegrationist approach. It is not viable.

Communities/groups in conflicts, political parties and the civil society are the stakeholders in consolidating this transition to democracy. Hence, democratically elected constituted Assembly or constitutional conference/National conference (which will fashion out a workable federalist constitution with autonomy and asymmetrical federalism entrenched to be adopted in a referendum) is possible.

InterCEGRADI has been collaborating with the Civil Liberties Organisation (CLO), the Democratic Alternative (DA), Kolagbodi Memorial Foundation (KMF), Campaign for Left and Progressive Students (CLAPS), Youth and Trade Union Rights Campaign (YTURC) and some trade unions to defend human rights and campaign for democracy.

Through the Campaign for Workers and Farmers 'Democracy (CWFD), National Unemployed Labourers' League (NULL), its affiliates and active participants in the United Action for Democracy, the InterCEGRADI has always supported the key resolutions of the UAD on the right to self-determination and minority rights.

Despite the fact that we have many constraints including the identified obstacles to the human rights and realisation of full democracy in the 1999 constitution by the Transition Monitoring Group in the "Democracy Watch", we will continue to use the platform of the UAD to dialogue with the communities/groups in conflicts and minority groups like the MOSOP, Chikoko Movement etc and the Community Action for Popular Participation (CAPP) and to initiate mass signature campaign for full federalism (petition) against the present constitution and for its pro-grassroots review.
A CRITIQUE OF NEO-LIBERALISM (NEO-CLASSICAL SYNTHESIS) OR DEVELOPMENTAL STATE PARADIGM

Neo-Liberalism is the latest school (of bourgeois economic thought). But this is really and correctly referred to as NEO-CLASSICAL SYNTHESIS. Bourgeois (or Capitalist) theoreticians solve the crisis of global capitalism by applying a mish-mash of Keynesian school of thought with that of the monetarist school with a view to working out one hypothesis or the other. Monetarism or Keynesianism is applied to solve the cyclical economic crisis (what I prefer to call intrinsic crisis) of globalised capitalism. A short economic historical perspective is apposite in this analysis.

Classical school of economics was pioneered by Adam Smith, Ricardo, Malthus, Professor Say, e.t.c.). A critique of this was done by Karl Marx and F. Engels giving birth to Marxism as the only alternative school of thought which can solve global problems. Professor (Lord) John Maynard Keynes, an eclectic of Karl Marx founded the Keynesian school of thought while monetarism (also known as Friedmanism after Professor Friedman, an American Nobel Laureate) is the foundation of the neo-classical school of economics.

Neo-classical Synthesis is the reconciliation of Keynesianism with monetarism. Orthodox Keynesians like John Hicks (Britain), Alvin H. Hansen, Professor Richard Lipsey (Canada) and Professor Paul Samuelson were influenced by monetarism to work out neo-classical Synthesis. Keynesianism explains the particular case of “equilibrium with less than full employment” while neo-classical theory claims to substantiate the more general uniformities of the functioning of the economic system, including optimal distribution of resources, price-formation and income distribution.
Methods for managing effective demand, business cycle policy and regulation of aggregate demand by means of fiscal and monetary instruments, are involved in this synthesis. Keynesianism triumphed between 1940 and mid-1950s, in Western Europe, and the period of long post war upswing in the US (1960-83). A series of crises - raw material, energy, monetary (late 60s) and cyclical economic crises of the periods 1969 -1971, and 1974 to 1975 led to the collapse of Keynesianism, monetarism, and ultimately, neo-classical synthesis .Friedmanism(monetarism) has been an influential current in neo-liberalism since 1979 (Thatcherism) and the 1980s (Reaganomics). We continue to witness the most painful internal problems in a market economy: business cycles, unemployment, underutilization of production capacities, stagnation and inflation (STAGFLATION). No wonder, Claudio Sardoni in his PHD thesis asks this question: “Why did Keynes underestimate the relevance of Marx’s contributions, while he probably credited other authors with more merits than they actually deserved?”!

Classical School of Economics

Karl Marx criticized the works of Adam Smith, Ricardo, Professor Say, Malthus, Marshal, Pigou e.t.c of the classical school of Political Economy. His scientific analysis including his foresight was followed by Marxist-Leninists and the genuine continuators of the ideas of Marxism in this epoch. Some of the ideas of the Classical school which today form the foundation of Neo-Liberalism were postulated by Prof Say and Ricardo. According to Say’s Law, it is impossible to have under-employment equilibria due to insufficient aggregate demand. Say and Ricardo propounded the theory that
“Supply creates its own demand”. This is the basis of “Supply side economics” (Professor Freidman) and Thatcherism or Reaganomics

Marxism -Leninism

Apart from the Laws of cyclical economic crisis of capitalism and the tendency of the rate of profit to fall, the critique of classical political economy was mainly done by Karl Marx. He criticized Ricardo’s reasoning that “supply necessarily creates its own demand, and effective aggregate demand can never fall short of aggregate supply”. “Ricardo could consider Say’s Law valid only because of his inadequate concept of money and its role in a capitalist economy”, argued Karl Marx. Marx continued: “money is also a store of value and such can be hoarded, kept idle instead of using it ---”. Approximately $4 trillion -dollar fictitious capital existing in the globalized market economy confirms this statement made about 140 years ago by Marx. This Marxist tradition was continued by Lenin, Trotsky, late comrades Ted Grant, Ernest Mandel, Ola Oni and Bade Onimode. Other continuators are Alan Woods, Peter Taafe, Lynn Walsh, Professor Eskor Toyo, Festus Iyayi, Abubakar Momoh, Edwin Madunagu, Muyiwa Adebanjo, Lanre Ehonwa, e.t.c.

Keynesianism versus the monetarist school

Eclectic Professor Keynes (according to Lenin in the 1920s) whose ideas led to the creation of the twin Breton Woods Institutions (IMF and World Bank) to regulate the world economy based on his theoretical conception- crisis of the dollar (its devaluation and the ending since 1971 of its exchange for gold. For saving globalised market economy from collapse, his theoretical framework was termed “Keynesian Revolution”. However, his interpretation of economic theory before the “General Theory” was neither accurate
nor correct. But he criticized classical Political Economy thus: “A free enterprise economy does not necessarily achieve a full employment equilibrium.

Now, does unemployment mean that the number of workers offering themselves for vacancies greater than that which enterprises want to offer jobs at the current rate? But inability of maintaining levels of employment is engendered by failure to sell the output workers have been producing and low customers demand. When all resources are fully utilized, we have full employment output. However, unsold stocks are caused by the inadequacy of spending to buy all the output produced.

There are 4 categories of decision makers about spending:

* Consumers who spend a percentage of income and save the rest.

* Firms as investors who spend on new factories machines, stocks of raw materials and other capital requirements.

* Exporters and importers who invest in international trade.

* Government: expenditure on defence, security, social services and the public sector.

The summation of spending is called the aggregate demand referred to above. Unemployment is as a result of the discrepancy between the value of full-employment and the total expenditure of those groups of decision makers on spending. This difference is often called deflationary gap. Unregulated free market economy, because many individuals with diverse interests in an economy
budget to produce and spend, and their plans do not equal to the same amount, leads to unemployment.

**What are the Keynesian solutions to this intrinsic crisis?**

**Catalysing spending in the private sector and Increase in public expenditure**- Keynesians recommend the use of monetary policy or fiscal policy or both to stimulate investment by entrepreneurs and private consumers. Interests rates are lowered when the financial sector is regulated through the Central Bank (Fed in the case of the US now, when it experiences consumer credit crunch!). However, adjustment of interest rates may not influence consumer credits, savings and investment. If and only if there is a substantial reduction in interest rates, decisions to invest could be positive.

*In the light of this reality, Keynesians apply fiscal policy (fiscalism, Lipsey) - taxation and expenditure by government are manipulated. This adds to aggregate demand. It could also mean deficit financing. Increase in tax revenue may result. During the oil boom when Nigeria’s neo-colonial market economy was regulated and there was state planning - long term development plans, some level of industrialization was witnessed in the major sectors of the economy (commanding heights) in which the FG participated. What went wrong? Why did the number of the jobless rise to the present level?*

**The introduction of SAP/Vision 2010/NEPAD/NEEDS/Vision 2020** has sharpened the contradictions in the so-called free enterprise economy, Nigeria’s neo-colonial market economy in which there is the difficulty in forecasting how private investors react to the monetary and fiscal policy of government. There is always conflict between full employment and price stability. The resultant, after
the abandonment of Keynesianism or state capitalism in 1986, was inflation and recession (nay, stagnancy in growth) - STAGFLATION, Paul Samuelson).

What caused the inflationary spiral then? Was it too much money in circulation? Balance of trade deficits? Devaluation? Stop - go policy? Why do we have unemployment? Policy makers prefer to reduce inflation at all costs thereby shirking their responsibility of providing employment. Government morbidly adheres to the neoclassical school of monetarism to control money in circulation and supply of money by allowing “free market forces”.

We should be bothered about inflation for the following reasons:

- Cost of living rises
- Standard of living declines
- Official statistics hides the real situation about the distribution of income and wealth.
- When consumers suffer, borrowers are lesser than savers because of high interest rates
- There is inflation on import-export trade
- If, in the final analysis, the confidence of the people in money is lost, it implies inflationary spiral or hyper-inflation will result.

But what constitutes the wealth of a person? It includes assets, business stocks and shares in addition to holding a small amount of money. A flow (per day or week or month or year) as wages or salaries or return on investment (profit e.t.c.), money form of fringe benefits, is called income. The total amount of money in circulation
is a stock. An individual may confuse money for income because of the close nexus between them. We can hold wealth in many forms - from liquid cash to illiquid assets.

In Keynesian analysis, interest rates are determined by the quantity of money rather than the price level. Keynesian techniques applied in government intervention include prices and incomes policies, industrial restructuring and economic planning.

To what extent money supply growth can be fixed is one of the features of monetarism. Others are - Possibility of government regulation of money supply. - The speed with which money is circulated will not cushion out the effect of its control.

- When the growth in the amount of money in circulation is limited, inflationary spiral is checked. But, (1) wealth is held in many ways; (2) banks evade control because of its weakness and leakages, (3) ineffectiveness of controlling bank deposits.

Open market operations, OMO.

Open market operations means that government bonds are sold meaning that customers will draw cheques in favour of the government. This implies a reduction in the cash reserves of commercial banks. These may sell back to the Central Bank some of their bills. A minimum liquidity ratio means that the availability of government bills is limited. Banks then sell off government bonds held by them for more cash to lend out. The nexus between money in circulation and inflation cannot be proved by the monetarist neo-classical approach.

Cut in public spending has been in vogue since 1984. They have been claiming that this policy has been giving “freedom” to
individuals and private firms’. Let us examine the reasons given for cut in public expenditure - When private choice is expanded, it results in efficiency

- The commanding heights of an economy in the public sector stifle private initiative and competition. However, freedom of choice is circumscribed “free” market forces which determine how wealth is distributed, is a highly undemocratic approach of determining what to produce because a “free” enterprise economy is organised on the basis of profit motive. Many private firms depending on the interrelationship between public and private sectors is not considered. The efficiency of the private sector is further reduced by cuts in public expenditure.

Public expenditure means that a “free” market economy is defective. When public expenditure is cut, military spending is increased at the same time. This is what Marxists call “negative” Keynesianism. The rise in the number of the jobless is always engendered (as the case in Nigeria is showing) by cuts in public expenditure as these lead to lower consumer demand. Deflation of the economy is the end result. Therefore, according to Keynesians, public expenditure maintains aggregate demand at an adequate level called full employment equilibrium.

At this point, a brief overview of neo-classical synthesis regarding interest rates, currency exchange consumption, investment, balance of trade, balance of payments on current accounts will be done starting with the historical perspectives on fixed rates of the British pounds: The value of the British pounds was set in agreement with the IMF, that is, more or less fixed between 1945 and 1971. The pounds were devalued in 1949 and 1967. Devaluation and revaluation are used by neo-liberal policy makers
to manage the forces of demand and supply, the so-called, “free” market forces.

When the pounds were floated in June 1972, it started to depreciate it fell by 25% between 1972 and 1976. The percentage rise between 1976 and 1980 was 30%. Interest rates adjustment(s) can be used for the alteration of the demand and supply totals of currency in addition to growth rate and balance of payments on current accounts which is balance of trade + (invisible exports-invisible imports). Balance of trade is visible exports minus visible imports. ‘Visible trade’ is imports plus exports. ‘Invisible trade’ is sale and purchase of services and related transactions (income and spending on shipping, airlines, banking and insurance, tourism, maintenance of government mission abroad and foreign bases, and flows, profits, interests and dividends.

The central government has been abandoning the Keynesian basis of the “Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy in Chapter Two of the defective 1999 constitution and that is why it has not been able to enforce the welfarist policies in the chapter or implement the social democratic ideology which the state violates with impunity. Government, instead of investing more in the commanding heights or major sector of the economy without reducing consumption started cutting public expenditure, divesting from (privatizing) public enterprises in neo-classical/Ricardian or monetarist fashion. This is a phase of global capitalism (imperialism) dictated by IMF, World Bank and World Trade Organization (WTO).

Keynesianism has failed, monetarism or neo-classical school (Professor Milton Friedman’s trend of “supply side economics”) has failed, neo-liberalism or neo-classical synthesis has
failed signalling the death agony of the so-called “globalised “free” market economy as the intrinsic crisis of world capitalism and the international situation have proved our earlier prognosis and predictions to be scientifically correct .In a nutshell, neo-classical synthesis or neo-liberalism of world capitalism whether the Keynesian or monetarist lever is applied or not implies intolerable mass unemployment, , economy being run below full capacity, lower production, higher demands not being equal to higher output, higher spending on imported goods and services, aggregate demand being greater than the value of full employment output, expansion catalysing cost-push inflation, stagflation or world economic recession. The socialist alternative solutions to the problems engendered by the crisis of world capitalism involve revolutionary changes in the ownership and control of world economy and a World Socialist Federation of Grassroots Democracies.

A. FULL DEMOCRACY

It is on the above account that United Action for Democracy, UAD, Marxist League for Workers’ Internationalism and Working People and Youth Alliance, WPYA, out rightly oppose Neo-liberal/capitalist policies and calls on the NLC, TUC, left parties, poor people’s organisations and LASCO when rejuvenated to commence the campaign and mobilisation for a struggle to oppose and resist any ruling class whether civilian or military dictatorship who imposes these policies.

“As part of the preparation for an all-out action, LASCO should immediately declare a 72-hour General Strike as a warning to
government to back down, failure of which a full scale general strike would be called.

However, more than ever before, the need to replace the entire crop of the ruling class and this ruinous capitalist system of greed and profit calls for the building of a(the) political platform of the working masses, LABOUR PARTY{Additions by me}. Of what importance is it for the present crop of ruling class to develop qualitative educational systems, when all their kids are studying abroad? What is there for them to gain if there is functional and standard health systems, when they travel abroad for only malaria fever? Only the working class and poor strata of the society, that is, 99%, are genuinely interested in making Nigeria progress and truly develop because they most bear the burden of its backwardness. Only the Government of the working class and poor strata of the society can sincerely and genuinely redeem all the ills; towards this end, a(the) party of the working class, LABOUR PARTY, is required (additions are mine).

Fortunately enough, the trade union centres launched a party of labour (Labour Party) with their energy and money, but unfortunately, the leadership of labour abandoned it and make it possible for anti-labour individuals to take over the running of the party. Many known enemies of the people in general and workers in particular are presently parading themselves as members and candidates of Labour Party.

We strongly call on NLC, TUC leadership, the Socialists and other pro-labour organizations to reclaim the Party and boot out the scoundrels and enemies of the
people who are presently using it to further their selfish career.

It is clear that the grassroots masses of this country can no longer continue to bear the burden of civilian dictatorship and budding fascism. Labour party must lead a campaign for multiparty democracy, independent candidature, in collaboration with the NLC, TUC and LASCO, left-wing parties, APC, and other civil society organizations to fight for a democratically elected working peoples government that will install WORKERS DEMOCRACY, grassroots’ democracy (in general, working people’s democracy) and replace ruling class NEEDS with Working People’s NEEDS, the SAPist market economy with a
centrally planned economy in which the major sectors (or commanding heights) will be under grassroots democracy, ownership, control and management so as to avoid the problems posed by bureaucratic management in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe (Eastern Bloc). (Daggar Tola, Kazeem CWA and Kulu Temper, edited)

2. For working people’s Assemblies; for a democratically elected constitutional conference to review the 1999 constitution and consider the models of the UAD, MNR, CFCR and PRONACO, The National Conference, TNC and a proposal to LASCO for a MODEL
CONSTITUTION: for a referendum on the new constitution. For a SUPREME GRASSROOTS ASSEMBLY which will install a working people’s Government.


4. Right to military training: for the enforcement of section 220 of 1999 constitution so that the working people will be able to form self-defence committees against autocracy / dictatorship, budding fascism, for
neighbourhood vigilance and security; and mandate protection.

5. Right to participate in government (Participatory Democracy) (Article 13, ACHPR):
   for “The System of Local government by democratically elected local government councils ...” (1999 Constitution section 7)

B. GOOD GOVERNANCE

6. For economic democracy and right to credit facilities for small business people.

7. The right to a minimum living wage (Chapter II, 1999 Constitution). For a minimum living wage and pension linked to the cost of living index determined by the trade unions, with regular increases to match the rate of inflation. No to
Deregulation

Neither can we accept a barter exchange of deregulation for a new minimum wage of about 60,000 naira demanded by the labour unions, with inflation unchecked and topped upon by deregulation, inflation would skyrocket above the heavens, making the working masses worse off; we therefore support A NEW demand by labour for 60,000 naira without deregulation (Kazeem CWA and Kulu Temper, edited)

8. The right to health (Article 16, ACHPR). We hereby oppose the MANDATORY CONTRIBUTION BY WORKERS TO THE HEALTH INSURANCE SCHEME. Labour should continue to insist on
VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS
AND THAT WORKERS’ CONTRIBUTIONS SHOULD NOT BE DIVERTED TO PRIVATE POCKETS OR BIG BUSINESS IN THE HEALTH SECTOR/PRIVATE HOSPITALS SO THAT GOVERNMENT WILL NOT SHIRK ITS RESPONSIBILITY TO ENFORCE THE RIGHT TO HEALTH, FUND PUBLIC HEALTH FACILITIES (the lesson of NHF should not be easily forgotten by workers when the NHF was diverted to BIG BUSINESS IN THE HOUSING SECTOR AND GOVERNMENT STARTED SHIRKING IT RESPONSIBILITY OF PROVIDING HOUSES FOR ITS EMPLOYEES)
9. Right to education (Article 17 ACHPR) cost free education at all levels; for a minimum of N100,
000.00 bursary for each student in tertiary institutions and ten thousand Naira (N10,000) for WAEC & NECO fees and book allowances for SSCE candidates

10. Right to food (Chapter II, 1999 Constitution).

11. Consumers right to control prices, rents and tariffs; for democratically elected representatives of trade unions, farmers, petty – traders, students, tenants and consumers to control prices and rents.

12. For Popular Committees on Prices, Rents and Tariffs (PCPRT).

13. No to hiding of the wealth, income and assets of money bags and members of the ruling classes through “business secrets” and
“Professional Secret” to promote their exploitation, corruption and oppression; the account books should be opened. We want to know what the real national income (“national cake”) is and how it is divided. For a working people’s democratic control of National Account and Public Finances

14. For Grassroots Democratic ownership, control and management of the economy – banks, agriculture, commerce and industry (Chapter II, 1999 Constitution) to redistribute wealth for the benefit of the poor masses and reduce the effects of competition on the peasants and urban middle class with the working people’s government
guaranteeing small producers (peasants, artisans and small business persons) full liberty to dispose of their property and at the same time assuring them of state orders at a price that will considerably raise their standard of living. For a massive investment in public infrastructure, to provide accommodation, housing, healthcare, schools, roads etc. Repair and rebuilding of new refineries to meet the fuel needs of all.

15. The organization of poor grassroots masses into producers co-operatives which shall be guaranteed credits in a MICROFINANCE SYSTEM akin to the international best practices, especially Bangladesh which
reduced poverty among more than 17 million people.

16. Right to shelter (Housing) Chapter II, 1999 constitution. The National Housing Fund is a ploy to rob workers to further the fortunes of mortgage speculators and moneybags. Government should first and foremost implement the employees Housing Decree No 54 of 1979 and compel employers to implement it. The decree makes it the duty of employers to build houses for their workers. The Government is using the NHF to shirk its responsibilities of providing housing facilities for the masses. For massive funding of Local Government to enable them build houses for the grassroots.
17. For prompt payment of arrears to pensioners and regular pension payments
18. For unemployment benefits not less than the minimum wage; opposition to retrenchment; permanent employment for casual or contract workers and apprentices in the NDE scheme to be organized in the trade unions
19. For massive funding of Local Government to enable them embark on MASS TRANSIT
20. Right to own land.

C. NATIONAL QUESTION
21. For the revolutionary resolution of the national question; for quick/ immediate resolution of the Niger Delta Crisis and ETHNO RELIGIOUS CONFLICTS

D. FISCAL FEDERALISM
22. For a working people’s Government to re-organize the economy and restructure Nigeria towards fiscal federalism; right to resource control (Article 21 ACHPR) and full democracy

E. SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

23. Right to development (Article 22, ACHPR)

F. SAFE ENVIRONMENT

24. Right to safe environment (Article 24, ACHPR) and Chapter II, 1999 constitution

G. COMMUNICATION RIGHTS

25. (Article 9, ACHPR). Right to freedom of expression and the press (section 39, 1999 Constitution) public ownership of the media under grassroots democratic control and
management by the representatives of NUT, RATTAWU, paper and printing workers, NLC and TUC and political groups on the basis of their strengths. For immediate passage of Freedom of Information (FOI) ACT amendment to remove the cumbersome provisions.

H. FOREIGN POLICY

26. Opposition to imperialist wars and occupation of SOVEREIN TERRITORIES. We oppose American and British interventions in Venezuela, Korea, Ecuador, Argentina, Peru, Palestine and various parts of Africa. While striving against regionalist forces and for the unity of the labouring grassroots
masses of Nigeria, the

enforcement of the right to SELF
– DETERMINATION (Article 20, ACHPR) within Nigeria, We stand

for the real UNIFICATION of Africa

through the creation of a PAN

AFRICAN FEDERATION OF

WORKING PEOPLE’S

GOVERNMENTS

I. GENDER RIGHTS

27. For the domestication in the

Nigerian Laws all international

instruments on gender and

children’s rights.

J. RENATIONALIZATION PROGRAM

:28. Opposition to

commercialization and

privatization; for renationalization

of all privatized

companies’, public corporations

and schools (Chapter II, 1999
Constitution).