TRANSFORMATIVE AGENDA 2021

PDOIS MANIFESTO

NURTURING A NEW SOVEREIGN GAMBIAN TO BUILD A NEW GAMBIA FREE FROM IGNORANCE, INJUSTICE AND POVERTY

PDOIS, 3rd November 2021

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This Manifesto, the Transformative Agenda 2021, is the will and testament of all those who stand for System Change in the 2021 Presidential Election. It is the footprints that PDOIS' Presidential Candidate, in particular, PDOIS' leadership, membership, supporters and sympathisers, in general, aim to leave on the sandy banks of time showing how the National liberation struggle for self-determination and independence is to be elevated beyond the establishment of a sovereign Republic to the next level. It envisions the nurturing of the sovereign citizen capable of harnessing and distributing Sovereign National Wealth in a balanced and proportionate manner for the primary purpose of eradicating ignorance, injustice and poverty. The Manifesto provides a knowledge base that is substantive and incontrovertible. The strategic objectives of each of the components are clearly defined, the programmes amply teased out, the action plans distinctly outlined and the expected outcomes starkly evident to all those who are honest enough to recognise truth when they see it.

The Manifesto has seven components, which are central to and indispensable in effecting System Change with unalloyed thoroughness. The seven engines of holistic, self-reliant, self-determined and sustainable development are the political, economic, social, civil, cultural, ecological and external relations pillars of development.

***** **Political Component** provides abundant reasons and justifications for establishing the Cooperative State, which derives its existence from the combined sovereignty of the sovereign Gambian citizens and exists for no other purpose but to provide instruments and institutions of service to all sovereign persons. The Cooperative State makes it possible to eradicate injustice, inequality before the law, discrimination on the basis of ethno-linguistic origin, religion, gender, disability and other factors of nature or nurture, beyond the choice and control of the sovereign person.

Above all, the Political Component of the Manifesto seeks to guide the presidency arising from PDOIS sponsorship to adhere to the law of the dismantling of the coercive nature and characteristics of the colonial state in order to replace it with the Cooperative State of the Republic, which must serve as an instrument of protection.

The Political Component of the PDOIS Manifesto aims to overhaul the state inherited from the monarchical order and replace it with the Cooperative State of the sovereign people, which is indispensable in a sovereign Republic.

It aims to build the Republic as a community of sovereign citizens who have the right to be protected and shielded from ignorance, injustice and poverty, by their homeland from the cradle to the grave. The Community would also oblige its citizens to love their homeland and people and do their utmost, according to their ability to ensure its peace, unity and development, from their early childhood to the grave.

Hence, the primary task of the Cooperative State is to ensure that the community takes charge of its security through its own social cohesion. The police would serve as a mobile force that will come to arrest and take accused persons before courts without the use of handcuffs. Imprisonment in congested jails waiting for trial or being sent to prison for crimes not associated with capital offences would be a matter of the past. Community service would be the primary means of punishing non-capital crimes

This is one way how crime and criminality would be addressed under the Transformative Agenda.

The standing army would no longer be an instrument of coercion or specialised killing machine that would assist tyrants to engage in any form of domination at home or abroad.

It would be prepared to defend the homeland and the people and would specialise as a disciplined workforce for the Cooperative State. Units will be established to engage in duties such as, industrial fisheries, construction of state and community infrastructure and amenities. In short, the army would fill any gap in the rendering of services to the population, in the spirit of love of and service to country and people.

***** **Economic Component** of the manifesto propagates the accumulation of Sovereign National Wealth as the cornerstone for self-reliant, self-determined and sustainable development.

It aims to ensure that sovereign wealth is accumulated through public investments in mining; fisheries; downstream, midstream and upstream petroleum activities; renewable energy sources; production of clay and other artistic products and processing and infrastructural development.

A part of the Sovereign National Wealth accumulated at the Central Bank would be linked to the provision of interest free cooperative banking loans to eradicate poverty. For instance, the Bank would give seed money without interest to farmers, food processors, vendors and other small and medium productive enterprises that cannot sustain production with interest bearing loans.

The other part of the Sovereign National Wealth would be used the Sovereign Wealth Investment Fund that would be interest bearing and would cushion the non-interest-bearing account. This would foster investment in bonds, state enterprises, shares in private corporate bodies to promote export and the economy of scale as well as import substitution.

Gambian entrepreneurs who could expand the productive base could get guaranties from the Cooperative State Investment Fund to build up sub regional and continental enterprises that would have a multiplying effect on the domestic economy.

* * * * * **Social Component** propagates how poverty would be eradicated by relying on the law of balanced and proportionate development of all sectors of society. The Manifesto shows how production-based welfare would be linked to consumption-based welfare. This would enable individual income and community income to rise proportionately to facilitate availability and affordability of food, safe drinking water, sanitation, clothing, housing and renewable energy of adequate quantity and quality to promote general welfare of both rural and urban dwellers.

The Cooperative State will promote consumption-based welfare by providing, at state expense, free education with bus services where applicable and meals to children up to the twelfth grade. This would be further complemented by maintaining a national service of one year for each graduate before moving to the next level.

It would maintain a community-based health system where residents in communities would be trained to handle first aid such as taking blood pressure, temperature, testing blood sugar and other primary services before referral to a minor/ major health centre, district and regional hospital. Community, district, regional and national housing schemes would be developed for low-cost housing of good quality for both rural and urban dwellers.

Community centres would provide meeting places for members to have discussions, enjoy internet services or recreation to complement the traditional role of village bantabas.

Civil associations and unions of farmers, workers, drivers, teachers, journalists, nurses/doctors, entrepreneurs and other groups would be the eyes, ears and mouths of their members and would be guaranteed rights to be heard by all authorities to safeguard the interest of all sovereign persons.

**** * * * Civil Component** provides the rights and duties of the sovereign Gambian citizen in whom the sovereignty of the Nation is vested. It affirms that each sovereign Gambian is a building block of the Nation. Each is endowed with authority, in equal measure and terms, to determine the existence of a Gambian state without any discrimination. The cooperation and unity of such sovereign Gambian amalgamate their individual sovereignty into the cooperative sovereignty that gives rise to the Cooperative State.

It explains all the key rights of the citizens and how they are to be given equal protection in a Cooperative State led by a PDOIS led government.

The Civil Component finally shows how every sovereign Gambian becomes part of the majority who constitute the citizenry and how none would be relegated to a minority status, regardless of origin.

*** * * * * Cultural Component** aims to propagate a new way of life of a sovereign Gambian under a sovereign Republic. It charts how individual growth could be nurtured through the inculcation of values of cooperative sovereignty and the enhancement of love of country and people in all aspects of national life.

Cultural centres would be established in all villages. They would serve as places to congregate to share opinions and demonstrate artistic expressions to promote community spirit and national cohesion.

Values of self-reliance and self-determined development would be nurtured to ensure that food, drinks, clothing, handicraft and artistic expressions would be of national origin and relevant in

enhancing the economic and social emancipation of the country through knowledge production and technological innovation.

This component encompasses how culture could aid the green, industrial and digital revolution and guarantee a knowledge-based way of life for all sovereign Gambians.

** * ** **Ecological Component** aims to harmonise nature and nurture by promoting the type of civil, social, economic and cultural development internally and externally that would protect land, sea and air from environmental degradation to facilitate sustainable development. Nature must be protected and utilised as a treasure to be bequeathed to and harnessed for the survival and sustainable development of generations yet unborn.

* * *** **External Relations Component** aims to facilitate a new realignment of nations in the subregion, the African continent and the world based on commitment to and defense of the principles, policies and values of cooperative sovereignty.

The new realignment of world forces would be premised on the context that world peace, stability and sustainable development hinge on respect for and mutual defense of the sovereignty of all nations and peoples as required by all democratic and sovereign republics.

The Component aims to reposition The Gambia to be among those nations at the forefront in demonstrating and promoting a world where respect for and the upholding of sovereignty of countries and peoples would be the cornerstone of foreign policy.

I. PREAMBLE FOR SYSTEM CHANGE IN 2021

This is the time we have been waiting for. We have removed the dust from our eyes, which for centuries made us believe that we are helpless, powerless, hopeless and voiceless.

Others had come to our defense and promised to speak for us or amplify our feeble voices. They also fell prey to the forces of doom and gloom leaving us at the mercy of unrestrained oppression and hardship. We became the prisoners of privation, chattels of starvation and hostages to humiliation. Trampled underfoot by the jackboots of degradation and subjugation, we toiled and moiled in poverty from our youthful days to our graves. Deprived of liberty, dignity and prosperity, we became chained to an uncertain destiny, in the wilderness of time and are consigned for a lifetime among the most wretched of the earth.

Even though the Republic centralised power in our very beings and hands, we became the Least Important Persons (LIPs) in society while those who rely on our sweat after being elected by us became the Very Important Persons (VIPs).

While the threat of imprisonment, fines, admonitions and vilification hangs like the sword of Damocles around our necks, we spoke with petals of blood festering from our eyes while our hearts thunder condemnation against the injustice perpetrated against us on a daily basis. Despite the torment we face, we keep on yearning for the birth of a new world of liberty, dignity and prosperity.

The more we demand for freedom, the more they use traditional chains to bind us. The Nation and all its marine, terrestrial and atmospheric resources belong to us and should free us from the thralls of poverty but they call on us for unity on the basis of clans and kinship that offers no rights to make territorial claims under law and no property that we could call our own. With their call for secession from the Republic to form affinities, loyalties and alliances on the basis of ethnolinguistic origins and traditions, gender, age, religious or other sectarian bonds, we become divided as a people in pursuit of populist projects that articulate no policy or programme for national salvation or uplift us from our degradation. They develop thousands of ways to share the cake only to allow those who control the knife to dish out the shares at their pleasure, while we remain excluded, alienated, impoverished and downtrodden from the cradle to the grave.

Now each one must remove the rope around one's neck and discover the sovereignty inherent in one's very being for oneself. We must discover the sovereignty we possess together, in equal measure, that makes us whole, when we cooperate to build the foundation of the Republic, which we have been oblivious of due to ignorance thus rendering our political weight as light as feather.

We must cooperate and unite on purpose based on unalloyed equality in sovereignty, irrespective of social status or place of birth, ethnolinguistic origin, gender, religion, and physical features disabilities). We must claim our birth right under the Republic and assert our cooperative sovereignty to build a Cooperative State that belongs to us and protects us as the legitimate and incontestable owners of all the wealth of our homeland.

We are now determined to march ahead, under the banner of **One Gambia, One Nation & One People**, to empower every sovereign Gambian to be fully aware of the power and duty to determine

who should be entrusted with our power and how it should be exercised to ensure our cooperative survival and development in liberty, dignity and prosperity.

The search and discovery of our ownership of our sovereign power and sovereign Republic and our duty to ensure the harnessing of Sovereign National Wealth to promote our general welfare, constitute the primary battle of democracy we must win before we could bring about any meaningful people centred development.

With this agenda as our primary focus, no one will ever make us secede from the Republic on the basis of ties of family, kinship, language grouping, gender, age, religion and place of origin. We will dare to battle against all odds and dare to emerge triumphant against all odds. With awareness and organization, we will march with the flag of liberty, dignity and prosperity fluttering in the air to welcome the new day of freedom and prosperity that is just at the corner.

Inspired by unquenchable love of country and people, the men and women, the old and young, the rural and urban dwellers and the public, private, cooperative and informal sectors will all be guided by a smart government to channel all energies to steadily build an inclusive land of equity fit enough to bequeath to the future generation the capacity to ensure the equality that will guarantee eternal peace and prosperity to our motherland, our continent and the world. We will sensitise! We will mobilise! We will organise for System Change! With the power of awareness and organisation, we will take our destiny into our very hands and build a land of liberty, dignity and prosperity under the clear light of the sun.

1) PDOIS' POLITICAL CONTRACT FOR SYSTEM CHANGE IN 2021

Each generation in a Republic has a political contract with nation and people. Ours is no exception. It may fulfill the contract and be absolved by history or breach it and be indicted and condemned by history.

This Transformative agenda affirms our commitment to fulfill our contract to our nation and people in the context of our times.

2) VISION

PDOIS' 2021 Transformative Agenda obliges every new Gambian and African to envision and pay heed to that historical clarion call of the pioneers of National Liberation, like that of Lumumba, who wrote the following words to his wife before his murder in 1961:

"As for my children whom I will never see again, it is for therm to defend the sovereignty of our motherland."

PDOIS is envisioning the birth of a new era of a sovereign Republic with a sovereign people who are architects of a destiny free from ignorance, injustice and poverty. We envisage an era of thinkers, crafters, inventors and builders of a civilisation rich in justice, decency, love of country,

people and humanity, insightful in its creativity to apply science and technology. Such an advanced civilisation will facilitate artistic and aesthetic values and cultural enlightenment based on the capacity to transform information into knowledge and translate knowledge into a way of life of liberty, dignity and property for each and for all. PDOIS has such a free, just, progressive, democratic and prosperous Republic in view.

3) MISSION

Duty calls on us to gather all relevant knowledge and embolden ourselves with the requisite capacity to build the foundation of a self-reliant and self-determined Republic with its robust political, civil, economic, social, cultural, ecological, continental and international pillars of development in order to ensure food, water, housing, clothing and leisure of adequate quantity and appropriate quality for all and to further guarantee education, health, general wellbeing and social welfare for all.

The Transformative Agenda aims to build the sovereign Gambian capable of building the sovereign Republic that would pioneer the establishment of a new international order inspired by an awakened Africa of Federated Republics that would rise as a star among the world constellation of democratic and prosperous nations as the pioneers of Africa's liberation wished, lived and gave their lives for.

4) THE REPUBLIC OF THE GAMBIA OUR HOMELAND

No people could exist without a homeland. The Gambia is the geo- political entity that we call our homeland. The entity, however, is still begging for certainty regarding its boundaries after 56 years of attainment of the right to self-determination and independence and 51 years since it attained its sovereignty and became a Republic that owes no allegiance, obedience or adherence to any foreign power or state.

The total land mass of 11,285 square kilometers and the terrestrial landscape stretching on both sides of The Gambia River, North and South, and moves Eastwards 450 to 500 kilometers from the Atlantic Ocean which is referred to as our homeland is a by-product of a history we did not choose to make.

On 10th August 1889, the British Monarchy and the French Republic agreed on the ill-defined borders of The Gambia and thus carved a destiny for us which the ancestors challenged with resistance until they were subjugated and shackled under a colonial yoke with the Protectorate Ordinance of 1902. Externally and internally dominated, our ancestors had to begin the struggle for self-determination which started in earnest in 1920 with the clarion call of the National Congress of British West Africa: ***No taxation without representation!***

Dissatisfied with advisory roles as appointed or ex-officio members of Legislative and Executive Councils of the colonial administration, the pioneers of National Liberation called for the elective principle to fill those advisory roles to give the people limited voice and say based on limited franchise for urban dwellers.

The beginning of the sovereign decision to elect representatives at the level of the Legislative Council started in 1947 with only one seat.

The second stage of expanding representation without the right to attain internal and external self-government or self-determination is the attainment of Universal Suffrage in 1960.

The voices of the people started to have meaning when we attained internal self-government on 4th October 1963.

The gradual battle towards external self-government continued after the attainment of Internal self-government which had to culminate in the attainment of the right to self-determination and independence in 1965 but fell short of becoming a sovereign Republic and fully attained political independence because of a failed referendum in November 1965.

Owing allegiance, obedience and adherence to a foreign monarch with her Governor General, holding the mantle of executive authority, did not meet our aspirations for self-determination and independence on the 18th February 1965.

The 1965 Constitution limited our claim to independent nationhood by according us internal and external self-government without sovereignty. On the 24th April 1970, we went beyond internal and external self-government to become a sovereign Republic with the sovereignty of our country and people assured by the 1970 Constitution. Now, we have a homeland we could call our own. Its history is to be written by us in deeds.

We have in our hands 550,000 hectares of arable land, riverine flats, swamps, tidal creeks and rich clay providing a fertile ground for agriculture, aquaculture, animal husbandry and handicraft with potential to generate allied productive sectors.

The country has a coastline with a terional sea of 12 nautical miles, a contiguous zone of 24 nautical miles and an economic zone of 209 nautical miles.

However, since independence, no decisive and conclusive step has been taken to demarcate the borders and establish the true size of The Gambia. All information being given regarding the size of the country is hypothetical.

A PDOIS led government would, within six months of its assumption of office, establish an expert bank with the requisite institutional and administrative framework to store all information relevant for policy making and planning. Experts in historiography and cadastral mapping would be recruited to look into the letter and spirit of the treaty of 10thAugust 1889 to determine the agreed colonial borders.

The OAU/AU has accepted the principle of transforming colonial borders into the borders of Independent African States. We Will establish the territorial integrity of The Gambia within six months. We will establish the terrestrial configuration, maritime features and airspace constituting

our motherland and fully determine where and how to harness adequate resources for self-reliant and self- determined development.

We have the duty to define, affirm and defend the sovereignty, political and economic independence, territorial integrity and national unity of our Republic and add our part to its history by our deeds.

Il. ARCHITECTURE OF THE REPUBLIC COOPERATIVE SOVEREIGNTY AND THE COOPERATIVE STATE

The fundamental departure of a PDOIS administration from all others in matters of state administration would be based on how it intends to reconstitute and reconstruct or transform state administration. Under a PDOIS led administration, the architecture of the Republic of The Gambia shall be based, seen and acknowledged to be grounded on the cooperative sovereignty of Gambians as evidenced by social scientific findings. The power of the state under the Republic emanates from the cooperative sovereignty of the people and is to be exercised to promote their cooperative interest and general wellbeing. PDOIS aims to build a Cooperative State that provides services to all and renders protection for all. The Cooperative State shall relate to all other states on the basis of their cooperative sovereignty.

The Transformative Agenda hereby provides for an undertaking of a political contract with the Gambian people, the continent and the world to transform Gambian state administration, institutionalise the cooperative sovereignty of the people of The Gambia and conduct continental and international relations on the basis of their cooperative sovereignty.

The Cooperative State shall be an instrument of service andprotection and not a parasitic state of coercion that ensures self-perpetuating rule and the continuous impoverishment of the people. It ensures people's determination of how power is periodically entrusted and exercised in their common interest and put the country on the trajectory of a holistic and sustainable people-centred development.

The Republic that a PDOIS led administration has the contractual obligation to build will rest on seven pillars of holistic, sustainable, people-centred, self-reliant and self-determined development.

The Transformative Agenda comprises civil, political economic, social, cultural, ecological and external relations components. Each of the components has five operational locomotives, namely, policy directive, strategic objectives, priority programmes, institutions and action plan.

1) POLITICAL COMPONENT

The Political Component of the PDOIS Manifesto aims to overhaul the state inherited from the monarchical colonial order and replace it with the Cooperative State of the sovereign people, which is indispensable in a Republic.

The coercive state first emerged from clan protection of members through the raising and maintenance of standing armed forces provided with deadly weapons and fighting skills to maim and kill perceived enemies.

These fighting forces eventually grew in numbers and sophistication and merged into clan confederacies under generals. These ethno-linguistic confederacies became national armies under the control and direction of monarchs for empire building. The colonial state which commenced its external domination of the territory on 10th August 1889 which Gambia inherited from independence is a byproduct of such empire building and monarchical form of the state.
The absolute power to rule by monarchs was later challenged by their own nationals and those they subjugated, thus leading to the birth of constitutional monarchy or restrained monarchy. The demand of the people to abolish the monarchy gave birth to the Republic which should have done away with the instruments of coercion of the monarchs and replace them with instruments of protection of the Republic.

Instead of reconstituting the coercive organs of the state inherited form the monarchs at independence, leaders of Republics transformed them into a deadly arsenal either for internal oppression or external domination, or both.

The Political Component aims to provide programmatic policy directives on how to give effect to the law governing the dismantling and disintegration of the coercive state inherited from the monarchical and colonial order and replace it with the Cooperating state of the Republic, which must serve as an instrument of protection.

a) Policy Directive

The policy directive of the Political Component is to establish the cooperative State that would build a sovereign Republic and nurture a sovereign people.

The Cooperative State would train a corps of honest, dedicated competent and reliable civil and security service providers whose might, mind and heart would be put at the service of the sovereign people. The Cooperative state would ensure that the state exists for the people and not the people for the state. Authority to operate the state machinery would be derived from the people and exercised not as an end in itself, but as a means to ensure their liberty, dignity and prosperity.

The Transformative Agenda provides for the eradication of all vestiges of monarchical or self-perpetuating rule, by transforming each citizen into a sovereign and equal stakeholder of public

authority within a sovereign community of citizens, irrespective of place of birth, gender, ethnolinguistic origin, religion and other status.

The National and Regional Government would provide all the civil and security services needed by the sovereign people at the village, district, regional and national level guided by representative assemblies or councils, at each level.

Each village would be a community of sovereign citizens who would be protected and shielded from ignorance, injustice and poverty, by the establishment of all relevant institutions of service.

The smallest administrative unit, whether village council or urban ward, would be obliged to promote love of country and people to ensure social cohesion, peace, unity and development from their early childhood to the grave.

The primary task of the Cooperative State is to ensure the community takes charge of its security through its own social cohesion. State police service providers would be well trained, well remunerated and well-resourced mobile units stationed at strategic places that would come to the aid of village security units to arrest and take accused persons before courts without the use of handcuffs or imprisonment in congested jails waiting for trial.

Crime and criminality would be reduced by eradicating poverty and introducing community service as means for imposing penalties for crimes committed. No person would be sent to prison for crimes not associated with capital offences.

The standing army would no longer be an instrument of coercion or specialised killing machine that would assist tyrants to engage in any form of domination at home or abroad.

It would be prepared to defend the homeland and the people and would specialise as a disciplined workforce for the Cooperative State. Units would be established to engage in duties such as, industrial fisheries, wharf construction, boat building, construction of state and community infrastructure and amenities and would fill any gap in the rendering of services to the population, in the spirit of love of and service to country and people.

b) Strategic Objectives

i) Ensuring the Building of the Sovereign Republic:

The strategic objective in the political domain is to conceptualise, establish, institutionalise and defend the sovereignty, political independence, territorial integrity, national identity and indivisibility of the sovereign Republic. This is inconceivable without the crafting of a Constitution that gives birth to a third Republic that would be transformative in letter and spirit, words and effect.

In this regard, a PDOIS led government would undertake the political contract with the Gambian people, the continent and the world at large. Within a year and three months after the assumption of office, it would conduct the appropriate national dialogue and consultation that would leave no

one behind. It would bring everyone on board to walk the pages of history and political science together to discover for ourselves the rich history of constitutional transformation in The Gambia so as to develop the capacity to make mature judgment in the promulgation of the Constitution of the third Republic without rancor or reservation.

The Constitution of the third Republic to be promulgated would establish, affirm and safeguard the sovereignty of the Republic and the sovereignty of the people who alone will have the power to determine the makers of policies and laws on their behalf.

It would determine and affirm the territorial boundaries of the Republic in terms of land, water and airspace and assert the inviolability of the territorial integrity of the sovereign Republic.

It must protect and defend the terrestrial, maritime boundaries and airspace owned by the people and guarantee that all development arising from them must benefit each and all. Such development must be sustainable and must not harm the interest of the people financially, economically, environmentally, or in any other way, in the short or long run.

The Constitution would guarantee the following core objectives:

- the inclusion of people's participation in all executive, legislative and judicial functions under the guidance of law, precedence, knowledge and standards of good governance;

- the establishment of a Presidency Advisory and Consultative Council as a new organ for direct participation in government administration by the people. The provision in the Constitution would give the Advisory and Consultative Council measured constitutional powers such as mandatory quarterly meeting with the President and Cabinet, and the power to deliver petitions to Ministries, which must be acknowledged and responded to as provided by law;

- the subjection of all elective posts to the National Assembly and Councils to recall through a petition filled by not less than 50 percent by the electorates. The Constitution wil provide for the filing of petitions by members of the Presidency Advisory and Consultative Council at the National Assembly and accord them the right to lay the petition after approval by the majority of Council members. Such petitions would then be remitted to the relevant committee of the National Assembly for scrutiny, consideration and advice;

- the mandatory publication of all bills in the Gazette and their dissemination by newspapers, radio and TV stations for public knowledge;

- In addition to the mandatory holding of public hearings by the National Assembly on all social legislation before enactment to prevent any ignorance of the law;

- the establishment of a National Peace Council with a National Peace Ombudsperson to handle all situations of conflict of cast, class, age, religious, ethnolinguistic, cross national, xenophobic origin or land dispute;

- the elevation of the Human Rights Commission from a statutory body to an oversight organ established by the Constitution;

- the institutionalisation of the law of balanced and proportionate development of society to make constitutional provisions that would ensure uniform development, in both urban and rural areas, so that no one or region would be left behind and no sector would be left untouched;

- the provision of benchmarks for building the institutions of the states based on two fundamental services, the civil and security services to guarantee a life of liberty, dignity, prosperity and happiness to all in a secure environment of peace and tranquility;

- the establishment of institutions by the Civil Service that will ensure universal access to early childhood tutoring and nurturing; a twelve year state sponsored education; one year compulsory national service after the twelfth year; the guarantee of full productive and contributive life after national service and the imparting of genuine and unalloyed sense of love and care for people and country based on a common sense of shared destiny;

- the establishment of the pillars of self-reliance and self- determined development based on the creation of a Sovereign Wealth Fund and a cooperative banking structure that would guarantee interest free loans with the fundamental aim to put an end to ignorance, injustice and poverty, the three key evils plaguing human existence since time immemorial;

- the crafting of the architectural sketch plan for the building of a civil, political, economic, social, cultural, ecological, continental and international order to ensure a life of prosperity in liberty and thus build a nation and nurture a people who owes no allegiance, obedience and adherence to any oppressive or exploitative power on the face of the earth but would only relate to others on the basis of cooperative sovereignty and equality;

- the establishment of the executive arm with equal representation of men and women to formulate and implement policy backed by law.

- the creation of a legislative arm with equal participation of men and women through proportional representation to make laws for policy implementation and ratify international agreements that would enhance justice and development all over the world. The building of a judicial arm to interpret the law, ensure its administration and guarantee the proper dispensation of justice;

- the creation of financial, social, judicial, technical security and other oversight services to ensure universal and equal benefits by the sovereign people;

- the identification of individual and group rights of the people that would be giving the protection of supreme law of the land to prevent any encroachment;

- the creation of institutions responsible for establishing and operationalising the components of sustainable development as well as igniting the locomotives;

- the provision of citizenship education to ensure the acculturation of the values of the Republic in school curricular and through induction during national service;

- the publication of a handbook on the Constitution and audio translation in all languages to make it possible for each person to know its content, relevance and applicability in responding to their various needs and interests.

i) Ensuring the Building of a Sovereign People

The first task of a PDOIS led government is to democratize knowledge and put an end to political alienation of the sovereign people from the instruments and institutions that are relied on to govern them. Therefore, the Cooperative State would ensure the following:

- nurture a new Gambian who recognises that the sovereignty of the Republic of The Gambia resides in him or her and embraces such sovereignty as his or her most precious possession thus making him or her a free, dignified. independent, mature, confident, self-assured and self-reliant person with self-determined convictions; a person who is forever immune to any form of discrimination, subjugation, degradation, intimidation, inducement or dictation;

- institutionalise universal citizenship education as the pillar of its civic and basic education systems aimed at nurturing, empowering and capacitating citizens to have a genuine sense of belonging to a homeland. It would not allow ethnolinguistic or regional origin, birth or descent, age or gender, caste or class to negate the equality in sovereignty and citizenship of the people of The Gambia. The sense of ownership of the Nation, the right to benefit from all services in sovereign equality and justice and the obligation to love the country and the people irrespective of our diversity in origin will be affirmed. The duty to serve country and people with all our might, heart and mind will be asserted;

- acculturate the new Gambian to be fully aware that each sovereign citizen is equal to the other and that their individual sovereign existence is premised on the maintenance of their identity and unity in nationhood. This will be based on their capacity to build, uphold, defend and upgrade their cooperative sovereignty founded on sound universal citizenship education that nurtures each to understand and acknowledge the cooperative ownership of the wealth and power of the nation. It will negate all values that ascribe superiority and inferiority, minority or majority status to any sovereign citizen or group of citizens. It will exclude none and include each and all in determining the destiny of the homeland;

- facilitate the promotion of a sense of purpose, direction and realisation that the primary duty to perform in the exercise of their cooperative sovereignty as a Gambian people is to craft the Constitution of the third Republic that would be the supreme guarantor of the equality of all Gambians in ownership of the power and wealth of the Nation. Guarantees will be given to safeguard the inalienable right of sovereign citizens to participate in building the Constitution that is fit for and acceptable to every Gambian.

c) Programmes

A PDOIS led administration will commission a five-year development programme on governance aimed at ensuring that all instruments, institutions and normative practices associated with governance, are designed to affirm and consolidate the sovereignty of the citizen and protect and enlarge the liberty, dignity and prosperity of all. The programme will be characterised by constitutional, legal, institutional, administrative and normative reforms relative to governance and state administration.

It would, within a span of two years, uproot coercive, uncaring and unproductive remnants of the state inherited from previous administrations and put in place an effective, an efficient and a well-trained, remunerated and motivated civil and security services that are fit for purpose.

It would establish general and specitic regulatory authorities to oversee the service delivery system in term of policy formulation implementation, monitoring, evaluation and the establishment of quality performance criteria and control mechanism, It would ensure that regulatory authorities would establish information and communication as Well as monitoring and evaluation units. They would give periodic reports to the Executive and National Assembly on the performance and procurement indicators for each public service sector. Each service delivery unit will sign performance contract with the regulatory authority that would be the basis of ensuring effective and efficient service delivery.

It would introduce a bill containing a referendum question that would seek to amend Section 226 of the Constitution to ensure the inclusion of a provision on how to promulgate a constitution and repeal another. This would facilitate the promulgation of the Constitution of the third Republic.

It would facilitate the recall of elected representatives by introducing a provision in the Constitution that would make it mandatory more than 50 percent of the electorate of an electoral unit to sign or affix their thumbprints on the petition to the Chief Justice for recall. The Chief Justice would be required to constitute a tribunal chaired by a high court judge with representation from the Human Rights Commission, the Office of Ombudsman, the Ombudsperson of the Peace Council to open hearing on the validity of the petition. Their decision, if adverse, should lead to the declaration of vacancy of the seat and the holding of a by-election within 60 days.

It would prepare a programme for universal prospecting in determining the available natural, mineral and petroleum resources of the country and create a reliable database for policy making and investment, within six months.

d) Institutions

A PDOIS led government would establish an/a:

i) Agency for Institutional Transformation and Expert Bank within one month to prepare the ground to formulate concrete measures on how to institutionalise and operationalise

the Transformative Agenda in collaboration with a Cabinet Committee of Ministers responsible for institutional reform. A reform programme would be crafted within six months and its implementation would commence after the sixth month;

ii) Commission of Jurists to conduct a review of the Constitution building process, identify the gaps, through a national conversation with all different stakeholders. The fundamental objective of the Commission would be to propose recommendations aimed at removing all provisions deemed to be unreasonable and unjustifiable in a democratic society, in consultation with the wider public and submit a draft that would be subjected to referendum;

iii) Public Service Regulatory Authority as an apex authority to provide technical, legal and administrative guidance and supervision to all regulatory authorities to ensure that they deliver according to public policy for their sector.

Specifically, it would establish the following authorities: Academy of Natural Sciences, Social Sciences and Humanities to oversee University Education in the country; Medical, Health and Sanitation Services Regulatory Authority; Engineering and Technical Services Regulatory Authority; Public Works Regulatory Authority; Public Utilities Regulatory Authority; Human and National Security Regulatory Authority; Public Finance Regulatory Authority, Gender Balance Monitoring Authority; Mining and Mineral Resources Regulatory Authority; Environmental Management Regulatory Authority; Arts and Culture Regulatory Authority; Public Enterprises Regulatory Authority and Oil Exploration Regulatory Authority, to serve as oversight for public service delivery.

iv) Public Service Review Commission comprising ex-senior public servants to review and make recommendations on public service reform;

v) Public Finance Commission comprising a body of ex-accountant generals and senior economists to review and make recommendations on public finance reform;

vi) Salary and Reform Commission comprising senior management and competent accountants and economists to review and make recommendations on salary reform based on the quality and quantity of work done;

vii) Judicial Service Commission comprising competent judges and ex attorney generals to review and make recommendations on judicial service reform;

viii) Security Service Commission comprising ex and serving senior military officers to review and make recommendations on security service reform;

ix) Education Commission comprising educationists of high academic and professional standing to review and make recommendations on education delivery.Such recommendations would include the need to avail equal opportunities to Arabic students and teachers to enable Arabic schools to provide the same knowledge and values that prepare them to equally participate in the general division of labour in

society as other graduates. Equal opportunities would also be accorded to Arabic teachers in training, job acquisition and remuneration as other teachers;

x) Health and Sanitation Commission comprising senior medical and public health personnel to review and make recommendations on health delivery reform;

xi) Gender Commission to review and make recommendations on administration; gender parity and connected matters in all areas of state administration;

xii) Disability Commission to review and make recommendations on how to integrate disabled persons as equal citizens with rights and entitlements to live a productive and contributive life.

e) Action Plan

A PDOIS led government would

Within one month:

i) promote a national consensus for a one term mandate for its administration followed by a constitutional amendment to introduce a two five-year term limit in order to combat monarchical and self-perpetuating rule of the Presidency;
ii) request all groups that would eventually elect members to the Presidency Advisory and Consultative Council to fully constitute their membership and complete their registration exercise so that they would be formally inaugurated as members of the Advisory and Consultative Council;
iii) introduce gender parity for the filling of Cabinet posts and institutionalise Proportional Representation for two thirds of the seats in Parliament. Such a measure would ensure that one third of the membership would always be balanced by gender parity in the preparation of the selection list for the occupants of those seats;
iv) encourage separation between party and state by surrendering party leadership positions and concentrate on being everybody's President, as a standard of good governance for any subsequent administration.

Within three months:

i) establish the legal pillars that guarantee and protect ownership of power and wealth of the Nation by the people. It woulds guarantee the right to exercise such power on the basis of sovereign equality. It would ensure that equal benefits would be derived from public services without any discrimination based on gender, religion, ethnolinguistic origin, disability or any other status;
ii) establish a Special Service Commission comprising a retired chief justice or judge and two male and female retired senior civil servants to be responsible for appointments to commissions such as the Independent Electoral Commission. In the case of the latter, party leaders would have the right to raise objections and be heard by the Commission, which shall sit publicly to preside over the hearing of the objections. The term limit of

the members of the Independent Electoral Commission should be aligned to two electoral cycles.

Within six months, transform the security forces into a training ground for a disciplined national work force by ensuring that every service man and woman acquires training in technical, administrative, professional and vocational domain so that the security forces would be able to render health, education, engineering and construction services to the state and citizenry, in particular and the world, at large.

Within a year:

i) ensure that all civil and security service personnel are entitled to breakfast, lunch and transportation to work, at state expense. This will ensure ownership, punctuality, honesty, effectiveness and efficiency in service delivery;

ii) establish a Permanent Salary Review Commission that would, on an annual basis, keep track of the Sovereign National Wealth accumulated and determine the scale of augmentation of remuneration for the quantity and quality of work done by each public servant. This would be replicated in the non-public sectors;

iii) effect decentralization and devolution of power by replacing governors with Regional Permanent Secretaries representing the Ministry of Regional Administration;

iv) promote the establishment of elected councils to administer villages, districts and regions;

v) establish a jury system for district tribunals with presidents appointed by the Judicial Service Commission.

2) ECONOMIC COMPONENT

The economic base of the Gambia comprises, agriculture, industry and services with a GDP amounting to 108.8 billion dalasi for 2021 the GDP is very vulnerable to shocks, due to the fragility of the economic base. For example, the SDP declined from 8. 1 percent in 2019 to -1.5 percent in 2020. The Country's agricultural sector contributed 18 percent of GDP in 2020. The industrial sector contributed 20 percent and services 55 percent in 2020, whilst the remaining 7 percent is accounted for by other sectors. The Gambia is in a state of debt distress with the debt burden rising to 81.8 billon dalasi in 2021. This debt burden requires payment of debt service charges amounting to 5.7 billion dalasi per annum despite the rescheduling of debt repayment. The debt burden is unsustainable. Suffice it to say, the economy has a fiscal sector. The recurrent budget for 2021 has a revenue and grant component amounting to a total sum of 25.7 billion dalasi. The Revenue Component comprises tax and non-tax sources amounting to 13.74 billion dalasi. Tax sources contribute 12.2 billion of revenue and non-tax revenue just 1.5 billion.

The grant component for 2021 amounts to 12 billion dalasi. Project grants for infrastructural development amounts to 8.8 billion dalasi while grants for budget support amounts to 3.2 billion dalasi.

If the Government is elected to continue in 2022, it is anticipated that its sources of financing its expenditures, both recurrent and development, would be taxes, loans and grants. The revenue and grants for 2022 is put at 29.2 billion dalasi. The revenue side comprising both tax and non-tax sources would amount to 17 billon dalasi. Tax sources would yield 13,9 billion dalasi while non-tax sources would yield 3.6 billon dalasi.

The grant component for 2022 would amount to 12.2 billion with a project grant element amounting to 9.7 billion and budget support of 2.6 billion dalasi.

Taxation, grants and loans for project and budget support have been available to the Government of the first Republic as well as the past and current Governments of the Second Republic. Hence, leaders of any successive changes in office could count on the possibility of financing recurrent budget and development projects through taxation, grants and loans. History has proven that such regime change would never lead to the eradication of poverty.

The eradication of poverty could only come through the transformation of the economic base. The accumulation of Sovereign National Wealth would promote production and consumption base welfare as well as give support to the expansion of the public, private, cooperative and informal sectors of the economy in accordance with the economics of scale and general welfare.

There must be a linkage between agricultural production, processing and marketing to ensure food self-reliance, security and import substitution.

Currently, having 550,000 hectares of arable land makes it possible for The Gambia to produce the rice and grains we need. However, only 57 percent of the arable land is being utilised. We need between 200,000 to 398,000 metric tons of rice per annum. We are producing between 22.000 to 57.000 metric tons per annum. We are spending between 2 to 4 billion dalasi on rice import.

We need to reverse the process of being an import dependent nation. Since the first Republic we import most of the goods we consume.

For example, for 2020, we imported over 2 billion dalasis worth of cereals; 1.2 billion dalasis worth of animal and vegetable fat; 29 million dalasi worth of potatoes; 108 million dalasi worth of onions; 93 million dalasi of tomato paste; 506 milion dalasi of milk and milk product; 1 billion dalasi worth of cooking oil and 88 million dalasis worth of eggs.

In 2017, import was 25.4 billion dalasi while export and re-export amounted to 1 billion giving rise to a deficit of 24.3 billion dalasi.

The pattern is the same today as it was in the first Republic and Jammeh's second Republic. In short, in 1994, import was 1.7 billion dalasi and export and re-export stood at 320 million dalasi giving rise to a deficit of 1.4 billion dalasi.

In 2016 when change occurred, import was 15.8 billion compared to export and re-export amounting to 3,9 billion dalasi. This gave rise to a deficit of 11.9 billion dalasi.

We must apply the principle of import substitution by producing what we are importing and reduce import cost while expanding our export to ensure a balanced and proportionate development in trade with our partners.

The National Development Plan has the following projections to seemingly address our dependency on import.

The production of cattle to be increased from 4,931.000 metric tons to 5,670,000 metric tons; sheep from 499,000 metric tons to 750,000 metric tons; goat from 988,000 metric tons to 1,600,000 metric tons; pigs from 1,166,000 to 1,400,000; poultry from 1,282,000 metric tons to 2,350,000 metric tons; milk from 25,882,000 metric tons to 28,470,000 metric tons; eggs from 675,000 metric tons to 1,148,000 metric tons and fish from 53,719 to 75,000 tons.

These projections are not linked to any import substitution programme and do not give any indication how production will be organised and financed to achieve the goals.

In view of the above, the Economic Component of the manifesto propagates the accumulation of Sovereign National Wealth as the cornerstone for self-reliant. self-determined and sustainable development.

For example, other countries have relied on Sovereign National Wealth to reposition their economy in the world market. The accumulation of Sovereign Wealth Fund from 1953 to date in Kuwait, 1981 in Singapore and 1991 in Norway has enabled these countries to have hundreds of billions of dollars in productive investments that facilitate wealth distribution through creation of well-paid jobs, and welfare programmes aimed at addressing poverty and promoting prosperity.

The Economic Component aims to ensure that Sovereign wealth is accumulated through public investments in mining, fisheries, downstream, midstream and stream petroleum activities, renewable energy sources, production of clay products, processing and infrastructural development

A part of the Sovereign National Wealth accumulated at the Central Bank would be utilised to provide interest free loans to economically deprived producers of all sectors to eradicate poverty.

All villages would receive financial support from the Cooperative Bank to establish productive enterprises to raise sovereign fund for village development. Equalisation grants would be given by the Cooperative State to ensure balanced and proportionate development of town and rural communities.

Another component is the Sovereign Wealth Investment Fund that would be interest bearing and would cushion the non-interest- bearing account.

This would foster investment in bonds, state enterprises, shares in private corporate bodies to promote export and the economy of scale as well as, import substitution.

Gambian entrepreneurs who could expand the productive base could get guaranties from the Cooperative State Investment Fund to build up subregional and continental enterprises that would have a multiplying effect on the domestic economy by expanding the economy of scale.

a) Policy Directive

The Transformative Agenda has the aim to accelerate the building of a self-reliant and self-determined economic base to ensure poverty eradication and sustainable people centred socioeconomic development.

Relying on the law of balanced and proportionate development, a PDOIS led administration will enlarge the productive base in all regions of the country, on the basis of cooperation; expand and utilise appropriate technology to develop the productive forces in order to harness their fullest potential by marching them with the requisite means of production, in order to build a self-reliant economy.

The policy drive would ensure a linkage between research, knowledge production, inventions and technological innovation with production of goods, construction of public works, provision of services and institution building for sustainable development.

The Transformative Agenda aims to synchronise and harness the advantages of the green, industrial and digital revolutions to create an economic base that will develop a chain link between raw material production, processing and distributive trade to meet the basic needs of Gambian people, expand trade in domestically produced goods, works and services with African countries, in particular, and other countries, in general, on the basis of mutual interest and benefit.

The policy directive will be driven by the creative abilities and ingenuity of the people aimed at accumulating adequate Sovereign National Wealth for socioeconomic growth, supported by investment funds from the country's financial institutions. This would be cushioned by linkage to an African Central Bank, an African Investment Bank, an African Monetary Fund and an Africa Continental Free Trade Area backed by a continental programmatic policy document aimed at eradicating poverty and ensuring prosperity, equity and sustainable development not only for The Gambia but for the continent as a whole.

The Transformative Agenda is necessitated by the current challenges of public finance due to the fact that the Consolidated Fund maintained at the Central Bank largely relies on taxation, grants and loans which cannot sustain a self-reliant and self- determined economy. This is why the macroeconomic environment is marked by an unfavorable imbalance between imports and exports and revenue and expenditure in the recurrent budget.

The policy directive of a PDOIS led administration is to transform an economy with a narrow capital, investment, production and taxation base that breeds poverty, into one that depends on Sovereign National Wealth, generated from productive investments, to eradicate poverty.

The Public Sector will be the engine for safeguarding general prosperity and welfare by accumulating Sovereign National Wealth for investments in people centered productive ventures and provision of essential social services. The Public Sector would rely on Sovereign Wealth Fund and the mobilisation of sustainable loans to ensure sustainable infrastructural development.

b) Strategic Objectives

A PDOIS led administration will transform the Consolidated Fund into a Sovereign Wealth Fund. Productive public investments will be the key source of revenue to meet recurrent and development expenditure instead of relying on the vagaries of taxation, grants and loans.

The Public Sector through its productive public enterprises will:

i) heavily invest in mining; oil exploration, development, production and distribution; processing of crops and other raw materials at a large scale; marketing of manufactured products and industrial fisheries.
ii) manage transportation, communication and information technologies;
iii) conduct research, training and production of intellectual property in the areas of education, health, skills, arts and cultural support services to generate sovereign national wealth and build a self-reliant and self-determined production base to eradicate poverty, improve services and ensure sustainable development.

A PDOIS led administration will establish a Cooperative Bank from the Sovereign Wealth Fund to provide seed money to family, community and village farm to enable them to purchase seed, fertilizer and farming implements on a revolving loan scheme.

In order to link crop production with processing, the Cooperative Bank will rely on the Sovereign Wealth Fund to ensure access to sufficient funds for investments in appropriate technology by graduates from technical institutions to process raw materials for the market. Farm produce such as coos, millet, milk, meat, vegetables, etc. shall be processed by small and medium size individual and cooperative enterprises financed by a Cooperative Bank without interest charges. They will develop partnership with large scale public enterprises, public private partnerships or development oriented private enterprises for domestic supply of adequate rice, grain, flour, oil, milk, eggs, meat, fish, fruits, juices, butter, cheese, honey, vegetables, sweet potatoes, cassava, etc. to ensure balance diet based on our own productive base.

Production of food items will be linked to a production of utensils and other needs. Housing items such as beds, chairs, tables, tapestry, towels and clothing for self-reliant and self-determined development will be produced.

Village, district and divisional councils would be established with treasuries to deposit Sovereign Wealth Fund for the development of each unit in collaboration with the Cooperative Bank. The Sovereign Wealth Fund will be derived from royalties or dividends paid by all income generating services using the grounds or facilities of the councils or have joint investment with them.

The Cooperative Bank would extend services to villages to finance their income generating and development projects such as the digging of boreholes and the financing of renewable energy, farming, aquaculture, poultry, forestry, raising of small ruminants, processing, pottery, weaving, low-cost rural housing and other projects.

c) Programmes

The Transformative Agenda provides for the crafting of a five-year development programme based on the projections of the volume of Sovereign National Wealth and the volume of financial resources that could be accumulated by the public, private, cooperative and informal sectors and the alignment of each financial source to its corresponding productive base to enhance means to eradicate poverty and ensure prosperity for all.

The plan is designed to enhance a balanced and proportionate growth of capital to meet the projected requirement of investment in agriculture, industry, services, trade and infrastructure to facilitate employment, cooperative sell-employment so as to boost growth of income and prosperity.

The plan will encourage investment but any concessions given to foreign investors in any area that is not connected to tourism and other areas where consumers are foreign nationals, must be accompanied by a shareholding arrangement in which the Public Enterprises shall hold majority share and Gambians must be the majority employees.

Investors will also be encouraged to add local content to their operations by engaging proprietors of Gambian industries and services as shareholders before getting any concessions.

To address the issue of corruption, investors would be encouraged to adopt the policy of profit sharing by offering a percentage of the shares of the company to the workers.

Land being the major means of production must be protected to ensure that Gambians have as much access to land as they could put into productive use and a ban shall be imposed on state land sales. State land shall be utilised for low-cost housing schemes, cooperative gardens for those without family farms, compensation for disadvantaged parties in land disputes and providing public services.

d) Institutions

To attain the strategic objectives, a PDOIS led administration would designate responsibilities to the following key ministries and other institutions:

i) Ministry of Finance would be responsible for exercising direction and control over the Sovereign National Wealth Fund (Consolidated Fund) through fiscal, budgetary, monetary and public investment policies and strategic plans in consultation with the Central Bank;

ii) Ministry for Economic Planning, Trade and Development would keep track of capital formation at home and from Foreign Direct Investment, monitor its alignment with the productive base of the economy such as agriculture, industry, services, trade and infrastructure and provide sectoral policies, strategies and action plans to ensure a balanced, results based, target or priority oriented and measurable growth towards poverty eradication and prosperity;

iii) An Investment Regulatory Authority would receive complaints and oversee the smooth flow of capital to the productive base of the economy, especially from Diaspora Gambians and Africans through public private shareholding schemes, and prevent or redress all obstacles to capital flow to the productive base through proper monitoring, whistle blowing as well as proposing preventive strategies or remedies;

iv) Ministry for Industrial and Infrastructural development would link agriculture with value added processing and facilitate investment complemented by infrastructural development;

v) A Lands Regulatory Authority would undertake a study of land tenure, use the outcome and continue to monitor the land tenure system in the country, properly delineate and maintain records of land based on private ownership, family ownership, village ownership and public ownership. It will properly delineate land meant for agricultural, industrial, residential, commercial, recreational, conservational and infrastructural use. It shall, along with the Ministry of Lands, Urban and Regional Development, facilitate

the preparation of a programmatic policy document on land tenure and land use to prevent poverty from motivating family and community land to be leased and used for the development of others at their expense and further advice on how to ensure sustainable Urban and Regional development;

vi) A National Environmental Regulatory Authority would evaluate and prevent all prospective developments which are likely to impact negatively on the environment, and monitor compliance with standards set to protect it and promote sustainable development through an establishment of compliance criterion for each sector;

vii) A National Public Works Regulatory Authority would oversee the building and maintenance of the infrastructure necessary for air, road, rail and sea transport. The poor road infrastructure with only 27 Percent of roads being classified as bituminous would receive priority attention from a PDOIS led administration;

viii) A Trade and Marketing Regulatory Authority would consider the world market price of groundnuts and other produce and set domestic prices that would not be exploitative.

e) Action Plan

A PDOIS led government would, **within one month**, establish an Agency for Sustainable Socioeconomic Development that would maintain a database on finance, agriculture, industry, infrastructure and services, tourism and trade in order to determine their role in ensuring self-reliant and self-determined development.

i) Finance

Within two months, align almost half a million people who have bank accounts to the productive base of the economy by ensuring that bank deposits are utilised as productive investment by the private sector to enhance domestic bank assets and their productive use to facilitate the economic development of the country.

Within three months, establish a Sovereign National Wealth Fund which would serve as a source for interest free cooperative banking and interest-bearing financial facilities to eradicate poverty on one hand, and to boost public investment on the other hand

Within one year:

- ensure that excess liquidity in the Sovereign Wealth Fund would be combined with excess liquidity in the accounts of public enterprises to invest in bonds in the external market to ensure the availability of foreign exchange, the replenishing and blossoming of foreign reserves, the sustainability and growth of trade and the consolidation of a robust financial sector for productive investments;

- ensure that a Sovereign National Wealth Fund is maintained by village councils, district councils and regional councils into which a percentage of all incomes from minerals in a given area, or royalties from use of natural resources of the area and other incomes would be deposited to promote the development of the respective sectors. The percentage to be awarded to each sector would be determined by negotiation and legitimised through contract;
- all compound rates and revenues collected from villages would be deposited in village treasury for village development;
- encourage all investors to embrace the principle of corporate responsibility by allocating shares to the workers aimed at promoting poverty eradication, preventing corruption and enhancing of general welfare without jeopardizing investment returns;
- link private sector capital to private sector investment in the productive base of the economy;
- link cooperative finance to grassroots development such as 100.000 micro small and medium size enterprises and village farms.

ii) Agriculture

Within six months:

- introduce bills to seek the enactment of laws that prevent the disposal of family farm lands because of poverty and transform them into large scale farms with family members as shareholders. The owners will access credit from the cooperative banking sector to enable them to purchase farming inputs and expand production and yield. Those who had user rights, regarding borrowed farm land for years, would also become shareholders on the basis of negotiation;
- assist the landless to have income from cooperative credit schemes geared towards poverty eradication to enable them to invest to become shareholders in large-scale farms or purchase their farms;
- establish cooperative marketing enterprises to expand the absorptive capacity of the domestic consumers for domestic farm produce, by linking producers to hotels and other large- scale consumers and developing a supply chain for retailers that would have a multiplier effect on the informal sector;
- ensure that we produce and process what we grow to have a self-reliant and export oriented agriculture that would guarantee food security and enhance export to enable Gambian farmers to become prosperous income earners.

iii) Industry

Within three months:

- Promote the use of appropriate technology, to boost production and preservation of farm produce through processing and proper storage and a speedy transportation of perishable produce by establishing appropriate refrigerated transportation systems;
- encourage each village to do an inventory of the labour saving devices available in a village, identify their importers or makers or determine their origin; note the priority needs

and indicate whether there exist technicians who could operate and provide maintenance, and further examine the availability of spare parts.

Within six months:

- conduct an inventory of all the labour saving and processing devices to add value to agricultural produce by transforming them into oil, flour, yogurt, groundnut butter and so on;
- undertake to identify the areas where different agricultural produce are grown, measure the volume of production and gauge what needs to be done to ensure greater reliance on domestically processed goods for consumption and export;
- convene stakeholders' meeting of consumers, service providers, manufacturers and importers, to identify how to get the devices on a sustainable basis and how to arrange training for people in villages, districts and regions to provide the technical services needed for sustainability;
- arrange training with suppliers in order to establish a farming and training unit in each village, district and region to produce the technical cadre who will pioneer the primary phase of industrialisation and ensure the accessibility of labour serving devices to free women from drudgery, develop a reliable base for primary processing of agricultural produce into value added products, and thus reduce their importation and boost rural income.

Within one year:

- consolidate the first phase of industrial development by linking agricultural production to processing with simple technology that could either be manufactured, assembled or repaired in the country;
- utilise baseline statistics and findings from studies on the first phase of industrial development of the country to formulate a policy for the village, ward, district, region and nation.

Within two years, launch the secondary phase of industrialization with the aim at establishing light scale manufacturing to boost youth employment.

Within three years, initiate a tertiary phase of industrialization geared at machine building by encouraging investment from the public, private and cooperative sectors. These could also combine to form joint stock companies through founding a durable stock market, and further collaborate with other African Countries to promote inter African stock markets and joint stock companies to ensure the economics of scale that goes along with sustainable industrial development.

iv) Development of Infrastructure and Services

Development requires the free movement of people goods and services and fast communication through telecommunication, broadcasting and postal services. Speedy transportation by land, water and air does give added impetus to the free movement of people, goods and services.

Provision of electricity, petroleum, gas, water and other services are indispensable to development. The construction of roads must be linked with proper drainage, sewerage and waste management schemes to complement development.

Within one month, establish a commission on infrastructural development to examine the current state of telecommunication, transportation, broadcasting and postal services and their allied electricity, petroleum and gas sectors and make recommendations on how to develop the sectors to build a self-reliant and self-determined economy.

Within three months, establish Road Authority at the village, district, regional and national levels to coordinate activities with authorities responsible for electricity, water, telecommunication and other services. This is to ensure that quality services are accessible and affordable and holistic planning to identify the facilities for each sector and its plans in advance before any given infrastructure is put in place. In this way, one does not have to destroy roads to lay down pipes or cables at a loss to the Nation. Electricity, water supply, telecommunication services and sewerage and waste disposal will be considered key utilities which would be regulated by National Public Utilities Authority. The provision of these facilities would be planned and developed together in all villages, districts, regions and urban settlements.

Within six months, enhance river transport by developing comprehensive programmes and projects on the construction of wharfs in all major towns along the river bank to ensure that all heavy loads are transported by river transport to reduce the early deterioration of major highways, and give new life to the economic activity of many towns.

Within one year, develop. a project to link the bridge across the Gambia river with ports facilities that would serve Southern Senegal, the Gambian hinterland, and Mali, to import and export goods with greater ease, as we work to build all the trans Gambia roads into first class roads in close collaboration with other countries like Guinea Bissau, Guinea and Mali.

Within two years, explore the possibility of building rail links between Gambia, Senegal, Guinea Bissau, Guinea and Mali.

v) Tourism

Within a month, establish a database of all tourism products attractive to tourists and other visitors and promote a people centred tourism policy to diversify the services that benefit all parts of the country. Public enterprises would divest from hotels and leave the sector to investors who have the comparative advantage to develop the sector that relies mainly on foreign visitors.

Within three months:

- establish an investment code for foreign investors in the tourism sector to encourage shareholding with Gambians partners;
- enhance the multiplier effect of the sector on the productive base of the economy, through the consumption of Gambian goods and services by foreign guests who could number 350,000 if exposed to a democratic system of government with an open society that

establishes domestic quality assurance standards in compliance with global quality and food safety standards.

Within one year

- enhance investment in land belonging to families to provide ecotourism and other services through the Cooperative Bank;
- transform sand, sun, sea tourism and all-inclusive tourism into people centred tourism by ensuring that the Gambian people supported by a Cooperative Bank would identify and produce what the tourists want based on a database prepared during promotional activities. Each tour operator would be required to promote the country's objective to eradicate poverty by encouraging each tourist to spend at least 100 dollars in support of Gambian producers. An estimated number of 350,000 tourists spending 100 dollars to purchase Gambian products would enable Gambians producers, and service providers to earn 1.5 billion dollars per annum.

vi) Trade

Within one month, establish a National Trade Authority to monitor all imports and exports in goods and services and make recommendations on how to enhance a balanced and proportionate trade by increasing export and reducing trade deficit.

Within one year:

- establish cooperative marketing units in villages to purchase goods from farmers linked to Cooperative Bank aimed at producing goods a large scale for domestic market and export. The operators of these trading houses could transport goods to weekly markets in the various districts and extend sale opportunities to the national cooperative marketing Agency for distribution to urban retailers or exporters;
- maintain foreign reserves through accumulation of Sovereign National Wealth and engage in selective investment in the international bond market to preserve foreign exchange earnings and make imports sustainable.

3) SOCIAL COMPONENT

The Social Component propagates how poverty would be eradicated by relying on the law of balanced and proportionate development of all sectors of society. The Manifesto shows how production-based welfare would be linked to consumption-based welfare. This would enable individual income and community income to rise proportionately to facilitate availability and affordability of food, safe drinking water, sanitation, clothing, housing and renewable energy of adequate quantity and quality to promote general welfare of both rural and urban dwellers.

The household and the rural village and urban wards would serve as the epicentre and drivers for poverty eradication. Household income and community income would be enhanced by support received from the Cooperative Bank to engage in productive ventures without incurring any interest. Villages will replicate all state services such as the provision of community policing, education, health, waste management, housing, fire and rescue services. The national budget would be regionally shared to provide each region with funds to allocate to regional and district treasury

accounts managed by regional councils and district councils. Such treasuries will provide equalisation grants to villages to ensure balanced, proportionate and sustainable community development.

The Cooperative State will promote consumption-based welfare by providing free education with bus services where applicable and meals to children up to the twelfth grade. The universal tree education programme would be further complemented by maintaining a national service of one year for each graduate before moving to the next level.

Section 30 of the existing Constitution states: all persons shall have the right to equal educational opportunities and facilities and with a view to achieving the full realisation of that right:

(a) basic education shall be tree, compulsory and available to all;
(b) secondary education, including technical and vocational education, shall be made generally available and accessible to all by every appropriate means, and in particular, by the progressive introduction of free education;
(c) higher education shall be made equally accessible to all, on the basis of capacity, by every appropriate means, and in particular, by progressive introduction of free education;
(d) functional literacy shall be encouraged or intensified as far as possible;
(e) the development of a system of schools with adequate facilities at all levels shall be actively pursued.

The dictation of the Constitution would be respected to the letter by imposing free education at the basic level of grade one to twelve and all fees at the tertiary level will be brought down to the level it was when the institution the Constitution came into being.

Furthermore, the Social Component aims to remedy all historical injustices against the disabled or people with special physical features, women and other groups by taking special measures to allocate human, financial and material resources at the village, district, regional and national level to eradicate all discrimination and further ensure access to education, training, health, employment, housing and other support services to promote general welfare

It would maintain a community based health system where residents in communities would be trained to handle first aid such as taking blood pressure, temperature, measuring blood sugar and other primary services before referral to minor/ major health centers, district and regional hospitals.

Community, Council and National Housing schemes would be developed for low-cost housing of good quality for all.

Community centres would provide meeting places for members to have discussions, enjoy internet services or recreation complement the traditional role of village bantabas.

Civil associations and unions of farmers, workers, drivers and other groups would be the eyes, ears and mouths of their members and would be guaranteed rights to be heard by all authorities to safeguard the interest of all sovereign persons.

a) Policy Directive

The foundation of people centred development is to ensure the building of a society where the citizen is not only a child of his or her parents but a child of the neighbourhood, the community and the nation at large, who must be catered for from prenatal stage of life to old age and death, and must be guaranteed all the social services required for good standard of living and general wellbeing.

This requires the nurturing of citizens who are active participants and not passive spectators in determining the destiny of their homeland.

An inclusive and participatory governance is inconceivable without ensuring the active participation of the people in managing national affairs. Governance will therefore involve the people organised into civil associations to serve as social auditors who will scrutinise, criticise and restrain the tendency for misrepresentation, bad governance, mismanagement and impunity, on the one hand, and serve as the ears, eyes and mouths of the people who will speak truth to authority in defense of legitimate individual and public interest, on the other.

A PDOIS led government will promote strong community relations as a means of preventing alienation and its attendant problem of crime and destructive or harmful social behaviour.

b) Strategic Objectives

A PDOIS led government will build a community of sovereign citizens whose sense of belonging to a community of Gambian nationals will be put above other affinities in terms of ethnolinguistic origin, gender, religion and other distinctions.

It will nurture an informed citizenry who will have the right and audacity to ask the community what is required to have education, skills, good health, employment, housing, proper sanitation, protection at old age or in case of disability and adequate recreation in order to live in liberty, dignity and prosperity and who will recognise their duty to give to the community what it requires to provide the needs of all and ensure that each enjoys individual and social justice Programme.

It will develop a four-year development programme to ensure balance and proportionate development of the social sectors such as Health, Education, housing, social welfare, and recreational facilities.

c) Institutions

i) The Health Ministry will formulate strategic plans, programmes and projects to ensure that the four components of health, that is, its preventive, curative, rehabilitative and restorative aspects, are institutionalised at each level of the health delivery system; be it at the primary stage, at minor health centres in Villages, or the secondary stage at

major health centres and clinics in districts or referral hospitals in the regions that would serve as the tertiary stage of the health delivery system in those areas.

ii) The Ministry of Basic Education shall come up with a twelve- year basic education cycle that will be free and compulsory and will aim to provide each student with sufficient reading, writing, basic mathematical skills and general knowledge to enable him/her to pursue a career option without hindrance, after graduation. Schools will be required to conduct education for citizenship at all levels, to inculcate republican and democratic values in each from early childhood. They buttress this knowledge at each stage by exposing them to republican and democratic instruments, institutions, and methods of living to empower them to grow up as sovereign citizens with high sense of dignity and self-esteem. The education system will aim to provide each student with knowledge and skills to be able to play one's role in the general division of labour in society, as well as perform the role of a sovereign shareholder of the power and authority of the state as voter, social auditor or potential representative of the people.

iii) The Ministry of Higher Education will ensure that the University and its allied tertiary institutions keep track of the labour pool to quantify and qualify human resource needs on a five-year basis, in order to guide the students for career preparation;

iv) National Housing Authority will ensure the construction of low cost model housing in villages, wards, districts, regions and urban centres to move the people to a middle income standard of living;

v) The Authority will maintain a housing fund finance by taxing those who charge high income than the standards established to subsidise the rent of those who cannot afford them. Tax rebate will be given to those who charge low rent;

vi) At peace time, the military and security forces will serve as a corps for development by ensuring that they have equipment and personnel to build low cost housing throughout the country, and provide other skilled labour necessary, such as the building of wharfs. Ex-service persons, men and women, will be assisted to form cooperatives and work as brigades. They will be given financial assistance and equipment to run fishing enterprises, if they are from the navy and to do public works, if they are from the engineering corps, and the income derived from each contract will be shared among the shareholders.

d) Action Plan

A PDOIS led government would, within one month, establish a programme for social service delivery based on age categorisation.

i) Prenatal

Within three months, provide prenatal service delivery as follows:

- initiate civic education to ensure that marriage is based on love and mutual consent of partners aimed at the propagation of the human race;
- offer counselling on child spacing, reproductive health and the environment that is required in homes to nurture a happy, intelligent, sociable, responsible, productive and contributive child who loves country and people;

Within six months:

- introduce counselling and social protection services to ensure that each mother is protected to have a healthy mind and body at the prenatal stage;
- train prenatal attendants in every community to provide counseling and guidance to couples and mothers on prenatal care and childbirth.

Within a year:

- introduce low cost housing schemes, minimum salaries and farm gate prices of produce that are equivalent to the basic cost of living;
- provide breakfast, lunch, public buses and socially funded medical care for school children and working parents at state expense to enable parents to discharge their responsibilities to their families and enhance stable marriages;
- determine work schedules and leave entitlements for employees to ensure that labour and leisure are properly harmonised for greater productivity;
- provide recreational facilities through collaboration between councils and national government to enable parents and their children to interact to build a caring and sharing society.

i) Post-natal - under two years

At birth

- guarantee that every child born in The Gambia has a right to protection of his or her life, development in a heathy environment conducive to his or her sovereign existence as a free, productive and contributive citizen;
- ensure that his or her sovereign citizenship is recognised and that his or her right to a name, nationality and birth certificate is respected and observed without any delay;
- assist parents of other nationality or are envoys of a foreign power to choose to register the child as a national of a foreign country. The parents' choice of nationality for the child shall be noted in the birth certificate of the child and the information forwarded by The Gambia to that particular country for registration of the child as a national of that particular country. Any child whose parents have not opted for his or her registration as a national of another country automatically becomes a citizen of The Gambia by birth to demonstrate zero tolerance for statelessness.

Within three months:

- appoint and initiate in-service training of birth attendants to support delivery, give advice on nutrition and care of babies and provide timely referral to health centres, which shall be available in all villages to get emergency support to mothers during difficult delivery;

- ensure that every village head becomes a registrar of birth. marriage and death in a village. Each registrar shall have an office with the duty to maintain proper records of data on birth, death, marriage and residence of non-Gambians with serial numbers that would allow accurate infusion into the national records of all citizens.

Within six months:

- initiate legislation for mothers to be granted compulsory three months pre-natal and nine months post-natal leave to properly look after and breast feed babies:
- initiate legislation for fathers to be given six months reduced working hours and three months leave at intervals mutually determined by each agency to enable them to look after and pickup under two children as they are cared for in creches provided for by workplaces and farms to enable lactating mothers to breast feed and take care of their babies at the required intervals determined by pediatricians and nutritionists.

Within a year, statelessness would be abolished in The Gambia and no possibility would exist for unlawful claim for citizenship due to universal and digital recording of all births and deaths. Furthermore, a referendum question will be put to the Gambian people on proposal for citizenship by registration for all persons of African descent whose ancestors have been forcefully repatriated from the continent or have voluntarily moved to The Gambia from other African countries. They would require citizenship by registration upon showing their integration into the community with a chosen family built on mutual consent and full display of capacity to live a productive and contributive life in The Gambia in the interest of all and to the detriment of none.

ii) Early childhood 2 to 6 years

Within one month, conduct civic education to enhance the spirit for community living and the capacity to make individual and group decisions on all matters that concern them.

Within three months, establish a commission to review the early childhood education programme and make recommendations to ensure that there is universal early childhood education and training from two years to six years. The two-year curriculum will include training on how to get adjusted to the weaning period, toilet training, emotion management, social relationship management and information retention skills.

Within six months, introduce a child centred pedagogy aimed at transferring knowledge, values, behaviour models and skills to each child based on mutually accepted method of learning between pedagogue and child at the mutually determined pace of learning.

Within a year:

- provide children with breakfast and lunch at the early childhood upbringing centres from the Sovereign Wealth Fund. Basic education will be universal, compulsory and accessible. It shall comprise knowledge of the elements of nature and components of society, skills acquisition to deal with the properties or elements of nature and practical demonstration from day to day life on how to harness from the various elements or properties of nature, the means to sustain livelihoods and development in a home, community and nation, at large;

- expose to knowledge of self in the physical form such as the internal and external parts of the body and their functions, the link between the body and the mind and how they are to be protected from harm. He/she will also be exposed to the professions and institutions that exist or handle health matters and the environment that is best to keep the mind and body healthy, the method of waste management necessary to promote sanitation and their responsibility and role in doing so;
- orientate the child on the nature of the family and its role, the community and the nation. He or she will understand how the country is governed, the Sovereign Wealth of the nation, the laws, the institutions, the electoral system, the executive system, the legislative system, the judicial system, citizenship, nationhood and the rights and duties of sovereign citizens;
- Expose the child to group dynamics through participation in classroom management and decision making by electing or being elected as aid to the class.

iii) Childhood 6 to 12 years

A PDOIS led government would, **within one year**, ensure that child will be given breakfast and lunch at basic education facilities. Lower Basic Education will be free, universal, compulsory and accessible. Knowledge of nature and society will increase and be linked to real life experiences and challenges. Participation in peer group subject clubs and the establishment of a children parliament that focuses on duty bound and participatory citizenship would be encouraged. Elected treasurers would save money in post office accounts and keep books of accounts. School administrators would rely on pupil governments for support in school management and administration.

iv) Early youth 13-17 years

Within one year, ensure that the youth be given breakfast and lunch at upper basic and first level of senior secondary school. The youth would begin to conceive himself or herself as a young adult with basic knowledge of body, mind, environment and society with a chosen skill to be able to participate in the general division of labour in society.

v) Youth 18 - 29 years

Within one month, introduce citizenship education to enable youth adult to know their sovereign rights and duties especially how to cast his/her vote based on informed choice or stand for elections based on merit.

Within one year, introduce a national programme requiring the young adult to participate in a one-year compulsory national service after completing twelfth grade at an institution of one's choice after acquiring all the basic knowledge and skills necessary to live a productive and contributive life. The young adult is entitled to a national service for a second year at one's own choice to prepare better to face the challenges of nationhood.

vi) Early adulthood 30 - 44 years

Within three months:

- establish a commission to study and make recommendations on how the adult could meet all the obligations of citizens and derive remuneration according to the quantity and quality of work done;
- ensure housing schemes and decent livelihood from consumption-based welfare programmes aimed at cushioning income. The recommendation from the commission should cover the middle age bracket of 45 -59 years.

vii) Late middle age to old age 59 - 90

Within three months:

- commission a study on the living conditions of the following categories of citizens: early old age of 60 to 75, middle old age of 76 to 89 and late old age of 90 years onwards, with the view to introduce a pension scheme under which the pensioner receives quality living out of the productive investment of his/her pension contributions during his or her productive years.

viii) General social development

Within six months, establish commission of appropriate professional knowledge and experience to respectfully make recommendations on how to achieve the following with one year:

- build minor health centres in small villages; major health centres in big villages and urban wards, district hospitals in districts or urban constituencies, and referral hospitals in each region or urban municipality;
- create a fund for the building of low cost housing for public servants, service men and women, and those who contribute to social security in the formal sector and payment will be effected on a month to month basis. Cooperative housing scheme will address the needs of those in the informal sector;
- empower civil society units to serve as social auditors who will monitor all projects and ensure that they are implemented on time and according to plan;
- empower all migrant communities in each area to form associations and elect leaders who could act on their behalf, and also promote a sense of common solidarity that would prevent isolation and frustration leading to criminal behaviour or revenge for injustice;
- encourage governments in the subregion, continent and the world at large, to support building such communities of citizens of other countries resident in their nations, especially Gambian citizens, to promote respect for diversity and the spirit of good neighbourliness among the peoples of the world;
- put special measures in place to address past discrimination and injustices perpetrated on the basis of gender, disability, age, social origin and prevent their resuscitation;
- negotiate with foreign governments to enable aged Gambians in foreign countries, to be resettled in The Gambia and be paid all their pensions and social security benefits, so that they could enjoy better care at home;
- enter into contract with foreign governments to ensure that there is a balanced and proportionate enjoyment of benefits by our citizens. The country will annually assess the benefits derived by the nationals of each foreign country and enter into negotiation with

their governments to ensure that Gambians nationals in those countries enjoy commensurable benefits.

- create work for the elderly, where they could spend few hours a week in their area of specialisation to teach the young people, or give counselling or engage in story telling in schools and kindergartens, to promote greater respect for the elderly.

4) CIVIL COMPONENT

This component focuses on the rights and duties of the sovereign Gambian citizen in whom the sovereignty of the Nation is vested. It affirms that each sovereign Gambian is endowed with authority, in equal measure and terms, to determine the existence of a Gambian state, as a Republic and how it is to be governed, without any discrimination. It indicates how the amalgamated sovereignty of individual Gambians engenders the cooperative sovereignty that gives birth to the Republic and the Cooperative State.

It explains all the key rights of the citizens and how the Cooperative State would make it possible to eradicate injustice, inequality before the law, discrimination on the basis of ethno-linguistic origin, religion, gender, disability and other factors of nature or nurture, beyond the choice and control of the sovereign person. The Civil Component provides a programmatic policy document on how the sovereign citizen becomes the centre for the protection of rights as part and parcel of the majority who constitute the citizenry who must not under any circumstances, be relegated to a minority status, regardless of origin.

a) Policy Directive

The Republic only recognises power derived from the consent of the sovereign people. That sovereign self, the embodiment of the sovereignty of the people, has to have protection by the guards and fences of fundamental rights and freedoms. Civil transformation embodies a change of mindset to enable each sovereign person to treasure his or her right to life, liberty, security of person, privacy, freedom from forced labour, slavery and other inhuman and degrading treatment, freedom of expression, including freedom to receive information without restriction, freedom to associate with others and to manifest one's religious obligation, political affiliation, professional or occupational affiliation, gender or age affiliation.

It is the sovereign person whose consent is sought to build the political foundation of a Republic. Therefore, the power to exercise civil authority is embodied in the collective will of the sovereign citizens. It is that authority that is circumscribed by law, which is transformed into the legitimate right to build the architecture of the state. The civil foundation and the political foundation are irretrievably linked in a sovereign Republic.

This is why no sovereign person should be excluded from exercising his or her sovereign rights. This is why justice in a sovereign republic takes preventive, substantive, rehabilitative and restorative dimensions.

b) Strategic Objective

Our commitment to republican and democratic values, which uphold the sovereignty of the individual citizen, obliges us to focus on building a society centred on the protection of the liberty, dignity and self-worth, that is, all the fundamental rights and freedoms of the sovereign person by ensuring that all state institutions, agencies and sovereign persons are committed to such an endeavour.

c) Programmes

A PDOIS led administration would:

i) institute a five-year Human Rights Protection and Enlargement programme, characterised by the enactment of a Freedom of Information Act to remove secrecy from public administration and make the administrators accountable to the public they serve and responsive to enquiries of the media that are supposed to keep the people informed;

ii) reform the Criminal Code to decriminalise all provisions that are not reasonable or justifiable in a republic or democratic society, and rationalise penalties to be equivalent to crime committed;

iii) conduct reform of law enforcement agencies and practices;

iv) conduct reform of prisons and prison administration. Introduce community service as alternative to imprisonment as measures to eradicate retributive justice. Since no sovereign citizen would choose to occupy a government post of a killer, the death penalty would be abolished and life imprisonment maintained as the severest punishment for a crime;

v) build community police relationship.

d) Institutions

A PDOIS led administration would:

i) empower the National Human Rights Commission to monitor and ensure protection against violations of Human Rights;

ii) establish a National Police Service Commission to exercise direction and control over the police force. It will be given the mandate to appoint all senior officers of the force on the basis of merit. An Inspector General of Police shall be appointed with the approval of the Head of state, but once in office, cannot be removed without the setting up of a tribunal presided over by a judge of the High court to determine grounds for removal on the basis of misconduct or violation of the constitution. Any finding and recommendation for dismissal will be subjected to approval by the National Assembly;

iii) establish a National Prison Service Commission will exercise direction and control over prison administration. A Director General of Prisons shall be appointed with the approval of the Head of state, but cannot be removed without a tribunal sitting to determine the grounds for removal subject to approval by the National Assembly;

iv) Imams of major mosques and Priests of major churches, union leaders and leaders of registered civic groups or associations would be honorary human rights commissioners

and social auditors who could visit jails, prisons and other places of detention to check conditions and make representation for compliance with the laws or propose improvement or reforms in the administration of public institutions such as prisons;

v) establish a National Council of Media Practitioners as a self- regulatory body for media practitioners who will exercise persuasive influence aimed at promoting professionalism and integrity in the performance of duty and resolving disputes to decongest the courts.

e) Action plan

A PDOIS led government would,

Within one month, take appropriate measures to ensure that human rights defenders will receive maximum media coverage and protection in their exposure of human rights violations.

Within six months:

- undertake legislative and judicial reform to eradicate any criminalisation of speech and encourage the resort to civil suit for claim of any damages or injuries arising from hate speeches;
- conduct civic education to enable sovereign citizens to educate people on their fundamental rights and freedoms and promote respect for and observance of those rights by the state institutions, in particular, and the sovereign persons, in general;
- promote the enactment of civil laws will be developed to address all violations of rights and freedoms through alternative dispute resolution measures and if need be, the courts in their civil jurisdictions.

Within one year, introduce legislation to reduce the chance of detention without trial by ensuring speedy court appearances, the best guarantee against forced confession through torture or other forms of duress. The legislation would aim to ensure that those arrested and not released would be brought to court within 48 hours and would not be further detained unless ordered by the court.

5) CULTURAL COMPONENT

Culture embodies traditions that are skeletons of a defunct way of life, customs that are practices of a past way of life, and are retained by transforming them into normative values, which must be observed or be sanctioned. It also constitutes the prevailing way of life of a generation. Culture has its language, information systems, knowledge base, values, norms and approved and tabooed behavioral practices. The Transformative Agenda aims to provide a programmatic policy document on how to build a culture fit for a sovereign Republic and a sovereign people.

The Cultural Component focuses on ways and means of propagating a new way of life of a sovereign Gambian under a sovereign Republic. It charts how individual growth could be nurtured

through the inculcation of values of cooperative sovereignty and the enhancement of love of country and people.

It would ensure the harmonisation of progressive traditions and customs into the emerging way of life of the sovereign Gambian people who would cherish all national languages and promote their learning and use by all Gambians so that each could speak to the other without any communication barrier, in all areas of national life. Values of self-reliance and self-determined development would be nurtured to ensure that food, drinks, clothing, handicraft and artistic expressions would be of national origin and relevant in enhancing the economic and social emancipation of the country through the development of new information and communication systems, knowledge production and technological innovation.

The component encompasses how culture could aid the green, industrial and digital revolution and guarantee a knowledge-based way of life for all sovereign Gambians.

The component indicates how all national languages, normative behaviour, practices and artistic expression would articulate and propagate a way of life that promotes national unity and interest.

a) Policy Directive

The Cooperative State and the sovereign people would have the primary duty to combat all vestiges of prejudices emanating from ethnolinguistic traditions, monarchical and caste systems, religious allegiances, gender orientation and all other practices which undermine the integrity of the sovereign person in particular, and diverse groups in general. Culture must manage diversity in such a way that unity is enhanced by promoting republican and democratic values and their institutionalisation to promote the equality of all Gambians in citizenship, and all other communities resident in the Gambia in rights to ensure mutual respect, tolerance and appreciation of diversity.

b) Strategic Objective

The sovereign people would promote and preserve all cultural heritages that enhance human dignity, self-worth, liberty and prosperity and thus fuse all the identities and values originating from diverse cultural backgrounds into the identity and values of the sovereign community of sovereign Gambian citizens under the Republic.

c) Programme

A five-year programme would be drawn to promote multi-culturalism, or respect for cultural diversity, on one hand, cultural fusion into a sovereign community of Gambians under the Republic, on the other, which recognizes no distinction among citizens with regard to the enjoyment of rights to live in liberty, dignity and prosperity.

d) Institution

A National Commission on Culture will be established to oversee the development of the culture of a sovereign community of Gambians transcending all sectarian or sectionalist barriers.

e) Action Plan
A PDOIS led government would,

Within one month: establish a national commission on culture to study and make recommendations on the development of the culture of a sovereign community of Gambians transcending ethnolinguistic, religious, gender, sectarian, regional and other divides.

Within one year, commission the establishment of cultural centres in each village, district, region and urban centre for artistic and other cultural expressions, in order to promote appreciation of each other's origins and ensure respect for the upholding of republican and democratic values and ways of life of the sovereign people.

6) ECOLOGICAL COMPONENT

The land, air and sea constitute the environment that must be adjusted to enhance the existence of the sovereign republic and the sovereign people. The atmosphere and climate are all material to human survival and development. A knowledge base on our environment is crucial for our future.

The Ecological Component aims to harmonise nature and nurture by promoting the type of civil, social, economic and cultural development internally and externally that would protect land, sea and air from environmental degradation to facilitate sustainable development. Nature must be protected and utilised as a treasure bequeathed to and must be harnessed by our generation in such a responsible manner so as to ensure the survival and sustainable development of generations yet unborn.

a) Policy Directive

The Cooperative State and the sovereign people would combat environmental threats caused by poor planning at the national, urban and regional, district and village levels thus leading to floods and demolition of buildings and the engendering of poverty and hardship.

b) Strategic Objective

Manage air, land and sea in such a way that liberty and prosperity would be enhanced without putting into jeopardy the liberty, dignity and prosperity of future generations through improper management.

c) Programme

A PDOIS led administration would formulate a comprehensive programmatic policy document on urban and regional development that takes cognisance of sound ecological impact assessment surveys before any project is implemented, as a key to environmentally friendly and sustainable development.

d) Institution

A National Environment Commission would be established and given an unhindered mandate to ensure that environmental impact assessment is conducted and given consideration before any project is implemented.

e) Action plan
A PDOIS led government would,

Within one month, establish a national and environmental commission to study and make recommendations on the urgent measures to take to have an effective and efficient environmental assessment methodology.

Within a year:

- establish a commission of botanists and zoologists to study and make recommendations to ensure that our flora and fauna would be preserved. They would include recommendations on the establishment of botanical gardens and zoos. They would be required to keep a database of our stock of fish, amphibians, reptiles, birds and mammal so as to know what to harness to ensure food security and what to preserve to maintain ecological balance.

7) EXTERNAL RELATIONS COMPONENT

Each country has an internal and external personality. The sovereignty of the Republic and the people must be recognised and respected internally and externally. The challenge of the twentieth century was the globalization of political and economic domination of the vast majority of countries in Africa, Asia and Southern America by colonial powers. The liberation of such countries took place in a divided world where countries took side between east and west, without preserving the sovereignty of their countries and peoples. The attempt by some countries to move away from the trajectory of being puns of a divided world by creating the non-aligned movement did not save them from interference in their internal affairs especially where they fail to build democratic sovereign republics with a sovereign people who are truly empowered to determine their manner of government.

The attainment of the right to self-determination and Independence did not automatically lead to the building of sovereign republics with sovereign people. This has given rise to coup d'états, quasi monarchies, armed opposition forces taking ethnolinguistic, religious and other sectarian designs. This has given rise to world poverty, and injustice, which is being fueled by ignorance. The Transformative Agenda focuses on a programmatic policy document on how to put an end to subregional, continental and world poverty and injustice in order to contribute to subregional, continental and world peace, stability, security and prosperity.

The External Relations Component aims to facilitate a new realignment of nations in the subregion, the African continent and the world based on the commitment to defend the principles, policies and values of the cooperative sovereignty.

The new realignment of world forces would be premised on the context that world peace, stability and sustainable development hinge on respect for and mutual defense of the sovereignty of all nations and people as required by all democratic and sovereign republics.

The Cooperative State and the sovereign people would be at the forefront in demonstrating and promoting a world where respect for and the upholding of sovereignty of countries and peoples prevails. This would be the cornerstone of our foreign policy.

a) Policy Directive

The Cooperative State and sovereign people would promote the building of a Republic free from self-perpetuating rule, monarchical traditions, injustice, xenophobia, narrow nationalism, national chauvinism, and will develop relation with the subregion, the continent and the world through embracing, promoting and consolidating republican and democratic values, instruments, institutions and culture. It would create a century of the sovereign people and encourage the accumulation of sovereign national wealth by all states to eradicate poverty and enhance prosperity for all.

Promote subregional integration, African Unity and International Cooperation with Commwealth and UN member states through adoption and harmonisation of republican and democratic values, instruments, institutions and culture at all levels so that sovereign communities of free and dignified persons, rooted in social justice, will thrive everywhere to ensure enjoyment of a life of liberty in prosperity and thus guarantee world peace and security.

b) Strategic Objective

The Cooperative State and sovereign people would give concrete expression to the aspiration to transform the world into a universal home for human kind, where each nation, big or small, will cooperate, and subregions and continents could establish communities of states, and even federations. These will co-exist with similar entities, in the spirit of good neighbourliness, equality and mutual interest, and provide to each sovereign person the enjoyment of civil, political, economic, social, cultural and ecological rights.

c) Programmes

A PDOIS led administration will enter into a cooperation agreement with our neighbour Senegal, to establish a joint commission of jurists to review constitutional and legal instruments regarding governance with a view to harmonising, standardising and adopting them to promote regional integration and African Unity on a democratic foundation that will serve as a pillar to uphold the fundamental rights of our peoples.

This template of a republican constitution will be presented to African countries and international community to promote the creation of a monarchy free continent, and thus earn Africa honour and respect for promoting such an epoch making agenda. Concrete measures would be taken to harmonise economic, civil, political, social, cultural and ecological policies and plans with Senegal to serve as a blueprint for regional integration.

A PDOIS led administration will encourage diaspora Gambians and Africans in general, to form joint stock companies and invest in the country and the continent to promote economic development that goes along with corporate responsibility to eradicate poverty.

d) Institutions

A PDOIS led administration would:

i) establish Ministry for Regional Integration, African Unity and International Cooperation;

ii) create joint Commissions of Experts to prepare programmatic policy documents and templates for continental unity and international cooperation;

iii) promote the establishment of a Regional and continental Central Bank and Cooperative Bank, Currency, Monetary Fund, Stock Markets, Trading Organisation and Investment Bank to pioneer inter African trade, and world trade, on a more equitable footing that will be backed by stable continental currencies, continental central banks and continental Monetary Funds and Development Banks.

a) Action Plan

A PDOIS led government would,

Within one month, initiate a study on foreign policy and produce a programmatic policy document aimed at creating a template on how bi-lateral, regional, continental and international cooperations could be fostered to preserve the sovereignty of the people and the accumulation of sovereign national wealth to eradicate poverty and ensure prosperity.

Within six months:

- hold bilateral, regional, continental and international negotiations to promote a new alignment of nations on the basis of principle of cooperative sovereignty;
- recommend the holding of a sovereign national conference with a mandate to come up with an economic, political, civil, social cultural and ecological agenda for the subregion.

Within a year:

- expand the two states one people concept between Senegal and Gambia as a model for African integration through harmonization of republican and democratic values, instruments, institutions and culture as well as coordination of development and strategic plans, programmes and projects in all sectors to facilitate the enjoyment of liberty, prosperity and good neighbourliness by the two peoples;
- encourage the conveying of a continental conference to formulate a programmatic policy document for the unification of the continent and the facilitation of the civil, political, economic, social development of the individual countries;
- encourage the Senegalese government to give special priority in facilitating a peaceful settlement of the conflict in Casamance, by calling for the transformation of the Senegalese Army in Casamance into a Republican Army that protects the people and render health services, as well as enhance infrastructural development. This will enable combatants to become entrepreneurs, or acquire training in all fields of labour and academia, so that they would occupy their rightful place in the territory as teachers, nurses, doctors, lawyers and technicians of all sorts. Donor conferences will be initiated to give the territory a new start through massive investment in infrastructural development and social upliftment programmes.

Within two years, recommend a new alignment of nations committed to defending the sovereignty of nations and people all over the world.