

NAIJA RESISTANCE MOVEMENT

PROPOSED POLITICAL ACTION PLAN FROM CELLS AND MEMBERS

FIRST SESSION

Introduction

Naija Resistance Movement (NRM) political action plans, first session, are presented here. Action plans provide solutions that we believe government should provide for people, but they are not just policy proposals. They are *action* plans for us to actively engage with government and with people in our communities. The plans proposed by members are discussed in this session with recommendations arising

The first session includes the following proposed action plans:

1. Child Exploitation and Trafficking
2. Youth Unemployment
3. Government
4. Corruption
5. Agriculture
6. Education for Critical Consciousness
7. Rent

Political Action Plan no. 1

SUBJECT: Child Exploitation And Trafficking.

ORGANISATION: Naija Resistance Movement, Ikotun Cell

Comrade Endurance Street Odion

NRM Lagos, Ikotun Cell.

Child Exploitation And Trafficking robs an estimate of well over 10 millions of kids of their freedom and basic human rights to live a normal life and this is due to bad leadership and lack of parentage care. This kids are being left with no choice but to flee their homes in order to earn a livelihood due to negligent by the parent in not giving

them good care and not able to provide necessities of life. Many of these children often make this perilous journey alone which makes them always at high risk of being targeted by traffickers who prey on vulnerable children. Often they are trafficked for commercial sexual exploitation, or labour such as domestic servitude which i myself had witnessed, agricultural and factory work. Most times this kids are being sold by family members or an acquaintances. Sometimes they are being lured by false promises of education and a better life.

CAUSES AND SOLUTIONS:

1. No 1 cause is **POVERTY**: Poverty put people in the place where they lack options for education, good health care, family stability, and the things that allow them to live a normal live and thrive.

•Solution:

Lack of free medical health care centers in the deprived areas, lack of good schools for all kids in deprived areas, high rate of unemployment and inadequate provision of security for lives and properties in the deprived areas need to be addressed before we can reduce poverty in the nation.

2. Second cause is **EDUCATION**: lack of good education contributes to this problem. When families lack education, they lack options and opportunities. They will always fall prey to not being aware of the danger that lies in giving their children to traffickers under false pretences and promises of given them proper care.

In the deprived areas where they really lack education, the lack of knowledge about birth control and sexuality usually lead to girls and women having more children they can't cater for. Teenagers getting pregnant too early, putting their health or education at risk.

•Solution: Adequate schools should be built in communities for the deprived children and moral instructions must be a compulsory subject in all schools, teaching these kids knowledge about birth control, the risk of early marriages, getting pregnant too early and fleeing from their homes. Adult schools should also be built in communities, in many places a husband has full decision making rights over his wife's use of birth control, especially in families where male children are so important. Awareness should also be raised on social media, radio and T.v.s.

3. Thirdly is **VIOLENCE**: Large numbers of children are living in societies where religion-ethnic-political violence is a common occurrence over the years due to inept and bad leadership. Ethnic, religiion and political conflicts and even terrorism are raging around the country, often erupting into extreme acts of violence, making children flee their homes for safety.

•Solution: Since we have laws and laws enforcement agencies. Corruption need to be rooted out. The system need to be strengthened. The military need to be reformed, also the police need to be reformed from federal to the state and local. Adequate provisions

of good weapons and gadgets for both military and police. The judicial need to be better able to enforce justice.

Comrade Endurance Street Odion
NRM Lagos, Ikotun Cell.

Discussion and Recommendations:

A very important issue that it is important to tackle, especially as we want to radically change the way our government is run. It is not just something that we should moralise on only, but where we must proffer solutions because part of the causes are due to the poverty and lack of education and awareness that many people have. It is a very simple thing, that if we had good government, it would address it.

We should separate the issue of child molestation from child labour. Both are wrong, but many parents feel due to poverty, they're forced to use their children for labour. This needs awareness raising, but it is not a simple thing to stop in the absence of poverty alleviation. But immediate actions can be taken on child molestation and sexual exploitation.

Recommendations:

1. Naija Resistance Movement should build its own task force (agency) on this issue of child exploitation. In the communities where we're present, where we hear of child molestation, we make such culprits are arrested and taken to the relevant authorities for the legal process to be followed. And we follow with our media and internet capacity. (In this regard, it is important we develop a Pan African Television – "nobody will tell your story if you cannot tell it yourself" (Comrade Amiola Gaa)).

A committee is to be set up to formulate and guide the actions that the task force will undertake, to be led by Comrade Leye

2. We should raise awareness that we have policies such as this in the areas where we have cells, let people understand that we're representing them. We should publish a document on the issue of child abuse and circulate through our cells. And also to educate people in the communities to take action where they see child abuse/molestation.

We should hold symposiums/public programs in our cells on the topic in order to educate and raise awareness. Very importantly, this is an avenue to get feedback from people in the communities, not to lecture to them. What is the opinion of the mother that is sending her children to hawk?

Political Action Plan No.2

SUBJECT- Youth Unemployment

ORGANISATION- Naija Resistance Movement, Ado Ekiti

Comrade Adeniyi Priscilla Adejumobi

NRM EKITI Ado ekiti cell

Youth unemployment is the unemployment of young people. An unemployed person is defined as someone who doesn't have a job but is actively seeking to work. Youth unemployment has become a major problem bedeviling the lives of Nigerian youth, causing increased militancy, violent crimes, kidnappings, restiveness and socially delinquent behavior. Youth unemployment is devastating to both the individual and the society as a whole both psychologically and economically. This content examines the issue of youth unemployment and looks at potential interventions such as effective career guidance, technical and vocational education as well as entrepreneurship education. A number of recommendations were made which includes that youths be trained to possess skills which are congruent with real labour market demand, developing a special focus on career guidance and counseling support in schools and introduction of entrepreneurship education into the school curriculum.

CAUSES

-FINANCIAL CRISIS: Though the current youth unemployment crisis was not caused by the financial crisis alone, the recession just made existing problems in labour markets, education systems and other structures worse.

-SKILLS MISMATCH: The skills mismatch is a youth unemployment cause that affects young people everywhere. There are millions of young people out of school and ready to work, but businesses need skills these young people never got. Young people end up experiencing a difficult school-to-work transition and businesses are unable to find suitable candidates for their positions.

- LACK OF ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND LIFE SKILLS EDUCATION- While the exact cause of the skills mismatch is difficult to pin down, it's a combination of school curriculum neglecting vocational, entrepreneurial and employability training in favor of more traditional academics, poor connections between the private sector and schools to promote training and work experience. Now, more than ever, employees are looking for soft skills: ability to interact with people, think critically and creatively and keep organized.

- LACK OF ACCESS TO CAPITAL- Young people who want to make their own jobs by starting businesses often struggle to find access to affordable loans, or loans in general. This is partially due to a lack of collateral. High interest rates also make it difficult for young people to repay their loans on time.

- DIGITAL DIVIDE- If schools are unable to afford the tools to educate young people in the digital sector, these young people are at a disadvantage in the job market.

SOLUTIONS

EDUCATION & TRAINING PROGRAMS- Government should create initiatives or extracurricular activities that target the skills gap and can focus on anything from employability skills to job hunting and interviewing to entrepreneurship to vocational education(including the benefits of the green economy). Ideally, these training programmes would provide young people with the skills they need to succeed in their careers.

- YOUTH ACCESS TO CAPITAL- For young people keen to get start-ups funded, they don't have to rely on banks alone. Government should create crowdfunding sites and networks to give young people in Nigeria. The chance to get the support they need to build their enterprises and increase their income. With more programmes like this being created every day, the future is getting brighter for aspiring entrepreneurs.

- UNIVERSAL INTERNET ACCESS AND GREATER AVAILABILITY OF CHEAP TECHNOLOGY- Governments should provide IT education, free internet access to key sites for youths, then the solution to digital divide is coming along.

- SKILLS MATCHING- The government in conjunction with the private sector and education systems need to start collaborating to determine what knowledge and skills young people should be taught in order to find rewarding work. Considering businesses are suffering from the skills mismatch too, they need to take a more active role in promoting appropriate education and skill-building for young people from an early age. Games, projects, programmes and activities should be organized to enhance the youths' :

COMMUNICATION SKILLS
TEAMWORK SKILLS
PROBLEMS SOLVING SKILLS
RESEARCH SKILLS
TIME MANAGEMENT SKILLS.

Representatives from government ministries can provide career advice on job hunting too.

ACHIEVING SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS AND ENSURING EVERYONE IS ABLE TO SECURE DECENT WORK MEANS ENDING THE YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT CRISIS, WORKING WITH YOUNG PEOPLE AND GIVING THEM THE CHANCE TO MAXIMIZE THEIR POTENTIAL..

Remember- YOUTH EMPOWERMENT: A criminological approach for crime prevention and control in Nigeria

Comrade Adeniyi Priscilla Adejumobi
NRM EKITI Ado ekiti cell

Discussion and Recommendations:

1. Research is very important and we as NRM should set up a committee to research topics relating to unemployment and its solutions.
2. The importance of AGRICULTURE (and related sectors) to employment needs to be emphasised. (This discussion also relates to the Political Action Plan – Agriculture).

By agriculture and related sectors, we don't just mean food provision (although this is paramount) but the contribution of agriculture to industrialisation through adding value to agricultural products.

3. NRM should also be practical and push forward with its own agricultural plans.
4. NRM cells should tap into the talent pool of our members to hold skills acquisition programs in their communities
5. Nigeria's educational curriculum also needs to be addressed in order to address the question of unemployment and skills acquisition. Too much focus on certification rather than addressing necessary skills. The courses starting from elementary school are "just trying to put you in the box of the way the society works" (Comrade Bayo Adedeji). The education we have is just "schooling and indoctrination" (Comrade Amiola Gaa).

Political Action Plan No.3

SUBJECT- Government

ORGANISATION- Naija Resistance Movement, Akure

OLABIMPE

NRM, Ondo State, Akure.

OLABIMPE Paper work on MY POLITICAL ACTION PLAN ,If called or elected as president. The action plans will deal as follow:

A. Economy: revamp the economy and ensure private sector driven economy. Also the economy will be driven by experts and practitioners.

B.INFRASTRUCTURE: This will include a well planned 1. Road development (to ensure federal road are in good shape and dualise. 2. Housing and development (a well

housing plan for the citizenry is put in place). 3. Electricity(ensure and provide and stable electricity and all states to have independent power generation and supply).

4. Water(adequate supply of water to every home)

C. SECURITY: To ensure within the elected period security measures are in place and are well funded without political interference, Decentralization of the Nigeria police through a bill to the NASS for state to have their police with jurisdiction. Ensure a thorough eradication of book haram and herdz men insurgency.

D. Agriculture... Ensure agriculture becomes the major sources of reliance of the country through mechanized agriculture scheme. Provides amenities for farmers to produce efficiently and effectively. And make the environment friendly for farming.

E. JOB CREATION: through industrialization in the economy, a well paid job will be created.

F.citizenrywelfarism

OLABIMPE

NRM, Ondo State, Akure.

Discussion and Recommendations:

1. Private sector driven economy is something to be cautious about given the history of countries that tried it, the high inequality, etc. Although of course, the private sector and entrepreneurship is important but the principle of the economy should be based on socialism.
2. We must understand that unemployment is a tool by the ruling class of this country to keep the masses subjugated.
3. We must focus on an industrial economy, not just an agricultural economy. This means stopping import dependence and focusing on local industry. Ajaokuta Steel has been killed by the ruling class, such things are essential for industrial development.
4. There are many areas of job creation that the Nigerian government has ignored for so long. Tourism, industrialising local cultural material such as clothing, food, art, etc. These are things that the country can also export for finance.

Political Action Plan No. 4

SUBJECT- Corruption

ORGANISATION- Naija Resistance Movement

ComrAdemola

NRM, Ondo State, Akure.

My own ideology and political will goes thus:

I start with tackling CORRUPTION in 7seven Different ways in Nigeria

1. Inflated Government contract is 55-60% of corruption perpetrated in Nigeria, Economically speaking.

Its also a way of enriching the cabals in other to see money for campaign and vote buying process.

Solution

Passing a bill that would direct, control and back check the activities of Government in the Area of Govt contracts. Where Auditing of such contract would pass like 3stages before approval.

2. Unremitted Revenues.

Nigeria Government is actually loosing revenue because its not very easy to pay tax in Nigeria and it will get to the appropriate purse, in every spheres of works in Nigeria Including the local govtAgbero boys activities on the road.

Solution

We should deploy technology that would actually make it easier to pay tax on your mobile phone by pressing just #333#amont * tax# for instance, just like that. Pple can just print out dia receipt and paste it. Government job will be to back check

3. Extortion

Extortion is starting from Every uniform personnel to the money u pay to see the Oga in any office Presidency inclusive. Academic extortion and every form of extortions.

Solution

Let the President lead by example by surrounding himself with Technocrats and not politicians that are bereaved of ideas.

4. Conversion:

This is another major issue, conversion of Govt Properties to personal property. We can only notice Otta Farm (Obasanjo) what abt other unnoticed Govt properties.

Solution

There should be a stringent rules guiding the use and borrowing of Govt properties. Official cars inclusive.

5. Misuse of security votes.

Governors use to say its their personal bread which make them think they are the FAKE chief security officer of the state. It's just a political arrangement to give money to the polithiefians.

Solution

Money should be channeled to the appropriate quarters in other to purchase the necessary security apparatus. Or else one greedy polithiefian is ready to steal it all.

6. Wastefulness

This is a very big problem in the society, it cut across every institutions of govt. From previous govt abandoned projects to the cabbage at the dumping sight.

Solution

Ministry of environment should be empowered to carry out some environmental survey to see what we can do with our so called waste in Nigeria. Govt projects inclusive

7. Undue influence of fraternity (influence peddling or what I call man knows man.) Nepotism is happen from the government, church, mosque and even street landlords association meetings.

The only *Solution* is to shock those involve with competence as a leader to enact a law that will really state the qualifications needed in a particular position and let the legislatures do their job by putting the right people in positions.

In conclusion I think 70% of corruption in Nigeria is Administrative. If we can vividly look into these, our country will be better and conducive.

Finally, I also realize that there is nothing to make this country better that has not been written. But control and followup is the major problem of our development.

We need control+directing+followup or back checking and due Process to give us the Nigeria we dream of and diz struggle will never be privatized.

God bless

Comr Adewole

NRM, Ondo State, Akure.

Discussion and Recommendations:

1. Yes, the fight against corruption has to be primary. But as seen under the current administration in government in Nigeria, who makes it appear that fighting corruption is its only policy, it is easy to talk of fighting corruption, and bring in policies to do so, and yet corruption will be allowed to thrive. It takes having the right people in power, with the right ideological principles, to truly tackle corruption. And corruption can only be truly tackled by a revolution in the society.
2. There should be harsh punishment for corruption in government.
3. Any elected government official under the NRM platform must utilise the same public infrastructure as everyone, i.e. schools, hospitals, etc. You cannot be in public service, earning a certain amount of money, and your children are going to expensive schools abroad, like President Buhari, who told us that when he comes, he will change that. Yet his children are going to foreign schools. Then why will he fix the education in Nigeria? If ASUU is on strike (as it is currently), he doesn't care. Use the hospitals and schools that you give to the people or we will not allow you to come and serve us. Because you are our **servants**.
4. We cannot talk about corruption without talking about campaign finance, the money that is used to elect politicians. For example, current law limits how much each candidate can collect per individual, but the politicians dodge the law easily and are not checked.
5. "Corruption is a symptom, it is necessary to treat the actual cause of the problem. It's like saying you have malaria, and you are treating fever" (Comrade Seni Ajayi). Contract-based public works system allows corruption to thrive, better to use direct public works. Government work should be done collectively, instead of giving one man Chairman, absolute power, no one person should be given absolute power in running a government corporation. Multinationals are also heavily engaged in the corruption, giving heavy bribes for favourable contracts. (Although it is also argued that it is important to use contracts to distribute money to citizens and create jobs.)
6. Lack of patriotism also causes corruption (Dr Omoh). This is why when government imposes the use of foreign language, we don't feel we have anything to protect in the government.

Political Action Plan No.5

SUBJECT- Agriculture

ORGANISATION- Naija Resistance Movement

ComrAdemola

NRM, Ondo State, Akure.

AGRICULTURE: THE ANSWER TO SECURITY AND ECONOMIC CHALLENGES

Owing to the popular cliché "an Hungry man is an angry man" suffice to explain the reason for the fundamental insecurity we have in Nigeria. Ipso facto, an average Nigerian hardly earns himself a meal per day and this explains why in convincing a Nigerian to pick up crime for a peanut is no work, because he's ready to commit the crime without any reward anyways. Also, following the words of Tony Blair at a UN's General Assembly meeting where he said inter alia that "the war against terrorism is gone beyond bullets, bombs, armored vehicles etc it's dimension is towards the path of hunger and all nations of the world is enjoined to embrace (as a matter of urgency) agriculture. Hence, I submit that agriculture should be at the heart of our program as a government in order to fight insurgency, militancy and all manners of crime.

Secondly, it is often said that we spend more than half of our income on feeding which in turn constitute a fundamental barrier in our savings. To this end, it may be believed that if government invest heavily in agriculture to create food surplus, we will be able to save well and invest in other business which will also in turn result in creation of job employment and economic lead.

ComrAdemola
NRM, Ondo State, Akure.

Discussion and Recommendations:

Refer to Political Action Plan – Youth Unemployment

Political Action Plan No.6

SUBJECT- Education For Critical Consciousness

ORGANISATION- Naija Resistance Movement, Ikotun Cell

ComrChinedu
NRM Ikotun Cell, Lagos.

INTRODUCTION

The most vital tool for social engineering in every society is education. Education can be a tool for liberation and revolution and can also be a tool for indoctrination against one's progress. As Africans when we think about "Education" what do we envision; what kind of images come to our minds. Is it some set of empty pitchers placed in a room, arranged in columns and rows being filled up by a stranger who has been blindfolded by a masked man that controls the what he puts in those pitchers which we can sum up into compulsory schooling also known as formal education. Or have we envisioned

another meaning to this phenomenon. Huey P Newton defined education as "Uplifting of the consciousness of a people where external stimuli will barbert the human organism and from that process u begin to have some sort of awareness of what's going on because that's the first step in understanding what is going on or the kind of social forces u are dealing with".

To most Africans, Western Education which is the bedrock of formal education in Africa today, is the ideal type of education for us. Since it seems like it is working for the Europeans, why can't Africans also adopt it too? How can we be so quick to forget that we have a totally different socioeconomic and political history and also a very different environment.

This are my political action plan for the education of motherland people

1. We want a socialistic educational system. Community control of education in our society should be encouraged so that communal and responsibilities and duties can be taught to the people to counter the agenda of the capitalist who seeks to promote individualism(do for self mentality) among africans. Education should become a communal responsibility. Establishing communal libraries and research groups would go a long way in facilitating this system
2. Education should be divided into two areas ; Academic and Ideological education. Academic education focuses on the professional and vocational skills of the individual. Ideological education will serve as a conscience to the academic education. So that we won't have our best brains become weapons in the hands of the hands of our enemies. Introduction of Pan African revolutionary socialist scholars and their literatures would go a long way in handling the situation.
3. Our education should teach us about the true nature of capitalism and our socioeconomic standing within the system to give us a clear understanding of the kind of enemy we are dealing with. Because it is only when u have an understanding of your enemy you can tactfully manoeuvre his agendas.

Emodichukwuemekachinedu

ComrChinedu

NRM Ikotun Cell, Lagos.

Discussion and Recommendations:

1. If we cannot use our local languages for education, we will not progress.
2. In building infrastructure, e.g. a bridge, we must ensure that when we bring foreigners to do it, all who do the work must be Nigerians, who will learn how to build a bridge. That is when you've truly built a bridge, as explained by Seun Kutu, the National Convener of NRM, because the next time you want to build a bridge, you don't need foreign experts anymore.

3. Our curriculum used in educational institutions needs to be thoroughly overhauled. Many lies are taught that function to diminish the achievements of black people (the most common known being that Mungo Park discovered River Niger). The curriculum must teach our own great African history, it must be an African centred education.
4. We should utilise media such as comics, cartoons, animations, movies, to tell our own African stories, utilising entertainment to educate. Our children are exposed to white people as heroes and subjects of cartoons, there is a very severe lack of black characters for them to associate with. Naija Resistance should aim to do such things ourselves too, utilising the talents of our members to create films, animations, etc for the education of children in African pride.
5. As the proposed political action plan suggests, we don't have to wait till we are in government to take actions on education for critical consciousness. We must be doing political education in our different cells. We must be holding African history classes (we also have a curriculum for this). We should set up language classes open to the community. It is very crucial that our cells must design classes to be holding in their areas. We should follow the Black Panther Party model of engagement in communities.

Political Action Plan No.7

SUBJECT: Rent (Issues and Solutions)

ORGANISATION: Naija Resistance Movement

Comrade Chris

NRM Lagos, Ikotun Cell.

House or Shelter is the second most important need of man . It is defined as a building that serves as living quarters for one or a few families. If it is so comfortable, I call it Home.

In advanced world Government make this a priority. It undertakes to provide this basic need as its responsibility to its citizens. In fact, a responsible government should.

Although, private individuals invest in real estates and mortgages, a good percentage of the sector is held and controlled by the Government.

Housing whether by the Government or private individuals has its reward in RENT. Hence the need to regulate the housing sector and RENT.

A Rent is a fixed amount of money paid by a Tenant to the Landlord for the use of a facility for a period of time, usually renewable.

Before a house is rented to a Tenant, an agreement is drawn up by the landlord. This agreement contains the dos and don'ts and other rules that may guide the conduct of

the Tenant while he/she occupies the house/facility. At the completion and satisfaction of this form, the right to use is transferred to the Tenant.

ISSUES (LANDLORDS):

However, it is common practice for Landlords to usurp their rights as owners, subjecting Tenants to unnecessary hardship and abuse through;

1. Unfair Rental charges
2. Incessant increase of rents
3. Eviction without proper notification
4. Unresponsive to the issue of repairs/maintenance of the facility etc

ISSUES (TENANTS):

Tenant are also expected follow the guide as contained in the agreement form hitherto signed, but at some point some of the conditions are ignored or utterly disregarded which may in turn lead to dispute between the Tenant and the Landlord. Example of such instances are ;

1. Irregular/ Nonpayment of Rents
2. Nonpayment of Utilities
3. Disregard for safety precautions
4. Environmental degradation /pollution
5. Threat to other Tenants etc

SOLUTIONS

With a teeming population and the attending issue of housing and rent, I will make the following submissions as an attempt to resolving some of the issues listed above.

1. It is my humble advice that Government should provide low cost houses to accommodate the increasing population.
2. Government should revisit the Principle of Even development as contained in the Principles of resource allocation which states that component states of the federation should be evenly developed. When states are evenly developed. This should control the issue of rural-Urban migration.
3. Price Control
4. Environmental /Sanitary control bills
5. Land Use/Rent control Acts: The Rent Control Act provides tenants with security and restricts landlords in their ability to evict their tenants. It tends to curb the excesses of both the landlord and the Tenant. Its features are;
 - i. It imposes various laws on the renting out of properties, to help potential tenants in identifying and securing good rental accommodation.
 - ii. It imposes fair, standardized rental ranges, beyond which tenants cannot be charged under most circumstances.
 - iii. It intends to protect tenants against discrimination and against unfair eviction by their landlords.
 - iv. It defines landlords' responsibilities and obligations towards their tenants, in terms of the maintenance of the rented-out homes.
 - v. It also clearly defines the rights of landlords, with regards to tenants who do not fulfil their obligations of paying timely rent or misuse the property in any manner.

How the Act protects both Parties (Tenant and Landlord).

TENANT: The Act ensures that tenants cannot be evicted from the premises, without sufficient cause. The Act contains various protections for tenants facing eviction. Similarly, the Act mandates that no landlord can cut off or withhold any essential supply or service enjoyed by a tenant, without just or sufficient cause.

LANDLORD: Where a Tenant reneges, a landlord has a right to eject the Tenant, provided adequate notice was given. In the event of repairs or reconstruction, Tenants should be given adequate notice or payment be made in lieu of the notice after which the Landlord repossess the property

Comrade Chris
NRM Lagos, Ikotun Cell.

Discussion and Recommendations:

1. Yes, we must deal with rent issue, it's very important, but there's a fundamental issue that is raised in the proposal, to deal with home building. Government failure to create low cost housing is a major problem. There is technology now that makes house building cheaper than it used to. And government should ensure that people can pay for homes over time.
2. There are landlord associations, but there are hardly any tenant associations. Who is fighting for the right of tenants? NRM should raise awareness of tenants' rights, and ensure that people come together for their own interests in ensuring that their rights are respected. Not just on house issues, but also on NEPA issues – landlords often try to pay off NEPA rather than fighting for their rights.