REFERENDUM MANIFESTO

After sixty years of independence of the subsisting nation-state governments, our generation is invited to deliberate on a "new" social system: a federal Sub-Saharan African government. The title speaks of its own importance. Giving the experience of the last sixty years, nothing less than a strong Union government of the people, by the people, and for the people. In many respects, our last chance to increase in wealth and raise the standards of living of all Sub-Saharan Africans.

It has been frequently argued and remarked that it seems the people of Sub-Saharan Africa are unable to decide, by their conduct and reflection. The important question then becomes whether a nation of the peoples at some point in their history is capable or not to rise and create their own destiny, by establishing a societal arrangement from collective reflection and choice. Whether this is true or not, the experience of the last sixty years can be regarded as the period when that decision was to be made; unfortunately, the collective choice of the post-independence era deserves to be considered as the general misfortune of all Sub-Saharan Africans.

Where would Sub-Saharan Africa be today if our collective choice were directed by dignity, love, patriotism and objective estimate of our common good, uninfluenced by power, personal interests, and ethnic considerations. Now is the time to decide because the future of Sub-Saharan Africa and that of the next generation will depend on the decision we are going to make today. A strong federal Sub-Saharan African government of the people, by the people and for the people, will affects too many common interests that any critics of its merits will do little favorable to the discovery of facts.

The Pan African vision of continental unity has been our collective dream even before independence in the 1960s. Unfortunately, the main obstacles that this noble vision has been encountering are Sub-Saharan Africa's own leaders, most of whom have resisted all changes which may diminish their power and opportunities to accumulate wealth; in this course, they have continued to pervert the ambition and the dreams of the vast majority of the peoples of Sub-Saharan Africa who have hoped to aggrandize the region and themselves and the next generation by the unity of Sub-Saharan African nations. Most Sub-Saharan Africans would like to see a united Sub-Saharan Africa under a strong Union government rather than a separated small nation-state that substantially lacks all basics standards of self- sustaining development, self-reliance and

industrialization. The proposed Referendum on a strong Union government, is the unique solution to Sub-Saharan African problems.

A further reason for unity might be drawn from the reflection that we are not sure whether successive Independent Sub-Saharan African leaders who have continued to support or advocate the principles of national sovereignty are motived by higher principles than that of the Pan-African vision of unity. Power, wealth accumulations, personal interests rather than common interests, and other motives, not more praiseworthy than that of African lingering dreams of unity, has continued to stunt the region's progress, during the past several decades.

To judge from the conduct of opponents of Sub-Saharan African Union government, we must be led to conclude that they will always hope to evince the justness of their opinions and hope to mislead their citizens by the loudness of their declarations and by the bitterness of their invectives towards the truth. The idea of a strong Union government, albeit our lingering dream, has continuously encountered an enlightened zeal for the desire to stigmatize the idea of creating a Union government.

Since independence in the 1960s, an over scrupulous jealousy of danger to the rights of the peoples of Sub-Saharan Africa, which is commonly due to the personal ambitions than the truth, has been advocated as mere pretense and artifice to ensure stale legitimacy of power and personal motives at the expense of greater Sub-Saharan African society. A mere reflection on post-independence African politics will teach us that the chronic nationalism spirit that has been the norm since independence has led to the introduction of despotism, demagogy, usurpation, rampant corruptions, inequalities and tyrannies.

It must not be forgotten that African nationalism is the usual concomitant of violence, marginalization of the peoples in the political process and in the mechanisms of resource distributions; it has been an unusual temper fond of power and hostility to the principles of individual liberties. It must not also be forgotten that the lack of leadership retards the progress essential to the security, democracy, freedom, liberty and the well-being of citizens.

Historically, in the contemplation of a sound and well-informed judgement, the progress of any society or the welfare of the citizens of any country cannot be separated from the quality of its leadership and institutions.

To the peoples of Sub-Saharan Africa, it is time to come to the firm conviction that only we Sub-Saharan Africans, together, can create or forge the destiny and the future we want for ourselves. No nations, in the history of human society, have ever reached its potential by relying upon aid from outside. Given this truth, the time is now to reverse the course of our history, which is concomitant with dependence on "aid" and a lack of progress. It is my aim here, dear brother and sisters, to put all of us upon guard against all attempts, from whatever quarter in the continent, to influence our resolve to come together to support the idea of a strong Union government. This time we do not let any impressions other than one solidifying our resolve to unite under our future Union government.

Dear brother and sisters, as a patriot Sub-Saharan African, I own to you, that, after having given an ample serious consideration to the "bleak" future of our Sub-Saharan Africa, I am of clearly of opinion that it is our collective interest to support the idea of Referendum on the project of a Union government. I am convinced that this is the safest course of rapidly achieving our collective safety, dignity, and happiness. My goals in this Manifesto is to acknowledge to you my convictions and the reasons on which they are founded. The consciousness of the imperative disdains ambiguity. And my motive in this Manifesto remains in the reservoir of my own "creature." In the progress of this journey, I shall endeavor to give a satisfactory answer to all the objections which will emerge, and which may seem to have claims to care for the region.

It may perhaps be thought superfluous to offer arguments to prove the utility of the Referendum on a Union government; a point, no doubt, deeply engraved on the hearts of most Sub-Saharan Africans everywhere in the region, and one which, it may be imagined, has no adversaries among ordinary Sub-Saharan Africans.

But, the fact is that, as in the past, we shall except in the political and private circles those who benefit from the status quo will oppose the proposed Referendum on the basis that the 48 nation-states in Sub-Saharan Africa are of too great diverse, extent and too complex for any federal system, and that we must strengthen existing institutional arrangements. Their vision for Sub-Saharan Africa will, as in the past, be propounded to the extreme enough to attempt to countenance its validity that the 48 States are of too great extent for any general system, and that we must resort to separate leagues of distinct portions of the region.

There certainly will be those timid Sub-Saharan Africans who would say that Sub-Saharan African dreams cannot be a reality; that Sub-Saharan Africans are condemned to live under the status-quo; that Sub-Saharan Africans are incapable to govern themselves; that we are incapable to unite under a strong Union government; that we are incapable to be self-reliant nations; that we

are incapable to abolish colonial boundaries that separate us and impede independent development; that we are incapable to achieve a complete independence; that we are incapable to unite under a strong Union government of the people, for the people, and by the people; particularly, that a strong Union government in sub-Saharan Africa is just not possible because of cultural, linguistic, and ethnic differences.

I do not agree. As a Sub-Saharan African, I know together we have the power to shape the Future that we want. This time is our time; the time is now to act to prove to the world that Sub-Saharan Africans have the capability and the imagination to unite to increase in wealth and strengths; but in this time, as ever before, we will need patriotism and determination of all Sub-Saharan Africans, together; in this time, as ever before, we will need all Africans' souls, spirit and hearts, together. Then, together, we will be able to break, to destroy to ash all our differences and obstacles with which human folly and imaginations have for a long time encumbered our path; that done, together we will move ahead to deliver Sub-Saharan African dreams of unity without further delay. And yes, together, we can, and we will! As foresaid: The collective "Will" of the peoples is the Will of God, and God's Will always prevails! That's good News!

For too long we have tampered on the margins. It is time to take a "giant leap." And we must make that leap in full awareness that we will sometimes have to set aside our national interests in favor of greater Sub-Saharan African society and common good. The benefits of African federation would far outweigh the burdens of efforts it would entail. The paradox currently trapping Sub-Saharan African politics is this: We look at the continental institutions to solve many social and economic problems, but no one single nation is prepared to equip the sub-continent the resources it needs to solve our common problems. Behind closed, many elites and leadership acknowledge the need for a strong Union government, but they still claim that their citizens would not support pursuit of this goal.

That is misrepresentation of the fact. For a long time now, pro-Union government have been in a bizarre jam. They must defend a plan that urgently needs serious reform, at the same they know that reform of this scale will not happen automatically because African Heads of States and Government must unanimously approve it. This inevitably results in slow pace forward: a few meaningless compromises that do nothing to solve the enormous collective challenges we face.

The time is now to engage the people of Sub-Saharan Africa in an open discussion about the future of Sub-Saharan Africa and to give opportunity to all Sub-Saharan Africans

to express their voice and answers to all opposing opinions that may have any impact on our common destiny and that of the future generation. Sub-Saharan Africans now need new vision and politicians who take the lead, who are guided and inspired by an ambitious project that spans the entire Sub-Saharan Africa, who are guided by what most Sub-Saharan Africans want. As survey shows, most Africans want a strong Union government. Contrary to popular belief, the feeling of a Union government is more pronounced across sub-Saharan Africa, especially among youth. And it is no coincidence.

Independence was marked by optimism. It has been followed by a period of underdevelopment and continued poverty and dependency and failure to deliver African dreams. We united in our struggle for independence and united to abolish colonialism across the continent, enabling our old continent to be free and look confidently to the future. Today we confront a much graver crisis, a truly knotted dilemma with moral, political, and economic dimensions.

To break that dilemma, we will need to find a new path, one that breaks with nationalism spirit and the exploitation of superficial national differences. We must once again concentrate on our common heritage, history and values and the challenges we face together. Moving forward we must be led by the following question: How can we defend our common interest in an interconnected, dynamic, and globalized world? We must now be guided not by our fears but our collective determination to Unite and deliver African dreams so to be able to defend our collective interest on global stage. A strong Union government of the people, for the people, by the people is the only option. It is logical; it is imperative, and it is irrevocable. But our future Union government will not create itself. We, Sub-Saharan Africans, will have to fight for it. We will have to forge it with all the strengths we possess. And together we will prevail because: The Will of the Peoples together is the Will of God. And the Will of God always Prevails. That is good News. "In God We Must Trust!"