



The Pan African Federalist Movement PAFM

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Building our Campaign Machine

Introduction

The Pan African Federalist Movement (PAFM) is being built around the Call for the First Pan African Federalist Congress. It is a grassroots coalition of organizations and individuals for the political unification of the States on the continent of Africa and those in the Caribbean where the majority of the citizens are of African descent. Its approach is a bottom-up mobilization. This process is also inclusive of the millions of Black people in North America, Latin America, Europe and Asia who are descendants of enslaved Africans or Africans who have voluntarily migrated to those areas but are minorities in their States of residence.

PAFM's goal is to involve the African masses in the discussions and decision-making processes on African Unity. We in PAFM believe that the people are the legitimate owners of the Sovereignty of the States we want to unite. We believe it to be self-evident that only the African masses have the true legitimate power to authorize the African states to voluntarily surrender any portion of their sovereignty to an entity which they deem will be able to properly manage it in their best interest.

During the last fifty years or more, these States have proven their inability to manage significant portions of their sovereignty and had surrendered them to their former colonizer's governments who are not accountable to African people. A Federalist Compact between the African States will allow them to take back those portions of their sovereignty and voluntarily surrender parts of it that they deem fit to a Federal Government "of the African people, by the African people and for the African people". It is self-evident that this entity will only be accountable to African people and no foreign power.

It is our conviction that few genuine Pan Africanists will doubt that a federal government, answering directly to the African People, will do a better job in managing these portions of our sovereignty than the vast majority of African States on the Continent and the Caribbean have surrendered, for various reasons to their former colonizers or to international institutions.

Up until now only a very limited number of Africans have been involved in this discussion, referred to by some as the **Grand Debate**. They have been either the African Heads of State and Government, and academics or people who were close to the leadership of the ruling parties in the different African countries. The debates on the Union Government prior to the AU Heads of State and Government Summit of 2007 in Accra did not involve the African masses. It was the same for the 1963 Summit which gave birth to the OAU and the Lomé 2000 meeting which gave the green light to the transformation of the OAU into the AU. The African masses in the Caribbean did not get more consideration than their brethren of the African Continent in the same debate which led to the creation of the CARICOM.

It is also important to note that involving the African People in this process is very crucial for the viability of any form of union between their States. Making the African masses the centerpiece of this initiative will create in them a sense of ownership of its product, the United African States. This is a *sine qua non* condition for the legitimacy, in the eyes of the African people, of the Federal Government.

This document has two purposes:

- ✚ Bring more clarity into the nature of this initiative;
- ✚ Draw from the Charter of the Congress and the lessons learned since the launching of the Call and suggest an efficient and realistic strategy in which an efficient campaign machine for the birth of the United African States can be put in place.

A) The nature of this initiative

The sole issue of this initiative is to campaign for the creation of a Federal Union between all the States around the world where people who see themselves as Africans make up the overwhelming majority of their citizenry. The citizenship of the Federal State will also be inalienable right for Africans who are minorities in their States of residence.

This campaign is divided in several phases which are:

- ✚ Exploratory;
- ✚ Pre-Congress;
- ✚ Preparation and convening of the First Pan African Federalist Congress;
- ✚ Campaign for the Referendums which will allow the people to decide whether or not they want their State to be a member of the United African States;
- ✚ The Convening of the Second Pan African Federalist Congress and other activities during the transitional phase between the victory of our campaign and the taking of the oath by the new government of the United African States.
- ✚ Dissolution of PAFM after the institutions of the Federal Government have been put in place (Legislative, Executive and Judiciary).

1) The Exploratory phase

Throughout this phase of the campaign, it was the viability of the Cause that needed to be ascertained.

- Can it mobilize the human and material resources capable of sustaining the campaign for it?
- Does its core campaign message resonate with a substantial portion of the electorate?

The completion of this phase allowed the exploratory team, IPIC, RICs, NICs, without any hesitation or doubt, to answer with a resounding YES to both of these questions.

- A NO would have warranted a disbanding of the campaign,
- A MOST LIKELY YES would have still meant that the campaign can be made viable.

Our Cause, **“the urgent need to unite politically the African States in less than a generation”** was launched in February 2015 in Dakar and was confirmed to be viable by the Pre-First Pan African Federalist Congress meeting held in Accra, Ghana from 8th to 13th December 2018.

Nine of the ten Regional Committees planned to carry out this campaign have been set up and more than 50 National Committees out of the roughly 60 that are planned to be established have been set up.

- A team, the International Preparatory Committee (IPC) has been set up to prepare for the Congress to be held in or around 2021;
- Strong teams to coordinate Regional and National Committees, have been or are being set up.

The local, national and regional committees that are now being set up will form the embryo of our Campaign Machine for the referendums to join the United African States for the countries targeted as future members of the Federal Union. The Pan-African Federalist Movement fully supports the creation of this Campaign Machine and will provide it with the appropriate human and material resources necessary to ensure its victory.

2) The Pre-Congress

The Pre-Congress took place in Accra from December 08 to 13, 2018 and issued the following Final Declaration:



FINAL DECLARATION

COMMEMORATION OF THE SIXTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ALL AFRICAN PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE (1958 - 2018) AND THE PANAFRICAN FEDERALIST MOVEMENT PRE-CONGRESS ACCRA, GHANA 8 - 13 December, 2018

On the occasion of the 60th Anniversary of the historic All African People's Conference held in Accra from 8th to 13th December 1958, the Kwame Nkrumah Pan African Centre (KNAC) and the Pan-African Federalist Movement (PAFM) convened a gathering in Accra, Ghana, on the same dates in 2018, at the Bank of Ghana's Auditorium at the University of Ghana, in Legon.

The choice of Ghana to host the commemoration of the 60th Anniversary of the All African People's Conference and the Pre-First Pan African Federalist Congress is justified by the important role this country has played in the history of the Pan-Africanist Movement.

This event was enhanced by the presence of the President of the Republic of Ghana, His Excellency Nana Addo, Dankwa AKUFO-ADDU who said in his speech: "My generation can fulfill the dreams of our founding fathers and founding mothers: the total unification of the continent and the African peoples, including those of the Diaspora and Afro Descendants". This statement of the President of the Republic of Ghana is in complete harmony with the spirit and vision of the Pan-African Federalist Movement.

During the pre-Congress, the delegates who came from various regions and countries on the continent of Africa and her Diaspora dealt with the following issues:

- The call for the political unification of Africa,
- The manifesto of the Pan-African Federalist Movement,
- The terms of reference for the upcoming First Pan African Federalist Congress,
- The charter of First Pan African Federalist Congress,
- The Concept of the First Pan African Federalist Congress
- The Strategy to Build the Pan African Federalist Movement and its campaign machine,
- Fundraising and Management strategies for financing the Movement and its campaign,
- The communication and mobilization strategy for the Movement and its Campaign,
- The tenets of Kwame Nkrumah's book "Africa must unite" were presented.

When this work was completed, the Movement decided on the official proclamation of its existence, three years after the call of the Provisional International Initiative Committee (CIIP) launched in Dakar in 2015.

The call for an organizational charter for the Movement was adopted. Key members of the International Preparatory Committee of the First Pan African Federalist Congress were elected and the decision to hold the Congress in two to three years was made. Mali was chosen to host the headquarters of PAFM.

The Pan-African Federalist Movement and the Kwame Nkrumah Pan African Centre jointly launched a solemn call to all African peoples, wherever they may be in the world, to join them in the active preparation of the Congress for the **POLITICAL UNITY OF ALL AFRICANS IN LESS THAN ONE GENERATION.**

Statement made at Accra on Thursday, December 13, 2018

3) Preparation and Convening of the First Pan African Federalist Congress

This is the period during which most of the construction of the Pan African Federalist Movement (PAFM) will take place. The creation of the National Coordinating Committees (NCC) as viable entities, and their mutation into National Preparatory Committees (NPC) for the Congress, the mobilization of funds and the improvement of the visibility and credibility of the PAFM and its campaign will take place during this period.










This phase will pave the way for the campaign for a referendum in each State, in which their citizens will have the right to vote for their State to become a member of the Federal Union. These referendums will allow the citizens of these states to directly participate for the first time in the debate on the political unification of African states. The IPC, the Regional, National and local Committees constitute the skeleton of our Campaign Machine for these referendums.

During this phase, the IPC will make sure that all the Regional Committees are established and functional. The Regional Committees will do the same regarding the National Committees of the countries in their Region. The National Committees will make sure that the local committees involving the masses at the grassroots level can reach out to the majority of the people in the country at short notice. The IPC in collaboration with the Regional Committees will also ascertain that functional National Committees are created in the overwhelming majority of the Countries targeted as potential members of the Union. A paramount goal during this phase should be that the Regional Coordinating Committees (RCC) and the National Coordinating Committees (NCCs) will manage efficiently, their change to Regional Preparatory Committees (RPCs) and National Preparatory Committees (NPC). How this mutation will be operated will be explained in the second part of this document.

Last but not least, it is during this phase that resource mobilization, at all the levels of the Campaign Machine, will be intensified. It is also during this period that a plan for the management of the momentum of the Campaign so that it peaks at the right time, not too early, not too late, will be put into execution.

4) The First Pan African Federalist Congress

The objectives that the First Pan African Federalist Congress wants to reach are mainly:

-  Fine tune the campaign strategy for the birth of the UAS
-  Identify the main obstacles to the political, economic and military unification of the African States and the ways and means to overcome these hurdles,
-  Study the various attempts at unity among African peoples and recommendations that have been made in order to give them the maximum chance of success and draw from all these, the lessons that can serve the Pan-African Federalist Movement.
-  Conceive a communication strategy that can best popularize the Federalist Cause and secure the rallying of the majority of the African masses on the continent and Diaspora to the Pan African federalist cause;
-  Fine tune the human and material resource mobilization strategy that was produced by the Pre-Congress team;
-  Put together an efficient International Campaign Machine for referendums on the political unification of African States;
-  Decide the time frame during which a referendum for joining the Union should be organized in each of the targeted member States;
-  Decide on the number of States needed to form a viable political, economic and security Union able to enjoy full sovereignty and with enough clout to renegotiate all the unfair treaties that were signed by the member States and demand for a permanent seat at the UN Security Council with veto power.
-  Define a strategy for the involvement of the governments of the countries targeted for the union and international organizations such as the AU, CARICOM, the Regional Economic Communities, the African Parliament, the African Court of Justice etc. in the campaign for the birth of the UAS in less than a generation.

5) The Campaign for the Referendums

During the campaign phase for the convening and organizing of the Referendums for membership of the Federal Union of African States, each Regional, National and local Committee of the Pan-African Federalist Movement will be deployed for this purpose. Regional, National and local Campaign Machines will be put in place to create the

momentum needed to convince leaders of the targeted States at legislative and executive levels, about the need to hold these referendums, or to use other means by which the voices of the people can be heard on the central issue of the Great Debate: the Political Unification of African States.

6) The Second Pan African Federalist Congress

Once the number of states required to declare the birth of the Federal Union is reached, the Second Pan-African Federalist Congress will be convened to address issues such as the location of the UAS Capital, the modalities for drafting and ratifying the constitution of the Federal Union, the merger of the Armed Forces, the financial system, the official name of the Federal Entity etc. In short, all the tools that a newly created State must have to function fully from the outset will be created during this transition phase. **A Transition Committee** will be established by the Second Pan African Federalist Congress.

The Pan-African Federalist Movement will cease to exist once the first UAS administration is sworn in, as its mission will be completed at this stage and its goal achieved. It will thus give way to Federal political parties and coalitions that will compete for the implementation of their models for development by a fully sovereign African people.

B) Creation and transformation of the Committees

The International Provisional Initiating Committee (IPIC), the author of the call for the first Pan-African Federalist Congress, divided the development of the Pan African Federalist Movement into two main phases through the Charter of the Congress. The first is an initiating phase and the second the preparatory phase. There are two main reasons behind this division. The first is to give people, who are able and willing to do so, the opportunity to get involved in the campaign by creating an Initiating Committee or by joining one that is already in existence in their area of residence. The second is to make it clear to these people that they need to build a representative coalition in their area of residence for their full participation in the preparations for Congress. To ensure that this process is properly followed, the IPIC drafted a Congress Charter that explains how to set up the Regional Initiating Committees (RICs) and The National Initiating Committees (NICs) and how to transform them into Regional Preparatory Committees (RPC) and National Preparatory Committees (NPCs).

The Pre-Congress held in Accra in December 2018, changed the names of these Committees to Regional Coordination Committees (RCCs), National Coordination Committees (NCCs) and Local Coordination Committees (LCCs) while retaining their function in the development of the Pan African Federalist Movement.

It is important to note, however, that these are only recommendations. This is a suggested process by which the pan-African Federalist coalition can be built. This suggestion of the IPIC adopted by the pre-Congress can be adapted, by the RCCs and NCCs, to suit the concrete reality on the ground. They are also free to adopt a completely different process that best corresponds to their reality. The only thing that cannot be changed is that the finished products at the national level, the National Preparatory Committees (NPCs) must be a representative coalition of all organizations and individuals in the area who are interested in being part of the campaign for the birth of the United African States now.

This part of the document will focus on the general requirements for setting up an LCC, NCC or RCC and how the process of transforming them into permanent structures will take place.

A few very important remarks

Number one: From the launch of the call for the First Pan-African Federalist Congress to its opening, our main objective will remain the organization of a successful Congress. A Congress that will be sufficiently representative. A Congress that will have the capacity to launch a credible campaign for convening referendums. Referendums that will allow the African peoples, the owners of the sovereignty of their States, to decide on the entry of their State into a federal union with the other African States and form the United African States.

Number two: We are committed to being inclusive. All Africans and organizations of Africans who are willing to participate in the preparation of the Congress should be given the opportunity to get involved. The only criterion that will have to be taken into account whether or not they should join the Pan-African Federalist Movement must be their resolute commitment to work for the political unification of African States in less than a generation.

Number three: We are committed to respecting gender and age equality and protecting power deficient groups. It is therefore very important to maintain the parity and presence of minority groups at all levels of management within the structures of the Pan-African Federalist Movement. A deliberate effort must be made to help power-deficient groups (women and youth) and minorities participate, at all levels, in the activities of RCCs and NCCs, as well as in those of Local Committees.

Number four: We need to be creative in finding ways to support our activities. The option of making this campaign a grassroots-up Movement means that we must rely on the masses to provide the human, material and financial resources needed to lead this campaign to its finish line: the birth of the United African States.

1) The Regional Committees

The RCC should be launched by at least 5 (five) people who live in the capital, or its vicinity, of the country that serves as a base for the region. This group will be the core of the RCC. This group should take the necessary time to allow its members to become familiar with each other as well as documents such as the Call for Congress, the Manifesto of the Pan African Federalist Movement, the PAFM Charter, Building our Campaign Machine and any other document that can allow them to have a good understanding of this Initiative. Once this familiarization is complete, each member of this core group will be able to invite one or two people to join them and complete the formation of the RCC membership. The RCC is expected to have no more than 20 members. Fifteen is the ideal number of members to form the RCC.

RCC Core members cannot be representatives of an organization within this structure. They are members of the RCC as individuals. It is also strongly recommended that women and young people be represented in the RCC.

The RCC, in collaboration with the IPC, will be responsible for recruiting the coordinators of the National Coordination Committees (NCCs)

The transformation of the RCC into the Regional Preparatory Committee (RPC) of the Congress will occur when most of the NCCs in the region have been created, are fully functional and in a position to appoint their official representatives at the regional level, three for each country. When this moment is reached, the RCC will need to convene a constituent meeting of the RPC, which will consist of:

- Representatives of the NCC (the Coordinator, the Deputy Coordinator and an elected representative of the NCC/NCP to the RPC),

- Members of the RCC core,
- Individuals whom the RCC considers to be able to contribute greatly to the success of the Pan-African Federalist Movement.

The established RPC will need to be structured like the IPC, with an Executive Committee consisting of:

- Coordinator
- Deputy Coordinator
- Secretary General
- Head of the External Relations Committee
- Head of the Finance Committee
- Head of the Research and Strategy Committee
- Head of the Communication Committee
- Head of the Youth Mobilization Committee
- Head of the Structure Committee
- Head of the Security Committee
- Head of the Legal Affairs Committee

2) The National and Local Committees

a) The National Committee (NCC)

In collaboration with the IPC and the RCC, the individuals selected to coordinate the NCC will identify five (5) pan-Africanists who preferably live in or near the country's capital. These five people will form the core of the National Coordination Committee (NCC). The first Meetings of the NCC should only include those core members of the NCC. The need to become familiar with each other and with the basic documents of this initiative is the reason behind this suggestion.

Membership of the NCC will be strictly on an individual basis. None of the members of the NCC at this phase can be the representative of an organization.

After completing this phase, members of the core will have to invite other Pan Africanists in their country (preferably between 5 and 10 others, no more) to join them in the NCC. This group of 10 to 15 people or maybe a little more (hopefully no more than 20) will form what we call the Complete NCC. This group must either be entirely from civil society or include individuals from the most significant groups in the country's political spectrum. The Complete NCC must include women and youths.

Once the NCC is complete, it will begin to contact the country's political parties (in power and in Opposition), Trades Unions, civil society organizations, Guilds, employers' organizations, immigrants' organizations of Africans from other countries, youth organizations, women's organizations, etc. Once these contacts have been established, the NCC convenes the Constituent General Assembly of the National Preparatory Committee (NPC). Participation in this meeting will be open to:

- Members of the NCC,
- Representatives of organizations that have agreed to be part of the Coalition,

- Individuals chosen by the NCC because they can make a significant contribution to the success of the Pan-African Federalist Congress.

At this meeting, the Executive Committee of the NPC will be elected. The NPC Executive Committee will have to be structured in the same way as the Executive Committee of the RPC. The Coordinator and the Deputy, accompanied by a third person elected for this purpose, will be the country's three (3) regional representatives in the Regional Preparatory Committee (RPC) for Congress. The NPC will be the one who will select and send national delegates to the first Pan-African Federalist Congress to represent their country. The size and composition of national delegations will be decided by the IPC.

The NPC will have the duty to create local committees in cities, neighborhoods, universities, schools and villages across the country. These local committees are an absolute necessity, because it is at this level that the masses will be involved in discussions on the decision-making process in the construction of African unity. They will be the levers of the PAFM during the campaign for the referendum.

The option taken by the Democratic Republic of Congo and Nigeria for the creation of their NCC is different from the one suggested above. This is understandable because of their size and/or administrative organization. Within the DRC, the group that is in charge of creating their NCC chose to recruit one or two people from each of the country's provinces to lead the Provincial Coordinating Committee (PCC). Once the PCCs have been established in most provinces, they will convene a meeting in Kinshasa to formally form their NCC. In Nigeria, instead of Provinces, the existing federal States are used as a base. The group leading the effort to establish the NCC Nigeria will identify those who can initiate the creation of the State Coordinating Committees (SCCs). Once the majority of States are covered, a meeting to formally install the NCC Nigeria will be convened.

b) The Local Committees

The creation of local committees is the ultimate goal of the National Committees. Anyone who has the will and time can create a local committee in their village, city, university, factory, high school, workplace etc. However, the creation of this committee will have to be approved by the governing bodies of the national committee. The LCCs will form the popular groups to promote the PAFM and its campaign at the local level. The victory of our campaign will essentially depend on their effectiveness in involving the masses.

To create a Local Coordinating Committee (LCC), here's what we're proposing:

1. Find five (5) to ten (10) other pan-Africanists who believe or that we can convince on the urgency to unite African States politically and end the New Scramble for Africa.
2. The next step will be to convene a meeting to discuss the **PAFM Manifesto** and **Building our Campaign Machine**, two very important documents for a better understanding of this Initiative: **The Campaign for the birth of the United African States now**.
3. Once the LCC has stabilized with 10 to 15 members, they will have to start contacting the various political parties in the locality, civil society organizations, Guilds, youth organizations, women's organizations, and individuals who can contribute to the victory of our campaign.
4. After reaching a satisfactory level of visibility in the local community, the LCC will need to call for a General Assembly of all the Representatives of the Organizations interested in participating in this Campaign as well as individuals. The General Assembly will be the Constituent Assembly of the Local Preparatory Committee (LPC) of the first Pan-African Federalist Congress in the locality.

5. This LPC will be responsible for implementing the decisions of the NCC or NPC. It must carry out awareness and education activities that can reach people at the level of their neighborhoods, their universities, their schools, their workplace etc. These activities will focus on organizing popular talks on the urgent need to unite African States and end the New Scramble for Africa. Reparation for African communities that have been shattered by slavery, colonialism, apartheid, divide and conquer tactics and other forms of foreign incursions is another task for these Local Committees. The LPC will also be required to hold fundraising events and petition for signatures for the Campaign. All this will be in preparation for the referendums to that will allow Africans, the rightful owners of their State's sovereignty, to enter into with other African States. It is certainly clear that the Federalist Movement will be campaigning for a Federal Union. The central message of the LPC during all these activities should be the promotion of the "African Personality" and its central contribution to human development
6. The LPC will be the level at which the Pan African Federalist Movement will implement the Garvey model of coupling political education and activism with entrepreneurial activities geared towards self-sufficiency for PAFM members.

Structuration of the PAFM

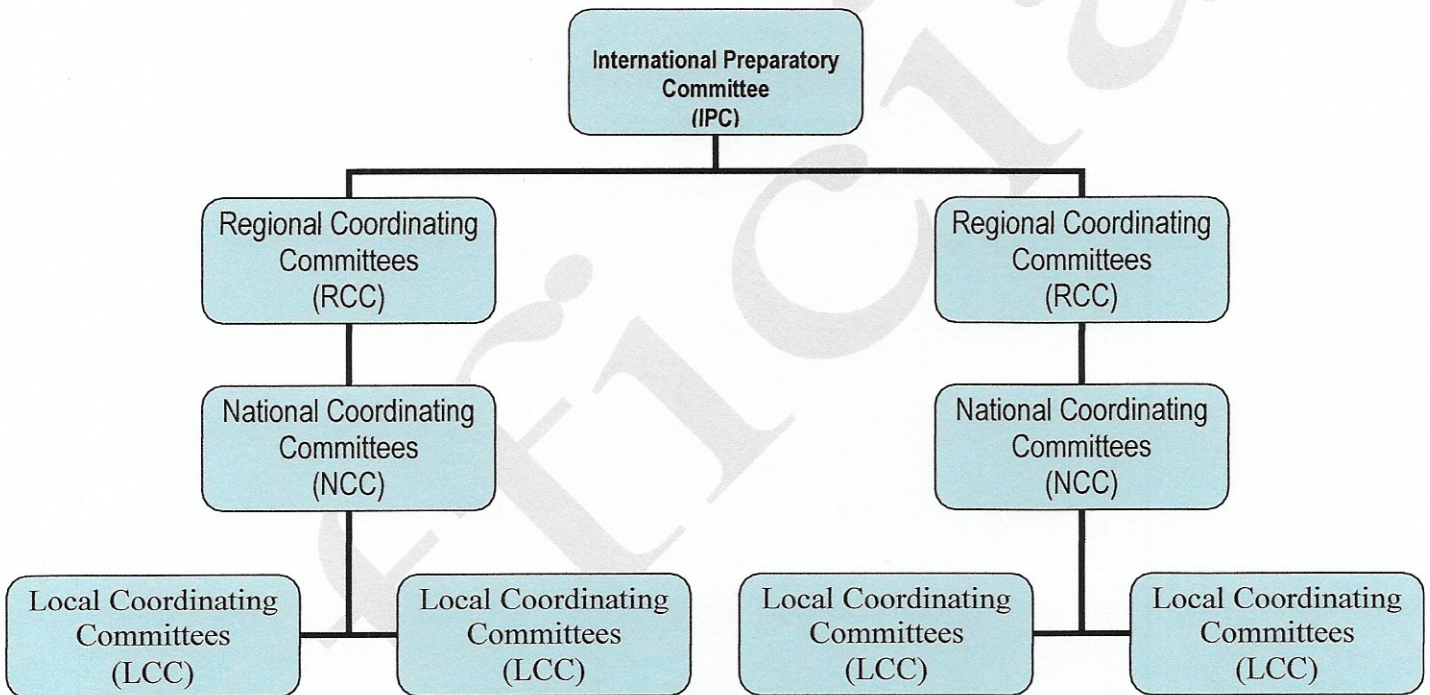
A good structuring of PAFM is essential for it to be effective in carrying out its mission.

Being a bottom-up Movement, PAFM is organized in structures at international, regional, national and local levels. Each structure has an executive committee in which members carry out functions that are essential for the organization to accomplish its mission.

PAFM has adopted the Federalist form in the relationship between the different structures that it is composed of. The IPC defines the overall direction, but the RCCs and NCCs determine how they achieve the overall objectives that have been defined and set by the IPC.

❖ The Structures

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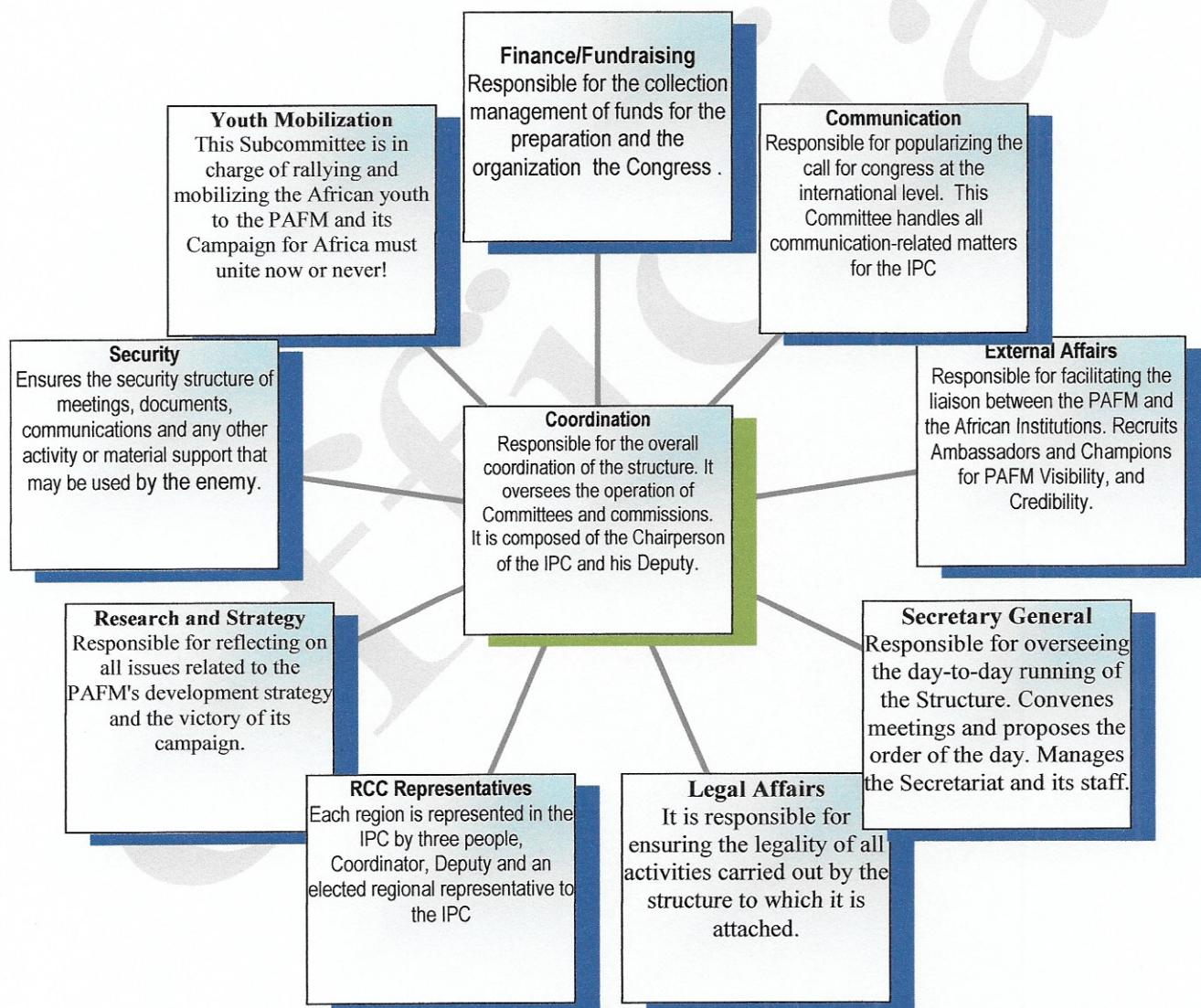


❖ The Functions within the International, Regional, National and Local Committees

The International Preparatory Committee, the Regional Coordinating Committees, the National Coordinating Committees and the Local Coordinating Committees have one mission: prepare the ground for a successful organization of the First Pan African Federalist Congress. Once the Congress is held, they will be transformed into components of the Campaign for the Referendums that will be launched by the Congress.

Considering the fact that the overwhelming majority active members of the PAFM are volunteers who are active in other organizations the cumulation of functions within it is strongly discouraged.

The executive committees of the IPC, RCCs, NCC and LCCs are made up of Committees who carry out the functions described below. Each Chair of a Committee must have at least one deputy



Conclusion

The size of the organization we are building, the diversity and the number of people we want to involve, and the Herculean task we have assigned ourselves requires a great deal of flexibility in the leadership of our Movement and its Campaign Machine for everything to work efficiently. It is therefore absolutely important that the leadership of this Movement be creative, open-minded and not egoistic.

The instructions and suggestions presented in this document must be adapted to the concrete reality at the level at which they are implemented. Since no one can predict all the scenarios that will be at stake throughout this Campaign, those in leadership roles must be willing to listen carefully to alternative suggestions for running our Campaign Machine better.

It is important to keep in mind that most of the people who will be involve in this campaign are going to be volunteers.

Leaders at all levels of this campaign must take this advice from Dr. Nkrumah; "Africa needs a new kind of citizen: a dedicated, modest, honest, informed man or woman who immerses himself in the service of the nation and humanity. A man and a woman who hate greed and hate vanity. A new type of man and woman whose humility is his strength and whose integrity is his greatness."

Leaders at all levels of this campaign must also constantly bear in mind this prophetic statement by Frantz Fanon; "Each generation must discover its mission in relative opacity and accomplish or betray it." The mission of the generations that preceded ours was to secure the political independence and respect for the civil rights of Africans in countries where they are minorities. The mission of our generation is to unite the States bequeathed to us by the colonizers and transform them into prosperous members of the United African States (UAS), a positive sovereignty controlled by Africans around the globe.

Adopted by the IPC, Bamako December 13, 2019