

Vol. 5, No. 2, September, 2025 ISSN: 2735-9522 (Print) ISSN: 2735-9530 (Online)



FUDMA International Journal of Social Sciences (FUDIJOSS), Volume 5, No. 2, September, 2025

A Publication of The Faculty of Social Sciences, Federal University Dutsin-Ma, Katsina State, Nigeria

ISSN: 2735-9522 (Print) 2735-9530 (Online)



Vol. 5, No. 2, September, 2025 ISSN: 2735-9522 (Print) ISSN: 2735-9530 (Online)



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Vol. 5, No. 2, September, 2025 ISSN: 2735-9522 (Print) ISSN: 2735-9530 (Online)



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Vol. 5, No. 2, September, 2025 ISSN: 2735-9522 (Print) ISSN: 2735-9530 (Online)



AFRICA AND THE SEARCH FOR ALTERNATIVE SYSTEM OF GOVERNANCE

MUSA AJIYA, PhD in International Relations, ABU; AUA- UK; MNIM; FCIA. Registrar, Federal University Dutsin-Ma, Katsina State. musaajiya@yahoo.com; +2347031639090; +2348023262362

&

Muhammad Nurudden MUSA, PhD in Political Science.

Department of Political Science and International Studies,

Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria.

hadiyyatu07@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

Africa's post-colonial history has been characterized by the quest for self-autonomy from global imperialism, even though some of her elites has acted as pawns and accomplices for the Global West in deepening imperial domination. This paper therefore explores the need for the evolution of alternative governance structure for Africa, which depart from governance structure anchored on liberal democracy. The paper uses content analysis. The paper finds that as long as Africa continues to rely on the institutions bequeathed by the imperial West the tendency of her perpetual exploitation by imperial powers is not only inevitable, but will throw her into perpetual stagnation. The paper recommends that for Africa to attain genuine development, it has to transform the 'African Union (AU)' into a new body to be called the 'United States of Africa (USA)', with a single African military force, a single currency and a single passport, among others. Africa nation-states should also collaborate to assist each other and avoid begging for financial aid from outside and also stop blind search for solutions and validation of their development initiatives from the so-called model experts elsewhere.

Key words: Premodern **c**olonialism; Postcolonialism; Imperialism, Governance Systems and Structures, African federation.

Introduction

After over decades of political independence of many African countries, the continent still grapples with myriad of problems, despite her enormous human and material resources, and varied model system of governance it has experimented. The problems of corruption, unemployment, income inequality, poverty, periodic currency devaluation, infrastructural deficit, debt, intra and interstates conflicts, climate change vulnerabilities and Imperial West continue meddling into its internal affairs and extorting its resources thereby deepening its problems particularly those that relates to crises of governance.

Prior to the attainment of independence from the imperial West, the African continent has been described as a consortium of people living in clusters of communities that are culturally and ethno-religiously diverse but united. Each of these communities have evolved its own system of governance that promoted peaceful interaction, trust, trade, and cultural affinities among themselves. The Afro-centric traditional system of governance has also known the pains of both submissive and aggressive dependency. There are occasions when it might even be impossible to disentangle what is truly traditional from what is an effect of external influence. However, the invasion African continent by the colonialists which represents the West, has not



Vol. 5, No. 2, September, 2025 ISSN: 2735-9522 (Print) ISSN: 2735-9530 (Online)



only impeded the growth and development of her traditional systems of governance, but also unveiled the imposition or adoption of various systems of governance that were not in tandem with African socio-cultural realities resulting in myriad of crises, thereby questioning the utility of the imposed systems of governance.

The Imperial West experimented the UK parliamentary system, US democratic system of governance, Apartheid system in south Africa a combination of autocratic systems resulting in a special governance arrangement that can best be described as 'kakistocracy' in its various countries. African states in the like of Morrocco, Libya, Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, Chad, Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan, South Sudan, Somalia, Tigray, Eritrea, etc experiences terrifying graphic pictures of vested interests, greed, power tussle for control of resources through imposed system of governance. This power tussle provoked scholars to begin to variously interrogate what is the problem with Africa. Some African writers and cultural intelligentsia, like of Chinua Achebe (1958), Sambene Ousmabe (1973), Ayi Kwei Armah (1970), used their "post-colonial discourses and theories" to variously critique western discourses of identity and difference and ultimately concludes that the problem of Africa cannot be totally isolated from the imposition or adoption of alien socio-politico-economic systems, values and structures.

Other scholars in the like of Frantz Fanon (1963), Walter Rodney (1972), Ali Muzrui (1977), Yusuf Bala Usman (1980), Albert Memmi (1965), Robert Young (2003), Edward Said (2001), E. San Juan Jr. (1998), Crystal Bartolovich (2002), Neil Lazarus (2012), etc, are of the viewed that problem of Africa has to do with not only her colonization by the Global West, which retarded its growth and development, but also with the perpetual overbearing interference, and machination of the Global West. These scholars therefore raise these fundamental questions: Can Africa liberate itself from external interferences to govern itself well? Can Africa reinvent and develop her own 'model of governance' akin to what it in the precolonial days.

Organized protest and other various attempts made by some of the pan-African revolutionary leaders to resist taking orders and or any prescribed pills that were perceived to be inimical to African interest from the Imperial West, are few examples of such belligerent responses made by Africa against the Global West's meddling into her affairs. Regrettably, such resistance movements exhibited by pan-Africans patriotic leaders, were often than not, being decisively met with sanctions, regime change, detention, and or assassination of political actors. The assassinations of Colonel Mummar Gadafi of Libya, Murtala Ramat Muhammed of Nigeria, Patrick Lumumba of Congo, Thomas Sankara of Burkina Faso, Maji-Maji rebellion of Tanzania, mad mullah of Somalia, to the Shona-Ndebele risings in Zimbabwe, to the imprisoned Nelson Mandella of South Africa, to even the overthrow backed to some extent with exiles as seen in the cases of Idi Amin of Uganda, Sultan Attahiru Ahmadu of the Sokoto Caliphate, in the nineteenth century, and so many, were few cases that attested to the Imperial West usage of their might to crush what they termed as belligerent elements (Mazrui, 1977).

The question that arises here, therefore, is that of nuance, to wit, what is the exact configuration of the system of governance that Africa seeks to priorities and advance? Is the Africa interested in sustaining liberal democracy, with its little impact in terms of securing stability and welfare on the African continent? What options do Africa really have?

This article attempts to examine new direction for the future of Africa through alternative system of governance. Using the assumption of 'postcolonial theory', the paper specifically interrogated some of the contending issues in the like of the various models of governance not



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experimented in Africa in order to gauge which one could best suit Africa, bearing its unique peculiarities like ethno-religious identities, internal actor's grouping interests, and the imperialist desperate search for African's resources.

Post-colonial Theory

This paper adopts post-colonial theory, also known as post-colonialism, to guide the study, with leading theorists such as Edward Said (2001) focusing on stereotypes; Homi K. Bhabha (1949) and Chinua Achebe (1958). The post-colonial theory is the critical academic study of the cultural, political and economic legacy of colonialism and imperialism, focusing on the impact of human control and exploitation of colonized people and their lands. The field emerged in the 1960s, as scholars from colonized countries began publishing on the effects of colonialism, developing a critical theory analysis of the history, culture, literature, and discourse of imperial powers.

Postcolonialism denote the immediate time after the period during which imperial powers retreated from their colonial territories. As such, the terms postcolonial and postcolonialism denote aspects of the subject matter that indicate that the decolonized world is an intellectual space "of contradictions, of half-finished processes, of confusions, of hybridity, and of liminalities (Gregory, 2009). In Post-Colonial Drama: Theory, Practice, Politics (1996), Helen Gilbert and Joanne Tompkins clarify the denotational functions, among which:

The term post-colonialism, according to a too-rigid etymology, is frequently misunderstood as a temporal concept, meaning the time after colonialism has ceased, or the time following the politically determined Independence Day on which a country breaks away from its governance by another state.

The term post-colonialism is also applied to denote the Mother Country's neocolonial control of the decolonized country, affected by the legalistic continuation of the economic, cultural, and linguistic power relationships that controlled the colonial politics of knowledge i.e. the generation, production, and distribution of knowledge, about the colonized peoples of the non-Western world (Gregory, 2009; Sharp, 2008). The cultural and religious assumptions of colonialist logic remain active practices in contemporary society and are the basis of the Mother Country's neocolonial attitude towards her former colonial subjects - an economical source of labour and raw materials (Fisher-Tine, 2011). It acts as a non-interchangeable term that links the independent country to its colonizer, depriving countries of their Independence, decades after building their own identities.

The field of postcolonialism addresses the matters that constitute the postcolonial identity of a decolonized people, which derives from

- a) the colonizer's generation of cultural knowledge about the colonized people; and
- b) how that Western cultural knowledge was applied to subjugate a non-European people into a colony of the European mother country, which, after initial invasion, was affected by means of the cultural identities of 'colonizer' and 'colonized'. (Timothy, Stark, and Walker, 2019)

Postcolonialism is aimed at disempowering such theories, especially as relate to intellectual and linguistic, social and economic, by means of which colonialists "perceive," "understand," and "know" the world. Postcolonial theory thus establishes intellectual spaces for subaltern peoples to speak for themselves, in their own voices.



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It encompasses a wide variety of approaches, and theoreticians may not always agree on a common set of definitions. On a simple level, through anthropological study, it may seek to build a better understanding of colonial life - based on the assumption that the colonial rulers are unreliable narrators - from the point of view of the colonized people. Postcolonialism i.e. postcolonial studies, generally represents an ideological response to colonialist thought, rather than simply describing a system that comes after colonialism.

Postcolonial theory holds that decolonized people develop a postcolonial identity that is based on cultural interactions between different identities i.e. cultural, national, and ethnic as well as gender and class based, which are assigned varying degrees of social power by the colonial society. In postcolonial literature, the anti-conquest narrative analyzes the identity politics that are the social and cultural perspectives of the subaltern colonial subjects - their creative resistance to the culture of the colonizer; how such cultural resistance complicated the establishment of a colonial society; how the colonizers developed their postcolonial identity; and how neocolonialism actively employs the 'us-and-them' binary social relation to view the non-Western world as inhabited by 'the other'. The utility of this theory to the study can be seen in the context of its assumption that there is the need to hear from the colonized people who should speak for themselves through their intellectual endeavors devoid of the domineering influence of the colonizers. Through this, the colonized people can have identity for themselves in every sector including how to manage evolving alternative governance structure that could reflect their deep rooted peculiarity and aspirations. It is against this background that this theory is found relevant to the study.

Africa's Colonization and her Postcolonial Normative Discourse

Premodern colonialism mainly refers to a time before western civilization during the Greek and Byzantine Empires. During this period, Arabs, Vikings, Romans, and some Christians held colonies throughout the Mediterranean, Britain, Ireland, Iceland, Greenland, North America, present-day Russia and Ukraine, France, Sicily, and even the Baltic Islands. However, with the birth of Western Culture, Catholicism, Modern European powers, and modern warfare, colonialism moved into the modern era (Mantooth, Regulus and Wilkerson, 2023).

The modern era of colonialism refers to the most prevalent period of colonialism. This period began when the Portuguese Prince, Henry the Navigator, initiated the age of exploration, and by extension colonialism, by setting up trading posts in Africa. After Portugal made the first move, other European powers, namely Spain, Britain, France, The Netherlands, and Prussia/Germany expanded their respective colonial reach as well (Mantooth, Regulus and Wilkerson, 2023). Colonialism was presented as the extension of civilization, which ideologically justified the self-ascribed racial and cultural superiority of the Western world over the non-Western world. This concept was espoused by Ernest Renan in *La Réforme intellectuelle et morale* (1871), whereby imperial stewardship was thought to affect the intellectual and moral reformation of the colored peoples of the lesser cultures of the world.

Until the 19th century, Britain and the other European powers confined their imperial ambitions in Africa where they could exert their economic and military influence. British activity on the West African coast was centered around the lucrative slave trade. Between 1562 and 1807, when the slave trade was abolished, British ships carried up to 3 million people into slavery in the Americas. In total, European ships took more than 11 million people into slavery from the West African coast, and European traders grew rich on the profits while the population of Africa's west coast was depleted. For instance, Algeria held by France and Angola held by



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Portugal. By 1900, European nations had added almost 10 million square miles of Africa, onefifth of the land mass of the globe, to their overseas colonial possessions. Europeans ruled more than 90% of African continent. During the last 20 years of the 19th century, Britain occupied or annexed Egypt, the Sudan, British East Africa (Kenya and Uganda), British Somaliland, Southern and Northern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe and Zambia), Bechuanaland (Botswana), Orange Free State and the Transvaal (South Africa), Gambia, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, British Gold Coast (Ghana) and Nyasaland (Malawi). These countries accounted for more than 30% of Africa's population. The other chief colonizers were France, Germany, Belgium, Italy, Portugal and Spain. Germany had only been unified in 1871 and so was a late starter in imperial terms. One of the chief justifications for this so-called 'scramble for Africa' was a desire to stamp out slavery once and for all. A celebrated missionary-explorer David Livingstone, shortly before his death in May 1873 at Ilala in Central Africa, had called for a worldwide crusade to defeat the slave trade controlled by Arabs in East Africa, that was laying waste in the heart of the continent. Livingstone believed that the only way to liberate Africa from the scourge of slave trade was to introduce the 'three Cs': Commerce, Christianity and Civilization. Consequently, European penetration got under way in the nineteenth century. Christianity conquered the souls of more Africans as it spread under imperial banner and clashing with Islam and Afrotraditional religions. However, it is instructive to note that both Islam and Christianity as a system of ideas came to Africa from the earliest days of the religion. Ethiopia has been Christian longer than many parts of Europe, including England; and North Africa was substantially Islamized from the first century of Islam. Islam later spread to other parts of the continent (Mazrui, 1984).

The Berlin Conference of 1884-1885, convened by Otto von Bismarck to discuss the future of Africa, had the stamping out slavery on the agenda. The Berlin Act of 1885, signed by the 13 European powers attending the conference, included a resolution to 'help in suppressing slavery'. In truth, the strategic and economic objectives of the colonial powers, such as protecting old markets and exploiting new ones, were far more important. Belgium and Britain, and France and Germany proffered theories of national superiority that justified colonialism as delivering the light of civilization to unenlightened peoples. Notably, *la mission civilisatrice*, the self-ascribed 'civilizing mission' of the French Empire, proposed that some races and cultures have a higher purpose in life, whereby the more powerful, more developed, and more civilized races have the right to colonize other peoples, in service to the noble idea of "civilization" and its economic benefits.

In *The Wretched of the Earth (1963)*, psychiatrist and philosopher Frantz Fanon analyzes and medically describes the nature of colonialism as essentially destructive. Its societal effects are harmful to the mental health of the native peoples who were subjugated into colonies. Fanon writes that the ideological essence of colonialism is the systematic denial of "all attributes of humanity" of the colonized people. Hence, Fanon describes violent resistance to colonialism as a mentally cathartic practice, which purges colonial servility from the native psyche, and restores self-respect to the subjugated. Thus, Fanon actively supported and participated in the Algerian Revolution, 1954–62, for independence from France as a member and representative of the Front de Libération Nationale (Barkawi, 2005).

The failure of the post-colonial state reflects a questioning of the will to co-exist, and a loss of purpose and direction. The nations 'or ethnic groups' are in fundamental disagreement about the community's basic values. How are we to define a free society, authority that is properly conferred and shared, and law that seems to come naturally? State and society seem to have



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been in conflict ever since Africa's pluri-national societies saw their own model destroyed to make way for an enforced western caricature (Tshiyembe, 2000). This caricature model of the western thoughts or western preference and their outlook manifest in various sectors and subsectors of the African life which covers areas like economy, socio-cultural, educational and even governance structure, which is the focus of the discussion of this paper. The caricature model democracy of the West represents a serious manifestation of the colonial imposition, imposed to suit imperial goal of the conditional African development as a mere protype of the West. The democracy, as a model, is both aliens, expensive and really reflective or responsive to the yearnings of the non-elites' segment of the African people and their aspirations for development. The system of governance or the governance structure which the caricature of democracy model of the West bequeath, has left more economic burden on Africa. To worsen the matter, the so-called common goods which it proclaimed or it aspires at the level of rhetoric to promote, has not reach out to the largely agrarian African population e.g. Nigeria which is known to have spent close a trillion naira to conduct general election every four years in the name of democracy hardly produces government of legitimacy and hardly improve on the lives of its citizenry.

Global Powers' new Scramble for Africa's Resources

The recurring great powers competition for diplomatic influence and natural resources in Africa is another desperate "scramble" in which the vital strategic interests of the continent and its peoples can be expected to receive the usual short shrift. Over the past two decades, in a tale of diplomatic ebbs and flows, the United States, China, and Russia have struggled to recruit and maintain allies in Africa. While none of these powers is exactly new to the continent, China's economic rise, and its evident determination to knock the United States off its global pedestal, has raised the geopolitical stakes. Russia, lacking China's economic muscle, has embraced the role of spoiler to Western interests. Both have turned "non-interference" in the domestic politics of their African allies into a virtue.

In late February 2023, South Africa held joint naval drills with Russia and China, off the country's coast. The 10-day exercises began roughly one year to the day of Moscow's expanded invasion of Ukraine and prompted condemnation from Western capitals. Pretoria abstained from condemning Russia's invasion at the United Nations in 2022 and has stated that its position in the war is neutral, going so far as to suggest that South Africa could serve as a mediator between the two countries.

Scholars in the like of Samuel Ramani (2023) views Russia's engagement with Africa as a successor of the Soviet Union's policies towards the continent. Ramani finds a well-supported middle ground in answering his subtitle's thesis: Is Russia a resurgent great power or a bellicose pretender? Russia combined "counterinsurgency operations, arms sales, autocratic promotion and soft power tools, such as media outreaches, educational diplomacy, debt forgiveness and humanitarian aid" and hybrid warfare tactics to reassert itself across the continent of Africa and emerge as a "virtual great power."

Moscow sought to elevate its position globally through an asserted effort on the continent, hoping to leverage bilateral and transactional relationships to elevate its standing. It is worth reiterating that Moscow remains an attractive partner. Russia's transactional approach to engagement, anti-colonial history, and general disinterest in internal political affairs and staunch support for national sovereignty stands in contrast with how the United States is often viewed - aid and support being contingent on political reform or respect for



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human rights, driven by narrow interests, such as counter terrorism, and unreliable with changes in government. This approach is somewhat mirrored by China. Although, Beijing's approach is far more rapaciously capitalist and self-serving or advancing Chinese companies over African counterparts and using Africa as a vehicle to prop up Chinese domestic business concerns.

The risks of friction in Africa between Russia and China are bound to happen. Beneath optimistic rhetoric, the limitations of Russia-China cooperation in Africa are clear. Consultations between Russia and China on African security cries are limited, especially outside the UN Security Council. As Russia views instability in Africa as a geopolitical opportunity and China sees security crises as an existential threat to its BRICS investments, disagreements between both countries are likely to sharpen.

There is also a possibility that by aligning with the BRICS, Africa will have lined up itself to be exploited by China given the towering China's dominance within the BRICS member states. However, for Africa to accelerate its growth and development, its leaders should know that it's their full responsibility to achieve that goal. Throughout many years of manipulation, Africans have been made to believe that Africa is solely responsible for its underdevelopment, much as the blame is partly ours, one can also find much unfairness by analyzing the relationship between Africa and some of the developed economies, as he or she will recognize that it has been a relationship of exploitation.

In short, the image of a "scramble" in which helpless African States are exploited and manipulated by global powers, who care nothing for their welfare, hardly stands up to scrutiny. The continent is thereby being shortchanged. In this infantilizing zero-sum imagination, a struggle for resources in Africa is at the center of the global power competition. Africa has more to worry about from its friends than its adversaries. Africa needs to think much deeper and connect the dots in the axis of evil that is now bleeding the continent. The excruciating poverty and its weaponization as a means of power ascendancy, is a major culprit in breading evil forces in Africa. In addition, the widening social inequality and the near total absence of empathy on the part of a greedy, selfish and self-centered ruling class all combine to exacerbate an already bad situation.

Africa's Search for Alternative Governance System

The most enduring solution to all these nexuses of evil is a governance template that addresses the current poverty challenges in the Africa. A governance template that stops this weaponization of poverty as a means of attaining power. A governance template that addresses the widening gap of social inequality in our society. A governance template that stops giving people handouts but creates opportunities for people to self-actualize. If only Presidents, Governors and Legislators in the Africa will stop playing dirty politics, distributing items that are sold instantly by beneficiaries and establish mega farms and mega workshops for learning trades it will reduce dependence and enhance productivity. If Africa should turn every forest into a farm, it will produce enough food to fight food insecurity and deny the evil forces operating hideouts in our forests. If every government opens a ranch and makes open grazing unattractive, Africa will contain the migrants and confine them into protected enclaves. If Africa open mega workshops such as garment making, carpentry or fabrication, Africa will move her communities to productive hubs and make our people to becoming skilled workers. This is not too difficult to do. Africa should either take care of her populations or end up lamenting and blaming others for security challenges, as Africa is quite capable of overcoming.



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The clamor for the unification and liberation of Africa from the grip of imperial powers and the search for a new system of governance has been a recurring decimal in various fora across the globe. By definition, a 'governance system' implies a set of institutional actors with capacity to decide on territorial region, have a central role in the innovation process, through the projects that it defines, regional policies and also organization and regulation of the local activities. According to the European Commission (2001) governance refers to the state's ability to serve the citizens. Governance refers to the rules, processes, and behavior by which interests are articulated, resources are managed, and power is exercised in society. The way public functions are carried out, public resources are managed and public regulatory powers (Vymětal, 2007).

Prominent among those leading the calls for Africa to evolve its own system of governance in the recent times, include late Muammar Gaddafi of Libya. The concept takes its origin from Marcus Garvey's 1924 poem "Hail, United States of Africa" (Garvey, 2010). Garvey's ideas and formation systems deeply influenced former Africa leaders and the rebirth of the African Union. At the Manchester congress in 1958, Nkrumah founded the West African National Secretariat -WANS -to promote a so-called United States of Africa - USA. Pan-Africanism as an intergovernmental movement.

The idea of a multinational unifying African state has been compared to various medieval African empires and or kingdoms that thrives on trade, rich culture, science, politics, and flourished between 14th to 19th Century, and some dating back to 332 BCE. These Kingdoms and empires include the Kongo Kingdom, Ashanti Kingdom, Uganda Kingdom, Kemet or Ancient Egypt Kingdom, Ethiopian Empire, the Ghana Empire, the Mali Empire, the Songhai Empire, the Benin Empire, the Sokoto Calipate, the Mandinka Empire, the Kanem Empire and other historic nation states.

The focus for developing the **United States of Africa** so far has been on building and cementing to overcome subdivisions of Africa - the proposed East African Federation can be seen as an example of this. Former President of Senegal, Abdoulaye Wade, had indicated that the United States of Africa could exist as early as 2017 (World African Diaspora Union, 2011). The African Union, by contrast, has set itself the task of building a "united and integrated" Africa by 2025 (Daniels, 2009).

Gaddafi had proposed "a single African military force, a single currency and a single passport for Africans to move freely around the continent" at the core of his callings to unified Africa. Gaddafi had also indicated that the proposed federation may extend as far west as the Caribbean: Haiti, Jamaica, the Dominican Republic, the Bahamas and other islands featuring a large African diaspora, may be invited to join (Wade, 2009). African leaders stated they would study the proposal's implications, and re-discuss it in May 2009 (BBC, 2009). Gaddafi received criticism for his involvement in the movement, and lack of support for the idea from among other African leaders (NBC News, 2009). A week before Gaddafi's death during the Libyan Civil War, South African President Jacob Zuma expressed relief at the regime's downfall, complaining that Gaddafi had been "intimidating" many African heads of state and government in an effort to gain influence throughout the continent and suggesting that the **African Union** will function better without Gaddafi and his repeated proposals for a unitary African government (news24, 2011). Gaddafi was ultimately killed during the Battle of Sirte in October 2011. While some regard the project to have died with him, Robert Mugabe expressed interest in reviving the project (*Smith*, 2013). Following the 2017 Zimbabwean coup d'état, Mugabe



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resigned as President (BBC News, 2017). On 6 September 2019, Mugabe died. The governments of Ghana, Senegal, and Zimbabwe, have supported an **African federation** (*Mmegi Online, 2010*). The proposed federation would have the largest total territory of any state, exceeding the Russian Federation. It would also be the third most populous state after China and India, and with a population speaking an estimated 2,000 languages.

Amidst these bewildering shenanigans and renewed partition and scramble of Africa, some scholars are of the viewed that the problem with African continent is structural embedded in the various alien system of governance experimented. Thus, they therefore advocated for the replacement or replication of the present system of governance with another set of 'alien system of governance' such as that of Saudi monarchical system, or Iran's theocracy, or China's neoliberal socialist democratic system of governance, to even Singaporean benevolent autocracy as a solution to African ailing economies. Their argument hinges on the fact that the 'alien western models of systems of governance' anchored substantially on democracy or parliamentary, have failed to meet the needs and expectations of Africa, owing to differences in demographics, value systems and socio-cultural realities. Thus, experimenting the aforementioned new models might be the panacea to solving African predicament, since same are being operated in climes that are on the same demographic pedestal with Africa. Arguably, these systems of governance have their own distinctive features, albeit supported by their natural demographic monolith ethno-cultural identities and success stories distinct from each other, and so are worth trying.

There is an assumption that democracy is wholly desirable as a pathway to good governance, stability, and development on the African continent. This assumption says democracy constitutes 'the best form of government.' Some critical questions arise as to the validity of these assumptions. First, it is doubtful if democracy on the continent has delivered on the promise of inclusivity, stability and development. Available evidence does not suggest that social development has been broadly consequent upon democratic governance on the continent. Instead, what Africa has come to parade is some form of electoralism – a system defined by regular elections that are hardly consequential, either in terms of prospects of changing ruling parties, or the direction of government's acts and public policies. What is more, the electoral system is itself often convoluted, with very minimal integrity, and thus hardly able to engender the level of legitimacy requisite for stability. The western system of governance that produces 'political elites' that emerges as leaders through dubious political processes, sponsored by the Imperial Global West to foster and do their biddings. These compradors bourgeoisie political classes whose power base is very weak, depends significantly on their alliance with their sponsors, masters or metropolitan bourgeoisie classes for their survival and protection to maintain their hegemony. They installed their stooges and lackeys, to maintain a neo-colonial economy that is tied to the apron strings of the Global West, their transnational corporations and multilateral institutions, as well as foreign capital. Concomitantly, these leaders and their institutions, social structure and legal systems that are extension of colonial history.

Conclusion:

The paper examined the search for alternative system of governance for Africa as part of the broader efforts to reduce the influence of imperialism on its development efforts. It held that imperialism has shattered Africa's attempts at development. It advocates the need for the abandonment of the so-called liberal democracy which evidently runs counter to Africa's development needs. A home grown alternative reflected under the cover a 'united states of Africa' with a strong military structure, a unified economic and political structure reflecting Africa's diversity is advocated. The paper concludes that Africa's collective

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would better be protected and projected under the proposed alternative structure

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