

***Afrikan Contribution to International Relations Theory:
An Afrocentric Philosophical Enquiry***

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Master of Arts in Systematic Philosophy

2012

***Afrikan* Contribution to International Relations Theory: An
Afrocentric Philosophical Enquiry**

By

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20020103

**A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Arts, University of
Zululand, in partial fulfillment for the degree of**

Master of Arts

In

Systematic Philosophy

In the Department of Philosophy

Supervisor: Dr. Mojalefa Lehlohonolo Johannes Koenane

KwaDlangezwa

May 2012

Declaration

Declaration: I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

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Tshepo Mvulane-Moloi

10 May 2012

Abstract

The academic field of *IR* has been haunted by its *Westerncentric* philosophical founding *masters*. This has consequently led almost the overall (if not the entire) literature, of this particular academic discipline, to have become a typical platform wherein the *Eurocentric* driven *master-narratives* have become consolidated, as the norm. The interrogation of *pedagogy* thus led to concerns of *indoctrination*, as a direct result of the *dogmatic views* (as specifically derived and driven by the literature of *Western philosophy*), which overtime has informed the bulk of *IR* (theory) literature. Themes of *racism*, *dynamics introduced by the role of language*, *sexism*, (*Feminism*, *gender*, *patriarchy*) even the *age factor* of *authoritative IR* theorists, amongst other factors, are thus brought afore and engaged in detail, hopefully not in an overly complex manner.

Within this study, concepts such as *Worldview* are interrogated and stripped of their *implied scholarly innocence*. When studied closer, expressions (which have led to the formation of *Mainstream IR theories*), as located within the bulk of *IR* literature, reveal that what is presented as *nuanced* and *structured thought*, may specifically be traced back, and realized as mere rhetorical echoes of pioneering *Western* philosophers. From such an *Eurocentric/Westerncentric* foundation, as specifically located in the suspected scholarly body of *Western Philosophy*, this exploratory study, has thus inevitably placed an enormous question mark, on what *may possibly be / have been* the contribution of the *other* (non-*Eurocentric / non-Westerncentric*) *IR* theories.

Particular investigative focus would hopefully, be placed upon securing a *possible existence* of an *Afrikan philosophical Worldview*, as may possibly *be / have been* informed by the doctrine of *Afrocentricity*. It should thus be understood that this particular study, is mainly interested, in what may *currently be* or *have been* *Afrikan* contribution to *IR* theory. The specific employment of *Afrocentricity* should hopefully be read, as an effort by the author of this study, to secure the sought *Afrikan* contribution to *IR*, from a *local/from below* (*Afrikan*) narrative perspective. Such an effort, may hopefully within this study, be linked to the chief aim(s) of *Afrikan philosophy*.

Acknowledgements

To My Supervisor: Professor Mojalefa Lehlohonolo Johannes Koenane

Thank you for your overwhelming support, it will remain highly appreciated. So *the less said here, to you* (as was consistently expressed, in our lengthy conversations and hopefully, as elaborately articulated, throughout this study), *the better*. It is however through lecturers like you, that the growing cohort of *Afrikan* scholars, owe much support and renewed academic commitment. In stating that the completion of this *dissertation* has no doubt *enriched me eternally/for good*, should serve as testimony, to your enduring commitment, towards achieving research excellence.

May the fire that released and rekindled your patient and positive spirit, burn further, for the benefit of plenty others (both scholars and non-scholars or as articulated differently, the *certificated and uncertificated folks*, as stipulated by **Herbert Vilakazi**. This should be read as being consistent with his father's efforts –**Absolom Vilakazi** who in 1974, while based at the *American University*, became a pioneering *Afrocentrist*, at the helm of the historically American led *Afrikan Studies Association (ASA)*. He would subsequently be followed by **Ali Mazrui** in 1979. Due recognition should be given to them and the many others, who have pioneered the *Afrocentric* ship, to the intellectual port, where it may be located today, within contemporary pedagogic discourse. This study reflects that *we engaged* and together and individually, we learnt.

This particular study has impressed upon me, that once scholars are really serious, about the theme of knowledge relating to *Afrika*, abundant examples of such data, remain available from various historical sources. Of significance are the *oral sources* from *uncertificated* folks. Such folks may qualify, to be referred to as *sages*, that are hardly acknowledged (ignored/overlooked/marginalized etc), on the grounds that their notable crime, is/was that they exist (ed) within their respective, overlooked *subaltern* base(s) - (*which are and remain*-beyond the *Eurocentric* academic circles). Such a *status quo* remains to be corrected. As suggested in this study, through *Afrocentric* means.

Professor Mandla Morris Hlongwane (former dean of students and current Lecturer of Educational Psychology at Zululand University). Your visionary belief in me, led to your timeous intervention, in my intellectual growth. Thank you for all the tireless coaching and mentorship, as well as all lessons learnt from all the years, which we have known each other.

Dr. Karen Smith (*my initial supervisor at Stellenbosch University*) even if *no silver lining* was visible in as far as completion (of this study was concerned under her initial supervision), I have still reserved *a mighty thank you- to her*. I will always be grateful, for her contribution made, at the infant stages of this study. Yes, I confess that I indeed grappled and wrestled (beyond the allocated timeframe- which definitely felt like eternity), with the various material, used in this study because *the devil, was indeed present in the details*. In hindsight however my agony, has been worth my while- given the extensive exposure and awareness acquired thus far, I harbor no regrets. *Through it all, I hope that she will rejoice in her own way, now that this study is finally completed*. Amidst all my joy, I find it important to state that -her *perseverance* to remain, as my supervisor throughout the allocated timeframe, as prescribed for this research project, until my final days as a *matie*, definitely *did not go unnoticed*. I would say *baie dankie* but I prefer to say it the way the *Bafaw* community in *Cameroon* would say it: *sakani jita*.

The financial assistance of the *National Research Foundation (NRF)* is hereby acknowledged. The opinions and conclusion in this report are however those of the author and should not be attributed to the *NRF*. *Ndiyabulela mbandla*. Enkosi. As said in *Shona: ndatenda*.

Equally so to my other sponsors, namely *Stellenbosch University's Rector and Vice-Chancellor Professor Russel Botman*- for having bestowed upon me the prestigious *Vice-Chancellor's Scholarship* and alas to the *TATA Foundation* for also having awarded me the *TATA Africa scholarship*. No amount of words could be enough to express my appreciation to all of you, except to state that, the final product of this dissertation, should hopefully bear testimony of *my part of the deal*. It is with hope, that this *dissertation* lives upto the sought ideals, of the *legacy of the keepers of the flame*. *Diboti di neni as* would be said in the *Gisir* language in the *Fouganou* community (South of *Gabon*).

Dr. Mfuniselwa J. Bhengu (*Isikolwethu Institute in KwaZuluNatal*). Much thanks for your guidance and sharing your personal insight(s). *Njengabo omnakwethu abavela eSwatini ma ke ngidlulise ukubonga nkosi yam. Ukulima kwethu kubalulekile ngempela. Makusetshezwe. Bhula umlilo malume, siqhubeke ukuhlonipha amasiko ethu. Kuthi mangishaye indlamu, ngigiye, ngikusho. Uyidlalile indima yakho, masingadukelani. Ngifunde okuningi, uMvelinqangi abe nawe.*

To the following **Zululand University (UZ)** academics- **Professor LzM Khumalo** (former Dean of Arts Faculty and current Head of Department of IsiZulu Namagugu), **Dr. T.J Mbuli** (lecturer in IsiZulu Namagugu), **Dr. MK Nzimande** (former Head of Theology), **Dr. W.J Ndaba** (formerly lecturer of African Philosophy at UZ, presently Head of Law Department), **Professor TAP Gumbi** (Former Head of Department of Social Work, past Dean of Arts Faculty and Indigenous Knowledge Systems Co-ordinator), **Professor RV Gabela** (Former Dean of Education Faculty and currently lecturer in the same faculty), **Professor CT Moyo** (Linguistics) and **Professor L.J Mitchell** (Philosophy and Acting Head of Anthropology and Development Studies)- A most heartfelt thank you to all of you. A special tribute to the following erstwhile **UZ Rector's and Vice-Chancellor's Professor CRM Dlamini (2005)** and **Professor Hugh Paul Ndlelane Africa (2012)**-may they both **Rest in Peace (R.I.P)**. To **Professor AC Nkabinde**, keep rocking on- your respective contribution, (in your respective discipline(s), particularly your role in the *Zulu dictionary project at UZ*) has been and will always remain inspirational to me, particularly as a proud alumni/convocant of Zululand University.

To the following Stellenbosch academics, **Dr. Siphon Masondo** (*interestingly since 2011 January, has joined the staff of UZ*), **Professor N.S Zulu** and **Professor Umezuruike Linus Opara** for the countless advice, on the theme of Afrikan literature and Ubuntu. I will hold on to the marathon conversations, which we shared together, as they were filled with watershed moments, which I have found relevant and useful in this study. *Ukushumayela ivangeli/ izwi lenkosi ezikonzweni makuqhubeke ngoba akhekho ofana naye. Ndabezitha, ma'Geba, wena weNdlovu, uMntwana kaPhindangena, ngisho wena we Zulu ebukosini- ukubekezela kwakho kuyancomeka ngempela, incwadi yakho ingincedile kakhulu. Umoya oyincwele ube nani, unkulunkulu abe nani nonke.*

Also to **Simphiwe Sesanti** *keleboga thuso ya hawo abuti*, especially as an avid *Pan- Afrikanist* and a proud Black consciousness activist, who has engaged the vast literary works of *ntate Es'kia Mphahlele*. ***Liwena ntate ugole ulekane le tlou, tshukudu mo wena ibe mosemanyana. Bari 'motho ke motho ka batho' ihlile ke ya dumela ntate.***

Professor Kwesi Kwaa Prah (*Director of the Centre of Advanced Afrikan Studies in Rondebosch, Cape Town*). One of the sage's that definitely challenged most of my views on *Afrikan identity*. His lifelong commitment, to projects on themes related to *Afrika*, as an enduring *Pan-Afrikan* guru, speaks for itself. I appreciate the clarity and challenge provided on *Afrikan Identity*. *Pan-Afrikanist* cadres/scholars like **Prah** and robust critic and journalist **Bennie Bunsee** (*of the Diop/Du Bois Institute*) for me, serve as inspiration for aspiring scholars, interested in the in- depth study of *Afrika*. Along with other *Pan-Afrikan* scholars such as *Mphahlele*, may their overall dedication to the subject of *Afrika* get the attention, which it deserves. To such *Afrikan griots/ sages*, I say ***Merci beaucoup***.

Thanks to **Professor Harry Garuba** (*Afrikan Studies Centre-UCT*) and **Dr. Sam Raditlhalo** (*UCT Sociology lecturer*) for their respective insight(s) on *Mphahlele's* articles related to *Afrikan culture*. **Dr. John Akokpari's** (*UCT Political Science lecturer*) input in the planning stages of this study, pertaining to differentiating *Pan-Afrikanism* from *Afrikan Theories* has been equally appreciated. As the **Kenyan's** would say in ***Kimeru: ibwega mono***.

An enormous *shout out* to my fellow colleagues and friends with whom continuous engagement has been shared (at the time of writing) namely- *Christian Youla, Audun Solli, Andre Siebrits, Nicholas Dietrich* and *the rest of the 'unusual suspects'* my ***Just Talk Familia*** (*Lune Du Plessis, Zahra Gordon, Brooke Ferguson, Athi Jojis and Nicole Sermiento*), fellow college mates *Zamantsele Sbahle Mhlambi (Zama), Noma Bolani, Prudence Boiketlo Serame (The Pru), Nomfundo Mngoma, Mmabatho Mabika, Rashaad Amra, my Lobelia clan Amilcar Beukes, Xolisa Nginase, Sifiso Xulu, Chris Brown* alongside my fellow *politically minded* and *Socialist* driven *foot soldiers* *Lintle Masterpieces Moripe, Baxolile Mvunge, Tinyiko Khoza, Kenneth Kinyua, Martin Mbhah Njah, Hazel Beverly Makowa, Adrienne Leussa*, and finally to the entire

Riedak gang at 149 Banhoek Road (past housemates at *Matieland*, while at the height of writing this study), especially the engaging pair of *Lune Du Plessis* and *Chris Muller (rock on)*. I will always treasure the memory of the period, we shared while at *Matieland* (*bitter-sweet* as it was, it was nevertheless thoroughly engaging). To my **SHC clique** *Mthethelele Ngwenya* (MT), *Dong- Joon Moon* (DJ), *Tsakane Mofokeng* (Phoka), *Obi Chikane* et al- revel in this completed version.

Lastly to my **UZ-UNASA** family (especially controversial *Simphiwe Mkhwanazi*), *Ngimphiwe Shwala*, *Mbalenthle Khumalo* , *Londiwe*, *Lungile*, *Siyanda* and *Thokozani Mpanza*, *S.K. Xulu* and *Kwazi Buthelezi*- to all of you guys , (including *Nthabiseng Malatsi*), all your criticism and support, has made me grow, enormously. May the sun keep shining, on all your face(s), many hugs and kisses, *remain still, and be aware that none out there, has the right to dare, rob you of your destiny, because only you alone, know how much you desire, to achieve your dreams*. As promised, enjoy this final product. May the spirit of questioning and seeking clarity in all things *Afrikan* live on, in all of you. May this project, serve as testimony of your much needed support. ***Inkosi ibenani nonke.***

Many thanks for technical support to **Ronald Rethabile Malamule Mahomane**, **Nkululeko Silekwa**, **Thabo Mncedisi Sophazi** and **Sphamandla Ngema**. ***Nginithulela isigqoko*** for all the technical assistance within this study, you have indeed outdone yourselves. *Arhi kghupuleng bana hu ri putso ha yina phoso- hu kghula kewu tlhoka hutsiba. Ukubuza kwabaphambili noku dlulisela kwabalandelayo yikhona lokho ukuhlakanipha okuncomekayo ngempela. Idololami lighuqile kulokho bakhithi. Hiswona n'wana sesi. Kanniti nna Kelebogile. Enkosi, ndiyabulela. Ndaa Ndi a livhuwa. Ligole lilekane le tlou!* Nginifisela inhlanhla bafowethu, ingathi ningakhula nizenikhokhobe. Ngithi mina **'dolo qina'**. As said in **Nigeria**: (in the **Igbo** dialect) ***ndewo, imela***, (in the **Hausa** dialect) ***nagode*** and (in the **Yoruba** dialect) ***eshe***. As expressed in the *lingua franca* of our *small talk*- *I have got nothing but love for all of you out there, who were supportive of me, and to all those had my back throughout this pedagogical journey, good looking out. May God shower you with all the blessings, which may be due to you as well.*

Dedication

This study is dedicated to my parents

Dr. Nombuyiselo Hilda Mvulane and Mr. Mark Anthony Lepoma Moloji

To **Dr. Nombuyiselo Hilda Mvulane** (*my mother*). I remain humbled and grateful for your endless love, care and eternal support. I cannot ever proceed to take, any of my personal achievements, without always keeping in mind, that as a single parent, you have outstandingly played both roles of being a mother and a father to me. With that in mind all my so called overall achievements thus far, are equally ours. This thesis is as much of your creation, as it was mine. *Ihlile ke nako ya rona mme, habashwe! Malibongwe igama lamakhosikazi, maqhawekazi ethu.* I wish here to make mention that indeed, it is true that “*it takes a whole village to grow a child*”. As said in *Mazimbu, Tanzania* (the country where this iconic lady gave birth to me) in **Kiswahili: Asante Sana.**

To all my Mother’s family *shukran* (in Arabic as said by people of Libya) to the uncles and other family members that I am fond of: - **Velile James, Velaphi Joseph, Reginald, cousins Dr Nombuyiselo, Nozipho, Vuyo, Lungile, Sithembile, Mpumelelo, Mongezi, Ntombikayise, Auntie Thokozile Eva Morometsi, Dilorotsa-pelo”Daddy”, Keitumetsi, Kgosi-itsile, Ntokozo, Nomathamsanqa, malumekazi Mpuseg Rosemary, Malumekazi Makie Sarah, Thandiwe, Kwandiwe Pearl, Sifiso, Mzwakhe** and the entire **Mvulane clan** (the list is endless but you all know yourselves) may the sun shine upon you all, as you grow in your respective endeavours.

May you all find courage, strength and perseverance until you all achieve your dreams as well. You are all loved. Special mention of the following deceased family members are hereby acknowledged: my gogo *Nombangiso Evelyn Mvulane*, malume *Zoneleni Phillip Mvulane* “yubantu”, malume *Thamsanqa Claudius “Oupa” Mvulane*, gogo *Nomalima Ellen “MamThoko”, Khokho Nontsizi Sophie Mme* and *Tebogo Mosupye*. Your love and support will forever be cherished. We love and miss all of you dearly. May this achievement be a blessing to all the entire **Mvulane clan.**

Kuthi mandizibonge ndisho iziduko nemvelaphi yami ngoku : Mvulane, Msutu, Ngcilashe, Myundla, Bhayi-likha-khesha, Nkonjane-emnyama-ebhabha-emafini, Nyoka-emnyama-ecanda-iziziba..... Sineqhayisa ngani maMvulane. Yinyani ukuthi ndingu lomntu endinguye ngenhlso eniyinika uMama. Indlela ebheke empumelelweni sendiyayibona. Ndibulela ukundinyamezelela kwenu nonke maNgcilashe amahle. Ndinithanda nonke ekhaya.

Lastly acknowledgement of the *Moloi* clan, (which I could never deny, have always existed in me), may also not go without mention. Namely *Stephen Cybutan Foster Moloi* (a.k.a sepotane/Nti) grandpa-*Rest in Peace* (RIP), *Motlakadibe Leah* (*Setona*) grandma, *Mark-Antony Lepoma* (*Tony*) father, *Minerva Ingrid Tsoarelo* (*Nana*), *Montgomery Michael Lenepa* (*Moshanyana*) uncle, *Merle Chooky Palesa* (*aunt*), *Stephen Christopher Foran* (*junior, lefa, Maputswa-uncle*), *Paballo Jessica* (*Pabi*) younger cousin, *Kopano Lenepa* (younger brother) and *Khabane* (younger cousin). *Ihlile ke ya dumela ho re dithothokiso tsa makhokoe ka kakaretso* di bohlokwa ho nna: Mpheng sebaka ke kgobole ke bohle

*Ke Lekholokoe lekotswana, lehlaba khokho ka lemao, ka sebonong
Ke ise ho Morena kgorong kere bona Morena ke hlabile,
Ho dihloho tse thatha tse phomotseng
Hana ke ile ka re mang a sale a hora mmae sebono
Ke serwawa sa ho kgena se jang se rora
Se rorela mehlape ya batho,
Ka se sekoti se tshaba ho kgena
E kgapa e bitswa mookodi
Ke Lekholokoe mora Lepoma, Lepoma ya tswalwang ke Stefane Nti,
mora Samuel Kutere, senatla hara dinatla tsa maKholokoe,
Ke nna Tshepo ya tlisang Tshepo motseng wa Makhokoe,
Le sechabeng sa naha ka kakaretso,
Tsielala kgomo tseo lemanamane a tsona.*

In paying a special closing tribute to all fellow *Afrikans/Afrocentrists*, *Ma ke ngizithobe ngokuzibika emphakathini wabantu bakithi jikelele, ake ngidlulise ukubonga kubo bonke abasishiya kanye nabaphilayo. Kunina nonke izinsizwa nezintombi eziyibambile, nime njalo, ningalinge niyidedele. Sekuzochiteka amakati esakeni. Na-khensa. Giya Msuthu giya, ubhabhe phezulu impela. Nindize bantu bakithi nize nifce izinkanyezi. Kuthi ngini halalise nonke bakhithi. Ke re moluna kawufela ligole lilekane le tlou, tshukudu mo luna ibe mosemanyana.*

Rest in Peace (R.I.P.)

To the following *Afrocentrists* this study, seeks to join the existing other projects, that have also been authored, in their loving memory- in honour of their respective role(s), as prolific scholars and *Pan-African* activists. Through ongoing study projects, hopefully similar to the present study, the below mentioned *Afrocentric* pioneers, should rest assured, that their respective insightful contribution(s) *have not* and *will not* be forgotten.

Amilcar Lopes Cabral (1973) Assassinated Founder and Secretary-General of the *Partido Africano da Independencia da Guine e Cabo Verde (PAIGC)*. Led the people of Guinea- Bissau in the armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism. An activist who was also a revolutionary theorist. For all his effort, he never got to become president of the country, that he relentlessly fought for. It is his thoughts on *liberatory theory* however that make him a true martyr.

Steve Bantu Biko (1977) His political and intellectual activism as a student leader, followed very closely in the footsteps of *Sobukwe*. A founding president of the *South Afrikan Student Organisation (SASO)* and advocate of the *Black Consciousness Movement (BCM)*. Believed to have been on *a class of his own*, based on his lucid articulation, which reflected his thorough comprehension, of the oppression, as experienced by victims of *Apartheid*, in *South Afrika*.

Robert Sobukwe (1978) Avid *political activist* and *intellectual*. As a descendant of the *Afrikan National Congress (ANC)*, became a founding member of the *Pan-Afrikanist Congress (PAC)*. The consistency of his activism for his people (specifically *black Afrikans*) consolidated his status, as a true and legendary *son of the soil*, who never suffered the syndrome of being a *sell-out (impipi-spy, askari-blacks who worked with and for the Apartheid regime)* in *South Afrika*.

Professor Walter Rodney (1980) Guyanese scholar and activist, who was assassinated, by a bomb concealed in a parcel. Besides being a leader of the *Working People's Alliance*, he left behind a legacy, through his various books, on the subject of underdevelopment in *Afrika*. It is believed that his *Marxist analysis*, went far beyond the heretofore accepted approach, in the study of the *Third World's* underdevelopment.

Professor Cheikh Anta Diop (1986) Senegalese historian and anthropologist (Egyptologist), who studied the human race's origin and pre-colonial *Afrikan culture*. The *University of Senegal* was renamed in his honour. Those in the know, consider him as one of the greatest *Afrikan* historians, of the 20th century. A griot that should remain on compulsory reading lists.

Michael Montgomery Lenepa (1986) My uncle- who remains one of the many unsung/unknown and forgotten heroes, of the *Umkhonto We Sizwe* (military wing of the *Afrikan National Congress*). *Roballa kakgosto Lekholokoe*.

Bessie Head (1986) South *Afrikan* born author, who spent and produced most of her works in Botswana. Typical of *DRUM* writers, most of her works reflected events in her own life (since she was a product of an 'illicit' union, between a *black man* and a *white woman*). Much of her time in exile, drew her to producing highly autobiographical work e.g. *Maru (1971)*, *A Question of Power (1974)*, *The Collector of Treasures (1977)*, *Tales of Tenderness and Power* and *A Woman Alone*. The last two were published posthumously.

Professor Amadou Hampate Ba (1991) Ex-Minister of Culture in Mali, was an ethnologist, philosopher, historian, biographer, poet amongst other things. Having died in Ivory Coast, in 2009, a major road was re-named in his honour and Headquarters of the *Hampate Ba Foundation* was inaugurated, in Abidjan in the same year.

Professor Sam Nolutshungu (1997) Internationally acclaimed expert of South *Afrikan* politics, believed to be the pioneering *black* scholar, in this discipline (from the turbulent sixties until his unfortunate death) and was robbed of a tenure, as what could have become, the initial *black* South *Afrikan* Rector at Witwatersrand University, due to an abrupt illness, which consequently, led to his untimely death.

Stephen Cybutan Foster Moloji (a.k.a sepotane/Nti) (2000)- My grandpa, as a member of the *uncertificated class*, for me he represented, the inherent, wisdom of the elders or sages spread out all over the *Diaspora*. I also share the sentiments of *Langa Nzuza (2012)* when he expressed the following words, when discussing about the *indigenous knowledge (IK)* that is possessed, by our

elders-in reference to his *mkhulu* he had the following to say “was an organic intellectual...epitome of an uncertified professor...expressed his knowledge from his world of conscious living and nobility of appreciation of indigenous knowledge”. *Roballa kagosto Lekholokoe*.

Professor C.R.M Dlamini (2005) – past Rector of *UZ* and proud recipient, of five Doctoral degrees in law. An undermined authority, in the field of *Indigenous law*.

Professor P.T Sabela (2005) – Distinguished Political Scientist and Dean of Faculty of Commerce, Administration and Law at Zululand University.

Professor Joseph Ki-Zerbo (2006) - prominent historian from Burkina Faso, on the theme of *Afrika*.

Dr. Siphon Maseko (2006) - One of the many outstanding *Sir Abe Bailey fellows* and at the time of his death, as Head of Department, was regarded, as one of the up and coming (ever-rising) South *Afrikan* Political Scientists, honoured by the South *Afrikan* Political Science Association (SAPSA), at its annual conference, hosted at University of Western Cape (UWC) in 2006, for his ongoing work on South *Afrikan* politics.

Professor Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze (2007) - *Afrikan* philosopher, with an interest in the themes of *Social Philosophy* and *Postcolonialism*. A griot gone too soon.

Professor Archie Mafeje (2007) Educated at University of Cape Town (UCT) and Cambridge Universities respectively, *Mafeje* was an outstanding International Social Scientist (sadly less known and acknowledged, in his home country, South *Afrika*, yet well known abroad and the rest of *Afrika*). The above point is observed from the tributes recorded in *CODESRIA-Archie Mafeje: A Tribute in July 2007* (the year of his passing on). Amongst other regrets, *apartheid* also robbed him of a lecturing stint, at his *alma mater*, University of Cape Town. **Mafeje** remains another sage, who has escaped the mind, of many an *Afrikan* child. What a pity.

Sipho Sepamla (2007) - prominent South *Afrikan* activist, teacher and poet.

Professor Es'kia Mphahlele (2008) – prolific author and intellectual on *Afrikan Humanism*, another *son of the soil*, who has been acknowledged more abroad, than in his home country of South *Afrika*.

Professor Ivan Gladstone Van Sertima (2009) – another prolific Guyanese scholar, on the various themes related to *Afrika*, one of the best *Afrocentrists* from the Diaspora.

Lewis Nkosi (2010) –Another one of those *Drum writers* and author of *The Mating Birds*. Although he became a prolific South *Afrikan* author, sadly (like many brilliant other black activists and scholars) he did not receive the recognition that was due to him.

Ernest Levi Tsoloane Kole (popularly known as **Ernest Cole -2010**)- South African Photographer and author of *House of Bondage*, believed to be one of the last, of the surreal *DRUM Magazine* journalists– (also see **Dambudzo Marechera's** book of almost the same title *The House of Hunger* (1978).

Dr. Philemon Buti Skosana (KwaMhlanga in Mpumalanga- **2010**) Believed to have been the 1st IsiNdebele lecturer in SA. With the challenge faced, within our local languages, a loss indeed.

Wangari Maathai (2011)-First *Afrikan* female *Nobel Peace Prize laureate* (awarded to her in 2004), for her work in promoting the environment and democracy in Kenya. She is a founding member of the *Nobel Women's Initiative*, an organisation created by six women, who are all past recipients of the prestigious *Nobel Peace Prize*, in order to support women's rights around the World.

Professor Neville Alexander (2012) – Political and Academic activist and Sociologist. When he met his death, he was one of South *Afrika's* leading experts on the theme of language (especially as a *medium of instruction* in the local South *Afrikan* syllabus).

Professor Phillip Tobias (2012) – South *Afrikan* academic, who became a world leading paleoanthropologist, after his Sterkfontein fossil finds, while based at *Witwatersrand University* (WITS). The ongoing discoveries made by such scholars, built on the earlier pioneering work(s) of *Professor Cheikh Anta Diop*. With every discovery made, of early human skulls, by scholars such as Tobias, *Diop's* claim(s), which were based on findings recorded in his doctoral thesis, that ‘origins of mankind emanated from *Afrika*, and specifically *black people*’ was consolidated.

Lastly **Professor Hugh Paul Ndlelane Africa (2012)** Admired raconteur and prolific academic. Past Chairperson of *Higher Education South Afrika* (HESA). He served as an academic consultant to *UNESCO*, which focused on challenges of education in *Afrika*. He was also a former rector of University of Zululand (UZ/Ongoye).

For the author of this study, all the above sample of *Afrocentrists* represent human testimonies, of existing wealth of knowledge, which at best (if studied closer), may serve as concrete contribution, indirectly and directly, as response to questions posed in this study. The above individuals, truly lived upto the *Pan-Afrikanist* ethos of *serve, suffer and sacrifice*, for the sake of the present and next generation, of all races (with a special interest however emphasized on the overall family of the oppressed, throughout the *Afrikan Diaspora*). For them living upto an *Afrocentric* ideal, was more than just a matter of upholding *a mere motto* or a *romanticized mantra*. With the successful completion of this study, the author salutes them all (including the many others affiliated to the *Pan-Afrikan* family), as having been, an enormous part of his inspiration. Their enduring commitment, as pioneers and pathfinders, towards scholarship related to *Afrika*, from a *Pan-Afrikanist or Afrocentrist premise*, via their momentous efforts, as those recorded, in this study, should serve as testimony, that their respective contribution(s) have indeed not gone unnoticed. If anything, in the spirit of seeking for *Afrocentric* solutions, for the contemporary challenges in the realm of the global village, their findings and views (as continuously done by their *Eurocentric* counterparts, as argued and illustrated, at length in this study), should be contextualized and problemmatized further. *Harambeeeeeeeee!*

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Chapter 1: Orientation of the Study

1. Background, Rationale and Motivation of the study

In the view of the author of this study, *Afrika* (¹), *Pan-Afrikan* ² or *Afrocentric* ³ (it should be noted right from the onset, that such concepts, will be used interchangeably throughout this dissertation, however the author of this study, holds the view, that contrary to popular belief, which may arguably suggest that wherein these concepts are concerned, only at their simplified /unproblemmatised level, may they presumably be referring, to a specific group of people, whom may subscribe, to the same identity or ideology). It may however justifiably remain as a question amongst concerned scholars, whether or not fitting response (s) may exist, in reference to the abovementioned concepts. It is hoped that within the context of this study, any assumption(s) and ambiguity will hopefully, be allocated appropriate attention.

Contribution to *International Relations (IR)*⁴ theory, has been marginalized or at best treated, as an appendage, categorized in some of the *Mainstream* ⁵ *Eurocentric*⁶ theories. The author of this study holds the abovementioned view, predominantly on the basis that existence, of such *Afrocentric* contribution to *IR*, as opposed to the standard *Eurocentric* inspired *IR* (theory), remains unknown, to date. In order to ascertain the presence or absence of the above claim, beginning by studying findings of past *IR* scholars ⁷, is recommended.

In pursuit of securing suitable response(s), to the following main question, related to this study: *Has there been any Afrikan contribution to IR (theory)?* it may very well be worthwhile, to consider the suggestion, as proposed in the final sentence of the previous stanza. This is, so as to ascertain and perhaps even contextualize, wherein dispute, concerning the *inclusion* or *exclusion* of *Afrocentric contribution to IR (theory)*, in the case that it exists at all, may possibly be located.

For the author of this study, beginning with such consideration, before progressing, onto whatever may be presented and read, by fellow scholars, as more *exploratory* approaches, would be in line, with achieving the aim(s) of this study. With the above in mind, relevant comments such as those articulated by *Afrocentrists* such as *Mphahlele*⁸ may be worthy of much consideration.

Mphahlele after having been recognized, as one of the last major figures of the *New Afrikan Movement*⁹, in his essay titled *The Afrikan Critic* argues that “It is no use talking in the abstract about an *Afrocentric Worldview* based on traditional values, if at the same time we are content to live in a physical and human landscape created or determined by a *European Worldview?* (1975:380¹⁰)” In the light of the abovementioned statement, it is the view of the author of this study, that *IR* Scholars, who have taken similar interest, on such issues related to *Afrika*, perhaps should have paid more attention, to the in-depth study of *Afrocentricity*- as defined below, by selected *Afrocentrists/Pan-Afrikan* scholars.

The above suggestion is applicable to especially those *IR* scholars, who might have not been aware of what has eventually, come to be recognized, as the scholarly body of *Afrocentric literature*¹¹, this is applicable to even those from the *Diaspora*¹². It is the view of the author of this study, that once an increasing cohort of *IR* scholars grow more familiar, with the possible existence of *Afrocentric* contribution (s), to the overall body of pedagogy¹³, the *spill over effect* or repercussions of such exposure, to the overly promoted *Eurocentric* school of thought, would become accepted and endorsed as the current content as found, in what may be classified, as the scholarly body of *IR*.

The proposed move above, should seemingly enable them, for instance, to refuse to entertain unproblematised suggestions, which may allude to responses, ambitiously confirming, any remarks which may arguably be *stepping out of line*, such as the above mentioned, by *ntate Mphahlele* and further supported by fellow *Afrocentrists* below such as *Mafeje*¹⁴. If the rationale

as mentioned above, for the existence of *Pan-Afrikan* structures, is credited as having been meritorious (as is believed by the author of this study), then fellow *Afrocentric* scholars, without any shadow of doubt, unsurprisingly, may share the above view, as expressed by *Mphahlele*.

This study will hopefully acknowledge attempts, by past scholars¹⁵, who (in their respective ways) may have also attempted, to provide helpful insight, in as far as investigations, related to such a study, are concerned. This particular study however may simultaneously, also possibly differ, from most past projects, on the basis of its selected emphasis, towards an *Afrocentric* approach.

Afrocentrism is nothing more than a legitimate demand, that *Afrikan* scholars, study their society from inside and cease to be purveyors of an alienated intellectual discourse... When *Afrikans* speak for themselves and about themselves, the world will hear the authentic voice, and will be forced to come to terms, with it in the long-run... If we are adequately *Afrocentric* the international implications, will not be lost on the others (Mafeje, 2000:66-67).

Informed by their frustration, regarding the amount of distorted data, to do with *Afrika*, having been reduced, as some form of dark and mystical subject¹⁶ more agreement to the above articulation by *Mafeje*, is captured from another fellow leading *Afrocentric* scholar *Asante*¹⁷. *Asante* defines *Afrocentricity* as the following:

Afrocentricity is a mode of thought and action in which the centrality of *Afrikan* interests, values and perspectives predominate. In regards to theory, it is the placing of *Afrikan* people in the centre of any analysis of *Afrikan* phenomena. Thus, it is possible for anyone to master the discipline of seeking the location of *Afrikans*, in a given phenomenon. In terms of action and behaviour, it is a devotion to the idea that what is in the best interest of *Afrikan* consciousness, is at the heart of ethical behaviour. Finally, *Afrocentricity* seeks to enshrine, the idea that *blackness* itself is a trope of ethics. Thus, to be black is to be against all forms of oppression, racism, classism, homophobia, child abuse, pedophilia and white racial domination (Asante, 2003:2).

In using the above statements, as a guide, it would seemingly make sense, to invest more focus on insight, as articulated by a select few *Afrocentric* scholars. Such a colonialist mindset

seemingly, has harshly been imposed upon the *sons of the soil*¹⁸ (-individuals of all genders, who consider themselves as *Afrikans*, inclusive of all complexity, associated with this concept, whether denotatively or connotatively).

The demeaning attitude referred to above, was done in the name, of a limited and biased agenda (thanks to efforts of maintaining the *status-quo* specifically, in reference to pedagogy by *Eurocentric* scholars worldwide). To a certain degree, those in the ilk of individuals (as illustrated in *Picture 1.5*) sought to address such concern(s). All forms of data, regardless of the topic under investigation, should continuously be reviewed, questioned and if need be challenged, of their biased views, which seemingly (have been and continue to be) read as authentic, by fellow unsuspecting scholars of *IR*.

Historically such distorting agenda, has always involved *Eurocentric* rooted pedagogy, implemented via *Eurocentric* driven scholars, who have unapologetically wielded the imperialist and conqueror's axe, which dutifully ensured that against all odds, their *dogmatic* assertions were recorded and securely afforded, as much exposure as possible. The repercussions of such pro-*Eurocentric* insight, may easily be observed, in as far as the various articulations, already expressed, implying amongst others, an undermining of any existence, of *Afrocentric* contribution, to the knowledge/scholarship body, at large. Against this backdrop, it should not be surprising, when *epistemological*¹⁹ questions are to be posed in this study.

In the view of the author of this study, the field of *Philosophy*²⁰ which “in the Greek sense of its genesis and in the very exact meaning of its tradition, as well as in its contemporary practices, defines itself, as knowledge and discipline, exactly as we understand history, economics, astronomy, or botany as knowledges? Yet it is also, much more than that designated, specific type of knowledge” (Mudimbe, 1994:202-2²¹) is implicated, as the source of academic disciplines such as in *Political Science*²² (namely in the *Social Sciences*²³).

Political Science is mentioned at this point because *IR*, is regarded, as one of its branches (refer to *Figure 1.1 in chapter two*). To this present day however, *Philosophy* remains, just as it has been, since its inception, when it was first introduced in “the seaport town of *Miletus*, located across the *Aegean Sea* from Athens, on the western shores of *Ionia* in *Asia Minor*” (Stumpf, 1971:3).

The above remark is made, based on the strength of observed literature, from the thought(s) of the *Milesians* or *Ionian* philosophers, leading upto the period/era of *Socrates*²⁴ and beyond²⁵. Since *Philosophy* notwithstanding *Mudimbe’s (1994)* somewhat sparse definition above, is primarily a study of thought, may the decision of paying more attention, towards *Philosophy*, be of much assistance in linking *Political Science* and *IR*? Hopefully, attempts of seeking, to secure an appropriate response, to such a question, should possibly, also explain the reason, why so much *Eurocentricism* is alive, within the overall literature of *IR*, to date.

In turning our focus to the academic study of *Philosophy*, this discipline’s pioneering scholars, mostly those commonly referred to as their protégés²⁶ (presumably such elementary claims, are based on the innovative contributions, made towards groundbreaking or enlightening thought, on various themes, related to human activity, by such pioneering scholars in question). As classified in three parts by *Nelson (1996: vii-x)*, reference made to the “*Classical and Medieval Political Theory*” (for example *Socrates*, *Plato*²⁷, *Aristotle*²⁸ and *Cicero*²⁹). *Thucydides*³⁰ may also be added, in this early category as well.

Under the next “*Modern Political Theory*” (e.g. *Descartes*³¹, *Machiavelli*³², *Hobbes*³³, *Locke*³⁴ and *Rousseau*³⁵) and lastly ‘*Contemporary Political Theory*’(e.g. *Conservatism*- as addressed by *Burke*³⁶, *Classical Liberalism*³⁷ as addressed by *Hume*³⁸, *Bentham*³⁹ and *Adam Smith*⁴⁰ etc), *Modern Liberalism* (includes works of *John Stuart Mill*⁴¹ and *T.H Green*⁴²) and *Marxism* (works of *Karl Marx*⁴³), a debate with *Hegel*⁴⁴ etc) and lastly ‘*The Age of Ideology*’ (addresses critique of ideologies, unity of ethics and politics and contribution of *Mazzini*⁴⁵ etc). For the

author of this study, two notable absentees from the above text include the following scholars *St. Thomas Aquinas*⁴⁶ and *Immanuel Kant*⁴⁷.

As a consequence of the abovementioned *Eurocentric* philosophers, the contemporary introduction of *Afrikan Philosophy*⁴⁸, has been to date, received with much enquiry. In as far as observations made (from the bulk of the pioneering philosophical scholars), upon *Mainstream pedagogy* (notably read as being prevalent, within the scholarly body of *Philosophy*, especially wherein the majority -if not the entire range of disciplines, categorized under the *Social Sciences*) indeed does place, an enormous question mark, on the existence and authenticity of an *Afrikan philosophy*. As was earlier suspected above, such scepticism does indeed, raise *epistemological* and *ontological*⁴⁹ question(s).

In defence of the biased *status-quo*, prevalent within *IR* literature, *William Brown*⁵⁰ (2006) agrees however *albeit* with caution, that by “arguing that some clarification and rethinking is necessary, for us to get a proper perspective, on the potentialities of *IR*, in studies of *Afrika* is necessary (Brown 2006:119).” It remains to be seen whether such an engagement, may really have the potential of bearing, the highly sought tasty fruit, which may be helpful, in leading scholars, towards the sought *Afrocentric* contribution to *IR*.

At this point, given the existing *fragmentary* and *eclectic* nature, of the yet to be deeply explored, literary body of *IR* material (as mostly would be articulated in the second chapter), the author of this study thus, at this stage agrees with *Brown's* (2006) point above. Progressing from the known expressions, articulated about *Afrikan contribution to IR*, in order to address, what may justifiably be referred to, as the *yet- to- be-known, Afrocentric contribution to IR* should be recommended. At this stage of the study, with the backdrop of pessimistic undertones, as noted from sceptics such as *Brown et al*, indeed appears to be a highly doubtful quest, as the core concern of this study.

As noble as the above enquiry, conducted by *Brown* (2006) may sound, the defence of the current dominance, of a *Eurocentric* premise in *IR*, seemingly still fails to escape the contentious

theme, to do with any approach or methodology of choice, for such a study. The author of this study, is of the view that embarking, on such a proposal, indeed may be fruitful. In short, any of the suggested forms of *rethinking potentialities in IR theory*, in as far as *Afrika* is concerned, as proposed by *Brown (2006)*, should at least, reflect upon some of the selected methodology, towards *Afrocentric* approach (es). Hopefully opting for such a route, may be consistent with the proposed *Afrocentric* method (as desired to be explored and consequently employed, within this study).

As suggested by the author of this study- an *Afrocentric* approach, may arguably serve as a typical example, of some form of a non-*Eurocentric* approach. In forming part of the *IR* literature, considered as relevant for this study. It is in this vein, that the author of this study, is of the view that *Brown's(2006)* opinions, (as expressed in his article, mentioned above), indicates the growing need, of having to continuously address holders, of similar and overly protective *Eurocentric* views, in as far as the discourse on *IR*, is concerned. As explained below by *Branwynn Gruffyd Jones*⁵¹

The idea of a discipline called 'International Relations' conveys a notion of a field of knowledge whose scope and constituency is international- about and constructed by peoples, all over the world. To date, however, the majority of literature in the discipline of *IR*, is written by and about only some of the peoples of the world- predominately Americans and Europeans (Jones, 2005:1).

The above remark illustrates that such a pro- *Westerncentric* existing *status quo*, for the purposes of this study especially as observed within the discourse on *IR*, which is ambiguously defended by *Brown (2006)* above, should be read, for precisely what it represents. For the author of this study, the remark by Brown represents an expression, which attempts to disguise, the justification of the overwhelming, *Eurocentric* ideological voice(s), which heretofore already preoccupies, much of the *IR* scholarly space. Emphasising the need, to also afford, some much needed *space* wherein *Afrocentric* contribution to *IR*, may also be featured. It is the argument of the author of this study, that this last view expressed, can only be continuously stressed.

Emphasizing the significance of the *Afrocentrist* approach, by paying more focus on the historical approach (as hopefully would be applied within this study) is necessary. In support of

such a view *Joseph Ki-Zerbo*⁵² remarks that “*Afrikan* history, should at last be seen from *within* , instead of being interpreted through references, to other societies, ready-made ideas and prejudices...It is time for us to take an inside look at our identity and our growing awareness” (Ki-Zerbo, 2003:8). It should not be surprising then, when concern as expressed by *Mphahlele*, is found in the bulk of papers⁵³ read out at respective, annual national and international colloquia⁵⁴.

The books, interviews and surveys, as presented by *IR* scholars, who have conducted research, either on the same/related theme, associated with this study, have been found to further support the above view. This is especially within the broader *Social Sciences* realm. Others such as *Cultural* and *Identity Studies* (being subfields, also housed within the Humanities faculty), will hopefully be utilized, in this study as well. As suggested by *Karen Smith*⁵⁵ (2006), this may enable the possibility of *bridge-building*, predominantly as derived from *Third World*⁵⁶ insights.

In noting the arguments of *IR* scholars, such as *Clapham* (1996), *Croft* (1997), *Gruffyd Jones* (2005), *Kevin Dunn and Timothy Shaw* (2001), amongst others, their unsatisfactory responses, as noted in their comments, regarding sparse scholarship, which is focused on *IR* and *Afrika*, for the purpose of this study, deserve some much needed attention. The overwhelming echo of concern, should indeed be noted. It however remains this researcher’s contention, that a prolonged focus, which does not go beyond the perimeter, of the standard *Western-centric IR* literature, seemingly continues to limit interested *Afrocentric* scholars, to investigations of this nature.

The above limitation pointed out in the paragraph above, would even include, those who might have also sought to contribute, to addressing the headache, of an alleged absentia, of *Afrocentric* contribution towards *IR*, to nothing else, but dead-ends. So whichever selected *approach* or *methodology* sought to be utilized, in such a study, it would appear to be hindered, by some form of *Westphalian* induced, *Eurocentric blinding speck* (as hopefully would be discussed, in *chapter*

two), in most of the eyes of *IR* scholars. Researcher thinking is of the view, that this may be the case, especially to those, who may seek to contribute, to the growth of the topic, under discussion.

In the view of the researcher, observation of growing inquests, related to this debacle, has frustrated, almost the majority (if not all) *IR* scholars, who have concerned themselves with similar attempts, of securing, concrete responses, to the abovementioned task. Based on the above observation, the contention which should be noted within this study, is that of which the effort, of embarking upon the project of securing, whatever may be presented as *Afrocentric* contribution to *IR*, may be. The author of this study, is of the view that the sought responses, may ideally be derived, from the broader content, which in turn may also be derived, from whatever may be consistent, with *Afrocentric contribution to global knowledge*. In short, clarity of what may constitute *Afrocentric knowledge*⁵⁷ is crucial, in achieving the desired response(s), to this study.

Given all the above concerns, fellow sceptics, may also agree that *Afrocentricity* (assuming it was never considered, by *IR* scholars in the manner proposed in this study, as is suspected by the author of this study), may somehow, have been out-rightly overlooked or simply treated, as an afterthought, in past efforts of scholars, seeking to respond to assignments linked to *Afrika's* contribution to *IR*. Notably the *exploratory* nature of research projects, similar to this study, have an overwhelming potential of introducing more hurdles, much to the already existent challenges inherent, in such a study. Well, this should be taken, as just one of the numerous hurdles, that would need to be appropriately considered and where relevant, appropriately addressed. The author of this study, suspects that, as a result, of the narrow definitions attached to *IR*, certain limits as earlier suspected, indeed seemingly appear to have already been drawn.

In considering how much data, is available on the subject of *Afrocentricity*, it is astonishing, to notice that the bulk of such data, as authored by a wide range of *Afrocentric* scholars (both prominent and less acclaimed) concerning the theme of *Afrocentricity*, exists, yet somehow

remains ambiguous. Being unappreciated, it may be fittingly read, as highly contentious or merely unacknowledged. This is right across, most of the presently existent, academic disciplines. Based on differing opinions, this has led to an overwhelming degree, of skeptical opinion.

This may be opinion seemingly appearing to endorse and emphasize the notion, that, against the backdrop of non recognition of any material, which may be presented as *Afrikan* contribution to *IR*. Based on such opinion, it may thus be concluded that *Afrika (ns)* have not yet contributed to *IR*. This may thus imply that *Afrika* is yet to contribute, to research endeavours such as in the area of *IR* (theory). Validity of such a view, as strengthened by other *Afropessimistic* claims, is precisely what the author of this study, seeks to clarify and where possible, place on mute, arguments, based on unfounded stereotypes. In such an attempt, hopefully with the assistance of relevant insight, as provided by *Pan-Afrikanists*, alternatives, which may be read as possible *Afrocentric* contribution to *IR*, may thus possibly be provided.

Having noted the above limits (whether imposed deliberately or not), it appears that boundaries wherein investigation, of contribution to *IR*, seem to have been placed, starkly remain erect. With such a narrow scope, expecting to secure *Afrocentric* contribution to *IR*, inevitably at this point, appears to remain as a pipedream, and a farfetched concept, to be claimed from amongst other groups, either from the *Neo-liberalists*⁵⁸ or *Constructivists*⁵⁹. Stemming from *Eurocentric* premises, these two examples above, as stipulated here thus continuously, spell out further signposts, leading to no other direction, accept to *Eurocentric* paradigms. It should go without say, that such direction could amongst other possible results, ardently continue, to lead to disastrous outcomes (as demonstrated by literature authored by most *Africanists*⁶⁰). Such assertions seemingly add to the chorus, of those scholars, that may hold the view that -there has been no *Afrikan contribution to IR*.

Given the somewhat sparse participation, to direct activities linked to such a study in question, especially by the majority of *Afrikans*, both those within the *Afrikan* continent and those based,

in the broader *Afrikan Diaspora*, this should be read as justifiably worrisome. Based on the researcher of this study's concern, that on the grounds that *Afrikans* are the core subjects in question, as sought in this study, instead of being central in such investigations, *Afrikans* themselves ironically seem to be followers (oppressed sheep led by colonially drunk shepherds) or mere secondary subscribers, in issues of such nature.

In the worst case scenario, they are non-affiliated members of interest groups, which may somehow be linked and argued as relevant, to such a study. Overtime this has become a pitiful reality, in as far as scholarship on the *Afrikan* theme, is concerned. Instead of just a *coterie* of *Pan-Afrikan* scholars taking the lead, in such an *identity* driven franchise, as the *objects/subjects* of such study, *Afrikans* themselves in their numbers, need to take stock and furthermore continuously forward their respective insight, in most of such initiatives. This indeed should be read, as an appalling *status-quo* for *IR*. It is from such observation, wherein the desired role of *Afrocentricity* becomes profound.

In as far as any validity, that may confirm the above sentiments, it does indeed appear, that not much confidence of securing an *Afrocentric* contribution to *IR*, is positively born. Unsurprisingly the most affected victims (with particular interest to this study) of such an *anomaly*, predominantly remain *Afrikans* themselves. To a certain extent, even those involved, as simply, scholars of the broader *Social Sciences*, are not exempted from the same edifice of the challenge, in question. This should be particularly worrying, given the atrocious repercussions of proceeding further, *not to know more* about thy *Afrikan/Afrocentric self*.

A multitude of reasons, may be provided here, to support the closing remark, articulated in the preceding paragraph above. For the purposes of this study however, the author of this study's rationale for singling out, such an observation upfront, has been based amongst other reasons, on the realization of the *sparse* list of *IR* scholars, which seemingly appear, to have taken minimal interest, on the subject matter of *Afrika's* insights. The particular features of interest within this

study, should be focused towards *reading* and *noting through* the *Eurocentric* driven and presented phenomenon's as observed, within the literature of *IR* and *Afrika*.

Alongside *Mphahlele*, a few other relevant scholars (besides *Mafeje*, *Asante*, *Ki-Zerbo* and *Nabudere*- as already been mentioned earlier) of interest to the author of this study, may also include insights, from sages such as *Cheikh Anta Diop*⁶¹, *Sam Nolutshungu*⁶² and *Ibekwe Chinweizu*⁶³ amongst others, from the *Afrocentric* family. It is the view of the author of this study, that paying more attention to such scholars, should be an attempt at considering the *transdisciplinary*, *interdisciplinary* or *multidisciplinary approaches*, hopefully for the sake of this study, as emphasized by the school of *Afrocentricity*.

The opportunity of contributing to the ongoing effort, of addressing the abovementioned concern, is really what sparked the researcher's interest, of undertaking such a study. Inspired by scholars who seek to adhere, to the *Afrocentric* claim, researcher thinking has thus been of the view that, by accepting challenges, posed by such investigative projects, this may be worthwhile for the present and future generations, of *IR* scholars. The benefits of findings, to be presented within this study, may hopefully also extend to scholars, beyond the *IR* community.

The above observation is believed to be, of critical importance, in as far as the growth of scholarship on *IR*, is concerned. Hurdles found along the pathway of this proposed *Afrocentric* investigation, hopefully will be treated as *a small price to be paid* on behalf, of so many victimized *Afrikans*, who have lacked the enlightening knowledge, as a result, of not having placed much focus (ranging from minimal to none), on *Afrocentricity*. Adopting such an attitude, should after all, be read as being in line, with what the *Pan-Afrikan/ Afrocentric* agenda entailed from the onset.

1.2 Problem Statement

Growing voices from past and present scholars of *IR*, seem to suggest that perhaps a major flaw of searching, for *Afrocentric* contribution to *IR* to date, has been the selected approach (es), to the investigation of such studies. Current approaches, usually involve orthodox *IR* methodologies, as opposed to *other non-Eurocentric* approaches, namely those, that may be informed, by the sought *Afrocentric* approach, in this study. Such an approach, would have hopefully, considered elements, centered on amongst other aspects, a *sankofa*⁶⁴ premise.

Another name, which the author of the study finds synonymous, with the *sankofa* premise, is what has been suggested by *Munyaradzi Felix Murove*⁶⁵, who makes mention of an *anamnesis* approach. Scholars are informed that *anamnesis*, is defined as “remembering one’s past within the community of fellowship with others” (Murove, 2010:3⁶⁶). The monotonous emphasis here, consolidates the hegemony, of the suspected *Eurocentric* norm, found in *IR* scholarship, to date.

The observed flaws, consequently force *IR* scholars, to research for the *less known or unfamiliar Afrocentric* alternative(s), which may be argued as possible contribution(s) to *IR*. Worryingly however this has consistently been attempted by sticking, to the same structured formula, of standard *Western* methodological analysis. Such approach (es) have become commonly associated, with the less contested *Eurocentric* presentation, as transmitted from the proponents of *IR*, right down to contemporary *IR* scholars. This should not be surprising, as observed by the author of this study, the mostly available literary material on *IR*, is arguably without contest, wholly derived from *Western* discourse. The imperialist legacy as predicted by most of the already mentioned *Afrocentric* scholars, continues to haunt studies, concerned with *Afrika*. One may only wonder, for how much longer, such distorted historical legacies, may still linger on?

Based on views expressed by the majority of selected scholars, who have attempted to address the issue of *Afrocentric contribution to IR*, attempts at finding any fruitful insights on this subject, seemingly, appear to have continuously failed. Such perpetual failure to secure contribution, which may justifiably be labeled, as *Afrocentric*, towards any subject matter, indeed will require scholars to open themselves some more, in order to explore other avenues. Such dismal failure, to explore beyond the *Eurocentric* ambit, by past researchers, interested in *IR*, may arguably be attributed, to their preferred traditionally informed *Eurocentric* approach (es). By so doing, their action *ipso facto* consolidated the position, of *IR's Mainstream* theories.

It is the view of the author, that as important as *Mainstream IR* scholars have become, within the context, of the academic discipline in question, limiting one's research, to remain within their confined articulations, is not advisable. In as much as projects authored for example by established *IR* theorists, such as *Hedley Bull*⁶⁷, *Kenneth Waltz*⁶⁸, *Hans Morgenthau*⁶⁹ and *Robert Keohane*⁷⁰ respectfully enjoy high regard, failing to read beyond articulations of such overly *Eurocentric IR* scholars, would indeed, be a self-defeating exercise. This is particularly, in as far as the *Afrocentric* based aims of this study, are concerned.

The above made remark, should not be misinterpreted as meaning that, the work of the abovementioned *Mainstream IR* scholars, does not hold any value to *IR* discourse- far from it. Expressions made in this study, should be contextualized, in line with the aim of this study- which is to secure an adequate response, which may at the least allude to whether or not, any scholar of *IR* (or any other, who may be emanating from any other academic discipline) may hold the view that *Afrocentric contribution to IR*, exists or not. In the spirit of exploratory research, all views brought afore, should receive equal attention, for the sake of the broader *IR* audience. Furthermore none should be dismissed (abruptly or otherwise), in order for renewed dialogue, to lead to the arguably, much needed growth, of *IR* to take place progressively.

Researcher thinking is of the view that past investigative approaches, to such study, may perhaps indicate precisely, where the core of the problem, of securing the desired results, to the main posed question(s) of this study, may possibly be found. In other words, in depth focus on literature, presented by established *IR* scholars (as mentioned above) or further focus, on non-*IR* yet arguably related and modern scholars, as found in other disciplines, within the *Social Sciences*. This indicates the hegemony of *Western* perspectives, in discussions of *Worldview(s)*. Fields such as *Philosophy*, *Anthropology* and *Political Science*, (which may arguably be regarded as qualifying, disciplines, worth being included in this study- given their relation with *IR*, all possess *Eurocentric* roots, which in turn informs the *bracketed category*, wherein *Mainstream IR*, may have, undeniably derived its roots).

In as much, as there may be merit, in perusing the above discipline's further, the author of this study somehow suspects that, it is such reluctance of refusing or fearing, not to look elsewhere (in this context beyond *Mainstream IR* literature or even beyond the literature of *Political Science*), which may indicate, where the crux of the challenge may possibly be found. This may somehow seemingly, be the key reason that may have informed previous scholars of *IR*, to have fallen short, in their findings, in past projects of this nature. Exploring, beyond the data presented, by past *IR* scholars, in these contemporary *Eurocentric* times (based on observation of the *IR* literature in question), which for the author of this study, echoes similar reflections of the past *IR* scholars, whom consistently stuck their focus, mainly on the findings of the already *established Eurocentric IR* scholars, is crucial. Embracing the envisaged challenge (s), of the proposed *outside the box approach*, should be part of the deal.

The above specifically refers to *IR* scholars, who prior to them, were also engaged in various yet similar debates⁷¹. Not only has this practice been monotonous, but it also appears, to not have been of much help, in so far as to grow, the *IR* discipline, in question. In relevance to this study, searching beyond the pioneering scholars of *IR* and also seeking to test new approaches (found to be relevant for this particular study), should not just be read as *simply daring* or testing the

reflexiveness of *IR*. The placing of such effort, should be read as leading to the possible growth of *IR*.

On the contrary, more than anything else, the available train of thought at this stage, should manifest an exploratory attitude, which should hopefully, be encouraged further. It is the view of the author of this study, that it is predominantly such (whether labeled as forming part of the *New Voices*, specifically within the *Post-positivist*⁷² paradigm of *IR* or not) research engagement, which is necessary, in order for the discipline of *IR* to grow. This may thus assist in legitimately, enabling claims of being relevant, within the greater pedagogy, of the *Social Sciences*.

Such approach (es) as noted above, may surely manifest, the in-depth challenge involved. One-sided/biased viewpoints favouring *Eurocentricity*, are equally of not much help, in such studies, as observed so far, by the author of this study. The perseverance requested, in order to secure and further present, whatever may be passed as *Afrocentric* contribution, should duly be noted. In addition, it is the author of this study's suspicion, that the vague definitions, that should have been able to assist, yet poignantly fell short, of having the required ability, to clarify, what is meant by *Afrikan* or even perhaps an *Afrocentric* identity, have also played their part, in contributing to the demanding complexity, of this on-going investigation, within such a study.

In the light of the above, the researcher has observed with concern, that most proposed definitions related to *Afrika*, which may perhaps in their own right, presumably be helpful in this study, by informing us, who may qualify as an *Afrikan IR* scholar seem to be amiss. For this study's purposes, this should specifically be noted, in so far, as a concerned *Afrocentrist* may be. Alternatively as realised by *Dietrich*⁷³ (2008) in his study, the *third* of a *Third World Academic* in *IR*, is immediately thrown, into highly contested and debatable waves, much against the looming tide, as found in the *Mainstream IR* ocean. In the quest to discover, what may serve as *Afrocentric* contribution to *IR*'s theoretical framework, an understanding of *what exactly is Afrika?* and *who may qualify to be classified as an Afrikan or Afrocentrist?* is equally assumed as

important, for the progress of this study. This may possibly be entertained at length, within the subsequent chapters, of this study.

The researcher has also realised that, within the available literature on the subject of *Afrika*, it has become common, for historical studies, whenever *Afrika* is defined, to place much emphasis, on its geographical location and its associated scientific facts (complete with all forms of studiously informed distortions). Embarking on such an effort, presumably should never have been problematic however it is, the selected approach, of how to go about, such an investigation, wherein the author of this study, has not been satisfied by efforts, of past *IR* scholars. Failure of prior attempt(s), of not exploring the *Afrocentric* route in their respectable previous projects, undertaken by *IR* scholars, prior to this study, broadly speaking, seem to have only arrived at conclusions, as observed by *outsiders*, instead of *insiders*. This likewise, also applies towards scholars, who have also dealt, with the particular theme of interest, in this study-*Afrika* and *IR*.

In the wake of the above observation, in addition to more hostile opinion, which really supports the chorus of *Afropessimism*, the researcher is convinced that whatever could meritoriously, be taken to be, sound definition(s) or historical explanation(s) of the concept of *Afrika*, fresh dialogue, may at least have been sparked. Much to the dismay, of the author of this study, response to date, reflects *no more than a clear spelling out*, of the view, that at best *Afrika*, is nothing more, than the *origin of humankind*. For the author of this study, ignorance of implications, of what precisely the abovementioned may suggest, in as far as sources of knowledge (notwithstanding questions, posed about what constitutes the *globally endorsed knowledge body*), are concerned remains, astonishingly downplayed. This thus subjects themes related to *Afrikan knowledge*, to proceed to be read, as remaining *open* to much debate.

On the basis on what has been stated above, it should not go without mention here, that it is not just most (if not all) of the *Eurocentric* scholars, that are most likely, to vehemently disagree, with this thoroughly researched view⁷⁴. Apparently even amongst the *Afrikans* themselves -there

are those, which are just as sceptical, of such a historical reality. In doing so, they should be read as subscribers to the *historically distorted* chorus, as championed by the *Afropessimist* army. For the author of this study, this does nothing else but add, to their continuously, doubtful echo, in reference to any worthwhile *Afrikan* contribution, not just to the academic field of *IR* but enquiry concerning pedagogy, as a whole.

Such *Afropessimism* as noted above, disappointingly has consequently, (predictably so, given the overall bleak distortion(s), of historical events, in as far as *Afrika* is concerned) reigned supreme. Perhaps this should be understandable, amidst the gloomy painted picture, associated with the predominantly colonized *Third World* society. Prolific Brazilian educationalist *Paulo Freire's* classical texts *The Pedagogy of Hope. Reliving the Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (2004) discusses and explains, such negative phenomena at length. Through *Freire's* proposed *literacy Method Conscientizacao* was emphasized, as part of an initial phase, intended to lead towards the attainment of emancipation (in the form of liberated minds), of the oppressed members of the *Third World* family.

In line with the above, it should be needless to say, it is such setbacks, which have continuously come across, as a blur, on the score of anything, which may arguably be authentically read, as forming part of an *Afrocentric* contribution to *IR*, that need to be overcome. Without much doubt, such broad descriptions, should be interrogated at length. In stripping them of their falsehood, *deconstructivist* and more elaborate consideration of contexts, by various critics and their counter arguments, need to be taken, into thorough consideration. This point is purposely stipulated by the author of this study, although being fully aware of *Brian Schmidt's*⁷⁵ criticism related to *contextualism*. For the author of this study, the principle of 'to each their own' should apply.

The proposed interrogation undertaken interestingly, at this stage, as commonly engaged, would seek to explore, whatever may serve, as more *Afrocentric centered* means (attempts of being in line, with the suggested *sankofa* and *anamnesis* methodological drum-beat), in the effort, of

securing the sought *Afrocentric* contribution to *IR*, should be read, with the significance it may deserve. Effort of avoiding to utilize *Eurocentric* tools, in as far as possible, in this study, may be beyond the scope of this study, but where ever possible, such effort, will be made.

The suspected hesitation, on the part of the author here, should serve as an indication, of incredibly, how much doubt, in looking forward, to successfully securing, the supposedly *Afrocentric* material, which may arguably be relevant, for this study, may seem. This may perhaps be an indication, of how significant, such studies should be taken. Given that the researcher of this study, may be categorized, as an *Afrikan* without having paid much thought, towards the historical attributes linked to such a concept (etymological roots etc), it is such critical oversight, that informs the level of hesitation, on the side of the author of this study. As a *Pan-Afrikanist* this indeed should be read as illustrating, the enormous amount of absurdity, which seemingly is subconsciously and inherently suffered, by most of the *sons of the soil*.

As earlier stated, employing deliberate form(s) of any *Eurocentric* approach, in this study, (beyond background purposes) may possess the potential of predictably, leading to the inevitable point, of continuously, arriving at almost similar conclusion (s), as past scholars of such a study. Having embarked, upon similar study, they seem to have inevitably ended up, parking, at a sour and bleak dead-end. As such, when considering the history of *IR*, from the discipline's inception, upto its current scholarly form, in this modern era, such a historicist approach, may auger well, for this study.

With all the above, suspected factors in mind, the currently anomalous condition of *IR*, should therefore, not be perplexing, at all. Such a realization should be noted, particularly by all scholars of *IR*, which should ideally trigger a reaction, to eventually improve their discipline, by growing the inclusivity factor. For the author of this study, this should be, in as far as their respective tools of their methodological trade, may be concerned.

On the subject of *Afrika*, it appears as though questions of *identity*, continuously arise. So what should be understood, from such a concern? Resorting to a denotative source, an *Afrikan* is defined as “a native of *Afrika* (esp. a dark skinned person), a person of *Afrikan* descent” (Concise Oxford Dictionary, 1995:23). The author of this study may agree with those scholars, which may raise the obvious concern, regarding the lack of insight and *racially motivated bias*, manifest in such a definition. At best, such a definition, may be described as being *sparse*, and in its current form, should not be read as being helpful, in its sparse description.

The researcher agrees that shortcomings, such as those of the above denotative definition, are predominantly, based on an individual’s race. Be that as it may, in as much as this definition may be sparse hence being read as controversial, it should be understandable, that some may correctly or falsely discard it. Others may even argue, that it is simply worthless. For the author of this study however the above definition, appears to indicate that the theme of *racism*, will stubbornly remain unavoidable, in such a study. This point in fact, may apply to all forms of scholarship.

The above scenario may perceptively be the case, whenever discussions, concerning *IR* (and arguably to most other academic fields) are brought forth, for scrutiny. Inevitably then, *Afrika*’s participation in *IR* (in as far as the area of *IR* and *Afrika* is concerned), may as well, be no exception to this rule. So the strong element of *racism*, as addressed by *Jones (2005)* earlier, is highly advisable, to never be overlooked. It may just as well serve, as one of the contributing factors, to the overall distortions, laced within the majority of *IR* discourse.

On the basis of the challenges, expressed in the previous paragraph, the researcher has consequently observed with interest, that any provided definition of *Afrika* (which may be of assistance to this study) by informing ‘who and what may qualify as an *Afrikan/Afrocentric voice*’ may immediately, be thrown into *highly contested* and *debatable waters*. This thus would compel the researcher of this study, to explore, beyond the standard denotative and etymological definitions of *Afrika* (spelling authors emphasis). Within this study, this may specifically refer to

mostly those accessible definitions, pertaining to *Afrika*, from various relevant *Afrocentric* authored texts. Ideally such definitions, should inform whatever understanding, scholar's may have, of an *Afrocentric Worldview*.

The researcher of this study acknowledges (as it has already been noted, in the previous paragraph) that based on the broad definitions, that have been offered, by the historical and denotative sources, as to *what Afrika is?* Moreover *who may qualify to be an Afrocentrist*, cannot be ignored. It is such general references, combined with associated factors of how *Afrika* has come to be described, which have contributed, to the heightened ambiguity, of such a study. Currently, typical example of *Afrikan* traits, would simply include geographical trademarks, of a Southern continent, complemented by its *scientific* history (that is also inclusive of its etymological traits), cultural influence, dynamics related to language and religion, amongst other factors. In its own right, it is high-time (perhaps even long overdue) that such descriptions, advisably should be read, as mere oversimplifications, lacking the adequate content, which may have enabled, the researcher of this study, to engage further, for the benefit of this study.

Instead of clarity, all the above statements, make it all the more challenging, for the researcher, to provide an authoritative definition, of what has eventually come to constitute, an understanding of an *Afrikan* identity. This may possibly even be outside, of the already mentioned, consideration of the proposed *Afrocentrist* expressions. When considering all of the above, securing an appropriate route, of embarking on a search of an *Afrocentric* contribution to *IR*, still remains ambiguous. This is stipulated as so, in as far as what may be regarded, as a successful research endeavor, as desired within this study.

According to the author of this study, the idealistic thought, regarding the proposed *Afrocentric* spirit, should enable *IR* scholars alike, to treat such challenges, as *not steep mountains, that pessimistically seem impossible, to be successfully ascended*. Such a state of *not yet uhuru* could only be overcome, when the might of *Afropessimism* is addressed and not avoided.

The challenges (as may be alluded to above) in question instead, should be treated, as *minor road humps* wherein (any scholar willing to display, the required effort and passion to learn more, about thy *Afrikan/Afrocentric –self*), with possible hindrance(s) notwithstanding, should eventually, overcome the placed obstacles, in whatever form, in which they may have been found. Removal of any obstacles, which may advisably, not be read as relevant for this study, should be read as based on one’s subjectivity.

On the *road less travelled*, within the confines of the *Afrocentric* school of thought, all concerned *IR* scholars, should buckle up. This should be so, as the directions, on the *Afrocentric* literary map, are yet to reveal, the sought clarity for the highly sought direction, which arguably (for the benefit of *IR*’s growth) should be taken. This should hopefully be read, from the signposts, still to be found ahead (as hopefully would be noted, in the subsequent chapters of this study).

Similar to the hand motion, of shifting from *first* to *second* gear- in a smooth running vehicle, the *Afrocentric* mind, after much introspection and understanding of its *Afrikan/Afrocentric self*, should eventually be adequately equipped, with the aim of cruising, right over most, of its obscure obstacles. In due course, those who are *Afrocentric* minded, should be empowered enough, to sprint over such humps, with the pace of an Olympic sprinter, leaping past the *110 meter(s) hurdles* on a clear, smooth and synthetic laced, athletics track.

In such a psychological state, at best, nothing but aerodynamic driven performance, could be achieved. Love them or loathe them, until early in *2011*, *800m* track World champions, South *Afrika*’s *Caster Semenya* and *Mbulelo Mulaudzi*’s determined, yet composed running styles, have earned them, the admired dominant grip, over this gruesome two lap race. Their consistent local and international victories, serve as appropriate examples, of the above point- simplifying whatever may be meant, by an *Afrocentric* spirit. With such speedy pace, the existing *Western*

hegemonic view, prevalent within *IR* discourse, should thus, in due course be relegated, to nothing else, more than an anthill. Successful realization of such a goal, would be consistent, with the *Afrocentric* spirit, which is promoted by the author of this study.

In considering all the above mentioned factors, the researcher has furthermore noted, that over a period of time, whenever a definition of *Afrika* has been discussed, the various recorded definitions of *Africa* and *Africanists* (spelling remains authors emphasis), suited the user. Utilised within respective contexts, wherein these same broad terms, as mentioned above, have also been used. For the purpose of this study, the same method, will be adopted. In the spirit of *letsema*⁷⁶ however this study, will attempt to avoid any use of unnecessary prejudice or biased descriptions, as observed by the researcher, as earlier recorded from the *Concise Oxford Dictionary (1995)*. In the view of the author of this study, such denotative definitions, serve as typical examples, which proceed to swim deeply inside a pool, overflowing with racial discrimination. It is for these reasons, that researcher thinking is of the view that, a considerate level of caution, is to be observed, throughout this study. This is so as not to be unjustly discriminatory, towards any particular individual (s). This is crucial, in order for the intended outcomes of the study, to remain objective and relevant, for operational use, for fellow *Afrocentrists* and non-*Afrocentric*⁷⁷ scholars alike.

Researcher thinking, is of the view that by problematising or clarifying traits, related to *Afrika*, perhaps the desired *Afrocentric* definition, for the purposes of this study, should be able to also assist scholars, in explaining, even important other factors, while in pursuit of the main goal(s) of this study. This may include unpacking other related concepts further, beyond the standard questions relating to *Afrika? Afrikan (ists) and Afrocentrists?* Amongst others, this may include further questions, such as ‘what is meant by *Afrocentrist* contribution (in this study, namely with direct reference to *IR*)? *Afrocentric sources of knowledge?* And alas an *Afrocentric worldview?* Adequate responses related to the above concepts, may possibly contribute, to whatever may eventually be read as *Afrocentric* insight(s) to *IR?*

In proceeding forward, noting the overwhelming contribution made by *Mainstream IR* scholars, before addressing the sparse *Afrocentric* voices in *IR* (as evidently noted, when reading relevant texts on *IR*) is recommended. Judging from the amount of *investigation* conducted, at this early stage, stipulating that such *Afrocentric* voices in *IR*, if not invisible, arguably seem to be as good as absent. Exploring the *pros* and *cons* of such a notice, as a point of departure for this study, is according to the author of this study, dimmed as quite necessary.

It is however the researcher's contention, that proceeding to place further focus, on the same *Eurocentric* driven *IR* scholars, (argued as not providing any light, in as far as dialogue concerned with *Afrocentric contribution to IR*) should inevitably be read and interpreted, as a *self-defeating exercise*, in the light of adhering to the pursued *Afrocentric* ideals. Reference to such *Eurocentric* scholars, should understandably be read, as critical for research purposes. This may proceed to ensure, that the reclamation of the 21st Century- as an *Afrocentrist Century*⁷⁸ will not be easily realized.

With all the above having been noted, amidst other exploratory projects (similar or almost similar, to this study), refusal of addressing pertinent questions, which may be helpful in unpacking, how *Afrika* has come to be understood and the impact of distortions, related to the subject of *Afrocentricity*, may perhaps, lead to the sought contribution(s). The kind of input which may possibly add, to the clarification, of the sparse progress made, on the topic in question thus far.

1.3 Aims and Objectives of the study

The main aim of this study, is to attempt to secure a clear response to the following question:

- a) Has there been any *Afrocentric* contribution to *IR (theory)*?
- b) If the response to the above question is 'no' what may be the reasons? If it is 'yes' then what examples, may be named?

Objectives of this study, beyond securing the desired response, to the abovementioned questions, are closely linked to the concern, of unpacking the theme of an *Afrocentric identity*. Researcher thinking agrees with the view, which argues that the legacy of *colonialization*, remains disturbingly evident, within the behavior of *Afrikans*. Such behavior has been further worsened, by the treatment of the former colonial masters, of *Afrika*. Colonialists to this present day, despicably refuse, amongst other things, not just to acknowledge, their past pedagogical sins but also to further apologise and at least attempt to participate, in the ongoing effort, of correcting the damaging role, they played, in as far as the distortion of data, related to *Afrika*, is concerned⁷⁹.

The legacy of such historical data, has not only created a *false/misleading body of knowledge*, about *Afrika* but it has also further cemented, the majority of negative and distorted views, to do with *Afrika*. Repercussions of such distorted data, ranges from self -hatred (a deep *inferiority complex*), as also personally observed by the researcher of this study, even amongst *Afrikans* themselves. Such symptoms are just two legacies, amongst a list of plenty others, which have spiraled *out of control* and continue to haunt *Afrikans*.

One may only wonder, if at all, the process of decolonization of *Afrikan* minds, as suggested by *Ngugi Wa Thiong'o*⁸⁰ in his text aptly titled *Decolonizing the Mind (1987*⁸¹), may indeed have just been written off, as a mere overambitious exercise. An activity which sought to address the gaps found, in as far as the ignorance and lack of reference, to other languages (especially indigenous or local dialects in *Afrika*), beyond hegemonic *English*, which is intentionally employed in academic texts and also for administrative purposes, within academia globally. Particular emphasis here is made, towards former colonies of the *Western* empires. It is the view of the author of this study, that the theme of *colonization*, remains a pending issue to date. With specific reference to date, in as far as *Afrika* is concerned, this anomaly still desires, as much attention⁸², as it did in 1987, when *Ngugi* first published, that engaging text mentioned above.

Without the required amount of zeal, needed to pose, the much needed challenge, desired towards addressing the dominant *Western Philosophic* discourse, informing the bulk of the scholarly body of *IR*, the abovementioned *status-quo*, may remain intact. It should then be an *open secret*, that this may not auger well, for *IR* as a progressive scholarly field of study. Such an anomaly is and will proceed to remain a problem, especially if the required effort, of achieving the *ideal* of living upto its claim of being truly an *international* academic field, is unapologetically desired.

An important objective of this study, involves registering the argument that, it is through ignorance, which in the current form, is mostly justified by the abstract guise of *pedagogical innocence*, which adds to the complexity of the problem(s), under discussion in this study. It is under such circumstances, wherein the researcher of this study, also confesses, to have been to a larger extent, just one of the countless victims, of *colonialism's Eurocentrically* driven systematic thought structures. In addition to this (given the systematic nature of the posed challenge, which complicated the problem further and still proceeds to do so), by default the author of this study, has also indeed become an active *culprit*. A condition that studies such as these, may hopefully assist, in correcting such colonially fuelled and indoctrinated driven agenda.

The above remark is informed, on the strength of having actively and obediently participated, in the *Westerncentric* promoting academies, which have continued to teach, from the premise of *non-Afrocentric*, points of departure. Attempts of escaping being a culprit, at this stage, amidst the currently noted challenges, in existence, seem to amount to no more than mere idealism. This is stated, after considering the imperialistically scholarly governed epoch, to date which is at the current juncture, still continuously imposed by the *Enlightenment*⁸³ inspired *Modernity*⁸⁴.

Practical examples of the abovementioned challenge(s) are particularly observed, in the local higher echolens / institutions involved in the business of imparting *pedagogy*, throughout *Afrika* and beyond. A realisation that *Afrika* is treated as a subject of interest, could only be a pipe dream. Instead of improving the knowledge, under the subject of *Afrika (n)*, so as to be

*conscioutised*⁸⁵ about the less known, hidden or lost realities, related to thy *Afrikan*-self, *Western* inspired scholarship instead, continues to lead to lessons, which simply promote and perpetuate *Westerncentric* practices.

So for almost all *non-Westerners*⁸⁶, who have also succumbed, to overly simplified articulations (as articulated and rationalised from *Mainstream pedagogy*), as a result of adhering to *Western philosophy's* systematically designed *pedagogic* agenda, it appears as though, no escape route as yet has been presented, as possible. As *non-Westerners*, *Afrikans* have also simultaneously become victims, in time also becoming culprits, as a result of not having addressed, this violent *social construct*.

After his experience in the Algerian war, *Frantz Fanon*⁸⁷ (a psychotherapist by training), exposed in both his classical texts titled *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963) and *Black Skin, White Mask* (1967), a connection was distinctly made between the colonial war and the psychological condition, of its victims, quite elaborately. The abovementioned remark of *Afrikans* simultaneously being victims, is based on the less acknowledged psychological contest, which *Fanon* stressed. A contest that is disturbing, from the side, of not just *Afrikans*, but even the majority of scholars, of the broader *Third World*. The result of the brutal colonial project, which distorted historical events, as implemented by predominantly the *West*, in relation to *Afrika*, serve as nagging reminders, of the colonialist spirit, under discussion throughout this study.

In keeping all the above in mind, this study seeks to be part of the chorus, of *Afrocentrists* that made the clarion call, for a *Pan-Afrikan* movement. An in depth discussion of insights from *Afrikan Philosophy*, including amongst others, themes related to *Afrikan culture*, *Afrikan ideology*, should hopefully be considered. These should ideally serve as subthemes, which may be of assistance, in attempting to adequately respond, to the abovementioned questions. It is envisaged that insights, derived from the above subthemes, may contribute to the overwhelming call, for achieving more awareness, regarding an *Afrocentrist* identity.

It is with much optimism, wherein this study, may be able to ultimately also contribute, in the ongoing healing process, as hopefully would be spurred on, by the ideals of the *Afrocentrists*. Indeed respective psyche(s) of victims, need to be addressed. A case in point, may be the consideration of *Afrocentric* achievements, especially in the light, of the overwhelming *Eurocentric* scepticism⁸⁸ pertaining to *Africa* (spelling author's emphasis as opposed to *Afrika*) or all things, labeled as *African* (spelling remains author's emphasis as opposed to *Afrikan*). This should hopefully be constructive, to *Afrocentrists*, in reclaiming their dignity and *self-defined* identity.

In a nutshell, the main aim of this study, seeks to be consistent with the effort, of searching for an *Afrocentric* contribution to *IR*. With optimism a possible outcome of this study, may be an achievement of clarity, in as far, as what may constitute an *Afrocentric* identity. Findings should thus be viewed as some sort of springboard, which may be helpful, in enabling the researcher of this study, to be able to eventually present, an *Afrocentric* contribution to *IR*.

1.4 Hypothesis and Theoretical Framework

To borrow the term as coined and employed by *Asante* (2003) it is the researcher's contention that an *Afrocentric* flavour, has been missing (if perhaps not in all, the work(s) on *IR*, then at least in the bulk of such work(s)). Such a claim is made from an observer's perspective, wherein within the concomitant ingredients, involved in the pursuit of producing a truly *international* or globally representative, scholarly body of *IR*. Which has been meant, to be filled with the suggested content, related to *Afrocentricity* (as defined by *Asante* (2003) overly remains lacking. This is evident in most (if not all) submissions, as read, by the author of this study, of previous *IR* scholars, who have attempted, to respond to the existence of *Afrikan contribution to IR* (it is worth noting, that in this study, the topic has eventually been termed, *Afrocentric* contribution to *IR*).

Attempts undertaken, of exploring for such contribution from *Afrika*, are hopefully inclined on *sticking to find*, as opposed to *cooking up spankingly anew* or any other possibly, existing theories. Such theories may, possibly serve as segments, of some form of *Afrocentric* contribution to *IR*. Any progress to be made, should arguably focus on fresh efforts, which ideally should involve more *daring* approach (es), to be employed in such investigation(s). It is the argument of the author of this study, that only through such a suggested effort, may the noted shortcoming(s) of *IR*, be somehow justifiably, addressed. In the context of this study, one of the ways of addressing the dilemma at hand, is by undertaking whatever may be close, to being *read*, as consistent, with the ideal (s), which may be linked to *Afrocentricity*.

It is the researcher's contention that no *Afrocentrist* contribution to *IR*, may be found, without an in depth study of characteristics, which may authentically constitute, what may clearly be described as being consistent with the *Afrocentric* definitions, as provided earlier by *Asante* and *Mafeje*. Skipping such a process, would be argued in this study, as being detrimental, primarily at the expense of *Afrikans* and secondly, towards *IR* scholarship as a whole. This is especially in the effort, of finding genuine representivity and possible approaches, which may be of help, in clarifying any *existence* or *non-existence*, of what may possibly be presented, as *Afrocentric* contribution to *IR*. The author of this study, further argues that, limiting the focus of this research, as confined within the *Mainstream IR* literature, prolongs the concern of progress, sought by study projects such as this study.

In a nutshell, the author of this study, has opted to undertake this study, with the assumption that an *Afrocentric* contribution to *IR*, may indeed exist. An adoption of the suggested *Afrocentric* approach, is refreshing, when considering that almost the entire, *IR* body of scholarship, appears to have just woken up, to the possibilities of existence of *Afrocentric* contribution. This may amongst other sources, be emanating from the *less explored* (if in existence at all) basket of *Afrocentric* knowledge.

1.5 Research Design and Methodology

This will be an *explorative* and *qualitative* study. Although this project may be classified as a *Non-empirical* study which is defined as an

“analysis of meaning of words or concepts through clarification and elaboration of the different dimension of meaning...secondary textual data...Different forms of conceptualization are linked to various “theoretical” and “philosophical” traditions, such as the analytical tradition, phenomenology, critical theory (neo-Marxism), critical realism, humanism,existentialism” (Mouton,2012:175).

Where relevant however *empirical* data which are “Studies that are usually qualitative in nature, which aim to provide an in-depth description of a group of people or community. Such descriptions are embedded, in the life-worlds of the actors being studied and produce *insider* perspectives, of the actors and their practices” (Mouton, 2012:148) will most likely also be employed.

It may be emphasized that where necessary, quantitative sources may also be employed, for complementary reasons in order to illustrate and support necessary points, made within the study. In the case wherein the argument stands, that so far, there simply has been no authoritative methodology (beyond the hegemonic *Mainstream IR* theoretical approaches), as the accepted didactic/ pedagogic systematic approach, available to conduct such a study, no choice may be available accept to take, such a reality, into consideration. Such consideration is regarded as crucial, in order to identify, what may ultimately serve, as the non-*Eurocentric* or marginalized *Afrocentric* contribution to *IR*.

With all the above mentioned in mind, it is worthwhile, to note that since the author of this study is based in South *Afrika*, and writing within its borders, details revealing data, that mirror’s this reality, should advisably be read, in the context of this study, as forming part of the *centre*. The observations and views of the author of this study, as found from this basis, will hopefully, be a contribution of what may be *realities*, worthy to be considered, in this study.

In short this study opts to adhere, to the methodological approaches, as suggested by University of Zululand's *Indigenous Knowledge Systems Centre (IKSC* ⁸⁹) and *University of South Afrika's (UNISA) Centre for Afrikan Renaissance Studies (CARS* ⁹⁰) and other data from elsewhere (in *South Afrika, Afrika* or the Diaspora, perceived to be relevant for this study). This particular approach is preferred on the grounds, whereby it makes reference, to the *multidisciplinary, interdisciplinary* and *transdisciplinary* approaches.

According to the Journal Policy of the *International Journal of Afrikan Renaissance Studies* "CARS transdisciplinary approach to *Afrikan* Renaissance studies, is an approach that deepens the connectivity and interdependence of knowledge and knowledge systems and focuses on producing and using knowledge, to empower *Afrikans*, in surmounting the challenges that the continent, its people's and its Diaspora face" (IJARS,2008 ⁹¹).

Of interest to the author of this study, is the promise that overlooked/marginalized sources, as may be provided, by paying more attention for example, to initiatives involving the *Imbizo* and the *Record*, may also possibly provide fruitful insight, for the purpose (s) of this study. The rationale utilized by *CARS* of employing, the abovementioned approach, should be noted to be consistent, with the aims, of this study. With the *Imbizo* and the *Record* separated into various sections, as found in *IJARS* (2008) "these sections feature diverse voices from *Afrika* and the Diaspora, that capture the essence of renaissance- be it in the form of a peace accord, a speech, special lecture, legislation or any other document that is important to the future of *Afrika*." This underlining of the '*Multidisciplinary, Interdisciplinary* and *Transdisciplinarity*' approaches, indeed should understandably be read, as refreshing and relevant, approach (es), dimmed as relevant, in this study.

Since researcher thinking agrees with the view, which suggests that *IR* theory needs to be opened up, to alternative approaches, the opted for *Afrocentric* approach, selected to be employed in this

study, thus remains crucial. This suggested alternative approach, should have in mind, not just *moving from the centre* as suggested by *Thiong'o* but actually *writing back to the centre*, in tune with the *fighting back* attitude, in one's own scholarly backyard. Hopefully this should be ushered in, via an *Afrocentric* premise. Hopefully, this will be featured at length, in this study.

The researcher of this study holds the view, that besides employing *Asante's* proposed *Afrocentric* approach, one of the ways, in which the sought *Afrocentric* theories to *IR* (theory) may be achieved, is through an application of the *postcolonialist critique*⁹². Researcher thinking is furthermore of the view that, the employment of the combination of the *hermeneutics*⁹³ methodology and the suggested *postcolonialist critique*, combined with the addition of insights, from selected scholars, who have embarked on related research pertaining to this study, is all worthy of employment within this study.

The above proposed approach, may provide the adequate assistance sought, in order to achieve the set goals of this study. It is with hope that this proposed method, may be beneficial for this study. At best to the level that it may perhaps, ultimately guide this study, to an addition of new *Afrocentric*, insight(s). It is from such exploratory research wherein the growing scholarly discourse on *IR*, may be realised.

Having noted the broad overview of *IR* scholarship, researcher thinking, is of the view that a paradigm shift, away from the *Eurocentric* originating premise, should be explored. The proposed shift, should be read as an attempt of being in line, with the suggested *Afrocentric* enquiry, as proposed in this study. It is with hope, that effort, of paying more attention to the literature, on *Afrikan Philosophy*, may be helpful, in ensuring that *Afrocentric* perspectives are genuinely captured. In true *exploratory fashion* this approach has been selected, *albeit* acknowledgement of the ongoing debate, regarding the existence of *Afrikan Philosophy*. This should indicate, how far the author of this study, is willingly prepared to travel, where ever the

Afrocentric pathway, may lead. This is regardless of the width and depth, of the unknown dark hole, which may, in the spirit of living, upto an *Afrocentric* ideal, be achieved.

Any forthcoming criticism, directed towards the attempt of *getting as close as possible* to whatever may eventually be presented as *Afrocentric* contribution to *IR*, at best may be recorded and where relevant interrogated accordingly. This may subsequently, also have possibly, been informed by the sought *Afrocentric* premise. Understandably, this may perhaps not be received, with any warm embrace, from the *Eurocentric* scholarly community. Such critique however for the sake of the desired growth, in as far as *IR* is concerned, should be welcomed and even encouraged for renewal of arguably much needed debate, related to the theme in question.

All the above, in the event that they are read as forming part of a renewed debate in the *New Voices* segment of *IR*, could potentially be a positive exercise if done, in the name and spirit, of value driven research. With the same breath, in the case wherein the unrelenting commitment, which may hopefully be demonstrated by the author of this study (within and throughout this study, in order to contribute to the ongoing dialogue, regarding the topic in question), should bear as testimony, of openly seeking to engage the thoughts of past scholars. Concerning what has already been stated above, it is the view of the author of this study, that perhaps from some of the past scholars, certain findings may arguably be relevant, for this study. If anything else, striking a balance from the varying perspectives, should equally be upheld.

In their own unique way, the author of this study, acknowledges that it remains a possibility that a portion (if not the majority) of the findings, to be presented here, may possibly be read as somewhat *opaque*. To a certain extent, given the exploratory nature of this study, this should thus not be surprising. This is especially in the light of the observed *Eurocentric* bias, noted thus far, within the overall body of *IR* scholarship. Having said all the above, considering, the echo of *Afrocentrists*, reminding the current generation of *IR* scholars (and those of other disciplines),

what it may have taken for them, to arrive at findings, that may be presented in this study, advisably should not go unnoticed.

If the emphasis, of the effort demonstrated by *Afrocentrists* (whom seek to demonstrate, the value of subscribing to their *Afrocentric driven paradigms*), is not overlooked and is considered at length, such consideration may potentially bear some much desired fruit. This ideal may be so, for both scholars of *IR* and also in other academic fields. Namely *Philosophy* (with special interest to *Afrikan Philosophy*). If carefully explored, presumably the much desired level of appreciation, for paying attention, to such areas beyond typically, what may be referred to as *Mainstream IR*, deserves to be afforded due recognition.

If the effort of exploring for an *Afrocentric contribution to IR* (as hopefully discussed thus far, by opting to pursue such an exploratory study), is consistent, with the spirit of *Afrocentricity*, then this study should be read, as being of such an attempt and nothing else. For example, this study should not be (mis) read as a nuisancical act, or form of superfluous rebellion defying, without having brought forth any formidable or substantive data, that may be used as *Afrikan contribution to IR* beyond (and not necessarily comparable) to *Mainstream IR* theoretical discourse.

Fellow *IR* scholars however should maintain their right, towards upholding their respective interpretations. As broad as any articulated interpretations may be, in the *process of interpreting*, if *IR* scholars, may opt *not to* discard their traditionally *Eurocentric* held positions, when presented with an alternative approach (as sought in this study), specifically away from the *Mainstream IR* approaches, for the benefit of the growth of *IR*, well so be it. To each their own. All scholars are at least entitled, to have their own views. With that having been stated, it should thus be kept in mind, that the scholarly arena, is in any case, a highly contested domain.

Acceptance of the attitude endorsing the following mantra *to each- their respective own* – supposedly remains upheld as done throughout the study, by the author of this study (author’s emphasis). This however should only be the case, in the event that merit indeed is found to exist, amidst the auspices of any proposed alternative(s), as derived from the school of *Afrocentric thought*. Any credibility in any form, should thus reserve pride of place, in its own right, on the basis of its own respective merit. This is important, particularly for the benefit of freedom of expression and renewed engagement, within the scholarly body of *IR*.

A reminder to critics, of *Asante’s* elaborate definition, of *Afrocentricity*, may be advisably recommended against the hostile echo of various opinions. This is especially if the *theoretical reflexivity* (such as that, as desired by this study), is to be achieved at all. This is proposed, in order to reflect on the comprehension of *Afrocentricity*, which has thus consequently, informed the unapologetic spirit, of proudly subscribing, to the much discussed *Afrocentric* aims, in this study.

Opting for the above approach, is recommended because it is part of a formula, of decisively moving, from the *familiar and acceptable* to the *unfamiliar and- yet to be accepted* space, that is currently occupied by *Westerncentric* hegemonic *Worldview(s)*. It is acknowledged, for the sake of this study, that while referencing from both *Afrocentric* and *Eurocentric* scholars, (noting the overwhelming level of *Eurocentric* premise inherent, in scholarship, broadly (even beyond the *IR* domain, should be highlighted, throughout this study). *Eurocentric* thought understandably, has been overly influential, even in the suggested *Afrikan Philosophy* discourse. At any cost, such an observation should not, by any intention or error be brushed aside nor overlooked outrightly.

Acknowledgment and consideration of *Eurocentric* influence, within *IR*, as traced from the so called *authoritative Eurocentric voices*, consequently appears to have indicated a worrisome point. From within the broader literature on *Philosophy*, suggestion seems to be made here of *Afrikan Philosophy* (as presented in most of the texts read by the author of this study, this is

acknowledged, even by some *Afrocentric* philosophers themselves⁹⁴) is an extension, of the scholarly body of the *Eurocentrically driven Mainstream Philosophy*. This should somehow manifest further the on-going challenge, of *Afrocentric* scholars, in their attempt to grow, their contribution and proceed to weather the storm, of overcoming, what has to date, been recognized, as the highest form of falsehood.

With the above challenge in mind, what possibility may thus suggest that relevant results, may stem from attempts of *Afrikan* history, being read as a case in point, from amongst others, with *falsifiability*⁹⁵ in mind? Given the global texts, which have been authored and recorded, in the name of *Afrikan* history, the above question may, to some extent, be read, as irrelevant. The point however hinted upon here, by such a question, is that the brutal yet elaborately authored texts, by *Eurocentric* scholars, consistently writing from their *Westerncentric traditions*, contributed immensely to the condescending question marks, concerning the subject of *Afrika*.

In the event that there exists some merit, regarding the above claim, it would only seem proper, that *Eurocentric* scholars, expectedly should thus acknowledge and absorb, the bulk of the criticism, directed towards them, as a result of the above noted, damaging pedagogic *status-quo*. This should be done, as opposed to the continuing sidelining, of what has erroneously, eventually been referred to, as their counterparts-*Afrocentrists et al*. For the purposes of this study, it should be made clear that voices of these alledged counterparts are namely those found, in the *Afrocentric* historical *Pan-Afrikan* academy.

Evidence, of most of the above concern, has been realized, as found within the broad literature, linked to what has been referred to as *Afrikan philosophy*. The existing vocabulary utilized within the discourse of *Afrikan philosophy*, although seeking to place *Afrikan* issues on philosophy's literary agenda, owe much to the rhetoric of the debates, as found originally in the *Mainstream Western Philosophy* domain. So a heavy reliance towards *Western Philosophy* is revealed. Discussions continuously make reference to the rooted themes of *Logic*⁹⁶,

*Methodology*⁹⁷, *Epistemology*⁹⁸, *Metaphysics*⁹⁹, *Existentialism*¹⁰⁰, *Phenomenology*¹⁰¹, *Critical theory*¹⁰², *Ethics*¹⁰³ and *Aesthetics*¹⁰⁴ amongst others.

All the above concepts, are similarly derived from the same *Western Philosophy* discourse. All this thus adds to the already mentioned challenges, in search, of possible existence of the *Afrocentric thought* and its associated characteristics. With all of the challenges mentioned in mind, it is the author of this study's belief, that it is thus imperative for this study, to ascertain above all else, whether or not *Afrocentric thought* exists or not. In the case of the affirmative, possible examples may be appreciated.

The above is of paramount importance in the context of this study, as this is what may enable the author of this study, to proceed to declare, what may then ultimately be read, as forms or examples of *Afrocentric* contribution to *IR*. Within the context of this study, much effort of distinguishing the presented *Afrocentric thought*, which presumably may or may not, be distinct from the hegemonic *Eurocentric thought*. Such contention as expressed above, may have already placed its respective impact, which may consequently be argued to form, the foundation of *Afrikan philosophical* discourse. Any merit to the latter view, may deserve due discussion, in this study. In such an event, such a discussion should be read, as still being in line, with the aim of this study. One of the ways, that such a discussion may take place, may be by beginning first, to review the general trends¹⁰⁵ as found within *Afrikan philosophy*.

1.6 Implications, limits and Value of the Study

By proposing an *Afrocentric* approach, in this study, it is hoped that this would be read, as a genuine attempt, which may hopefully be of assistance, in drawing contemporary and future *IR* scholar's closer, to whatever may be characterized, as *Afrocentric* contribution to *IR*. It is expected that the emphasis on *Afrocentric* voices, ranging from *Mphahlele* and fellow *Afrocentrists*, would be helpful in this study. The majority of whom, may have written

extensively, on different themes related to *Western Philosophy*, *Afrikan Philosophy* and *Afrocentricity*.

With the above having been stipulated, some thought should be spared, for critics who would supposedly read this study, as a deliberate attempt, of the promotion of *Black Orientalism*¹⁰⁶ or *Black Nationalism*¹⁰⁷. If any such promotion is evident, in this study, it should be noted, that this should mainly be based, on the findings of the researcher of this study. This is stipulated as so, because it was never, the primary intention from the onset, by the author of this study, to spur on such a promotion. A reminder that *Afrocentricity*, is an autonomous term that through its scholars such as *Asante*, *Mafeje*, *Nabudere* and others, has secured its own robust definition. A definition which hopefully would also secure its respective *pride of place*, in this study. The envisioned *Afrocentric* contribution may hopefully differ, from the already mentioned *Eurocentric IR* theory.

In addition to the above possible critic, it is noted that the *Afrocentric* approach, which promotes efforts of *Afrikanisation*¹⁰⁸, in order to realize a unique *Afrocentric Century*, may also appear to have been intentionally pursued here. In the event, that this is confirmed, it should be understood to be so, solely for the purposes of seeking to understand, the preferred viewpoints of *Afrocentrists*. The researcher hopes that, projects such as those similar to this study, will in due course, hopefully grow, to be read and understood as possibly, more than just refresher approach (es) to the *IR and Afrika* theme under discussion.

Securing approach (es) which may ultimately serve, as form(s) of addition, to the current theoretical body of *IR*, is highly recommended in this study. The researcher hopes that this alternative form, should in due course, be categorized, within its own *Afrocentric* category and not merely as a non-*Eurocentric* alternative contribution, to *IR* theory. In short, it should not just be mere input, which may not have any relevance, to the two posed questions, of concern in this study. The questionable invisibility or absence, of *Afrocentric* inclusivity, in as far as *IR* goes,

remains a gap, which will continuously, need to be addressed, by *IR* scholars. This is pertinent, towards achieving, the goal of a balanced growth of *IR*.

Time and *space* stand out, as the main limits of this study. Furthermore it is the standard limits of *Non-Empirical Studies*, which may seem more applicable to this study. Amongst others this may include “poor conceptual analysis which leads to conceptual confusion, theoretical ambiguities and fallacious reasoning” (Mouton, 2012:176). Reference to *Mainstream* theories of *IR*, may from time to time be mentioned however on the grounds, of limited space and the focus area of the study, extensive discussion of such theories, may unfortunately not be featured perhaps, at their desired length.

An appeal is thus made (as also earlier mentioned), that on the grounds, that extensive discussion on *IR*'s current *Mainstream* theories, may not be a central feature of discussion, within the context of this study, such a disclaimer should not at all, be interpreted, as a reactionary act of defiance. The effort made to address and discuss related material to that end (particularly in the second chapter), should ideally support, the abovementioned statement.

Based on the rationale that the application of *Afrocentricity*, may be linked to a proposed process of *Theory-building*- limits that harbor around such an activity, should also be noted. A reminder that “Theories are ineffective if they make implausible claims on reality, if they make claims that are not testable and vague, or that conceptually incoherent, inconsistent and confusing” (Mouton, 2012:176). The author of this study is open, to possible hazards, as pointed out in this previous sentence. Harboring to somewhat intentionally spell out flaws, in current *IR* discourse, may mistakenly be read as an effort, which may suggest that the aim of this study, is to overly be dismissive, of *IR*'s existing *Mainstream* theories.

When one considers that scholars are unable to know, their own study results (as they will always need to confirm, or test their assumptions), expectedly until their final chapters of their respective projects, the same is to apply in this study. Until such a time that the author of this study has more or less satisfactorily completed, the *Afrocentric philosophical enquiry*, such a case, expectedly should also be read, as a norm in this study. It is important to note here, that the above research endeavor may only be achieved successfully, once having initially considered the potential merit, which may also be possessed, by some of the existing theories of *Mainstream IR*.

Hopefully adequate background consideration of *IR*, will be addressed in the opening chapters, of this study. Having stated the above, this study should thus be understood to seek, a focus on *Afrikan* insights, which may (to the best of the author of this study's knowledge), be engaged, as much as possible. This should ideally be done, courtesy of securing a respective, *Afrocentric* radar screen. One that may benefit, the *less known* or *less understood Afrikan* guise and furthermore consistent, with an *Afrocentric* insight.

As already mentioned earlier, the study will seek to focus on insights, as mainly expressed by scholars subscribing to *Afrocentric* paradigms, mainly as found in the field of *Afrikan Philosophy*. This will hopefully be undertaken, by also incorporating efforts of *IR* scholars, regarded as relevant for this study. The choice to criticize or assist those, who wish to be disassociated from their roots, will always exist, nevertheless the spirit of *letsema*, should always prevail. In order to address what the Egyptians referred to as *Elle fat kadi moh tah* (lost is the person who forgets his/her past), an enormous effort to adopt the *sankofa* philosophy, should hopefully be encouraged, throughout this study.

The effort of embracing those lessons from our past, as informed by our respective roots, where ever those, who lack the knowledge, of acquiring their *Afrocentric* selves, wherever they may be located within the global village, this study hopefully seeks to reach out and connect with them. By way of *Afrocentricity*, as part of a fresh new beginning, heralding the sought healing process.

By securing and sharing findings of past customs and practices of *Afrikan* ancestors, such a search may have the potential to uplift, as many of the victims, whom *by no choice* of their own, have been psychologically and physically enslaved.

The value of such a study predominantly entails, addressing the concern of *Afrocentric knowledge*, which allegedly continues to remain less known or on the periphery. It remains the contention of the author of this study, that the gap caused by the *conscious* and *subconscious* repercussions, as a result of most (if not all) scholars globally, still needs grave attention. With *IR* scholars having been misled, in their respective accumulation of *IR theoretical knowledge*, particularly in relation to data related to themselves and other people (as realized by the majority of researchers, such as those who have taken interest, on the theme of *identity*-particularly where *Afrocentricity* is concerned) appears *to still* require, serious intervention.

Alas this particular study hopes to contribute, to the ongoing effort, of addressing such an *Eurocentric* driven anomaly, as as one of the multitude(s) of attempts, to bring to an end some of the noted gap(s), which may have been noted above.

1.7 Chapter Outline

1.7.1 Chapter 1: Orientation of the study

The opening chapter sought to provide a proposed outline, of this particular study. The following subtopics, formed part of this introductory chapter- *background, rationale and motivation of the study, problem statement, aims and objectives of the study, hypothesis and theoretical framework, research design and methodology, limited implications and value of the study*. The provision of a chapter outline, should complete this opening chapter.

1.7.2. Chapter 2: Broad Historical Overview of *IR* (Theory)

This chapter will thus attempt to provide a *bird's eye view*, of the historical background of *IR*. Researcher thinking is of the view, that by beginning to pay some attention, towards various definitions of *IR*, definitions of *IR* (theory) and some recorded history of *IR*, at this early juncture of the study, would be helpful, for background purposes.

1.7.3 Chapter 3: *IR* in Close Up

An analysis of *IR*, via a thorough reading of some of the *TRIP* Survey findings, will be discussed. Influential academic centers of *IR*, will be brought afore and discussed. Attention will also be paid, towards the *International Studies Association (ISA)*. Amongst others its *history*, *constitution*, *gender* and *racial factors* of *ISA*, will be analysed. Finally the commentary, on the *British International Studies Association (BISA)* and the *BISA Afrika Working Group*, should see the eventual closure, of this chapter.

1.7.4 Chapter 4: Marginalization of *Afrika* in *IR* (Theory): Assumption or Reality?

Securing the general views of *IR* Scholars, would be sought. Particular effort of securing views as expressed, in some texts which were compiled, as a result of published papers, presented from the various annual *ISA* and *BISA* conventions, would hopefully be discussed. The author of this study seeks to ascertain from these various texts, the findings of past *IR* scholars in the light of the core interest of this study.

1.7.5 Chapter 5: In Retrospect: *Afrika* and *IR*- A Case of Marginalisation, Misunderstanding or Absentia

This chapter seeks to unpack (via a commentary style narrative) the author of this study's findings and personal opinion. Extensive reference to views of *Afrocentrists*, as would be relevant to this broad theme is sought, within this chapter. The critical multiple function(s) played by *language* are also to be noted. The factor (s) that may have led to confusion, of whether or not there has been an *Afrikan* contribution to *IR*, is also to be discussed within this chapter. This is with the view, that the intended role, of *Afrikan philosophy* may also be realised.

1.7.6 Chapter 6: Conclusion and Recommendations

This final chapter, will attempt to present a summary, of research findings, as would have already been discussed, within the bulk of the study. Based on the research findings, hopefully recommendations, will also be suggested.

Chapter 2: Broad Historical Overview of *IR* (Theory)

International relations is broad and complex (Nitze, 1959:1).

International relations involves the study of a great number of 'facts' about the world' (Woods, 1996:9).

International relations is a fascinating topic because it concerns peoples and cultures throughout the world. The scope and complexity of these groups' interactions make international relations a challenging subject to master (Goldstein, 1996:3).

This chapter will thus attempt to provide a *bird's eye view*, of the historical background of *IR*. Researcher thinking is of the view, that by beginning to pay some attention, towards various definitions of *IR*, definitions of *IR* (theory) and some recorded history of *IR*, at this early juncture of the study, would be helpful, for background purposes.

From this chapter, the author of this study hopes that by tracing the origins of *IR*, as a subdiscipline or branch of *Political Science* and further stretching it back, to even its founding *Mother discipline Philosophy* (specifically the branch of *Political Philosophy*), scholars may grasp the *eclectic, parochial* and *Eurocentric features*, that has rendered so many scholars, to agree that more views, beyond the *West*, should be registered in order to secure, the much needed growth of the contentious discipline, under discussion.

2.1. Defining *IR*

The opening quotes, from the above selected *IR* scholars, emphasize the significance, of beginning this chapter, by posing the following question, from the onset –how may *IR* be defined? In the view of the author, addressing this question is crucial, in an attempt to at least outline, what exactly the *IR* study area entails. An attempt to firstly achieve and then maintain clarity, in this chapter and throughout, the whole study, should be helpful, in the quest of responding appropriately, to the two main questions, posed in the opening chapter.

The following scholar kicks off, with the following remark “To most people *international relations* refers to something that is going on in the world” (McClelland, 1969:1¹⁰⁹). Is it possible that scholars, who share this view, *have been* or *may still be* erroneous? If so, perhaps, they may just have been oblivious, to precisely, what *IR* may (then and currently) represent (beyond McClelland’s somewhat brusque response above) *towards* as well as *for*, its vast scholars. Regarding the scope of the subject matter of *IR*, various attempts to respond, to the above posed question, are given below:

While it is difficult, to define the discipline of *international relations* precisely, there are a variety of topics, which would be generally accepted, as falling within its scope. These include arms races, alliances between states, the causes of war and, indeed, most form of social interaction, which involve the interaction of states or which cross state boundaries. States and governments are important, but they are not, the only actors in the social systems, of concern here, and for some issues may be peripheral. War is the crucial problem, which characterizes the international system (Nicholson, 1990:2).

In agreement with the above articulation, as expressed by *Michael Nicholson (1990)*, adding more details, of what the subject matter of *IR* entails, is elaborated further here “*Wars, international conferences, diplomacy, Olympic games, espionage, trade, foreign aid, immigration, tourism, hijacking, world-wide epidemics, violent revolutions-* all these phenomena fall within the expanding scope of the discipline of international relations” (Coulombis and Wolfe, 1978:3).

The above definitions are practically supported, in *Rourke’s (1999)* opening chapter, wherein for him, the approach to *World Politics*, circulated around concern, regarding fitting response, to the abovementioned themes. For the author of this study, it is noteworthy, to state that *Rourke (1999)* made direct reference, to three forms of levels of analysis- “*System-Level Analysis, State-Level Analysis* and *individual level Analysis*” (Rourke, 1999: xv). Perhaps effort of elaborating on these traits, may be helpful, further on in the study. This immediate articulation, at least provides, some form of direction, in this exploratory study.

The focus on the theme of war, is emphasized below, in reference to *IR*, by the following scholars

The study of *international relations* has experienced a thoroughgoing revolution in the years since *World War II*. As taught in the interwar period (and it was taught only seldom before 1920), it was a highly emotionalized form of diplomatic history. Its purpose was clear- to learn why men had gone to war in the past, to appreciate the errors of their ways, to discover institutions that would make war illegal and irrational, and always to urge participation, in the *League of Nations*. It was rationalist, moralist, legalistic, and optimistic. Its goal was utopia, its methodology, a mixture of history and exhortation. More recent studies have, however, been characterized, by the utilization of a broad spectrum, of analytical approaches and research techniques (Lerche and Said, 1970:1-2).

So according to the above quote, *IR* was really a discipline, which focused most of its attention, on diplomatic history. This may explain and perhaps support, the reasons for the authoring of *Susan Strange's States, Firms and Diplomacy*(1992) and *Samuel Huntington's*¹¹⁰ *The Clash of Civilization*, from amongst the community of *IR* Scholars. In as much as it may be granted that *diplomacy*, is a key feature in *IR*, may *IR's* broad research interests be parked at that point? The author of this study doubts it.

On proceeding forward, amidst the definitions found and presented here, the author of this study, believes that, it may well be worthwhile, from the onset, to register the following notice: “Note that when we speak about the academic subject ‘International Relations’ (*IR*), we use capital letters. When we refer to those events in the World, that are studied by the subject, we use small letters and call them ‘international relations’ (McGowan et al,2006:13).

After having noted the distinction (above), made between ‘*IR*’ and ‘*international relations*’, it is advisable to recall that *IR* scholars, who are aware of such a distinction, somehow assume (with the exception of *Nkiwane (2001)* and *Snow and Brown's (2000)* definitions- see further below), that employing these concepts, almost interchangeably, will not be read as being problematic.

For the author of this study, failure of distinguishing these two concepts, may certainly lead to confusion. It seems as though, for them (*IR* scholars), fellow scholars (both novice(s) and

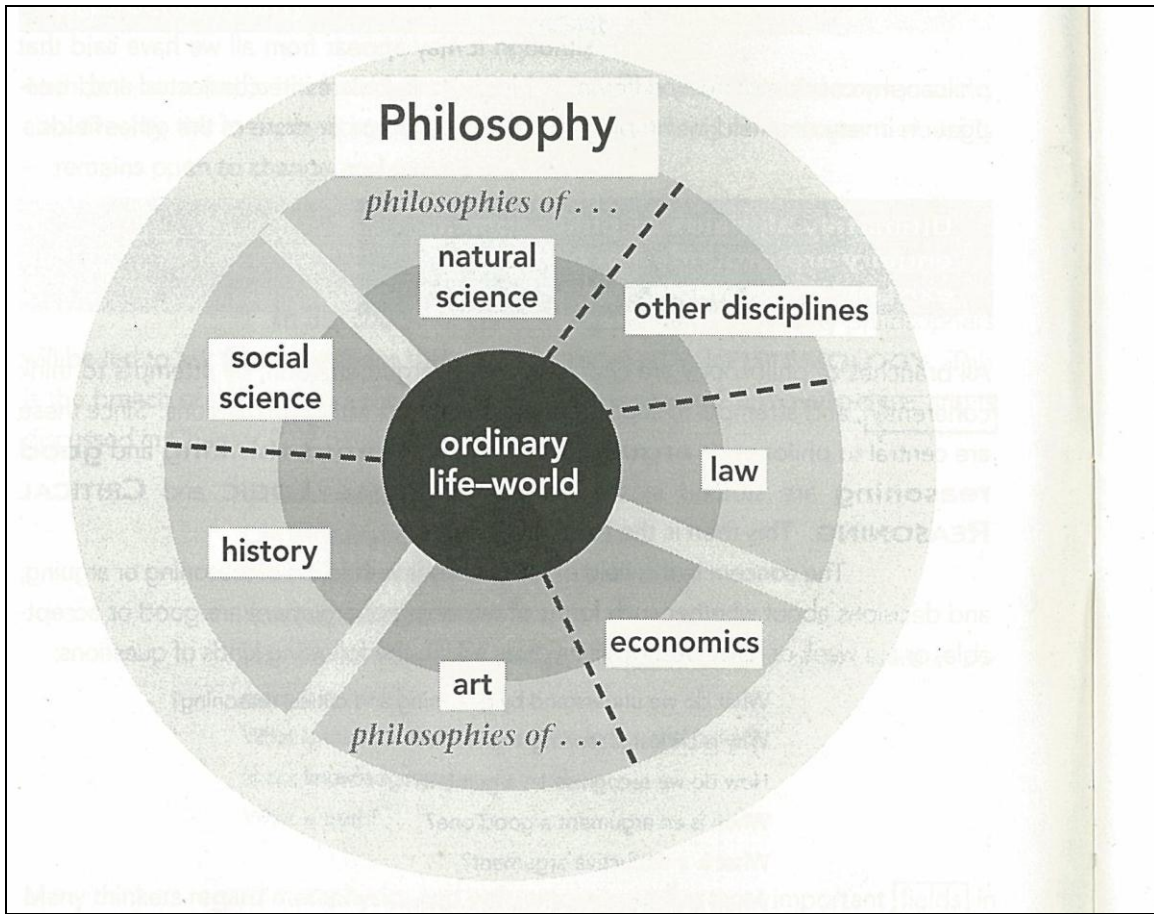
established *IR* scholars), will nevertheless, not be confused, by their complex choice, of their preferred jargon. Failure of recalling the abovementioned distinction, may certainly lead to blind submission, pleading ignorance, to the possibility, of the employed terminology, coming across, as utterly confusing. This may apply to scholars, situated on the exterior side of the *IR* discipline.

The mitigating factor, which may explain, how the suspected fault(s), may have come about, may have a lot to do, with the direct result, of having (mis)read, some of the selected definitions available, regarding *IR*. This dilemma, may be compared, to how any group of scholars, may expectedly also react, when confronted, with any other form, of jargon, existing beyond their respective discipline(s). For the author of this study, the *IR* scholars employed below, presumably, believe that awareness, of their original intent, will expectedly be known. In noting the grave assumptions made, by scholars in question, effort herein, to ensure for clarity, will hopefully be pursued, within this study. So just for the record, throughout this study, it should always be kept in mind that *IR* and *international relations* - do not refer to the same thing, as specifically explained earlier on, by McGowan *et al* (2006).

2.1.1 The ambiguous tractus of *IR*: Enter Politics, Philosophy and the Rest

For the sake of any prospective scholars of *IR*, regarding *IR*'s roots, the following diagram (as depicted below) was secured. It is the view and argument of the author of this study that the simplicity, in which this diagram was drafted, fulfills its intended purpose of providing, the desired historical clarity, of the tree of *pedagogy*. In order to achieve the clarification sought, which may intervene in any possible dispute(s), that *may have* or *yet to be* raised pertaining to the scholarly body of *IR (theory)*. The connection with the other existing academic disciplines, could never be overlooked. Such a succinct presentation, which may be of assistance in this light, should be read, as the author of this study's attempt, of avoiding at all cost to be guilty of being *ahistorical*. Special attention should be noted, in as far as how *Philosophy* connects to *IR*.

Figure 1.1: Philosophy and its relation to the other Academic disciplines



Source: Clare, J. et al.1996. *Philosophy, An Introduction*. Pp.8. Published by the Authors and Editors. Durban: University of Natal.

With *international relations* and *IR* already stipulated, returning back, to the question of stopping at *diplomacy* is due. From this posed question consequently a fitting response is sought, regarding where *IR*, may be located, amidst the other *Social Science(s)* disciplines. The following definition below, comes across as pertinent, as one of multiple responses sought:

...*international relations* is broad and complex. It involves the use, of many variables and the treatment of numerous interactions. This has always made it hard, to comprehend fully, the dynamics of the international system and all the interactions, within the system. The need for a 'unifying conceptual framework', comprising a manageably small number of conceptual elements, and therefore for a high degree, of abstraction (Nitze, 1959:1).

Elsewhere it is stipulated, by Nkiwane¹¹¹ (2001) that “International Relations (*IR*) involves the study of power, between and among states” (Nkiwane, 2001:279). Two excellent texts, which match such a definition are *Hans Morgenthau’s Politics Among Nations, The Struggle for Power and Peace (1948*¹¹²) and *E.H Carr’s The Twenty Years’ Crisis 1919-1939 (1939)*. Notice that both these texts, represent (ed) the *Realist* tradition in *IR*. With immediate effect here, the author of this study, was initially uncertain, whether or not to have agreed, with those, who may arguably, have also come across, as being cynical, in reference to the above definition. In considering the *abstract* nature, as highlighted in the above quote, by *Nitze’s (1959)* definition of *IR*, the resolution taken by the author of this study, to refuse to accept any *single* definition of *IR*- at this early stage of the study, should thus be understandable.

In the event however wherein remarks, pertaining to the somewhat sparse element, inherent in the above given definitions thus far, this may possibly be read, by some sceptics or critics alike, as perceived to hold, some invalid or inadequate ground. For the author of this study with all the above notwithstanding, the above definitions (more than anything else) consolidated the need, for the author of this study, to secure other relevant definitions. Based on the variety of perspectives, worth investigating, high contestability is anticipated. Such views (like any others which may be dimmed as relevant), deserve their fair share of space, for due consideration. Further contemplation, should be embarked upon, notwithstanding any merit, which may, at best, indicate the enormous focus, on the theme of the *state*, as already been suggested, in some of the definitions above. Unpacking, the reference made, towards the concept of *power*, might also be enlightening here.

For *Tansey and Jackson (2008:136)* “States vary a great deal, in their organization and in their concept, of the role of government. *Bernard Crick*¹¹³ has suggested, a good starting point for the classification of states, which brings out, some of these differences. These categories are however, extremely ‘broad-brush’...” So in continuation, mention of *Republican, Autocratic* and *Totalitarian* examples, are thus given. These governments are defined as follows

Republican –government as a constitutional process, in which disparate group views, on the public interest, are reconciled through a political process, of discussion...Examples: eighteenth- century Britain, classical Athens, modern liberal democracies. *Autocratic*- Public interest defined by government. Subjects’ involvement in politics seen as suspicious/subversive, Government’s role mainly limited to taxation, foreign policy. In ‘private affairs’ citizens pursue their own happiness, without interference. Examples include monarchic governments, of the eighteenth century, military regimes. *Totalitarian*-Government defines public interest, that is all-inclusive, political opposition is treason, no private sphere- good citizens participate enthusiastically, in rebuilding society. Official ideology, defines happiness. Examples include: Nazi Germany, Stalin’s Soviet Union (Tansey and Jackson, 2008:136).

In shifting the focus to the concept of *politics*, the following is captured

In the context of *politics*, the concept of *power*, is paraphrased as follows “...the production of intended effects” (Bertrand Russell¹¹⁴, 1938) “...the probability, that one actor within a social relationship, will be in a position, to carry out his own will, despite resistance regardless of the basis, on which the probability arises (Max Weber¹¹⁵, in Gerth and Mills, 1948)” (Tansey and Jackson, 2008:5).

Striking, as both these definitions may be, along with the earlier definitions on the *state*, all of the abovementioned, may nevertheless be worthwhile, to keep in mind, as this study progresses.

Evidence of the noted emphasis on *power* within *international relations* analysis, may be observed in the various *TRIP*¹¹⁶ surveys, to be discussed, in more detail in the subsequent chapters. A perusal of *Box 1.2 (IR Values and Theories)* as displayed in the addendum is also recommended, in order to support the above made observation, by the author of this study. All these sources should at least be read, as augmenting towards a clear (er) picture, of what the enterprise of *IR*, may be, all about. Notably from most of the above sources, the theoretical schools classified under *Mainstream IR* category, range from *Realism*, *Liberalism* and *Marxism et al.*

It is the abovementioned theories that feature by far, ahead of *IR's other* (Non-Eurocentric) or simply theories *not thought/perceived* as relevant to *IR* theory¹¹⁷. An elaborate discussion, which seeks to provide evidence of the abovementioned observation, is addressed (supported by utilising various diagrams, figures etc) and discussed in depth throughout *Chapter 3*.

Confusion regarding the dominance of specifically *Realism*, as pointed out in the preceding paragraph, is further supported when comparison with other *Mainstream IR* theories, ranging from *Liberalism, Marxism, Constructivism, Feminism, English School* is/are made. The author of this study, also remarked on the above statement, after noticing that when *Realism* is erected alongside the *Non- Paradigmatic* theories (although these as depicted in *Box 1.6*, under the category of *Post-positivists*, may be read as (highly-) debatable, in some scholarly quarters-see *Stuart Croft's* elaborate refusal (page 159) of *Realism*, not necessarily being a leading *IR* theory).

For the author of this study, whether a *foremost* or leading *IR* theory or not, *Realism* however remains as a gigantic oak tree, within the forest of *IR* literature, complete with protruding *Eurocentric* leaves. Whatever amount of scepticism, at least the scholars, under the *Post-positivists* category, may much to their credit optimistically, arguably provide some form of samples, which may at least, serve as examples, of *Non-Paradigmatic theory*.

Given the amount of emphasis, on texts such as *Carr's Twenty Years Crisis* as typically illustrated by contemporary *IR* scholars, such as *Kuniyuki Nishimura*¹¹⁸, as observed in his recent doctoral thesis, defended at *San Francisco State University* titled *Politics at its Demise: E.H Carr, 1931-1939 (2009)* further support *Realism's* hegemonic status. Such emphasis has also been bestowed upon *Morgenthau's*, critically acclaimed *Politics Among Nations*, as illustrated in *Box 1.3 (First Major debate on IR)* courtesy of *Jackson and Sorensen (2003:44)*. From the perspective of emphasis, placed on such texts, not much argument of *Realism's* commanding dominance, over *Utopian liberalism*, may be questioned, to date.

Resistance or opposing views to the one expressed in the above paragraph however, should be acknowledged and noted, as some respondents, in the respective *TRIP Survey (s)*, have been observed to subscribing to such a position. Thought here, should be spared, for those, who may differ, with the above view. On that score, elimination of any doubt, pertaining to *Realism's* dominance, as the most employed theoretical approach, within the discourse of *IR*, should be registered.

The detailed statements below, in response to questions posed, related to this query, advisably from the results of the *TRIP Survey (2009)* are thus worth, being read. In the light, of definitions given thus far, the amount of complexity involved is indeed registered. *Christopher Clapham's*¹¹⁹ response below, concurred with *Nkiwane's (2001)* earlier mentioned definition:

international relations as a subject of academic study, has conventionally been primarily concerned, with the interaction between states. This has not, of course, excluded the recognition, that states themselves, are complex and variable structures. The behavior of which in the international arena, is often critically affected, by their internal composition, and especially by the nature, of their domestic power structure (Clapham, 1996: 244).

In the continuous bid, of achieving clarity, perhaps seeking the role played by *IR*, might lead scholars out of the current forest of ambiguity. In support of the complexness of *IR*, as expressed in the above definitions, other scholars, define *IR*, as performing the following function:

... *International Relations* as the subject that studies global order: how order emerges, and how it is maintained and transformed, in the global system, through the use of authority and/or power to structure and manage the relations, among actors. These relations may involve states, in any combination of two or more, or may exclude states, or may involve states and actors, that are not states (McGowan, et al, 2007:12).

The author of this study, is open to the possibility that the above broad definition(s), noted thus far, may consequently, still lead some scholars, to arrive at varying viewpoints, pertaining to precisely, what may constitute *IR*. If the above immediate definition, is anything to go by, then

perhaps the following utterance, may also be of help “*International relations* is an elusive subject and analysts are apt to differ, concerning the focus of the subject and the appropriateness of various approaches, to its study” (Williams, 1989: ix).

A consideration of approaches to *IR*, as particularly found in the *TRIP* (2009) survey, may perhaps explain, why such a dilemma exists. As *Maliniak et al* (2009:15) reveal in their *question 4*, which seeks to ascertain the “*areas of the world studied substantially by IR scholars in their Introduction to IR course(s)*”. Response provided by participants, in this questionnaire, indicates that the closer a scholar is to a region, the more likely, that scholar will focus, on data focused from that region. According to the researcher of this study, the jury still remains out, on whether the above trend, is a positive or negative factor, in as far as growth of *IR*, is concerned.

Further on, in *question 39*, of the same *TRIP* (2009) survey, which was interested in finding out, from the interviewed scholars -who their “*most influential IR scholars*¹²⁰ (*Maliniak et al* (2009:43)” were? Response recorded, seems consistent with feared concerns of *IR* sceptics, given *IR*’s current scholarly form. Considering that the scholars, are entirely emanating from the *Western hemisphere*, these findings, may have shed some light, in as far as explaining emphasis, placed on *Eurocentric* views, as observed in *IR* literature. Not a single *Afrikan* nor *Afrocentrist*’s name, made it onto that list. Should this be read, as shocking? Not if scholars, have noted the growing empirical evidence, provided and illustrated, in the addendum of this study.

Having been suspicious, of the level of complexity, in which fellow *IR* scholars, may also have encountered, in their attempts to define *IR* (as observed in the above definitions thus far), the following summary statement, is thus made. In reference to emphasis, towards the *state*, (as it earlier caused a debacle, for the author of this study, when raised by *Nkiwane’s* (2001) definition) *IR* is poignantly described, here as “the study of how authority and / or power is used to organize and manage, trans-border relations, between actors, and how this contributes to the establishment, maintenance and transformation, of order in the world system” (McGowan et al, 2007:13). The

sought specificity, provided here, regarding the subject matter of *IR*, allows for some sense of relief, in as far as specific interests, which are assumed to be addressed by *IR*.

Based on the above definition, if ever there may have been, any suspicious room, inviting any form of doubt, which may suggest, that the abovementioned definitions, thus far, may be faulted for being somewhat sparse, effort to include other definitions, with the aim of addressing, such a concern (in some degree or other, mainly for clarity seeking purposes) is thus acknowledged at this point. Of note here, is that the above definitions, articulated by *Nicholson (1990)*, *Coulombis and Wolfe (1978)*, *McGowan et al (2007)*- have all contributed their fair share, in comfortably complimenting *Nkiwane's (2001)* earlier expressed, *statecentric* definition.

The emphasis of *interstate power relations* and preoccupation, with issues circumventing around the theme of the *state*, in the above definitions, bear testimony to their level of consensus. So for the author of this study, the comments made, by the above scholar's, supported thus far by the findings from the *TRIP (2009)* survey, certainly should vindicate *Nkiwane's (2001)* earlier definition, from any further scrutiny. In the event, that this should really be the case, considering *Nitze's (1959)* mention of "a high degree of abstraction, involved in the comprehension of the dynamic system", followed by the comment which pointed out, that *IR's* "goal was utopia, its methodology a mixture of history and exhortation" (Lerche and Said, 1970:1-2) and lastly combined with *William's (1989)* comment about "the elusive subject" that is *IR*, should be noted.

The above two views, suggestively indicate "analysts differ" on how best to deal with the issues, which make up, the academic field of *IR*. The volume of abstractness, related to the subject matter of *IR*, has inevitably gone a long way, in leading the author of this study, to embrace *Nkiwane's (2001)* earlier presented definition, as is. If anything, the definitions below, nevertheless seem to build up, on *Nkiwane's (2001) statecentric*¹²¹ definition.

On proceeding forward, almost in sync, with the definitions given so far, the following *IR* scholar, opens up the scope of *IR*, a bit more. This is seemingly done, in an effort to provide

another view of *IR*, as opposed to the narrow appeal, as implied, by most of the above definitions thus far:

Strictly defined, the field of *international relations (IR)* concerns, the relationships among the world's national governments. But these political relations, cannot be understood, in isolation. They are closely connected, with other actors (such as the United Nations, multinational corporations, and individuals); with other social relationships (including economics, culture, and domestic politics) and with geographic and historical influence. *IR* is a large subject, that overlaps several other fields (Goldstein, 1996:3).

From the above definition, may *Goldstein's (1996:3)* reference to "...political relations..." imply that the study of *IR*, is also a study of politics? Given the ongoing reference in most texts (both contemporary, as mostly, under discussion in this study and ancient scholars¹²², dating back from scrolls, as authored by *Western philosophers* ranging from

Plato's *Republic*, Aristotle's *Politics*, the influence of Thucydides's *Peloponnesian war*, Thomas Aquinas's *Treatise on Law*, David Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature (Book III, Parts I and II)* and his *Political Essays* (especially "of the Original Contract"), Thomas Hobbes *Leviathan*, Immanuel Kant's *Philosophy of Law* and Jeremy Bentham's *Principles of Morals and Legislation* (Gewirth, 1965:31).

From the above quote, the *Eurocentrically* driven trend, observed from pioneering philosophical thought, should be noted. The discourse of *Philosophy*, may have possibly contributed, towards the field of *IR*, apparently more than, was originally suspected, by the author of this study. Given that the core interest, of this study, is located on an *Afrocentric* philosophical enquiry, such underlying reliance to works from *Mainstream Philosophy*, may be worthy of further discussion.

Consistent references made to *state, interstate relations, governance, world system* and *intergovernmental organisations*, such as the wide ranging political shenanigans, that require, the continuous intervention of the *United Nations* etc, should thus not be surprising, to fellow *IR* scholars, in the context of the earlier posed question, when enquiry about *IR*, being a study of *politics* was raised. As picked up in the last quote, reference to *politics*, may be in turn located from the various works, of *Mainstream Western Philosophers* (as already named above).

The response to the above posed question, immediately, sparks a need to distinguish *IR*, from *politics*. Perhaps the best way to reply, to this question, would be to define *politics* (not in passing, as was done earlier), but with the length, that it may justifiably deserve- as undertaken further below.

To begin with, scholars are consistently reminded of *Aristotle's* words that 'man is by nature a political animal' because for *Aristotle* "the highest purpose of human life is participation in the political community (polis¹²³). This participation, means helping to make, the fundamental decisions, that guide society and carrying out our responsibility, to serve common interest" (Scott and Garrison, 1995:17).

Since *IR* may be read as a branch/subfield of *politics*, the author of this study thus argues that it is necessary, to define *politics* elaborately. Elsewhere, another attempt of defining *politics* is captured below:

Politics, in its broadest sense, is the activity through which, people make, preserve and amend the general rules, under which they live. Although *politics* is also an academic subject (sometimes indicated by the use of '*Politics*' with a capital P), it is then clearly the study, of this activity. *Politics* is thus inextricably linked, to the phenomena of conflict and cooperation. On the one hand, the existence of rival opinions, different wants, competing needs and opposing interests, guarantees disagreement, about the rules, under which people live. On the other hand, people recognize that, in order to influence these rules or ensure, that they are upheld, they must work with others- hence *Hannah Arendt's*¹²⁴ ...definition of *political power* as 'acting in concert'. This is why, the heart of *politics*, is often portrayed as a process of conflict resolution, in which rival views or competing interests, are reconciled with one another. However, *politics* in this broad sense, is better thought of as a search for conflict resolution, than as its achievement, as not all conflicts are, or can be, resolved. Nevertheless, the inescapable presence of diversity (we are not all alike) and scarcity (there is never enough to go around) ensures, that *politics* is an inevitable feature, of the human condition (Heywood, 2007:4).

In the attempt to define *politics*, the above reference, illustrates the possible reasons, why this term may, overtime have been defined, in numerous ways. Notably as was already mentioned above, by *Scott and Garrison (1995)* the word *politics* etymologically, stems from the word

“*polis* (Greek, city)... emerged from archaic Greece as a self-governing, small community governed by a sense of separate identity, with its own rule of law. The *polis* evolved, so that family and religious life and a person’s sense of identity and worth, all became subordinate, to the role, of the free citizen and the needs of the *polis*.”(Blackburn, 2008:280-281).

So from the post *Socrates* scholars, it has been observed, by the author of this study, that works such as *Plato’s The Republic*, *Aristotle’s Politics*, in turn also influenced, other scholars, who would be interested, in such a discourse. Notable amongst these early scholars (today at Oxford University referred to as *past masters or The Greats*¹²⁵) of philosophy, was *Thomas Hobbes*, when he enrolled as a student, at Oxford University. Although *Hobbes* has authored numerous works, such as the *Elements of Philosophy*, which included *De Cive (The Citizen)* published in 1642), *De Corpore (On Matter)* published in 1656) and *De Homine (Man)* published in 1658), none of these works, were as popular as his major treatise, titled *Leviathan (1651)* (which metaphorically made reference, to the notion of *absolute power*, as a phenomenon, within a state (in this particular work, specific reference, was focused on England). Once again at this stage, the influence of the *Greek philosophers* should be noted. Taking cognizance of this background, may perhaps assist, in the comprehension, of where most of the scholarly political roots of *IR* seemingly, sprouted from *philosophy* and later *Political Science* (as hopefully illustrated on page 56).

According to *Kegley and Wittkopf, (2006:16)* “politics is the exercise of influence, to affect the distribution of particular values, such as power, prestige, or wealth- is the most pervasive and controversial aspect of international affairs.” On elaborating further, they distinguish politics, into two categories- *low politics* and *high politics*. The former is described as “a category of global issues, related to the economic, social, demographic, and environmental relations between governments and people” (Kegley and Wittkopf, 2006:17). The latter is defined as dealing with “issues related, to the military, security, and political relations of states” (Kegley and Wittkopf, 2006:17).

For the author of this study, *IR* appears to fit, succinctly into both the categories, as noted above. An understanding, of why this may be so, may be in order, hence it is pursued in the following subsection. For worthwhile and elaborative examples, of the above statements, reference to *Burchill (1996:8)*, *Brown and Ainley's* definition of *IR* and also *McGowan et al (2007:12)* – all recorded earlier on, within this chapter, may adequately serve as fitting response(s) mostly performing the function, of clarity seeking purpose(s).

2.1.2 Locating the roots of *Political Science* and *Political Philosophy*

While still on the same point, of the study of *IR*, apparently not being differentiated, from the study of *politics*, the following explanation, seems pertinent. Note that, the term *Political Science*¹²⁶ is the scholarly term, employed by *Scott and Garrison (1995:15)*. Two elaborate accounts, offering a scholarly background of *Political Science*, are provided by *Leo Strauss*¹²⁷ (not to be confused with *Claude Levi- Strauss* – who was a French anthropologist and structuralist, who was educated in law and philosophy, at the Sorbonne), in his work titled the *Origins of Political Science (1958*¹²⁸) and also *Robert Adcock* alongside *Mark Bevir* in their article, titled *The History of Political Science (2005)*. So on the strength of these texts, in addition to *Scott and Garrison's (1995)* use of the concept *Political Science*, it shall also be adopted and employed as is, in this study.

The following articulation, clarifies further meaning of *Political Science*. It is the intention of the author of this study, that based on the link of *IR* (as a sub-discipline or sub-field of *IR*), an elaborate definition of *Political Science* (as presented below), should hopefully be of much needed assistance.

By *political science* we understand, such a study of political things, as is not subject to any authority, nor simply a part of political activity or simply ancillary, to political activity. Originally *political science* was identified with *political philosophy*. The distinction between science, in

general and philosophy in general, and that distinction, is of fairly recent date. *Political Philosophy* or *political science* was originally the quest, for the best regime or the best society, or the doctrine, regarding the best regime or the best society, a pursuit which includes, the study of all kinds of regimes (Strauss, 1958:129).

So as earlier suspected, with continuous reference to philosophers, such as *Socrates* (as derived from the article by *Strauss* (1958) above), and earlier reference to work on *Socrates*'s prominent scholar *Plato*, who notably, is believed to have influenced *Aristotle* and other philosophers, is confirmed, in the article under discussion, as being a founding source, of the study of *Politics*. *Politics* may thus be read, as a parent of *IR*. This important affirmation will hopefully be addressed elaborately, further on, in the study. The author of this study, observes that mention of *philosophy*, is never distant, from discourse of *IR* or any script, which has consequently taken, some serious interest, on the study of *Politics*.

Another articulated view, on the development of *Political Science*, as an academic discipline, is provided below

Contemporary *political Science* has evolved, from many related fields of study, including *history*, *philosophy*, *law* and *economics*. Once a part of these various disciplines, *political science* finally reached the point (in the United States, during the first and second decades of the twentieth century) where it could properly declare, its independence-just as many of these related fields, had earlier freed themselves from *philosophy* and *religion*. But despite the recent development of *political science*, as a special field of study, the theoretical and practical study, of the state and of *politics*, dates back at least to the ancient *Greeks* (about 500 to 300 B.C.) (Rodee and Anderson et al, 1983:5).

The closing sentence, from the above quote, may explain the following remark, which interestingly clearly leads scholars, to the historical detail as performed by *Western Philosophers*.

The *political philosopher* was originally a man, not engaged in political activity, who attempted to speak about the best regime. If we seek, therefore, for the origins of *political science*, we merely have to identify the first man, not engaged in political activity, who attempted to speak about the best regime. No less a man than *Aristotle* himself, informs us about that man. His name was *Hippodamus* from *Miletus* (Strauss, 1958: 129).

Although *Strauss (1958)* later stipulates, in the same lecture notes, where he read the above article, *Hippodamus*, only lived up to being the first *political scientist*, to a certain degree, not in the conventional way, as one may have assumed. This is of course, if he may be even be regarded, to have been a *political scientist* at all. So one may interpret, the role performed by *Hippodamus*, as described by *Strauss*, to be read, unconnected with the activities, of a typical *political scientist*.

With all the above finding having been mentioned, any further interest, which may have been there, regarding the mystique pertaining to *Hippodamus*, may thus be laid to rest, at this point and pursued no further. Lest scholars forget, a reminder here however, of the origins of the study of *Politics*, emanating from *philosophical discourse* is consolidated and thus should be kept in mind. Of significance here, is that *Philosophy* as a field of study, is to be traced back, to *Miletus* as stressed, in both the above quotes. As elaborately explained further below

The birthplace of *philosophy* was the seaport town of *Miletus*, located across the Aegean Sea from Athens, on the western shores of *Ionia*, in *Asia Minor*, and for this reason the first philosophers are called either *Milesians* or *Ionians*. By the time the *Milesian* philosophers, began their systematic work, roughly around 585B.C. *Miletus* had been a crossroads, for both seaborne commerce and for cosmopolitan ideas. Her wealth made possible, the leisure without which, the life of art and *philosophy*, could hardly develop, and the broad-mindedness and inquisitiveness of her people, created a congenial atmosphere, for the intellectual activity, that was to become *philosophy* (Stumpf, 1971:3).

So from *Samuel Enoch Stumpf's (1971)* text, titled *Philosophy, History and Problems*, much is learnt about philosophers, prior to the entrance of *Socrates*, into the scene of this overly *Eurocentric* discourse. With regards to *Miletus*, its pioneering scholars deserve some mention- *Homer* (the poet), *Thales* (the contemporary of *Solon* and *Croesus*), *Anaximander* (student of Thales), *Anaximander* (was believed to be the third, and last of the *Miletus* philosophers, considered a junior associate of *Anaximander*).

The following group of philosophers, were primarily interested, in proving, the mathematical basis, of all things. This group was led by *Pythagoras* (believed to be the founding mathematician), *Heraclitus* (the problem of change), *Parmenides* (founder of the *Eleatic* school, also dealt, with the phenomenon of change), *Zeno* (student of *Parmenides*), *Empedocles* (synthesizer of argument against motion and change) and *Anaxagoras* (interpreter of process wherein *matter*, takes on the form, of particular things).

The group of philosophers, that followed, were referred to as the *Atomists- Leucippus* and *Democritus* (they were believed to have formulated a theory, about the nature of things). The final group of philosophers, prior to *Socrates* was the *Sophists/intellectuals*. They included *Protagoras* from *Abdera in Thrace*, *Gorgias* from *Leontini in Southern Sicily* and *Thrasymachus* from *Chalcedon*. Coming from a different culture (away from Athens), they sought to pose contemporary questions, on *Athenian thought* and customs. Keeping these pre-*Socratic* philosophers in mind, as this study proceeds onwards, is highly suggested. Failure of that might correctly render this study, courtesy of its author, guilty of the charge of being *ahistorical*.

*Neil Johnson's*¹²⁹ (1989) text titled *The Limits of Political Science* advances afore hazards, as observed by him, associated with the study, of *Political Science*. His views are worth noting here. Just for the record, for *Johnson* “*international relations*’ means the study of relations between states, chiefly in the contemporary world” (Johnson, 1989:2). So *Johnson's* definition, does not seem to differ, from those scholars, already mentioned above- who stressed a *statecentric* focus. With that definition registered, *Johnson* acknowledges, that after having spent, almost two decades

belonging to an institution, specializing in the *Social Sciences* and set within a university, where the discipline of *politics*, has many followers. As the years have passed I have, from this vantage point, become increasingly skeptical, about the claims made, on behalf of *politics*, as a mode of study, in universities and as something, in the nature of a discipline or distinctive body, of knowledge. In a nutshell, it seems to me, that *politics*, as the subject, is now generally conceived

and pursued, falls between two stools: on the one hand, it is insufficiently austere, in defining its own province and the kinds, of reasoning and evidence, to be employed, for it, to offer the sure prospect, of a real intellectual challenge, to those who seek that, from higher education, rather than useful knowledge, whilst on the other, it is too impressionistic in content and method, to be applied, with any confidence, in practical affairs (Johnson,1989:iv).

Johnson (1989) goes on to support, the above remarks, by discussing at length, his thoughts on, amongst other chapter topics *Politics within the Social Sciences, The Emergence of Politics as a University Discipline, Politics as a Science* and the *Illusions of Utility*. His thoughts on *IR*, are captured in his summary , at the end of the chapter, on *Politics as Science* “And when it is not clear, what a subject is and on what foundations, it rests, its claims to retain a place, in the academic curriculum, lie open to challenge” (Johnson,1989:86). It seems as though for *Johnson*, the discourse of *politics* and *IR*, could easily be areas, which include anything and/or everything. For him this is worrisome and the author of this study, also shares the same sentiment. Supporting comments articulated by *Johnson*, for the author of this study, remains worthwhile, as they offer intellectual food for thought. If misread such data, may lead to a *pool of haga maga* (state of confusion).

So with regards to the evolution of *Political Science*, having led to its *Eurocentric* inspired status, explanation of *possible gaps* and *spaces*, that should have been closed, are somehow registered, in the comment below:

the greatest failure of *political science* in the twentieth century, is its inability to identify a common methodology, a common approach to the study of *politics*. *Economics, history, and psychology* all contain many schools of thought, and yet there is far greater agreement, upon the value and proper use of basic, methodological tools, within these disciplines, than in *political science*. Although many *political scientists* have attempted to reach, such an agreement, thus far they have failed. In his *Invisible Government of 1927*, *William Munro* proposed, that the discipline direct itself, to the discovery of the “fundamental laws” of political behavior, which then could be applied, to solve problems of government and administration. (William Munro.1928. *The Invisible Government*. New York: MacMillan.) Finding such laws, has become so difficult, however, that the search is no longer, the central concern of the discipline. If there is any accepted approach, to

the study of *politics* today, it is best called “*eclectic*”. This means that *political scientists* use a variety of tools and methods, and borrow insights from many approaches and disciplines in order to carry on their studies (Scott and Garrison, 1995:15).

Besides the disagreement amongst its scholars, about the primary focus of the discipline of *Politics*, as noted from the above quote, a key word that stands out and henceforth should be singled out, is *eclectic*. In its simplified form, this term may be understood to mean- a selection of opinions or ideas which may be derived, from many sources. Denotatively, *eclectic* is defined as “Drawing one’s philosophy from various schools; so drawn; catholic in views or taste” (Fowler, F.G and Fowler, H.W. 1969:262).

In a later edition, of the same dictionary as mentioned above, the same word is denotatively defined as “(Ancient philosopher) selecting such doctrines, as pleased him, in every school; (person) borrowing freely from various sources, not exclusive in opinion, taste, etc” (Fowler and Fowler, 1974:386). In its philosophical sense “(Greek, *eklegein*, to choose). An *eclectic* position in philosophy or religion is one, which seeks to combine the best elements, of other views” (Blackburn, 2008:109). Once again, note the continuous reference, to the discourse of *Philosophy*, particularly as informed by the ancient *Greeks*.

Based on the above background, the link between *IR* and *Political Science* at least, for the author of this study, appears to have been addressed sufficiently, leading upto this juncture. It is the hope of the author of this study, that sceptics, who previously were not convinced, that *Philosophy* was linked to *Political Science*, have reviewed their position. *IR* as a *sub-field* (grandchild of *Philosophy*) and branch (immediate child of *Political Science*) consequently manifested how *IR theories* in turn, were shaped. The further assistance of the elaborate quotes herein may appropriately be noteworthy. Under the topic ‘*subfields and Recent Developments in the Study of Politics*’, scholars are further informed of the following:

Political Science today hosts many specialties. *Political scientists* study different nations of the world and...they borrow techniques, from the other *Social Sciences*... Broadly speaking, the study of *political science*, in the United States, is divided into four major areas: *Political theory and methodology, American government, political behavior, public policy and administration, Comparative politics and area studies and International relations* (Scott and Garrison, 1995:15).

In short, what must be noted, from the above comment, is that *IR's* relationship with *Politics*, is that of being, one of its subfield's, under the umbrella field of *Political Science*. These two in turn, as illustrated at the beginning of this chapter in *Figure 1.1*, as siblings of the discipline of *Western Philosophy* (mostly from the Greeks, and eventually in modern day *UK* and *America*) which contributes to the bulk, of the founding formation of discourse, referred to, as falling, under the *Social Sciences*. So specific examples include *History, Sociology, Psychology, law, Anthropology and economics*, amongst others. This has been confirmed earlier on, amongst others by *Rodee and Anderson (1983)*. Considering the thin line, that separates these disciplines, opting to single out, an *eclectic* approach, in pursuit of securing *Afrikan* contribution to *IR*, by the author of this study, should thus supposedly, be understood.

The above remarks specifically linked to a range of disagreements, are also complemented further by *Rodee and Anderson et al (1983)*. When discussing about 'the subject matter of '*Political Science*', which was almost similar to the letter, with what has been recognized, in the previous stanza, the following is expressed:

For nearly 2,500 years there has been speculation, study, and argument concerning the *state*- its origin, justification, limits, functions, processes, and the most appropriate methods for studying them. With academic independence and with the sophistication of its methods, of observation and measurement, and not least because of an ever-increasing number of trained *political scientists*, *political science* has developed, many fields or subdisciplines. But not all *political scientists*, will agree that the following listing, is either complete or sufficiently exact, and this in turn, is a *cogen* comment, on the problems of making the study of *politics* "scientific" (*Rodee and Anderson et al, 1983:7*).

In admitting that there may be no consensus, on the numerical figure of subdisciplines, of *Political Science*, as articulated in the above quote, then by naming a few here, as noted by *Rodee and Anderson et al (1983:7-14)* should be read as being mindful, of the above registered notice. Twelve subdisciplines of *Political Science*, are mentioned namely 1) *Political Philosophy*, 2) *Judicial and Legal Process*, 3) *Executive Process*, 4) *Administrative Organization and Behaviour*, 5) *Legislative Politics*, 6) *Political Parties and Interest Groups*, 7) *Voting and Public Opinion*, 8) *Political Socialization and Political Culture*, 9) *Comparative Politics*, 10) *Political Development*, 11) *International Politics and Organization* and 12) *Political Theory and Methodology*.

After reading the above list, the author of this study, may agree with *Rodee and Anderson et al* that to some extent, the wide-coverage or lack of specificity, from the above subdisciplines, may serve as testimony, of the “inability of *IR* practitioners, to agree on how to classify, what they do. *Rodee and Anderson et al (1983:7)*” For the author of this study, the sceptical sentiments of *Nevil Johnson*, immediately come to mind. This may possibly serve, as some sort of formidable indictment, of *Political Science* as a *stand alone* scholarly discipline.

In being aware of the above, in an effort to however continue, to keep in line, with the aim of this research, the author of this study, seeks to concentrate on two, of the listed subdisciplines of *Political Science* (from those mentioned above). The first one being *Political Philosophy* and the last one being *Political Theory and Methodology*. In describing *Political Philosophy*, the following is stated:

Every political act, implies some underlying, political value. It is appropriate, then, that the principal preoccupation of *political scientists*, from *Plato* to the early twentieth century, was with the values, that were regarded as essential, to the *good citizen* and the *just state*? What is *justice*? What makes *political power* and its exercise legitimate? What is the sanction for rebellion against the authority of the state...Answers to these and similar questions, have been and will continue to be endlessly debated because the “answers” are in terms of value, not facts. Individuals may use both fact and logic to support their values, but ultimately these values must stand or fall, according to their inherent self evidence- their appeal to other people with, apparently, equivalent rational

endowment. *Thomas Jefferson*¹³⁰ clearly understood this principle, when he wrote, in the *Declaration of Independence*¹³¹ about the political “truths” which “we hold...to be self-evident.” They could not be demonstrated, by *empirical observation*, *mathematical deduction*, or an *exercise in logic*. By its very nature, then, *political philosophy*, is the least scientific subdiscipline of *political science*. It is concerned, with the normative implications, of *political organisation* and *behavior*-the way the state and society *ought* to be organized and the way, the citizen *ought* to behave, given certain fundamental human values. This alone suggests that insofar as the other subdisciplines of *political science* lose sight, of the value implications of their research and findings, they are likely to stray, from the humane values of political life, that are the ultimate justification of their very existence. Science without *philosophy*, is not the servant of man, but his master (Rodee and Anderson et al, 1983:7).

To those scholars, who may find the above description complex, *Raphael* (1990) takes note of such an observation. In his opening account of his chapter titled *What is Political Philosophy?* *Raphael* intentionally begins, by providing an example, which he optimistically, hopes scholars, may relate to. In the opinion of the author of this study, the example in question, was read to be just as, equally confusing. In summary, the example in question, made reference to related arguments, commonly raised, within the sphere of *Politics*, direct response made to *governance* and the *state*. Given that these points, have already been recorded earlier on, redundancy will be avoided here. The author of this study’s point, made on the theme of complexity, stands and thus should be kept in mind, on the road ahead.

Having noted the above, definition of *Political Philosophy*, proceeding on, at this juncture as planned, towards the description of *Political Theory* and *Methodology*, follows below:

One sign of the increasing maturity of a field of knowledge is its explicit, frequently agonizing concern, with the problems of theory development, within the discipline...The term “*political theory*” is used here, to mean something significantly different, from “*political philosophy*”. *Philosophy* deals with fundamental questions, of values, and it studies the logical relationships between normative propositions. Its “truths” are thus not immediately relevant, to problems of fact. Unlike a philosophical system, of moral principles, a theory, can be tested empirically. It consists of propositions, that are expressed hypothetically, and the hypotheses in turn predict the relationship, between variables, that can be observed and measured, however imprecisely. (But the

more precise the measurement, the more systematic- and therefore scientific- the theory and its related discipline.) Theories can be proved or disproved or, more formally, “confirmed” or “disconfirmed.” A particular *philosophy*, is there for the taking-or the leaving (Rodee and Anderson et al, 1983:14).

From the above definition, a summary can be drawn, that any theory brought afore, should always be read, as some form of *proposal*, to support whatever concept, may be under discussion. This should thus be carefully understood, as declaring that any theory, that emerges (regardless of its source), does so, in order to be engaged further. This is further illustrated, in the articles found in the *Handbook of Political Theory (2004)*.

It has also been noticed, with avid interest, by the author of this study, that the above detailed description of *Political Theory and Methodology* interestingly, makes elaborate reference to *Political Philosophy*. This may explain why it has been stated, that concepts such as *Political theory* and *Political Philosophy* are often used interchangeably, but there is a recognizable difference, between the theoretical work of *political scientists* and that, of *political philosophers*” (Raphael, 1990:5).

In an effort to also attempt to stress their point, about the reference made, towards *political philosophy* Rodee and Anderson et al (1983) proceed to explain as follows:

It is important to remind the reader again, that this is not meant to minimize, the important role of *Political Philosophy*, which is always at least implicit, in political analysis and which enables *political scientists*, to evaluate the implications, of their findings in terms of “good” or “bad” and “just” or “unjust.” Nor do the authors mean to confuse, the issue here, by observing that there is a great deal, of *political theory*, in the thought of the great *political philosophers*; i.e., they were concerned, not only with the basic value implications, of certain styles of political organization and behavior, but also with the observation of relationships, between such variables, as *economic and political structures (Plato and Marx)*, *social structure and political stability (Aristotle)*, and *political culture and political authority (Machiavelli and Hobbes)*. More contemporary *political scientists*, however, have drawn a sharper line, between *Political Philosophy* and *Political theory*, and those concentrating, on the latter, have made clear their intent, to render *political science*, as scientific as possible (Rodee and Anderson et al, 1983:14).

May other denotative definition (s) of *philosophies of politics* differ from the above expressed articulations? Given the *Social Science* nature of the subject in question, for the author of this study, an apt response, may predictably be a complex *yes* and *no*. In the event that affirmation is taken to be the correct response, then in considering that “there is unsurprisingly no complete agreement, on what *political philosophers* do, and there are great divides between say, *Anglo-American analytical philosophers* and varieties, of *continental philosophy*” (Freeden, 1996:4¹³²), in the interest, of this study, securing a working definition, may be advisable in order to enable this study, to progress as desired.

In the event, that the above definition found may fail, in its performance for the task required, at least the effort undertaken, on the part, of the author of this study, may be acknowledged. For the author of this study, the prominent and contemporary scholar of *Philosophy*, at Cambridge University, *Simon Blackburn*’s (2008) definition, may just perform the desired task sought:

Politics, Philosophy of- Reflection on the nature of human community and government, and relations between the collective and the individual. Topics include the *legitimacy of government in its different forms*, the *foundations of law*, the *powers and boundaries of state interference*, with individuals (which includes such things as the *nature of property*), the *relations of states between themselves*, and the *rights and duties associated, with membership of a political unity*. For different topics see *Anarchism; Communism; Liberalism; Polis; Law, Philosophy of Socialism* (Blackburn, 2008:281).

Judging from the elaborate descriptions, pertaining to *Political Philosophy* and *Political Theory and Methodology* above, and furthermore even when turning, to a more denotative definition of *Philosophy of Politics* (as provided above from the *Oxford Dictionary of Philosophy* as authored by *Simon Blackburn*-contemporary Cambridge University based philosopher), there can be no denial, of how much the field of *Philosophy*, via its respective articulations, courtesy of its *Ancient* (pioneering scholars, stretching back to the *Miletians*), *Middle Ages* leading upto its contemporary philosophers (e.g. *Plato, Aristotle, Hobbes, Machiavelli, Marx and Kenneth Wilbur*¹³³), is put to service, within the overall scholarship of *Political Science*.

Other related texts include *History of Western Political Thought*, *Western Political Thought*, *From Socrates to the Age of Ideology* and *The Oxford Illustrated History of Western Philosophy*, all these texts cement the elaborate point (as already articulated thus far, in this study), that without the scholarly discourse as made possible by the body of literature pertaining to *Philosophy*, the study of *politics* and other scholarly fields, in the *Social Science* family tree, would have ceased to exist.

As done in *Philosophy*, the sharing of the various views or ideas, most of which are passed on, as one or other form of aspect(s) of theory, is the basis that leads to *theory building* or *theorizing*. It is such insight from scholars of *Philosophy*, which have been presented, as the backbone and foundation of *Political Science*. *IR* As a subdiscipline of *Political Science* has thus inherited tools of analysis, which stressed their origin from particularly *Western Philosophy* and its lineage of *Eurocentric* scholars. It is from such a historical gaze, that may (in part) explain why *IR*, appears trapped, within the same *Eurocentric* or *Westerncentric* Worldview/*Weltan-schauung*¹³⁴.

The two descriptions provided above, appear to have articulated an adequate background, which beyond the tracing of the historical roots of *IR*, may also enable fellow scholars, to comprehend the *eclectic* nature, which informs, the scholarly body of *IR*. Having attempted to at least contextualize, from the *Social Sciences*, where *Political Science*, as the main branch wherein *IR*, as one of its sub-branches, emanated from, and also *Political Philosophy* (a subdiscipline of *Philosophy*) the information above, should thus be read, as an effort of providing, some form of solid background of *IR*'s origins.

In retrospect after having discovered and discussed, the roots of *IR* and its *Mainstream* theories, *IR* scholars may thus proceed as planned, in the theme under investigation. Reflection is of critical importance, at this point. This is so especially when considering, that this is an

explorative study. In the investigative road ahead, data presented thus far, may thus be helpful, for guidance purposes, in further pursuit of responding, to the posed questions, in this study.

2.1.3 Commentary on the various definitions of *IR*

Returning our attention back, to more definitions of *IR*, it appears as though, for some *IR* scholars, clarity about an understanding of *IR*, as *their field of specialization*, is of fundamental importance. Such an observation is eloquently expressed, in the following remark

While recognizing that the term *international relations* is too narrow- perhaps *relations between powerful groups*, would be technically better- it seems advisable to accept predominant usage. The term *international relations*, will therefore be used, as the subject of study, dividing it into such special studies, as *international politics, international law, international organization, international economics, international education, international ethics, and the psychology and sociology of international relations*. The term will, however, also be used to include, such studies as *world history, political geography, political demography* and technology which have a *world* rather than an *international orientation*. These studies, are clearly fundamental, to the understanding of *international relations* (Wright, 1955:7).

Quincy Wright's (1955) abovementioned definition, to its credit, may be read as helpful, in as far as broadening *IR's* horizons and ensuring, that *IR* scholars are not found, to be continuously *second guessing*, about the *eclectic* character, of their discipline. This is based on sticking, not only to any one or the other, of the enlisted disciplines, as hinted from the abovementioned definitions listed. The corpus of insight, drawn from all these various fields, enables *IR*, (at least to those scholars, who may opt to see it, as such), to come across, as being much more than *IR* scholars, may have simply assumed *IR* to be. An ambitiously scholarly discourse, constructed on basis of eclectic traits. Such a claim at best argues that the study of *IR*, may arguably be worth its salt.

From the above stanza, an effort of portraying *IR*, as a worthy field of academic enquiry, is noted. The author of this study may agree, with such a view if *IR* may primarily, not be concerned, simply with politically inclined global phenomena. For the author of this study, *Wright's (1955)* definition, certainly endorses any *IR* scholar, to be careful of dismissing any contribution (s), which may, when tested against his definition, be found to be also relevant, in various contexts.

If most of the above definitions are anything to go by, *IR* scholars and their descriptions of *IR*, cannot be entirely vindicated, of their narrow scope(s). The following description, at least comes across, as more accommodative “*International Relations (IR)* can be described as the ways that countries of the world, group of people and even individuals, within those countries, interact with and affect one another” (Snow and Brown, 2000). For the author of this study, such a definition (its broadness notwithstanding) is consistent, with the values of *Afrocentricity*. This is so because its most outstanding feature, is the acknowledgement, of the effort of international advancement, being pursued by a “group of people even individuals” on behalf of their respective states, organisations and so on.

In being mindful of what has been noted above, without acknowledgement or recognition of ‘people’ or ‘individuals’ being behind, any form of whatever may have been labeled, as international thinking activity, then something should be clearly realized, as being amiss. The human factor (in all its contradictions), ideally should immediately, be noted. This would be in line, with whatever may be presented, as constituting *Afrocentric* characteristics. Such a view, may hopefully be further discussed, in subsequent chapters, as the relevant responses, to the two main questions posed, at the beginning of this study, are continuously being sought, as this study progresses.

Extensive emphasis centered, on issues, circulating around the theme of *state*, should thus be noted. As in the opening quotes of this chapter, *Nitze (1959:1)* admits to the level of broadness and complexity in which, modern scholars of *IR*, may have never assumed, existed. Admittedly the author of this study, shares the same view. *Nitze (1959:1)* in extrapolating complication

based on the involvement of “the use of many variables and the treatment of numerous interactions” for all its worth, given the dynamics of the international system and all the interactions, within such a system, *Nitze’s(1959)* comment, should indeed be read, as being relevant, in the quest of such a study.

So it may be worthwhile, for *IR* scholars to recognize existence, of the abovementioned complication. Taking into cognizance, all that has been quoted thus far, in an effort to define and understand *IR*, all the above mentioned definitions, may at least be read, as helpful, in pursuit of achieving further clarity, on *IR*. Ambiguity encircled around the emphasis on the *state*, still remains an obstacle, which appears to be, like an albatross, chained across the bulk of *IR* literature. Such a burden appears to continuously, still need to be addressed, in an effort of finally laying, such a challenge to rest, amicably.

In an attempt to elaborate further, about the abovementioned *interstate interaction*, the following remark, is worthy of being noted

This interaction includes inter-alia, the world’s governments; non-state actors (such as international organizations, multinational corporations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and individuals); social structures (including *economics, culture, and domestic politics*¹³⁵); and geographical and historical influences (Goldstein, 2002).

As important, as most of the above contributing factors have been to *IR*, for the author of this study, the lastly mentioned ‘historical influences’ stands out, from the rest. It is this factor, which may perhaps indicate, *IR’s* main challenge, of being considered, as presenting a genuinely representative or equally global, outlook.

In addition, to the above descriptions, possible confusion, in particular reference, to the naming, of such a discipline, should expectedly be raised, questioned and should the need arise, maybe

even be-interrogated as well. Dismissal, of any recorded views (positive or negative towards positions found and upheld, by various researchers) however should simply, be discouraged. Let us recall, that researchers, should always seek to be open-minded, in order for merit, in their commentary, to be recognized as such.

2.1.4 IR- A Misfit or a Hit as the name of such an eclectic informed Discipline?

*Stephen Chan*¹³⁶ and *Cerwyn Moore*¹³⁷ as the editors of the four part volume of *Theories of International Relations*¹³⁸ stipulate that “Although there have been, recent suggestions, that the discipline be renamed *world politics* or *global politics*, the genetic title of ‘*international relations*’ (*IR*) looks set to remain the designator of what is a heterogenous collection of mini-disciplines, which together, are now regarded, as a single academic discipline” (Chan and Moore, 2006: xxxv). The same issue, is accordingly addressed below:

The traditional core of *IR*, has to do with issues, concerning the development and change of sovereign statehood, in the context of the larger system or society of states. That focus on states and the relations of states, helps explain why war and peace, is a central problem, of traditional *IR* theory. However, contemporary *IR*, is concerned not only with political relations, between states but also with a host of other subjects: *economic interdependence, human rights, transnational corporations, international organizations, the environment, gender inequalities, development, terrorism* and so forth. For this reason, some scholars prefer the label ‘*International Studies*’ or ‘*World Politics.*’ We shall stay with the label ‘*International Relations*’ but we shall interpret it, to cover the broad range of issues (Jackson and Sorensen, 2003:34).

In line with the effort of further seeking to reply, to the posed question of *what is IR?* *Brown and Ainley (2005)* moreover support, the abovementioned definitions of *IR*. They respond as follows, to the question under discussion

a survey of the field, suggests that a number of different definitions, are employed. For some, *international relations*, means the diplomatic-strategic relations of states, and the characteristic focus of *IR*, is on issues of war and peace, conflict and cooperation. Others see *international relations* as being about cross-border transactions of all kinds, political, economic and social, and *IR* is as likely to study *trade negotiations* or the *operation of non-state institutions such as*

Amnesty International, as it is *conventional peace talks* or the *workings of the United Nations* (UN) (Brown and Ainley, 2005:1).

In affirming *Brown and Ainley's* (2005:1) above view, of different definitions employed, pertaining to *IR*, *Robert Cox* (1996) furthermore describes *IR* as being

... an area of study, concerned with the interrelationships among states, in an epoch in which states, and most commonly nation-states, are the principal aggregations of *political power*. It is concerned with the outcomes of war and peace and thus has obvious, practical importance. Changing practice has, however, generated confusion, as to the nature of the actors involved, (different kinds of *state*, and *non-state* entities), extended the range of stakes (low as well as high politics), introduced a greater diversity of goals pursued, and produced a greater complexity, in the modes of interaction and the institutions within which, action takes place (Cox, 1996:205).

In further pursuit, of the discussion of what may constitute *IR*, further investigation of descriptions, as noted by the author of this study, consistently make similar reference to data, related to themes, concerned with the interdependent global system. The overall subject matter or focus of *IR*, based on the majority of the abovementioned descriptions, may thus safely be assumed, to include amongst others, the themes circulating around governance. It is such broad characteristics or features of *IR*, which may contribute, to the difficulty of unpacking, the highly contested content of *IR*.

As already noted above by the author of this study, most of the abovementioned articulations remain, subject to multiple interpretations. Judging from most of these abovementioned definitions, it seems as though, no simple definition of *IR*, when presented may be accepted *en masse*, without any disagreements or notable shortcomings (owed mostly to ambiguity as a reality of reliance towards an overly *eclectic* trait, that is utilized to constitute the bulk of the body of *IR*).

So if one is to go ahead, with most of the above descriptions, *IR* may therefore be read as a study area, mainly focused on discussing matters related to *inter-state relations*. Although the author of this study, may agree, alongside fellow *doubting Thomas's*, that this above view, may possibly just as well, not be entirely true. It is the view of the author of this study, that the bulk of the definitions, which emphasise the focus on *inter-state issues*, have merely painted a narrow and far too limited description, in their attempt(s) of describing *IR*. In the case however wherein *IR* is being read, as a field, which is solely focused, on discussing *inter-state relations*, as it appears from the above definitions, then the following warning, needs to be registered ,with caution, befitting the under mentioned words:

The term '*international relations*' is misleading. It implies that all we are concerned with is relations between the nations of the world, which in effect, means relationships between nation-states. And yet in the contemporary world, this is only one, of the discipline's principal concerns (Burchill, 1996:9).

In addition to the above statement, further commentary regarding an appropriate name is captured from the following statement "... some argue that '*global politics*' is a more appropriate description of the subject" (Burchill, 1996:9). This name saga, seems to be ongoing, perhaps this may be, a manifestation of the broadness, of subjects involved in *IR*. At this point, given most of the above definitions, researcher thinking ponders, whether or not, *IR's* ambiguity (via the abovementioned definitions and remarks) may to some extent, at least, have been clarified? In the attempt of proceeding forward, may one comfortably park the search, of an 'all encompassing' definition of *IR*, at this juncture?

The closing question, in the previous paragraph, seems pertinent especially when considering, definitions such as follows "*International relations* deals with human behavior. Therefore, the study attempts to include, almost the totality of human knowledge" (Reynolds, 1971:4). This is another definition (in addition to Snow and Brown's) that may be read as being in line, with *Afrocentric* ideals. Brief and overly general as it may seem, it however highlights the emphasis, of the all encompassing *human factor* (which knows no restrictions of race, class, gender etc) and the complexities, involved, in the ambitious task of defining and unpacking *IR*. On the flip

side however it remains too broad, running the risk of widening its pool, of interpretations and inherent assumptions.

Consistent with the above definition, it is reiterated here that “as *IR* scholars, We are also interested in finding out, how non-state-based authority- such as that which resides in, say, financial markets, or in the world Council of Churches, or in the moral stature of someone like Nelson Mandela-contributes towards the organizing and managing of relations, between international actors” (McGowan et al, 2007:12). It should be kept in mind however that, such specific reference to *non-state actors*, may equally be open, to anyone’s interpretation, which may consequently lead scholars, arriving at varying viewpoints, about what may or may not precisely constitute, the subject matter, which may be qualified, to be categorized, as fitting under *IR*.

In the on-going pursuit, of the discussion of what may constitute *IR*, further investigation of descriptions, as noted by the author of this study, consistently make similar reference to data, related to themes, concerned with the interdependent global system¹³⁹. The overall subject matter or focus of *IR*, based on the majority of the abovementioned descriptions, may thus safely be assumed, to include predominantly themes, circulating around *governance and states*. It is such broad characteristics or features of *IR*, which may contribute to the complexity of unpacking, the highly contested content, of *IR*.

As noted earlier on, by the author of this study, consequently most of the abovementioned articulations pertaining to *IR* remain, subject to multiple interpretations. Judging from most of these abovementioned definitions, it is worth repeating, that it seems as though, no simple definition of *IR*, when presented, may be accepted *en masse*, without any disagreements or notable shortcomings. This may be as a result, of the overall ambiguity, as noted from most (if not all) the above mentioned, descriptions of *IR*, as recorded thus far within this study.

May *IR*'s ambiguity have been satisfactorily addressed, so far in this study? May one comfortably park the search of an *all encompassing* definition of *IR*, at this juncture, after having noted all the above definitions? If the following statement below, is anything to go by, then it indicates just how much other aspects, would need to be considered, before 'any parking of defining *IR*' may take place. In recalling that the study of *IR*, indeed "attempts to include almost the totality of human knowledge" (Reynolds, 1971:4), perhaps this may be read as an instructive clue.

As elaborate, as most of the abovementioned definitions, presented so far may be, a common thread amongst them, seemingly *sticks out like a sore thumb*. According to these descriptions in question, *IR* is to be understood as a discipline, overly interested in issues, mainly related to the *state* and other *state-centric* factors. These may range from themes related to *economics, human rights, transnational corporations, international organizations, environmental themes, gender inequalities, development and terrorist acts*, amongst other factors. The definition of Reynolds (1971) seems to strongly suggest, that, much more than these factors, may constitute an interest, within the field of *IR*.

The abovementioned final definition of *IR*, hopefully may provide, some of the much needed relief, sought by the author of this study. This may somehow be used, as some form of guidance, in the process of proceeding further. The envisaged relief, is mainly to do, with the concern raised, against the backdrop of most of the abovementioned definitions, which overwhelmingly, place a great amount of emphasis, on issues related to *states*. Out of all the already mentioned definitions of *IR*, (as derived from various texts, by selected contemporary *IR* scholars), reference to this final definition, may be read, in the researcher's view at this stage, as the definition of choice, in as far as defining *IR* is concerned. In taking such a decision however, the author of this study, is of the view that 'ambiguity' may repeatedly still feature, as an immediate adjective, that may repeatedly spring to mind, amongst most *IR* scholars, whom may also have taken interest, in the study of *IR*.

Due to the earlier mentioned suspicion, based on the dilemma that has been posed by ambiguity, it is the hope of the author of this study, that this last description of *IR*, may be able to paint a clear (er) picture, to both novices and acclaimed scholars of *IR*. As already stated, the last description, as advanced by *Reynolds (1971)* of *IR*, is the one that appeals more, to the author of this study, based on its inherent *Afrocentric* characteristic. This is particularly based on the rationale, in which the investigation of this study, is concerned. It may be mentioned here, that the *soft spot* or preference of the last definition, as succinct as it may seem, stands out as opposed, to the majority (if not all) of the fixed definitions, that preceded it. Amongst other reasons, is that it may require a scholar's own definition, to be forwarded, than anything else. Any open interpretation, may never be dismissed as superfluous, by the author of this study.

The above opinion, in reference to the last preferred definition, is based on the grounds of its direct, brief yet enabling explanation. The level of complexity, that is brought forth by words such as the “ totality of human knowledge” really lift any limits, to whatever may have previously been viewed, to be some form of rigid or uniform content, which may be argued as being relevant, under the banner of *IR*. The window of broad generalization however is accepted, as a serious flaw, towards this description of choice, for the author of this study. Simultaneously however the lifting of boundaries, also creates opportunities, of other arguably vital aspects, to also be considered, under the banner of *IR*.

As hinted in the closing remark, of the above paragraph, may there really be other factors besides those mentioned, in the previous stanzas, which should be considered, under the umbrella of *IR*? When considering all, that has been stated thus far, it should be understandable that a straightforward response, at least at this juncture for the author of this study, remains uncertain. *IR* scholars however , are advised to register the following notice, regarding the emphasis on *state* and *non-state* actors “At one extreme the scholarly focus is exclusively on states and interstate relations; but at another extreme, *IR* includes almost everything that has to do with human relations, across the world” *Jackson and Sorensen (2003:21)*.

So based on the immediate remark, as presented in the previous paragraph, a concise reply to the opening question of this paragraph is a somewhat cautioned –yes, however at this stage, it is uncertain to decide, which other themes, should be excluded. It is the author’s contention, that it will do *IR* scholars well, on the path ahead, to be mindful of the murky effect, caused by the realization of ambiguity, as noted, throughout most of the recorded definitions, thus far.

2.1.5 Sign Posts *en route* to clarification(s) about *IR*

Having considered, all the above lengthy attempts, at defining *IR*, some clarity is given below, which may discourage, any further effort of seeking, to clarify and unpack *IR*:

First, we have to accept that if we can find a definition it will be a matter of convention; ... ‘*international relations*’ does not define the field ‘*International Relations*’, rather scholars and practitioners of the subject, provide the definition. Second, while it may make sense for us, to start with the conventional, traditional definition of the subject, we should be aware, that this definition is sure to embody, a particular account of the field- and that the way it does this, is unlikely to be politically neutral. Instead what we can expect, is a definition of the field which, while purporting to be objective – simply reflecting ‘the way things are’- is actually going to be, perhaps unconsciously, partisan and contentious. It follows that having started with the conventional account, we will have to examine its hidden agenda, before moving to alternative definitions, which, of course, will in turn, have their own hidden agendas (Brown and Ainley, 2005:3).

This last remark builds on *Rodee and Anderson et al (1983)* alongside the challenges, as captured from *Scott and Garrison (1995)*, in that they all distinctly dismiss, any thoughts of a definition, that may be read, as overly representative of *IR*, by way of singling out, the hidden idealism sought, in a not so “innocent profession” (Wallace, 1996:301). Consequently these last remarks, should be registered, as the final straw, in attempting to present any definition, thought to be helpful, for the sake of achieving, the aims of defining *IR*. This above quote seemingly, also clarifies, the chosen definitions, of the author of this study, as perhaps have been preferred, based on “unconsciously, partisan and contentious... hidden agenda” (Brown and Ainley, 2005:3).

May all this be a typical case of *politics*, being at its best? Whatever the response, the above point, should be registered and continuously kept in mind as the study progresses.

The author of this study, also notes that the bulk of *IR* scholars, seem to be in agreement, that *IR* may not be classified, as a single field. Typical of all disciplines in the *Social Sciences*, if we move with the argument that scholars, recognize *IR*, as a sub-branch or subfield of *Political Science*, then no contest, as articulated by the scholars below, who in their illustration on *Box 1.1* explain that “*IR* draws from such diverse fields as *Economics, History, Law, Philosophy, Geography, Sociology, Anthropology, and Psychology*” (Jackson and Sorensen,2003:34) and even *Cultural studies*, should be anticipated, on the exploratory path ahead.

The strength of most of the presented definitions, at least, partly explain what *IR*, as a stand-alone discipline, is meant to provide, to its scholars. The author immediately notes two things. To begin with, at first glance these definitions, do not seem to be lacking, for scholars who are genuinely interested, in familiarizing themselves, with subjects linked to *IR*. At a second glance however the extensive emphasis, on the *state* or *state-centric* relations, really stands out as a dominant, yet misleading ‘unit of measurement’ used to analyse and somehow explain, phenomena, in the global village. Against the abovementioned background, it is the opinion of the author of this study, that all this, indeed paints a rather agnostic picture, as opposed, to what should be, a truly straightforward and universal field of study.

Overall the above definitions indeed, may pass as representative, in that they spell out, the various understandings of *IR* however sparse or elaborate, as they may have been, recorded thus far, within the confines of this study. Notably however, it does stick out like a sore thumb, that *IR* is understood, to be overly interested, in issues, mainly related to the *state* and other *state-centric* factors. It appears as though these factors, are supposedly those found, within the broader literature, concerned in discussions, referring to the international system.

If anything, all the above data thus far merely reveals, just how much reliance on, utilizing *states* as units of measurement, within *IR*, has been endorsed, beyond the *rule of thumb*. This

perception appears as standard, within *IR* literature. In line with the definition provided by *Cox (1996)*, these factors may include amidst other themes, issues to do with *intergovernmental organizations, Non- Governmental Organizations* and *Multinational corporations*. So if one is to go, with any of the above descriptions, *IR* may therefore be taken to be both an academic and *public policy*¹⁴⁰ field. *IR* theorists, may even further suggest that contemporary *IR*, may either be ‘*positivist*’ or ‘*normative*’, in its approach, as it seeks to analyze, as well as formulate, foreign policies of various states.

If opting to move with the earlier mentioned dismissal, by *Wallace (1996)* which seemingly suggests that no single, conventional definition of *IR* exists, then *Wallace (1996)* may have hinted, towards some form of helpful direction. From *Wallace’s (1996)* definition, the author of this study is of the view, which may also be read, as having provided, a form of license, for a decisive decision, to be taken at this stage of the study.

The taking of such a decision, should hopefully be interpreted, as being of paramount importance, if indeed adequate reasons (as already provided above), to stop looking any further for definitions of *IR*, are considered, as sound. It remains the view of the author of this study, that given the overall abstract nature of data associated with *IR*, effort to consistently seek and provide clarity remains crucial. In a scenario whereby scholars, are to move, with the notion that *IR*, should be a field, defined by its scholars, as stipulated by *Brown and Ainley (2005)* and not the other way round, it is such articulation, which may be taken, as being instructive, in the ongoing quest, at hand.

2.2 Defining *IR* (Theory): Clarity and Distinctions

From *IR* scholars, such as *Scott and Garrison (1995)*, the author of this study acknowledges, that since the *eclectic* and *fragmentary* nature of *IR*, has been pointed out, with reference to defining *IR*, this has been found, to be challenging. Although some explanations, in support of this view,

have been quite exhaustive, they have also reflected, the amount of contests, always to be considered, in this ongoing expedition, in reference to deciphering the *IR* code.

In moving on however the following question, also needs to be posed -how may one define *IR* (theory)? In the view, of the author, of this study, the attempt of addressing this question, is crucial, at least in so far, as presenting an outline, of what the *IR* (theory) study area entails. The author of this study, is of the view that, perhaps by initially having presented, some definitions of *IR* (as already done, in the previous section), then progressing on, to discuss the role of theory, within the *IR* realm, would ideally, be the recommended way, of initiating such an exploratory enquiry. Addressing *IR* (theory), as an inseparable unit, may (if possible) not be ruled out, for clarity seeking purposes.

In selecting to have begun, as proposed above, is viewed as being useful by the author of this study, firstly because it may possibly afford the author of this study, room to present views, as informed by the various *IR* scholars, on their respective comprehension, of their field. Secondly, investing some effort, into securing the much desired clarity, of what may- to date, constitute as part of *IR* (theory). These initial steps, are suggested to be read, as the author's attempt, of ensuring that the definitions, presented within this chapter, may hopefully be useful, in providing helpful clues, which may serve, as guidelines on the exploratory path, which may, bring afore, the possible *Afrocentric* contribution to *IR*, in the forthcoming chapters.

So how may one define *IR* (theory)? Having already begun, by ensuring that *IR*, was defined at length, in the earlier paragraphs and furthermore seeking, to analyse, its link, with *theory*, in the effort of proceeding forward, the author of this study, hopefully seeks to avoid, any form of repetition. So henceforth in the attempt of progressing onward, the presentation of some definitions, of the concept of *theory*, as a standalone term, at this juncture, is proposed.

2.2.1. Contemplating about theory and its purpose in *IR*

The following *IR* scholars below, pilot us off, with their various responses. In their attempt of introducing theories, concepts, and debates within *IR*. They remark as follows:

As is often the case in the *Social Sciences*, in *IR* there is no one best way to master the subject. Instead, what we have are several significant theories and theoretical traditions: *Realism, Liberalism, International Society and International Political Economy*. They interact and overlap in interesting and important ways, which we investigate... However each one, explores the subject of *IR*, in its own distinctive way (Jackson and Sorensen, 2003: xiv).

When referring back to the overview provided in the *opening chapter*, scholars should note that the abovementioned theories, may be categorized, as forming part of the first theories of *IR*, hence being labeled as *IR's Mainstream* theories. With that having been mentioned, the above scholars, summarily (via a tabulated effort), addressed this theme of *IR* (theory) elaborately in *Boxes 1.3, 1.4, 1.5 and 1.6*. Observation here, of subsequent engagement, referred to as *methodological debates*, amongst *IR* scholars, affiliating to the various theoretical school's of thought, in so far as their respective efforts, of understanding relations of various phenomena, in the global arena, is what is hypothetically argued, to have ultimately led to the growth, of the various theories of *IR*. It is important for background purposes, to have grasped, that the abovementioned *theoretical traditions*, should be understood to be informing, at least the gist, of what may be labeled as *IR's Core* theories.

If the above reference to theoretical traditions, is to be taken as significantly, as is suggested above, by *Robert Jackson* and *George Sorensen*, then elaborating on theory and its role, in the context of *IR*, may immediately be recommended here, before going any further. "Theory is a set or sets of propositions and / or hypotheses that are logically related to each other" (Coplin, 1971:9). In further elaboration, it is indicated that "Theory brings organization and the capacity to accumulate knowledge, to a field and it enables scholars, to tie together the propositions, they have developed at different levels" (Ojo. et al 1990:7). According to *Stanley Hoffman*¹⁴¹ "Theory is understood as a set of inter-related questions capable of guiding research both of the empirical and of the normative variety" (Hoffman, 1960:80).

In remaining on this subject of ‘theory’ *Peter Finn* indicates that “To ask what international theory is for, requires us to understand what theory itself is (Finn, 2007:1).” Elsewhere denotatively theory is defined as “a view held, a conception of the relation and especially of the causal connexion between facts, a system of the laws or principles of an art or science or department of action or knowledge, the sphere of speculative thought or doctrine, as distinguished from those of certainty and practice” (Fowler and Fowler,1969:883).

In another denotative explanation, theory is defined as “conjecture or speculation; a body of fundamental or abstract principles, underlying an art, science, etc.; proposed explanation” (The New International Webster’s Standard Dictionary, 2006:275). These immediate definitions, in the context of what the author of this study, plans to employ them for (with all their inherent merit and shortcomings) disappointingly, come across as either overly ambiguous or simply sparse. A more elaborate and helpful definition, according to the author of this study, is the definition provided below:

In science, a way of looking at a field that is intended to have explanatory and predictive implications. The task for the *philosophy of science* has often been posed, in terms of demarcating good or scientific theories, from bad, unscientific ones (see *Falsifiability*¹⁴², *Popper*¹⁴³). In the heyday of *logical positivism*¹⁴⁴, highly formal approaches to theories, treated them in terms of axiomatic systems, whose theoretical terms, were tightly tied, to an observational vocabulary, supposed to give a foundation, in empirical meaning. A less formal and more contextualized approach, heralded in the work of *Thomas Kuhn*¹⁴⁵, stressed the open-endedness of scientific activity, the *heuristic value of analogies* and models, and the elasticity and the *holism of meaning*, all of which suggested, that an excessively formal approach distorted the subject (Blackburn, 2008:361-362).

So from the above definition, scholars should grasp the following point. Any form of theory, should be read, with the realization that it emanates, from a particular philosophical premise, and is usually activated, to support an expressed claim. On the point of *Karl Popper’s Falsifiability* (as noted from the above quote), the author of this study is reminded of the highly rated,

Mainstream IR scholar *Robert Keohane's* criticism of *Feminist theory* in *IR*, he argued that *Feminists*, need to get over themselves and begin, to develop *Scientific Falsifiable* theories. One of the keynote responses, to such a comment, came from one of the leading *Feminist IR* theorist (s) *J. Ann Tickner*. Her response has been captured, in what eventually became her most famous article, titled *You just don't understand*¹⁴⁶. This selected title by *Tickner*, aptly summarised her desired response to *Keohane*.

Although *Tickner's* response is discussed, at length further on, in this study (under the theme of *The Gender Dilemma in IR*, as located in the *third chapter* of this study) while still on the point of theory and its use, its worth being briefly discussed at this stage, particularly for explanatory (for example) purposes. In her rebuttal, *Tickner* raises the concern of *Mainstream IR* scholarship, being unable to grasp the critical potential, which may be derived and appreciated from *Feminist theory*.

Moving from the premise, that *Feminist theory* in *IR*, is misunderstood, *Tickner* explains that, the reason for that is mainly informed, by the fact that *Feminist IR*, opted for a *deconstructivist approach*, to be applied towards knowledge. This is mainly argued, on the belief that theories reflect, the *sexist social positioning*, of their authors. It is from such a basis, that the attack on *Positivist theory*, should be read. For *Tickner Mainstream* male scholars of *IR*, harbour male chauvinistic driven attitudes, which claim that *Feminist IR* theory, may obscure, the male gender bias, in as far as politics of knowledge construction, is considered.

From the above explication by *Tickner*, the use or perhaps abuse, of opting for a particular *Mainstream* theory, in *IR*, which may claim to have covered, the concerns sought to be addressed by *Feminist theory* in *IR*, should be captured. It may serve scholars well, to recall that any type of theory brought afore, at any given period emerges to be engaged. It could be rejected or adopted, as a means of assisting to explain, certain phenomena. After having been brought forth

and contextually employed (given the philosophical premise of binding) any theory in question, when investigated, should most likely be traced back, to a particular school of thought.

Depending on one's knowledge of the depository of *Western Philosophy*, most of the presented theories, falling under the rubric of *Mainstream IR* theory, tend to usually be traced back, to the numerous *Westerncentric philosophers* and their respective scholars. For the author of this study, such a worrisome pedagogic practice, which historically has continued to rely enormously, on the *parochial lens*, has ensured the renewal of the inherent, *ahistorical* challenges located in academia. Scholarly disciplines such as *IR*, are no exceptions to the rule. In short most theories, claimed to be new, when investigated in depth, may actually reveal, that they stem from others, which already have been in existence. With a more advanced investigation, data which inform(s) most of *Mainstream IR theory*, may even be located or traced back to thought (s) as expressed by early inhabitants, residing all over the *diaspora*.

From the above realization, who could then fault *Robert Cox*, when he stipulated that “Theory is always for someone and something” (Cox, 1981:87). Explained further “if we are to understand theory, as a set of arguments and meanings, textual or otherwise, which we use, to make sense of reality, one site where the modern, seems to exercise an unrestrained hegemony, is in the context of theory” (Shakuntala, 2003:2). The main duty of theory after all, is to assist to explain facts. Elsewhere the following *Afrocentrist* succinctly reminds scholars that “...every practice produces a theory” (Cabral, 1979:75).

2.2.2 Further contemplation about *IR* Theory

On returning back, to the question of *IR* (theory) and moving away, from discussion focused on general theory and its purpose, the following scholars proceed, in providing their respective response. While examining the overlap, between *IR* and *Modernization theory*, with an emphasis

to their theoretical treatment, of the cultural difference presented by *Third World* others, the following is noted “*International Relations* theory emerges and remains, embedded within a matrix of disciplines and sub-fields. Perhaps most prominently and intricately, *IR* is interwoven with *political philosophy* (see *Walker, 1993*, and *Onuf, 1998*)” (Blaney and Iniyatullah, 2002:8; 104).

Interestingly, the author of this study, notes how willingly, the above scholars, took it upon themselves, to elaborate on their respective point(s) further:

IR is embedded within the logic of *neoclassical economics* (*Walz, 1979*), within the political economy tradition (*Gilpin, 1987; Rosenberg, 1994; Iniyatullah and Blaney, 1995*) and within social theory more generally (*Wendt, 1999*). Our working premise is that *IR* fails, to herald a unique contribution, to *social theory* because it persistently, avoids and denies the historical problem from which it surfaced... (Blaney and Iniyatullah, 2002:8; 104).

The author of this study, takes the following concepts as key words, (as extracted from some of the quotes thus far) *IR* being a *sub-field of philosophy*, as situated in the *Social Sciences*, *political philosophy* being the least scientific, of all the sub-fields, and the closing point made, from the last quote about “*IR failing...because it persistently avoids and denies the historical problem from which it surfaced*” (Blaney and Iniyatullah, 2002), it is such references and criticism as recorded above, which appear to be distinctively revealing more about *IR*, than may have initially met the eye. All this is thus worth keeping in mind, while in pursuit of an *Afrocentric* contribution to *IR*.

Attempting to clarify (*IR*) theory, by removing these two terms, from their seemingly abstract umbilical cord (one from the other *IR* from *theory*) is suggested. This is because of the way these two concepts, have been employed, as a unit thus far, in this study. Without this division, a false impression may be created, implying that these two terms, may be *inseparable*. Such a reading, has the potential of somehow, painting a somewhat, distorted and misleading portrait, of these concepts and consequently, painting a rather distorted picture, of *IR theory* as a concept.

In the view of the researcher of this study, having attempted to respond elaborately, to the second question, concerning *IR* theory, what has been recorded thus far, may be taken as adequate at this stage. In a renewed effort, to further score, by attempting to present a somewhat precise response, to the two posed questions of central interest in this study, in reference to *defining IR* and *IR (theory)*, it appears that the goalposts, keep on shifting. So as part of that ongoing attempt to score, shifting the focus of the discussion, towards a focus on *IR's* history, is thus suggested at this point of the study. This may at least (for the specified purposes of this study) enable the author of the study, to contextualize where the bulk of the given data, concerning *IR* may at least have originated from.

2.3 Origins of *IR*

2.3.1 An Academic Discipline Contextualized

So what are the origins of *IR*? Having noted the *eclectic, parochial, patriarchal, fragmentary* and *Eurocentric nature* of *IR*, from the above scholars so far, perhaps some attention of providing, a *broad overview* or *historical gaze* of *IR*, might also be of assistance, for clarity seeking purpose(s). In keeping, the above opening remarks in mind, rewinding back to the birth point of *IR*, as proposed may perhaps provide, the desired fruitful reference points.

Reference to *Box 1.2 (Core Values and Theories of IR)*, as illustrated by *Jackson and Sorenson (2003)* provides a summary, that at least paints, the sort of picture, that could simply reflect (in a snapshot) a succinct timeline, of processes which were involved, in the origins of *IR*. “The history of this discipline is recent, dating only from 1918, and its unifying rubric, has always been, that it exists to study the international system, as a whole; or how different parts of it, relate to the whole” (Chan and Moore, 2006: xxxv). Of significance from the abovementioned point, the author of this study, was of the view that it was crucial, to take note that historically *IR* to date is believed to be a discipline, which originated in the *West* (specifically in the *United Kingdom*).

To elaborate more on *Jackson and Sorenson's (2003)* tabulated summary, invitation to the following references, are recommended. In *The Evolution of International Relations Theory*, emphasis is placed on *IR*, being a discourse of ideas, than much else. "The theme is that the key, to the understanding of *international relations*, consists of ideas, not facts...All these structures and processes, are *manmade*. They began as schemes, in the minds of statesmen and entrepreneurs, or systems of thought in the literature of philosophy and society" (Banks, 1984:75). The author of this study also shares this view, based on the intimate relationship, *IR* enjoys with *Mainstream/ Western* philosophy.

Scholars are informed, that "the decisive push, to set up a separate academic subject of *IR*, was occasioned by the *First World War (1914-18)*, which produced millions, of casualties, it was driven, by a widely felt determination, never to allow human suffering, on such a scale, to happen again" (Jackson and Sorensen,2003:35). In as much as this insight, may not necessarily explain much, it however indicates why contemporary *IR* scholars, such as *R.B.J Walker (1995:308)* and *Nevil Johnson (1989:14)* amongst others, would eventually label *IR*, as being nothing more than an "*Anglo- American discipline*". According to the observation, of the author of this study, such an expression has been informed by obsession, to the themes of conflict, as articulated by the majority, of *IR's Westerncentric* scholars.

Though scholars and thinkers have long devoted their thoughts to international politics, the formal recognition of *international relations* as a separate discipline within the *Western academy* dates from the end of the *First World War* with the establishment of a *Chair of International Relations* at the *University of Wales at Aberystwyth* in 1919.Until this time, the province of *international politics* was shared by a number of older disciplines, including *law, philosophy, economics, politics* and *diplomatic history* (Burchill ,1996:4).

In addition, to the above, a more elaborate articulation, about the foundation of *IR*, is best captured below:

The establishment of *International Relations* as an academic discipline was, more specifically, a response by liberal optimists (primarily in Britain and the United States) to the *First World War*, hoping through education and information to bring reasoned debate into politics and policy-

making. Its development as a discipline, was shaped by the turbulent *international politics of Europe* in the 1920's and 1930's, by the *Second World War* and the direct but diverse experiences of those caught up, in that war, who dominated academic *International Relations*, until the end of the 1960's. The generation which passed through universities, in the 1960's, now at the top of the profession, were marked in their turn, by their diverse responses, to nuclear deterrence, American hegemony, and the *Vietnam War*. The rising generation, now passing through undergraduate and graduate education, start from their experience of a world, in which the *Cold War*, is history, in which the juxtaposition of a proliferation, of new states, claiming sovereignty and of increasing evidence, of the endemic weakness and incapacity of states, presents a central paradox. (Wallace, 1996:80).

The above extract, for the author of this study, confirms the suspected views, held about *IR*. This view is mainly that above all else, as a result of being a *Eurocentric* construct, essentially a product of *Western Philosophy*, which underwent a metamorphosis thus in time evolved, into a hegemonic *Anglo-American* construct. A closer historical analysis, reveals that from its initial phase, *IR's* existence as a discipline, manifests and promotes, the protection of *Anglo-American* interests.

The protection of *Anglo-American* agenda's, seems to have been achieved, by virtue of the plethora of British and American scholars, who have written and lectured in the field of *IR*, since its inception to date. Given the above background, the focus of those wholly *Western scholars*, who have become authorities of *IR*, by having been based in the enclave of the *Western hemisphere*, does not appear, in the least, to have bothered *William Wallace*. Perhaps the *reply to Wallace*, as was done by *Ken Booth*¹⁴⁷ and *Steve Smith*¹⁴⁸, in amongst other contentious issues concerning *IR*, as raised above, may have been and still remain meritoriously in order. The absence of the *non-West other* in a discipline, that claims to be *international*, should expectedly irk the majority (if not all) contemporary *IR* scholars.

From such a vantage point, as stipulated in the previous paragraph, it should be understood why British and American universities, overtime eventually became masqueraded, as the foremost intellectual hubs. Such misleading reality, as informed by the overwhelmingly widely published *Eurocentric* pedagogy, consequently has imprinted upon scholars at large, that the abovementioned institutions indeed take the lead (this is further strengthened, by the ease of data

accessibility for reference purposes), at the helm of the bulk of academic disciplines. *IR* in this regard is not an exception to the rule. With growth of such revelation(s), these noted distorting factors, require attention in as far as contemporary scholars of *IR*, may be concerned.

The scholars as noted in the previous stanza, who pass through graduation halls, of these institutions in the *UK* and *USA*, consequently have notably been masqueraded, as authorities of *IR*. With legacies such as those imposed by *imperialism* and *capitalism* avidly still *alive* and *roaming large*, (in the interest of this study, specifically amongst *IR* scholars), such patterns should not be *rocket science* (not hard to comprehend), to any scholar. Within the context of *IR*, a realization that the outcome(s) of such cheap bully tactics, could only lead towards distorted perceptions, such ill fallacies embroiled around *IR*, should not be overlooked.

Such misleading scholarly pathway(s), could only serve to promote *parochial views*, as being the order of the day. The emphasis of the *state*, as a *unit of analysis*, remains as one of the signature ways, which has over time grown, to become typical of the *Anglo-American* trademark, on *IR* scholarship. In the light of such a backdrop, researcher thinking gradually grows, to agree that the field of *IR*, clearly seems to emanate, from a particular context, which in turn, has always driven its *Eurocentric* agenda.

In their explication, of an *international system of IR*, the following reminder below, is due

because of the perception of an *international system*, has a central place, a very great deal of work has been given over to the systematic¹⁴⁹ nature of international political and economic life. It is the study, of what is meant, to be systematic, that has given *IR*, its concern for both logical and conceptual thought- and hence its concern for theory (Chan and Moore, 2006: xxxv).

Based on the data thus far, this agenda appears to be of service for *Eurocentric* interests- achieved at the expense, of the rest of the non-*European other*. So the working premise, which argued that “*IR* fails to herald a unique contribution to *Social theory* because it persistently avoids and denies the historical problem from which it surfaced...(Blaney and Iniyatullah, 2002:8; 104)” seems not to have been, farfetched, in fact it seems to have struck, right on the *bulls eye*.

If the above realization remains as *suspect* to some, within the *IR scholarly community* then paying close attention, to results as projected by the respective *TRIP* databases (to be analysed in greater detail in the forthcoming chapter), may hopefully assist, in decreasing at least some (if not most) of this held suspicion. If the reason and history of *IR*, amongst both the older and recent scholars of the discipline, as expressed by *Wallace (1996)* is anything to go by, then indeed, this should be registered with much regret. The echo of the callings of inclusivity, need to be attended, beyond the artificial agreements of *lip service*. Nevertheless, in as far as this study is concerned, leading upto this juncture, the revelations of the selected scholars of *IR*, have provided the cornerstone of the problems, which have been associated within *IR* discourse.

When judging from the above descriptions, it may appear to scholars, as though *IR*, may have formally begun around *1918* or *1919* (the author of this study, reads these two separate dates, as being of same difference), as informed by the effort, to end conflict between nations, of the world. Joining the chorus of those scholars, who seek to take the origin of *IR*, from the same time frame, as stipulated above, for the author of this study, would be somewhat simplistic and may also run the risk of being dismissed, as being *ahistorical*.

In an attempt, to avoid such arguably valid criticism, placing effort (beyond a mere glance) at history of relations, between nations as packaged in a discipline, such as suggested by the bulk of the definitions above, convincingly enforces the researcher, to consider the *pre-1918/1919* period, in *international relations*, as the informal or unofficial phase of *IR*'s existence.

2.3.2 The Pre-1919 Phase: repercussions caused by the *Treaty of Westphalia (1648)*

Origin of *IR*, as highlighted in the literature (as detailed below), is usually associated with the emergence of the *State System*, as henceforth acknowledged here “the subject of *IR* conventionally, dates back to the early modern era (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) in

Europe, when sovereign states, based on adjacent territories, were initially established. Ever since the eighteenth century, the relations between such independent *states*, have been labeled ‘*international relations*’ ” (Jackson and Sorensen, 2003:2). This is consistent with *Watson’s* (1992) comment below and also *Jackson and Sorensen’s* (2003:2) overview remark, captured further on, towards the end of this chapter.

As aptly expressed by *LaMonica* “the *Treaty of Westphalia (1648)* is deemed by many to be the formal start of *IR* (*LaMonica, 2006:7*)”. In the view of the author of this study, *LaMonica* (2006) bases this statement, on the ‘*principle of state sovereignty*’ which is believed, to have been established based, on stipulations, found within the ironically labeled ‘*Peace of Westphalia*’. If *peace* was the *thesis* and *war* the *antithesis*, the amount of violence, which came to be associated, with the implementation of such a treaty, makes it a laughable matter, when associating, the adjective of *peace* alongside, the violent chain of events, associated with the resolutions of *Westphalia*. The quote below, should also assist in explaining, why *IR* scholars are prone to rely towards a *statecentric* analysis, in their respective engagement. *LaMonica’s (2006)* abovementioned view, is henceforth further consolidated below as follows:

The *Westphalian settlement*, legitimized a commonwealth of sovereign states. It marked the triumph of the stato [the state], in control of its internal affairs and independent externally. This was the aspiration of princes [rulers] in general- and especially of the German princes, both Protestant and Catholic, in relation to the [Holy Roman or Habsburg] empire. The *Westphalian treaties*, stated many of the rules and political principles, of the new society of states...The settlement were held to provide a fundamental and comprehensive charter of all Europe (*Watson, 1992:186*).

The abovementioned explication, as provided by *Watson(1992)*, is of notable interest, to the author of this study, as it raises concern, that may include amongst others, biased views, based on the interests, held by selected hegemonic representatives, mainly interested in protecting the views, as sponsored, by the solely Northern hemisphere (*Eurocentric/ Westerncentric*) perspective(s). For the author of this study, as already mentioned above, the *Westphalian Treaty* evidently, seems to serve as an excellent case in point, in as far as the roots of *IR*, are concerned.

Given that the central interest of this study, is focused on *Afrika*, beginning from the view of the abovementioned treaty is crucial. To the convenience of the *West* the ‘representatives’ in question, who were participants, are located mostly (if not outright), from a single *Westerncentric* regional address. So the above point, illustrates just how far back, *Eurocentric* hegemony, has ruled *IR* discourse.

2.3.3 Post Westphalia: Berlin Conference (1884-1885) and the Versailles Treaty (1919)

After the *Treaty of Westphalia (1648)*, other such conferences followed. Two notable examples, where *Afrika* is specifically involved, includes the *Berlin Conference (1884-1885)* and *Treaty of Versailles (1919)*. In reference to these two historical conventions, the following is noted “Premier *Jules Ferry* of France and Chancellor *Otto von Bismarck*¹⁵⁰ of Germany... arranged an international conference on *Afrika*, in *Berlin in November 15, 1884- February 26, 1885* (McKay et al, 1996:896)”. For the author of this study, this conference serves as an excellent example, of gatherings or conventions wherein *Afrika*, had no representatives and yet decisions, concerning *Afrika and Afrikans* were discussed, adopted and implemented.

For the author of this study, the height of *imperialistic orientated* and *wholly Eurocentric driven modus-operandi* was and still remains, exhibited in such international conventions/forums. Mention at this point perhaps should be expressed, that the grave consequence of such conference (s), would spell the gruesome realization, of *colonialist* and *imperialist* forces, into *Afrika*. Not a thought, was spared for consultation, with any of the leaders, from the *so called* newly discovered region, to them as *Westerners* or foreigners to *Afrika* (author’s emphasis).

The *Treaty of Versailles (1919)* unlike the *Berlin Conference* was primarily aimed at achieving *peace* amongst European nations, who were read as victors of *WWI*. Germany having been the core loser of this war. Hosted in Paris (France), discussions were led by the United States (led by the scholarly *democrat*, President *Woodrow Wilson*¹⁵¹), Great Britain (led by the strong-willed President *Lloyd George*) and France (under President *Clemenceau- the Tiger*). Germany, as main

loser of *WWII*, was not allowed to participate, in the drafting of the treaty, so Italy though it had limited say, completed the *Big Four* leading European states. In the meeting of *June 28, 1919* “seventy delegates, representing twenty seven victorious nations, were in attendance” (Mckay et al, 1996:983), all harbouring their country’s expectations, from this dubious *peace convention*.

Woodrow Wilson at the *Versailles conference*, was equivalently comparable almost *to the tee*, to the magnanimous *Otto Von Bismarck* during the earlier *Berlin Conference*. With the *principle of self-determination* endorsed, to be “applied in Central Europe and the *League* was incorporated in the *Treaty of Versailles*” (Hiscock, 1987:48¹⁵²). It was at this conference where the infamous *Fourteen Points of Woodrow Wilson*, received a wider audience, beyond America (where they were harshly criticized). It also did not assist *Wilson’s* cause (having been a *Democrat*), that his cabinet was filled, with a majority of *Republicans*. This led to a refusal by senate, to ratify what they read as ‘*Wilsonian idealism*’ (Hiscock, 1987: 48). For many others, it is from these *Fourteen points* (specifically *point 14*), which serve as the roots, that led to the formation of multinational or intergovernmental institutions, such as the *United Nations*. For the complete points read as follows:

- 1) Open covenants of peace were to be openly arrived at. This implied that all treaties should be negotiated, openly and not in secret.
- 2) There was to be freedom of the navigation of the seas in *peace* and *war*.
- 3) All economic barriers were to be removed and the equality of trading conditions, among all nations was to be established.
- 4) Adequate guarantees that nations would disarm, to the lowest point consistent with national security.
- 5) All colonial claims must be settled justly. The interests of the people in the colonies, must be given weight with the claims of the colonial powers.
- 6) The Germans must hand back, all the territory they had taken from the Russians in the *Treaty of Brest Litvosk*.
- 7) Belgium was to be evacuated and her national integrity was to be restored.
- 8) All French territory was to be fixed. Here, special reference was made to Alsace-Lorraine which the Germans had taken in 1871.
- 9) Italy’s frontiers were to be re-adjusted along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.
- 10) The people of Austria-Hungary, were to be allowed to develop according to the ‘fullest opportunity of autonomous development’.
- 11) Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro were to be evacuated.
- 12) The Turkish portions of the Ottoman Empire were to be given their independence. The other nationalities were to be guaranteed ‘security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development’.
- 13) An independent Polish state should be created. And lastly
- 14) A general association of nations was to be formed. Its main function was to guarantee the independence of both the major powers and the smaller nations (Hiscock, 1987:47-48).

Note the fourteenth point, because that was *Wilson's* defining argument, in the lead up to the eventual formation of the *United Nations*. The significance of the *Versailles Treaty of 1919* similar, to that of the *Berlin Conference (1884)* is that details, treated as minor, as those which sought, to realize *Wilson's 14 points* which consisted of resolutions that would eventually see “Germany’s colonies...given to France, Britain, and Japan as *League of Nations* mandates ¹⁵³ (Mckay et al, 1996:984)”, manifested how insignificant continents such as *Afrika*, were to be perceived, in as far as actors in *IR*, were concerned. With the *Afrikan* states, which were taken by Germany under the leadership of *Bismack*, at the earlier *Berlin Conference*. Note how the *Versailles Treaty* merely transferred ownership, of *Afrikan* states, in what in retrospect may arguably, be referred to, as one of the landmark colonialist exercise(s), which were implemented without seeing any fault, in their narcissistic and imperialistically driven decisions.

It should be noted at this stage of the study, that as we rewind the cassette, of *Afrikan* history, reference to an *Africa (n)* (spelling deliberate here- as part of the authors emphasis) continent, becomes to the author of this study as problematic, as the vocabulary of *states*, *countries* and *continent(s)*, in use today. These terms are continuously being employed, without any due problematisation, applied to them. The use of various forms of pedagogy, to achieve and sustain colonialist ambitions, has almost certainly been overlooked, by those *Chinweizu*, referred to as “*black comprador colonialists...black comprador managers...what Nkrumah called neo-colonialism*” (Chinweizu, 2009:9).

In continuation from the previous stanza, specified reference is directed to the respective individuals, who have been at the helm of their nations/countries, in various portfolios, ranging from government to business. Such a term as *comprador*, is directed towards them, since the phase where pronouncement of *false declaration(s) of independence*, of their respective countries, such individuals problematically assumed, similar roles as those of their *colonisers*. Interestingly almost all (if not entirely) these *local* leaders, emanated from the *oppressed class*, although the majority of them were *Western educated* or received a *typical colonial education*.

Based on the above *common trait* of individual leaders in question, Ibekwe Chinweizu (2009) correctly asserts, that based on their *capitalist* ambitions, their atrocious political decision-making, manifested that they were not “educated in what *C.L.R James* called ‘the political intricacies, that the modern world demanded’” (Chinweizu, 2009:9). This is evident as these *compradors*, never addressed the core issues, of their fellow oppressed people. Beyond the lucrative exploits, made possible, by the venture of *capitalism*, in as far as the author of this study is concerned, beyond the outstanding economic war, in order to do justice in the effort of redress, then recognising that the core issue lay and still remains, within the domain of *pedagogy* is of paramount importance.

What has become the standard operational and contemporary terminology, in any discourse within *Afrika*, is as a result of no *pedagogical* revolution, having taken place, as recognized by the likes of *Mphahlele, Gayatri Spivak, Frantz Fanon, Paul Freire, Edward Said, and Dani Wadada Nabudere*. In an enormous way, this manifests the depth of victory, still enjoyed by the *colonizer*, over the *colonized*. The majority (if not all) academic fields on offer, within or about *Afrika* are exhibited, via the extensive use, of what may be referred to as *international lingua franca*. For the author of this study, such practice is nothing more than the promotion of the Greek’s influence in *Mainstream* philosophy.

Having registered, the distorted use of the concept of *international*, in as far as *IR* is concerned – the author of this study, is inclined to question, whatever may be meant, from users of such a term and when used, it is at whose expense? It is the author’s contention that such questions, should be posed whenever such an overly simplified concept, is employed. The non-*Afrocentric* choice of vocabulary, remains conspicuously absent, in the *standard use*, of what is presently read, as the *global tongue*, mostly found in the form, of the *coloniser’s tongue*. Such an anomaly remains unfinished business, which is *yet to be addressed* hopefully by contemporary and future *Afrocentric* scholars. Depending on one’s geographical space, the colonialist’s tongue, could range from *Spanish, Portuguese, Arabic, French* or *English* amongst others. Ironically to date, *Afrika* remains split, (with the exception of Spanish) along the above foreign languages.

With technology and other forms of sources, being continuously recovered, by researchers globally, scholars are made aware, that the dominant vocabulary used, such as that which makes reference to an *Afrīca* (*author's emphasis*), did not exist (at least not in its current form), in which it is observed in the modern day. Furthermore there is seemingly not much evidence to date, which may suggest otherwise. Hardly any consensus, has been traced by the author of this study, regarding the use, of such a colonial term, specifically from amongst those folks, to which it refers. One of the leading contemporary *Afrikan* philosophers *Valentin Mudimbe*¹⁵⁴ states as follows, in the preface of his text titled *The Idea of Afrika* (1994), which is a sequel to *The Invention of Afrika* (1988), and is highly recommended to be read as follows:

Let us note that the very name, of the continent is itself, a major problem. The Greeks named it *Libya* and used to call, any black person *Aithiops*. The confusion begins with the Romans. They had a province, in their empire known as *Afrīca* and their intellectuals used the same word, for the “*tertia orbis terrarum pars*” (e.g., Sallustrus, Iug. 17, 3), that is, the continent as we know it, being the third, after Europe and Asia. With the European “discovery” of the continent in the fifteenth century, the confusion becomes complete” (Mudimbe, 1994: xi).

From the various general (less authoritative) theories¹⁵⁵ available, not much confidence is achieved, away from reference such as *tertia orbis terrarum pars* pertaining to *Afrīca*. What seems to be clear from almost all hypothesis or etymological theories, about the origins of the concept of *Afrīca*, reveals no sign of locals (problematically referred to as *Afrīcans*) being part of the contributors to such a momentous, identity forming process. So Romans and Greeks via their language (s), such as that of Latin, are the *masterminds* behind our unproblematised and currently absurdly, romanticized *Afrīcan* reference. Effort to address such myth(s), as initially undertaken by *Pan-Afrikanists* need to be encouraged.

With regards to the contributing factors, which eventually promote misleading *social constructs*, the author of this study, with the exception of *Ali Mazrui*, is tempted to ask fellow *IR* scholars, where are the *Afrocentric* echoes of *Mphahlele*, *Cabral*, *Asante*, *Biko*, *Mutwa*, *Prah*, *Chinweizu*, *Fanon*, *Freire*, *Ramose*, *Nabudere* and the rest of their ilk, as located from their respective insightful projects? From amongst other reasons, particularly wherein *Afrikan contribution to IR* (and broader pedagogy) is desired, securing advise, on the much needed way forward, pertaining

to such a scholarly discourse, which is mired by *ahistorical* data, inevitably presents growing dilemma(s). Notice how the theme of obstructing characteristics, related to the theme of ‘identity’ continuously recurs. Views of the proposed voices thus become compulsory, particularly for guidance purposes.

With the abovementioned circumstances, worthwhile past and present efforts, to name ourselves, should thus be acknowledged and thoroughly investigated. An excellent case in point here, is the term *AZANIA*, as formulated by South *Afrika’s Pan-Afrikan Congress (PAC)*. Unfortunately, contemporaries amongst the ruling *Afrikan National Congress (ANC)* government, have never demonstrated any support, nor showed any interest, to the term above. This may be read as a classic example of *indifference* (author’s emphasis). This may also serve as a classic example of having embraced a spirit of *Eurocentric* driven *capitalist thought(s)*, even towards initiatives under the theme of *identity*, which are of mutual benefit to all, regardless of petty political party differences.

Given that none such initiative(s), from this *century year old, liberation movement*, is known (at least publicly), this consolidates a pitiful narrative, of how *compradors* typically behave- it has become apparent that the *capitalist* driven case(s) of *a winner, takes all* and the rest (being the losers), ceasing to exist in their eyes and arguably also in their minds, has evidently become local *Afrikan* reality. Denialism of each other’s worth, that has been ingrained in the minds of the *oppressed*, by the seeds of *imperialistic* and *capitalistic* spirits. Needless to say, none of this is *Afrocentric*.

With the amount of criticism (historical and contemporary), directed towards *Afrika* and *Afrikans*, by the descendants of the represented states, in conferences (such as that hosted in *Berlin and Versailles*), in conjunction today with those other *Eurocentric* states, that were absent then, but however are part of the foremost forces, guilty of the same charge, in the present century – eg. *USA*, not much choice appears to be available, to those who seek, to be alive, to the issue of *Afrocentricity*. Refusing to heed to the above call, as contemporary *Afrikan* scholars, should be read, as equivalent to blatant denialism, in the face of our ancient and contemporary, *socially constructed* realities.

It is the contention of the author of this study, that the propaganda that contributes to the socially constructed realities, particularly for the *subaltern* international community, *have and still remain* mostly spearheaded by American forces. This is realised via its intergovernmental institutions, of the *United Nations (UN)*, *World Bank* and an endless list of *Non-governmental Organisations (NGO's)*, ranging from *Amnesty International*, *Human Rights Watch* and even the infamous *Save Our Souls (SOS)* campaigners, which whenever it may be convenient to them double(s) up, in the *Machiavellian* sense, as extended employees, of the *American secret services*.

Prime examples of the above organs, include the *Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI)* and the *Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)*. These two American organisations, serve, as prime examples of fruition of a process, which has eventually been packaged, as part of the broader project of *neo-colonialism*. So with all that has been stated here, renewed efforts to name ourselves, should be encouraged and never underestimated. To *PAC* and its stalwarts, because of the gift, of having tirelessly made the call, for the concept of *AZANIA*, to be used, instead of the overly simplified geonym that is implied by *South Afrika*- a hearty *Afrocentric* congratulations are due to that political organisation.

In reference to the *Berlin conference* (1884-1885) *Asante* (2007:363) commented as follows “Europe declared war on *Afrika*, dividing *Afrika* among the European powers”. In continuation *McKay et al* explain that as a result of this conference “Germany acquires protectorates in Togo, Cameroon, Southwest *Afrika*, and East *Afrika*; Belgium acquires the Congo Free State”. All this is of course after the “British occupation of Egypt in 1882 (McKay et al, 1996:907)”. To this end, one of the *Afrikan IR* sages, remarked as follows “It is one of the ironies of the great German leader *Otto von Bismarck*, that he helped to unify Germany in the nineteenth century and initiated the division of *Afrika* soon after” (Mazrui, 2010: ix¹⁵⁶). The *Treaty of Versailles (1919)* (in the light of the animosity it caused, ironically is commonly referred to, as the *peace conference*, alongside the *Berlin Conference* may serve as two classic examples, wherein the *West* did as they pleased, with *Afrika*, in the process creating the *ahistorical* myths, about *Afrika*.

2.3.4 Recapitulating and making sense of it all thus far

So from the above references, in as far as clarifications pertaining to *IR*'s origins go, it should be noted that, as a formal discipline, *IR* may have begun as firstly, an almost British based discipline in 1919. Historical events through various conferences, treaties and engagements amongst nations, begun much earlier and perhaps, for the purposes of this study, may be referred to as the unofficial phase of *IR*. This should be helpful, so as not to be *ahistorical* and arrive at conclusions, based on mere generalizations (as a result of passing references, made from various sparse sources), dating back to contemporary dates, which begin the *IR* narrative from 1918/1919.

The extracts registered thus far, do not afford much room, for any doubt, concerning the suspected *Westerncentric* view, held about *IR*'s origin. Secondly, as a result of being an *Anglo-American* construct, *IR*'s existence as a discipline manifests, a strong duty of service towards *Anglo-American* interests. If the above realization remains as '*suspect*' to some, paying close attention to results as projected by the respective *TRIP* databases, may hopefully be helpful, in decreasing, most of this held suspicion.

If the reason and history of *IR*, amongst both the older and recent scholars of the discipline, as expressed above by *Wallace (1996)*, is anything to go by, then indeed, this must be registered with much regret. It should furthermore be noted that, it is such revelation, which confirms the cornerstone of the problematic gaps (in which marginalization of *Afrika*- remains as just one, of the themes) that may continuously, need to be addressed, in order to ensure that the desired international growth of *IR*, is achieved. It is the author's contention, that with regards to the ongoing amounts of doubts, expressed about the authenticity, of *being representative* and *living up to* the assumed *international/universal* element, as assumed by many, stands out as the real issue of concern, facing *IR* today.

In proceeding forward, in alignment with most of the already mentioned definitions, (as already noted, earlier on in the study) of linking the emergence of *IR*, with the 'state system' and also acknowledging that *IR*'s origins, as a formal discipline, may have begun in 1919 in Wales (UK), should be kept in mind. It is noted however that "the subject of *IR* conventionally dates back to

the early modern era (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) in Europe, when sovereign states based on adjacent territories were initially established. Ever since the eighteenth century, the relations between such independent states have been labeled ‘*international relations*’ (Jackson and Sorensen, 2003:2).

It is the author’s observation that most scholars of *IR*, seem to concur with *Jackson and Sorensen’s* (2003) historical account of *IR’s* origin. The author notes with interest that validity of some of these presented observations, may indeed be debatable, nevertheless they provide an outline of the sought footprints, alluding to the foundations of *IR*. It remains the researcher’s contention, that given the nature of any investigation, relying on historical analysis, consensus on such findings, expectedly remains rare. This should not be surprising, as it is typical that data found in the *Social Sciences* remains open to interrogation. Findings forwarded as authentic or balanced, remain part of the ongoing project, which may form part of the founding *ideals*- yet to be achieved, in as far as the basis, specific to this study, of the formation of *IR* are concerned.

From the data found thus far, it is the view of the author of this study, that it may be adequate for the purposes sought in this study. Although the effort of reviewing *IR’s* origin, may to a certain extent, be read as helpful, especially for background purposes, this should nevertheless not necessarily, be read, as a foregone conclusion. This is stated because the above elaborate effort of securing, whatever may be read, as some form of sound background of *IR*- may possibly, just as well, not be read as being worthwhile.

Furthermore in as far, as the interest of this study is concerned- no indication of any contribution thus far, from *Afrika*, has yet been noted. Instead the further endorsement sought to continue employing, the concept of *Afrika* instead of *Africa* has been provided aptly, most notably by *Mudimbe (1994)* in this chapter. So having adopted *Afrocentricity*, the author of this study is convinced of being on the desired track, of self understanding which may later, enable one to graduate, to an enhanced grasp of self definition.

If anything, for the author of this study, the good that may emanate, from the attempt of rewinding the cassette, in an effort to recall where the discourse of *IR* begun, may at least

arguably provide, some much needed background, which may be utilized for further reference and *point of departure* purposes. Proceeding forward from such a premise, may at least be done, being aware of certain essential data, which may be useful, in this on-going and contentious enquiry, as pursued in this study. Such a historicist approach, may furthermore be argued to be useful, in the continuous challenge of identifying and *seeking to address the gaps*, as opposed to simply *justifying the exclusively Eurocentric nature* of *IR*, in its current guise, as merely another *Eurocentrically* driven academic field of enquiry.

If at all, one is to go by the overall views of the abovementioned scholars, as arguably flawed or debatable, as most of their views may possibly be, the insistent chorus indicated by the majority of these *IR* scholars, seem to be consistent with regards to their knowledge, of the roots and birthplace of *IR*. So based on their insight, *IR* as an academic field, is without a shadow of doubt, firstly to be located, in Britain and later America. The shift from what apparently was an *Anglo-American*, to currently a predominantly American discipline, (as should be visibly noted within the literature of *IR* to date), suggests that the might of the plethora of scholars (both American and non-American - who established their careers in *USA*) may be one of the chief *raison d'être*, for such a development. This may potentially shed some light, as to events, which led to such a biased *Westerncentric* shift, in what has to date been presented, as the scholarly body of *IR*.

This affirmation of an *Anglo-American* origin, understandably continues to raise questions regarding *representivity* and *inclusivity*, beyond the *Eurocentric* perspectives, as presented within the current discourse of *IR*. Having attempted upto this point, to get an overall clarity, of *IR* and the gist of its main contents, it should be noted that the exact historical origin of *IR*, may be contested or unknown however according to the recorded voices of *IR* scholars (as captured within this chapter) there seems to be consensus, that as a discipline *IR* originated in the *UK* and later spread to America. It is from such a basis wherein *IR*, has been exported to the rest of the globe. In short, it is the author's argument (as informed by the above data) that scholars, who all along, assumed that *IR* as a discipline, originated in *Europe* and *North America*, appear not to have been far removed, from the truth.

It is the author's realization, that even with all the inherent bias, as found in most of the abovementioned descriptions, alternatives or counter arguments of any other origin, of how *IR* came about, may not differ that much, from what has been presented here. In a case whereby a strong argument may be possibly presented, in opposition to the captured views thus far, well such contrary data may freely be taken up elsewhere, beyond this study. In as far as the author of this study is concerned, any data supporting contrary views pertaining to *IR*, to those registered upto so far within this study, should be read as nothing else but misleading. Sufficient or not, the limited space and time, should be the two factors, informing the *halting point* at this stage of this chapter, in as far as the broad historical background of *IR* is concerned.

Chapter 3: *IR* in Close Up

Whose Discourse? Which Discipline?... (Kuniyuki Nishimura, 2007).

When a discipline begins to reflect on its own practices, there are various resources on which it can draw and a range of foci, upon which the gaze can be, turned (Colin Wight, 2002).

The articles on the history of the discipline, slowly growing in number, are usually not based on systematic research or clear methods. They are, at best, elegant restatements of “common knowledge” of our past,... However, without looking systematically at the past, we tend to reproduce myths (Weaver, 1998, 52- quoted by Maliniak et al, 2005).

Having captured the standard/basic features of *IR*, in the previous chapter-which ranged from providing a historical lens (presenting the origins of *IR*) and introducing and exhausting the various definitions of *IR* and its *Mainstream* theories, a closer data analysis, pertaining to the already made comments are due, for detailed discussion in this chapter. Highlighting detailed *realities* pertaining to *IR*, will hopefully be presented, within this chapter, as proposed in the subsequent paragraph.

An analysis of *IR*, via a thorough reading of respective *TRIP Survey* results (the *Teaching and Research in International Politics* survey(s)), will be discussed. The author of this study has opted to employ the *TRIP* surveys because as paraphrased by its authors *Maliniak et al* (2007) “The *Teaching, Research, and International Policy* (TRIP) Project is the largest, most extensive data-collection effort to date on the field of *international relations*. It systematically and empirically analyzes relationships among pedagogy, scholarship, and international policy”.

So in the interest of this study (amongst other important factors, to be considered) influential academic centers of *IR*, will expectedly be brought forth and discussed. Attention will also be paid, towards the *International Studies Association* (*ISA*). Amongst others the *history, constitution, gender* and *racial factors* of *ISA*, should also be presented afore and analysed. Finally the commentary, on the *British International Studies Association* (*BISA*) and the *BISA Afrika Working Group*, should see the eventual closure, of this chapter.

3.1 A Review of the *TRIP* Survey Findings

In the light of what had been stated in the previous chapter, about *IR*, the author of this study was of the view that by presenting selected detailed data, thought as pertinent, for the purpose of this study, this might be of much assistance. This was specifically with the aim, of securing details, which could further clarify, various characteristics, neatly placed, within the *Pandora's Box* of *IR*. The following various *TRIP Survey* reports below, were thus secured and considered as crucial, to this chapter. Amongst other reasons, according to Maliniak et al (2009), the significance of the *TRIP Survey(s)* is that it is one of the most detailed, contemporary research projects ever conducted on *IR* to date.

The extensive inclusion of the selected tables, derived from particularly the *One Discipline or Many? TRIP Survey of International Relations Faculty in Ten Countries (2009)*, should be read as the author's attempt, to indicate, just how much authority and influence the *West*, particularly America (through its scholars and Universities) commands, within the discipline of *IR*. This is as opposed, to the commonly argued *Anglo-American* hegemonic tag team, noted within the bulk of *IR* discourse. From the data derived from the above reports, it is with hope, that the selected questions, may hopefully fulfill the intended desire, to secure further comprehension, from the dynamics related to *IR*.

The respective individual *TRIP Surveys*, employed in this study range as follows: The *Teaching and Research in International Politics: Surveying Trends in Faculty Opinion and Publishing (2005¹⁵⁷)*, *Teaching and Research Practices, Views on the Discipline, and Policy Attitudes of International Relations Faculty at U.S. Colleges and Universities (2005¹⁵⁸)*, *The View from the Ivory Tower: TRIP Survey of International Relations Faculty in the United States and Canada*- this particular survey, attempted to provide an overview, of *IR* research, by focusing on the journal article database, which would most likely reflect, the major trends in *IR* research better (2007¹⁵⁹), *The International Relations Discipline, 1980-2006 (2007¹⁶⁰)*, *Divided discipline? Comparing views of US and Canadian IR scholars*- this *TRIP* database compared and analyzed American and Canadian results, illustrating the major differences between the two nation's

scholars (2007¹⁶¹), *Women in International Relations* (2008¹⁶²), *The American School of IPE* (2009¹⁶³), *Inside The Ivory Tower* this TRIP database, focused on data, found in IR curricula at 125 American Colleges and Universities, including departmental (disciplinary or interdisciplinary) requirements, foreign language requirements, study abroad opportunities and policy- analysis courses (2009¹⁶⁴), *One Discipline or Many? TRIP Survey of International Relations Faculty in Ten Countries* (2009¹⁶⁵).

3.1.1 Discussing Selected Items From TRIP Survey Findings

As posed in *Question 9* below, by Maliniak et al (2009:18) who dutifully capture, the results to the question posed, regarding employment of selected IR paradigms in Intro to IR course (s)

Table 1.1 Percentage dedicated to the various theoretical paradigms of IR

Q9: Approximately what percentage of your Intro to IR course do you devote to the study and/ or application of each of the following international relations paradigms? (If you have multiple answers for "other," only record the most prominent "other" paradigm).⁴¹

	All	US	UK	Can	Aus	NZ	Ire	Isr	SA	HK	Sin
Realism	22	21	18	18	19	18	14	40	23	29	29
Liberalism	19	18	10	15	16	18	16	28	24	32	22
Marxism	9	7	10	11	8	12	7	10	18	10	15
Constructivism	11	10	7	11	10	13	10	13	11	15	15
Feminism	6	5	12	7	7	6	2	4	9	3	7
English School	6	3	17	5	8	4	5	8	3	13	10
Non-paradigmatic	17	17	17	17	25	10	19	18	11	16	7
Other	12	11	11	14	12	10	9	16	11	18	11

Source: TRIP Survey (Maliniak et al, 2009:18).

Response to the above question, seems to have been consistent, with the remark of the undergraduate student, whom inspired the 2005 TRIP research, who was recorded as follows “all the IR scholars in our department, have abandoned the *realist* paradigm as a guide, to their own research, but they continue to highlight *realism* in introductory IR courses” (Maliniak et al, 2005:2). In as far as response was concerned, almost all the IR scholars interviewed “employ a diversity of paradigms and theoretical approaches...each of the major schools of thought in IR- namely *Realism*, *liberalism* and *Constructivism* is well represented (if in different proportions) among faculty in every country we surveyed” (Maliniak et al, 2009:18).

From the *Table* of findings as displayed (in *Question 9*, in this particular *TRIP Survey (2009)*, an estimation of how much time was spent, on teaching *Mainstream* theory, such as *Realism*, could be vividly observed. Suffice to say, that the *Realist* school of thought (at 21% (US), 18% (UK), 18% (Can), 19% (Austr.), 18% (NZ), 14 % (Ire), 40% (Isr.), 23% (SA), 29% (UK) and 29% (Singapore) was ahead of all, the other existing IR theories. Namely *Liberalism*, *Marxism*, *Constructivism*, *Feminism*, *English School*, *Non-Paradigmatic* and *other*.

The above findings appear to be consistent, with the conventional paradigm, that *Realism* is the reigning theory, amongst all the IR theories. Israeli scholars (at 40% being the highest percentage registered) appeared as the most devoted, to *Realist* approaches, than all the other participating countries, on the survey. Understandably there may be speculation, why this approach is so highly preferred, in *Israel*. Perhaps from amongst other reasons, this may be due, to the ongoing political and secular related conflict, experienced by the majority of the population, in that country. Whatever the case or reason(s) which may explain such a finding, it should be stated that securing response for such a finding, is beyond the scope, of this study, hence it shall not be discussed any further and will be left as is.

Other explored countries elsewhere, such as Ireland (registered the lowest at 14%, alongside New Zealand and UK- which both registered 18%)? South *Afrika* (at 24%), Israel (at 28%) and Hong Kong (32%)—score slightly higher percentages, of class time spent on *Liberalism*. It may be noted, at this early stage, of this study that South *Afrika*, is the only *Afrikan* country, included

in the *TRIP Survey's* under discussion. Since the author of this study may be categorized, as a *South Afrikan*, the exclusion or absence of other *Afrikan* countries in the respective *TRIP Survey (2009)* study(s), should be read as a decision taken, by the authors concerned. In order to maintain the objectivity sought, in the quest to secure, adequate response to the two main questions, as posed in the opening chapter of this study, this clarity should be kept in mind as it is dimmed as crucial.

In returning back to the study, *Maliniak et al (2009:18)*, further pointed out that “class time, devoted to *Realism*, grew by 5% between 2006 and 2008 respectively”. Although *Constructivism* was registered, as growing in popularity, as found in the earlier project titled *The View from the Ivory Tower* *Maliniak et al (2008)*, express their findings as follows

only a small proportion of class time in introductory courses, was devoted to this paradigm, and thus appeared set, to overtake the declining paradigm of *Marxism*. Even the prevalence of the *constructivist IR* scholarship in countries like *New Zealand, Ireland* and *South Afrika* do not translate into a larger share of class time. Predictably, the *English School* paradigm is more prevalent in *U.K* classrooms than anywhere else in the world. In all, it appears as though while American and non-U.S scholars differ significantly in their personal paradigmatic approaches, these differences, do not noticeably influence their teaching practices: the major paradigms, receive roughly the same course time, regardless of country in question (*Maliniak et al, 2009:18*).

From the above realization, one may deduce that the closer a scholar is to a particular region, the more likely that their focus area, would be based in that particular region. The differences however halt only at region of influence, the choice of paradigm still remains locked at *Mainstream IR* level. In closure to the above question, the disclaimer below as recorded by *Maliniak et al (2005:12)* should be noted

These results highlight a problem with the question (and with the field of *international relations*). There is no consensus on the primary paradigm in the field. In fact, there is no consensus on what “ism” qualifies as a paradigm theory, or approach. We selected these four approaches, as paradigmatic for *IR* because they are most frequently discussed, as if they are the main paradigmatic alternatives (*Keohane, Katzenstein, and Krasner 1998; Freiden and Lake 1995*).

In proceeding ahead, as posed in *Question 26* by *Maliniak et al (2009:31)*:

Table 1.2 Preferred approaches to the study of IR

Q26: Which of the following best describes your approach to the study of IR? If you do not think of your work as falling within one of these paradigms, please select the category in which most other scholars would place your work.

	All	US	UK	Can	Aus	NZ	Ire	Isr	SA	HK	Sin
Realism	18	21	8	16	16	22	14	34	13	22	17
Liberalism	17	20	9	15	8	7	21	9	7	22	13
Marxism	5	3	11	8	6	7	7	0	0	0	0
Constructivism	17	17	14	23	18	26	21	16	40	17	22
Feminism	2	2	3	2	4	7	4	0	7	0	0
English School	4	2	9	7	6	4	0	9	7	11	4
Other	12	10	17	15	18	15	4	9	7	6	17
I do not use paradigmatic analysis	25	26	30	16	26	11	29	22	20	22	26

Source: TRIP Survey (Oakes and Maliniak et al, 2009:31).

The overall message on *paradigms*, from most of the scholars, who participated, is that they hardly use *paradigmatic analysis*. Interestingly the 2004 and 2006 U.S figures are lower than the 26% of Americans in 2008, who said they do not use *paradigmatic analysis*. A modest drop in the major paradigms in the USA and Canada is noticed. In 2004 and 2006, 25% of U.S respondents characterized their work as *Realist*, while only 21% did in 2008. 33% and 31% of US faculty reported in 2004 and 2006, respectively, that their work was *liberal*, compared to only 20% in 2008. Similarly, 22 % of Canadian scholars described their work as *liberal* in 2006, but only 15% did in 2008 (Maliniak et al, 2009:31).

Based on the author of this study’s personal observation, agreement is given below in as far as

the overwhelming majority of textbooks used in *IR*, organize this discipline based around paradigms. It is interesting to note, that while conventional wisdom suggests that the United States is the last bastion of *Realism* theory, the above survey results reflect an academic community, which has healthy populations of *Realism’s scholars*, outside the USA (Maliniak et al, 2009:31).

On the point of textbooks used in *IR*, see *Appendix A: Example of a Typical IR Course Outline* (in the addendum) courtesy of *J.M Joseph of University of Kent*. It should not matter that the

lecturer concerned is from Europe and their class presumably filled with Europeans. Of significance is that this course outline, mirrors almost the majority of authors, perceived as crucial, in the discourse of *IR*. To date any deviation from the observed authors, as noted from the attached course outline in the addendum, might run the risk of being criticized, as teaching something else other than *IR*. Note the *Eurocentric* hegemony laced over *IR*.

In reference to the rest of the abovementioned quote, the same view is also shared in the *September 2007, research report*. Above all else, consolidation of the view that “*realism* and *liberalism* dominate the syllabi of introductory *IR* courses. Although the share of class time has declined, *realism* still dominates the teaching of *IR* today: 25 percent of teaching in 2004 and 22 percent was devoted to this theoretical tradition” (Maliniak et al, 2007:7).

In order to do justice, to the *Eurocentric* emphasis paid by *IR scholars*, their respective heavy *Westerncentric* based premise, for reliance purposes as revealed in the *tables* under discussion, may not be underestimated. Finally as posed in *Question 36* below by Maliniak et al (2009:41).

Table 1.3. *IR* Literature estimated to be devoted to each paradigm

Q36: What percentage of IR literature do you estimate is devoted to each of these paradigms today?⁵⁸

	All	US	UK	Can	Aus	NZ	Ire	Isr	SA	HK	Sin
Realism	30	28	29	29	32	31	20	31	41	36	31
Liberalism	28	26	26	26	29	28	32	22	38	27	27
Marxism	6	3	12	6	9	6	5	7	16	9	8
Constructivism	21	17	7	21	28	24	21	22	40	20	21
Feminism	7	4	7	7	8	7	7	6	25	5	5
English School	7	4	25	6	10	9	5	7	22	7	7
Non-Paradigmatic	12	11	9	10	10	10	13	10	6	9	8
Other	11	11	7	10	7	3	5	5	11	4	15

Source: TRIP Survey Maliniak et al (2009:41).

Realism (when it was compared to *Liberalism*, *Marxism*, *Constructivism*, *Feminism*, *English School*, *Non-Paradigmatic* and *other*), remained the leading theory, preferred by scholars. This is as consistent, as it was pointed out (in earlier *Tables* as presented within the *TRIP Survey (2009)*) confirming that *Realist* theory, continues to enjoy much attention.

Maliniak et al (2009:41) stipulate that “while most *IR* scholars employ a *Non-Paradigmatic* approach in their own work, they perceive the literature, as overwhelmingly paradigmatic. The troika of *Realism*, *liberalism* and *Constructivism* is consistently estimated to constitute almost 80% of published research”. Furthermore *Maliniak et al (2009:41)* proceed to stipulate that “scholars, in different countries, appear to read different literature, which may lead to the question, whether there is such a thing, as a single *IR literature*”. For examples, of the above remarks, reference is made towards

The *English School*, constituting barely 5% of an American or Irish diet, however it is the staple food for the *British IR community* at 25%. *Constructivism* exhibits similar variation. Cross-national differences in the prominence of certain journals¹⁶⁶ reflect these national differences eg. The *Review of International Studies*, publishes the most *English School research*, is twice as prominent in the United Kingdom, as in almost any other country. Similarly, nearly a quarter of British academics rate *Millennium*, which tends to publish critical approaches to *IR*, as very influential, while only 3% of American scholars, agree to this finding. (*Maliniak et al, 2009:41*).

The above data on the dominance of *Realism*, could possibly go a lengthy way in explaining the response to the following posed question about, most influential *IR* scholars- *Question 39* (*Maliniak et al, 2009:43*).

Although these two *TRIP* surveys, *The View from the Ivory Tower: TRIP Survey of International Relations Faculty in the United States and Canada (2007)* and *Divided discipline? Comparing views of US and Canadian IR scholars (2007)* focused on common and different trends amongst *IR* scholars, in these two countries, more similarities than differences, were noted. The underlying reason may be based, on the point of reference to common scholars, as noted below.

Table 1.4: Scholars regarded as the most influential in the field of IR in the past 20 years

Q39: List four scholars whose work has had the greatest influence on the field of IR in the past 20 years.

Overall Rank	Scholar	All %	US %	UK %	Can %	Aus %	NZ %	Ire %	Isr %	HK %	SA %	Sin %
1	Robert Keohane	47	49	43	55	30	50	48	38	27	44	50
2	Alexander Wendt	45	41	60	51	40	50	43	38	36	44	50
3	Kenneth Waltz	34	33	45	24	36	33	35	31	45	44	31
4	John Mearsheimer	19	21	16	10	18	17	9	31	18	0	6
5	James Fearon	13	17	5	6	3	0	13	8	0	0	0
6	Joseph Nye	13	13	10	12	13	17	4	15	36	11	25
7	Robert Jervis	11	14	4	4	4	0	0	15	9	0	13
8	Samuel Huntington	10	10	10	12	16	0	0	8	0	11	0
9	Peter Katzenstein	9	10	4	12	12	11	4	15	0	0	0
10	Robert Cox	8	3	21	21	18	28	17	6	0	44	6
11	B. Bueno de Mesquita	8	10	2	4	0	0	9	8	9	0	0
12	Bruce Russett	7	9	2	3	1	6	0	23	0	0	0
13	Robert Gilpin	6	6	3	8	4	11	0	8	27	11	6
14	John Ruggie	6	5	5	15	3	17	0	0	0	0	0
15	Stephen Krasner	5	5	4	7	9	0	0	0	0	0	6
16	Barry Buzan	5	2	13	7	10	11	17	6	0	22	6
17	Stephen Walt	5	5	3	4	3	0	4	15	9	0	6
18	Hans Morgenthau	4	5	5	1	7	6	4	15	0	0	6
19	James Rosenau	4	4	2	6	3	6	0	15	9	11	6
20	Michael Doyle	4	4	3	2	6	0	4	0	0	0	0
21	Hedley Bull	4	2	10	4	10	6	9	15	0	11	6
22	Susan Strange	4	2	8	9	7	11	0	0	0	22	0
23	Martha Finnemore	3	4	1	8	0	11	0	0	0	0	6
24	Cynthia Enloe	3	2	6	3	6	0	0	6	0	0	0
24	John Ikenberry	3	3	2	2	0	0	0	0	9	0	0

Source: TRIP Survey Maliniak et al (2009:43).

Note that not a single scholar emanates from beyond the borders of Europe or to be more direct America. As observed Princeton’s *Robert Keohane* took the honours, in that regard. Although he came a close second. *Alexander Wendt* received the most votes in seven countries, whereas *Keohane* was ranked highest, only in six countries. *Maliniak et al* (2009:43) remind us that consistent with the previous *TRIP Surveys*, “the top three individuals are regarded as leading lights in what has arguably become the most prominent *IR* paradigms in *liberalism*, *Constructivism* and *Realism*” (Maliniak et al, 2009:44). The top three being *Robert Keohane* (liberalism), *Alexander Wendt* (Constructivism) and *Kenneth Waltz* (Realism).

Given all the above observations, from the responses as found by Maliniak et al (2009) *TRIP* Survey, the presented data should thus explain *Martin Wight's* remark that “Everyone is a *Realist* nowadays, and the term in this sense needs no argument¹⁶⁷”. It is of significance here that the specified *Table* related to (Q39) “consolidates beyond any doubt, the dominance of *Westerncentric scholars* (particularly American) within the *IR* discipline” (Maliniak et al, 2009:44).

A special note that “only 3 of the ‘top’ 25 scholars use quantitative methods extensively” (Maliniak et al, 2009:44), should also be noted. This provides, the indication of the dominant methodology preferred, by those regarded as *highly influential scholars of IR* (as already mentioned above). Judging from the above table, it should not be surprising why *Maliniak et al* (2007) in their *Divided discipline* article, openly declared that “The centre of gravity for the academic discipline of *international relations* is located in the United States” (Maliniak et al, 2007:327). If ever, there are still doubts, about American dominance in *IR*, let us turn to the respective academic institutions, which are believed to host highly rated *IR* scholars.

3.1.2 Influential Academic Centers of *IR*

The author of this study, has thus far noted that, from the data of the results observed, from the respective tables above, the leading theories (hence referred to as *Mainstream*) are all representative products, that have featured in the notably *Western* informed, theoretical debates of *IR*. When moving on to the *most influential scholars* in the discipline, a common thread, was noted. Almost all the scholars, as mentioned by respondents, confirmed that the scholars in question, were either American(s) or by virtue of having pursued their *IR* career(s) in America's leading institutions (Ivy league), they would also be duly highly recognized.

Upto thus far an association here, is specifically linked with that found in the higher learning sector. By such association, *non-American IR* scholars, have thus also in turn, enjoyed much recognition. It is from such a realization, wherein the author of this study, developed curiosity, to

seek out these institutions, of higher learning where *IR* programs have been offered. The following tables below, thus assist in providing the sought data. Given the concern of *Afrikan* contribution to *IR*, special interest was paid, to South *Afrika*, as the only country represented from *Afrika*

Table 1.5: Five Best Colleges for Undergraduates to study *IR*

Q56: What are the five best colleges or universities in [Country X] for undergraduate students to study IR?

United States			United Kingdom			Canada		
Rank	University	%	Rank	University	%	Rank	University	%
1	Harvard University	21	1	London School of Economics	83	1	University of Toronto	86
2	Princeton University	16	2	University of Wales, Aberystwyth	80	2	University of British Columbia	80
3	Yale University	12	3	Oxford University	56	3	McGill University	54
5	Stanford University	12	4	University of Warwick	32	4	Queen's University	34
3	Georgetown University	12	5	University of St. Andrews	30	5	Carleton University	29
6	Columbia University	11	6	Cambridge University	24	6	York University	27
7	University of Chicago	7	6	Kings College London	24	7	Dalhousie University	22
8	Dartmouth College	5	8	University of Sussex	18	8	University of Ottawa	21
9	U. of California, Berkeley	4	9	University of Manchester	11	9	McMaster University	18
10	Tufts University	3	10	University of Bristol	11	10	Université de Montréal	13
10	University of Michigan	3	11	University of Birmingham	10	11	University of Waterloo	12
12	Duke University	3	12	University of London	9	12	University of Victoria	10
13	Williams College	2	12	University of Sheffield	9	13	Laval University	8
13	Cornell University	2	14	University of Essex	8	13	Alberta University	8
13	MIT	2	15	University of Exeter	7	15	Calgary University	6

Israel			Ireland			South Africa		
Rank	University	%	Rank	University	%	Rank	University	%
1	Hebrew U. of Jerusalem	100	1	Dublin City University	75	1	Rhodes University	100
2	University of Haifa	85	2	U. College Dublin	70	2	University of Cape Town	75

Source: TRIP Survey: Maliniak et al (2009:68).

From the above *table*, it should be clear to fellow scholars, which are the leading institutions, concerned with *IR*, in their respective countries. In as far as South *Afrika* is concerned, not much explanation is provided as to what criteria was used, which ultimately placed *Rhodes University* and *University of Cape Town* ahead of the other universities, in the country. That question is

further marked with the concern that both these universities, historically are English institutions, set up by British settlers. Similar intellectual challenges were noted by Mama (2004).

From the above background, not much confidence in securing any form of *Afrikan contribution to IR* from scholars, based in these two institutions may realistically be expected. The author of this study is of the opinion that, the abovementioned expression may appropriately be challenged, particularly in the event that an *Afrocentric* approach, may supposedly have been promoted.

Table 1.6: Five Best Terminal Masters Programs World Wide

Q55: What are the five best terminal masters programs in the world for a student who wants to pursue a policy career in international relations?

Overall Rank	Masters Program	All %	US %	UK %	Can %	Aus %	NZ %	Ire %	Isr %	SA %	HK %	Sin %
1	Georgetown University	48	54	29	46	50	38	29	80	33	50	54
2	Johns Hopkins University	44	49	29	44	29	54	29	20	0	63	38
3	Harvard University	43	38	59	40	53	38	43	60	33	63	23
4	Tufts University	29	37	15	20	9	31	0	20	0	38	31
4	Columbia University	29	29	35	27	15	31	29	30	33	38	23
6	Princeton University	25	27	21	19	35	15	0	10	33	50	0
7	London School of Economics	22	6	62	44	47	38	29	30	67	13	31
8	George Washington University	16	18	9	12	21	23	0	0	0	25	46
9	American University	9	13	3	6	6	0	0	20	0	0	0
10	Oxford University	9	1	41	5	15	15	7	0	0	0	0
11	University of Chicago	5	6	4	0	0	8	7	0	0	0	0
12	Yale University	4	3	10	2	6	0	7	10	0	0	0
13	Syracuse University	4	6	2	1	3	8	0	0	0	0	0
14	Carleton University	4	0	0	37	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15	Stanford University	4	2	11	2	6	0	7	0	0	0	0
16	Cambridge University	4	0	19	1	12	0	0	10	0	0	0
17	Kings College London	3	0	19	0	0	0	0	10	33	0	0
18	University of California, San Diego	2	3	2	1	0	0	0	10	0	0	0
19	MIT	2	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
19	University of Wales, Aberystwyth	2	0	10	2	0	0	14	0	0	0	0
21	University of Denver	2	3	0	1	0	0	0	10	0	0	0
22	University of California, Berkeley	1	1	3	0	3	8	0	0	0	0	0
23	New York University	1	1	1	1	0	0	14	0	0	0	0
24	University of Pittsburgh	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
24	University of Kentucky	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Source: TRIP Survey Maliniak, et al (2009:66).

Table 1.7: Best PhD programs in order to pursue an academic career in IR

Q54: What are the five best PhD programs in the world for a student who wants to pursue an academic career in IR?												
Overall Rank	Ph.D. Program	All %	US %	UK %	Can %	Aus %	NZ %	Ire %	Isr %	SA %	HK %	Sin %
1	Harvard University	59	53	74	69	68	76	89	69	67	80	54
2	Princeton University	42	40	38	54	42	47	39	69	17	70	38
3	Stanford University	34	36	29	40	28	18	28	38	0	10	31
4	Columbia University	31	30	31	35	16	29	33	62	17	60	54
5	Yale University	20	21	14	23	14	18	6	31	17	20	8
6	London School of Economics	19	6	61	34	44	18	44	31	50	40	46
7	University of Chicago	18	19	21	10	10	0	11	15	0	20	23
8	University of California, Berkeley	14	15	8	14	18	24	11	8	33	30	8
8	Oxford University	14	6	39	31	32	35	33	8	17	0	15
10	University of Michigan	11	13	6	5	2	12	6	8	0	20	0
11	University of California, San Diego	10	12	6	9	2	0	17	0	0	0	0
12	Massachusetts Institute of Technology	10	11	7	5	4	6	6	8	17	0	0
13	Cornell University	9	6	10	17	26	12	0	8	0	0	8
14	University of Wales, Aberystwyth	7	0	31	8	28	24	28	0	17	0	15
15	Cambridge University	7	3	17	12	20	18	11	15	17	20	8
16	Johns Hopkins University	6	6	7	5	8	6	11	8	17	0	0
17	Georgetown University	5	5	1	4	8	6	11	8	17	10	8
18	New York University	3	4	4	2	0	0	11	0	0	0	0
19	University of California, Los Angeles	3	4	0	5	0	0	11	8	0	0	0
20	University of Minnesota	3	2	7	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
21	Ohio State University	3	3	0	4	2	0	6	0	0	0	0
22	University of Rochester	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
23	Duke University	2	2	0	2	10	0	0	0	0	0	0
24	Tufts University	2	2	1	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	8
25	Australian National University	2	0	0	0	24	24	6	0	0	0	8

Source: TRIP Survey Maliniak, et al (2009:64).

If ever there was still any doubt, about the gravity for the academic discipline of *IR*, the above tables, should out rightly dismiss them. The high esteem of the universities in the *West*, but mostly the American universities, should go a long way in explaining the ascendancy of the most influential scholars, noted earlier. Further insight regarding the earlier mentioned scholars (under discussion) clarifies the speculation that “Twenty-one of the 25 individuals spent most of their

careers at U.S universities, and all of them received their terminal degrees in the United States” (Maliniak et al, 2009).

The detailed reference of American hegemony prevalent in *IR*, as provided from the above tables, spells out the concern, in as far as other platforms of engagement and recognition may be concerned. *Stanley Hoffman's* article *An American Social Science: International Relations (1977¹⁶⁸)*, consolidates this view. All these tables, as displayed above, certainly support this abovementioned *TRIP Survey (2009)* finding, to the letter. Further realization is that “A number of scholars were born in other countries, but nevertheless made their career in U.S universities, e.g. *Hans Morgenthau, Peter Katzenstein and John Ruggie*” (Maliniak et al, 2009:44).

The results of the *Tables* under discussion, illustrate the bulk of American Universities being respected, as the premier institutions, for the study of *IR*. The above data is further cemented, in *Simon Hix's (2004)* findings of the *Top 200 Political Science Departments, 1998-2002¹⁶⁹*. In as far as *Hix (2004)* is concerned, the following comment on *methodology used*, to conduct his research and his realization of *language used* in the context of *political science* departments, is highly dimmed at this point of the study, as necessary

So in as far as results are concerned ...the ‘Global Top 200’ *political science* institutions have been listed on the basis of their output, in the main *political science* journals, in the five years between *1998 and 2002*. Anyone with a cursory knowledge of the discipline, would recognize most of the names, on the list. One way of assessing the validity of the method, is to compare the results to those using a similar method in economics (Coupé, 2003). In the *political science* rankings for 1998–2002, there was one department outside the US, in the top10, five in the top 20, fourteen in the top 50, thirty-six in the top 100, and 103 in the top 200. In the comparable ranking in economics, there were no departments outside the US in the top 10, one in the top 20, ten in the top 50, thirty-four in the top 100, and eighty-eight in the top 200. In turning our attention to the *Political Science Departments* **one obvious criticism is that these rankings are biased towards English speaking countries, since nine of the top 10, nineteen of the top 20, forty-eight of the top 50, ninety-one of the top 100, and 163 of the top 200 are from the US, the UK, Australia, Canada or Ireland.** However, the **equivalent rankings in economics are equally as dominated by Anglo-Saxon institutions:** with all of the top 10, all of the top 20, forty-seven of the top 50, eighty-seven of the top 90, and 155 of the top 200 coming from these same five English-speaking

countries. In other words, the **dominance of institutions from these countries may simply be a reflection of the dominant position of English as the global language in the *Social Sciences*. ... One possible problem with these rankings is the apparent *English-language bias in the results, which undermines the aspiration to be truly 'global'* (Hix, 2004).**

The elaborate quote above, is a mouthful comment indeed. The highlighted parts emphasise *Europe*, as being *at the centre* or *core* of *IR* scholarly universe. Themes of interest such as *methodology*, used to determine what constitutes a top *Political Science* department and the significance of *language*, are all worthy of being revisited, for due discussion in the forthcoming chapters.

From the above quote as presented by *Hix* (2004), clarity of American Universities, without any shadow of doubt being regarded, higher than any other Universities, in the world, for pursuit of *IR* is distinctly registered. In addition to results made available from *Table 1.5 (Five Best Colleges for Undergraduate Study of IR)* the following is noted. Although undergraduate degrees, are assumed not to give scholars, much “recognition nor authority in a chosen discipline” (Maliniak et al, 2009:68). In reference to the abovementioned *Table*, *Maliniak et al* (2009) stipulate as follows

an answer... depends in part, on the career that an *IR* scholar, may have in mind. Aspiring academics are attracted by a sound, liberal arts degree, but if having aspirations of academia, *Harvard University* easily leads the field. *Harvard* remains as the only institution, named by a majority of respondents, who participated on the survey. For those who want to walk the *corridors of power*, *John Hopkins* and *Georgetown* are recommended (Maliniak et al (2009:68).

For the author of this study, it was also interesting to note, that the institution, that is believed to be the birthplace of the discipline of *IR* (at least in its academic guise- *University of Wales, Aberystwyth*¹⁷⁰ (2nd), trails behind the *London School of Economics* however it interestingly features ahead, of *Oxford University* (4th) and *Cambridge University* listed at (6th) spot. All the above place an emphasis on the *European* centers of excellence, for *IR*. The above data should compel scholars to become ever more sceptical, about the use or claim of the concept, of *international*, particularly in as far as the discipline of *IR* may be concerned.

In proceeding forward to *Table 1.2 (Five Best Terminal Masters Programmes Worldwide To Study IR)* the following comment was posted:

While one might expect scholars to rank *masters* programs, at their own country's universities highly- presumably because they offer training better suited, for a policy career, in their country's government, this is not what we observe. Again, **nearly all of the top masters programs are at American and British universities**-even according to scholars in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Ireland South Afrika, Hong Kong, and Singapore. These results may be a product of the question wording, which asks about programs that facilitate a career in "*international relations*" broadly conceived. This may have prompted respondents, to consider where students, can receive the best training for jobs at IO's or NGO's. If so, then the fact that many prominent IO's (e.g. UN, World Bank and IMF) and NGO's (e.g. Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch) are based, in the United States might explain the prominence of American universities, on this list" (Maliniak et al (2009:67).

Although it is interesting to note, how the top Universities offering *IR* programs rate, graduate studies, just like in most other academic disciplines, usually also shape the expertise, that a scholar may desire, to secure. Scholars that agree with such a view, should thus understandably worry about what is meant, by *international* in as far as *IR* is concerned (authors emphasis). According to all the *tables* in question, the *Eurocentric* base wherein the foremost scholarly pursuit of *IR*, is situated seems to be stuck in the *West*. This can only spell trouble in as far as global perspectives are concerned- leading to *parochial* and biased views (author's emphasis).

While it made sense, that *Maliniak et al* (2009) were of the view, that the various interviewed scholars, would rate *Master's* programs, in their home country's highly (presumably because they were better suited, to provide the relevant training, on the strength of comprehension of the local context), data reveals that this was, not the case. In as far as the author of this study is concerned, context specific dynamics, could indeed enable a realisation of insight, that would hopefully be informative, as mentioned by *Maliniak et al* on policy career(s), in respective countries of non-European based *IR* scholars.

Observations of the findings, were instead contrary to this. Just as observed, in the initial table (for undergraduate study), once again “nearly all of the top *Masters* programs are at American and British Universities” (Maliniak et al, 2009:66). This emphasises the observation, which was suspected, from the opening chapter, by the author of this study, that *IR* is a *Eurocentric* discipline. Scholars from Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Ireland, South Afrika, Hong Kong and Singapore all consolidated the observation, noted in the particular *table*, in question. As a result *Maliniak et al* (2009:66) suggest that, “these results may be a product, of the question wording, which asks about programs that facilitate, a career in “*international relations*” broadly conceived”.

The author of this study, also acknowledges the doubt, held by *Maliniak et al* (2009), based on *Simon Hix's* (2004) *Top 200 Political Science departments in the World* , combined with *The Rolling Global Top 50*¹⁷¹- there is no doubt that the predominantly American Universities (as stated above) and a sprinkling of UK Universities, clearly command the respect, that the responding *IR* Scholars of *TRIP* (2009) Survey, give to them. Whatever the dynamics involved, it remains clear, that absence of *Non-European*¹⁷² Institutions, support the criticism of *IR*, not living up to its international claim. The might of the institutions from the *USA*, followed by *UK*, does not live much room, for those who seek to defend, why *IR* is not guilty, against the charge of being an *Anglo-American* discipline.

Its noteworthy to recall that, from *Masters level* onwards, *IR* scholars, as stipulated by *Maliniak et al* (2008), in responding to the question “where’s the best place to study *international relations*? The answer depends, in part on the career you have in mind”. The dynamics of language (English hegemony) and *Eurocentric* based colleges, should not be overlooked, when considering the implications such factors, may have in pursuit of *Afrikan contribution to IR*.

From the top *Master's* programs (as observed above) and those in pursuit of being experts, on *policy issues*, heading to *Johns Hopkins* and *Georgetown University*, is highly recommended,

within this category. As a master's graduate, "from a top policy school, students are likely to head off for jobs in government, non-governmental organizations (NGO's) or even international business" (Maliniak et al, 2009:66). "The proximity to political circles keeps the East Coast dominant, for *policy schools*, as they are located within or just outside the U.S capital (Washington D.C)... the West Coast and Midwest, are excellent for those who want to don academic robes, namely *Harvard, MIT, Princeton, Stanford, Yale and Columbia University*" (Maliniak et al, 2009:66).

Alas in reference to *Table 1.7 (Best Phd. Programs in order to pursue an academic Career in IR)*, no difference was noted from the previous two tables discussed. Without any contest, even at this level, for *IR* scholars, who seek to take the academic route, Universities in *USA*, still remain as the Universities, to beat. They are closely followed by the *London School of Economics* (6), *Oxford* (8), *University of Wales, Aberystwyth* (14) and *Cambridge* (15) in the UK. *Australia National University* (25) just made it in the *Top 25 list*, making it the only University external of the borders of *America and UK* respectively.

It should be noted that "*Harvard University* is ranked number 1 in every country, in the sample and *Princeton University* is ranked number 2 or 3 in eight of the ten countries" (*Maliniak et al, 2009:64*). As the American slang goes *one can go figure*' (from the above data, one can go make sense, of what they see, in whichever manner that they may so wish).

The explanation below concerning *Table 1.7* supports

...those who have hypothesized that *U.S. IR dominates in the discipline*, here is stout evidence of an American hegemony- and without a doubt an *Anglo-American hegemony*. Eight of the *top 10 Ph.D* programs, according to scholars in the 10 countries surveyed, are located in the *United States*. And of the *top 25 schools*, all save one (*Australian National University*) are in the *United Kingdom* or the *United States*. There is also complete consensus, across the countries we surveyed, regarding which schools are at the very apex, of higher education in *IR*. *Harvard University* is ranked *number 1*, in every country in the sample, and *Princeton University* is ranked *number 2* or *3*, in eight of the ten countries (*Maliniak, 2009:65*).

So if scholars, are to take anything from the above data, it is that, it is crystal clear, which universities, are at the very *apex*, of higher education in *IR*. For the author of this study, once the *Anglo-American* hegemony, within *IR* is acknowledged, its ongoing struggle, to live up to its ‘*international*’ or ‘*universalist*’ Worldview becomes even more questionable. From the above observation, the worrisome factor of *IR*, genuinely being argued, as being concerned with the ‘confinement to the *Eurocentric* perspective’ of understanding or analyzing the world, from such a biased perspective, should be duly noted.

With all its merit considered, *IR* to most of its scholars, still appears not to have lost, much of its *universal/international* credibility. This should not be surprising, if the following statement is anything to go by “Our data reveal that many beliefs, held by *IR* scholars, about their own field are incorrect” (Maliniak et al, 2007: 8). This may partly explain, why no major calls, to revolutionise *IR* have been recorded, especially wherein folks from *Afrika*, proceed to partake in such a discourse, without having any formidable force, to pose any challenge, to *IR’s status quo*. This is worrisome indeed. The statement articulated by Ole Weaver in the beginning of this study seemingly needs to be quoted in full at this point

The articles on the history of the discipline, slowly growing in number, are usually not based on systematic research or clear methods. They are, at best, elegant restatements of “common knowledge” of our past, implicitly assuming that any good practioner, can tell the history of the discipline. However, without looking systematically at the past, we tend to reproduce myths (Weaver, 1998, 52)

The realization of *Eurocentric* voices, enjoying expression from the *center* over all and at the expense of other existing voices (existing on the periphery), should be read as disturbing indeed. An admission of a wholly *American IR* discourse, is succinctly captured elaborately, in an *American Political Science Association (APSA)* memo, titled *Internationalization of APSA: Why? How?* (March 9, 2004) as authored by Ashu Varshney (2004). This memo interestingly spelt out, how much desire the *APSA* committee, sought to realize the transformation of *Political Science*, by strongly recommending for the process of *internationalization* to be pursued. Much credit should be given to *Susanne Rudolph*, an ex-*APSA* president (in 2003), who sparked this dialogue for a “mutual deparochialization” in our knowledge practices” to be addressed as noted below.

Table 1.8: Former Presidents of the *Afrikan Studies Association*

1957-1958	Melville J Herskovits	Northwestern University
1958	Gwendolen M Carter (elected ex-officio)	Smith College
1959	William O Brown	Boston University
1960	Cornelius W deKiewiet	Not Available
1961	William O Jones	Stanford University
1962	Vernon McKay	Johns Hopkins University
1963	E Franklin Frazier (died before taking office)	Not Available
1963	James S Coleman (elected to replace Frazier)	Not Available
1963	Hans Wolff	Michigan State University
1964	Paul J Bohannon	Not Available
1965	Joseph H. Greenberg	Not Available
1966	Rupert Emerson	Harvard University
1967	William A Hance	Columbia University
1968	James S Duffy	Brandeis University
1969	Benjamin E Thomas	University of California
1970	L Gray Cowan	Columbia University
1971	Philip D Curtin	University of Wisconsin
1972	Carl G Rosberg	University of California-Berkeley
1973	Immanuel Wallerstein	McGill University
1974	<i>Absolom Vilakazi</i>	<i>The American University</i>
1975	John Marcum	University of California-Santa Cruz
1976	<i>Victor Uchendu</i>	<i>University of Illinois-Urbana</i>
1977	Edris Makward	University of Wisconsin-Madison
1978	J Gus Liebenow	Indiana University
1979	<i>Ali Mazrui</i>	<i>University of Michigan</i>
1980	Peter Gutkind	McGill University
1981	Norman Bennett	Boston University
1982	Richard Sklar	University of California-Los Angeles
1983	M Crawford Young	University of Wisconsin-Madison
1984	Laura Bohannon	University of Illinois-Chicago Circle
1985	Robert J Cummings	Howard University
1986	Gerald J Bender	University of Southern California
1987	Aidan Southall	University of Wisconsin-Madison
1988	<i>Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja</i>	<i>Howard University</i>
1989	Simon Ottenberg	University of Washington
1990	Ann Seidman	Clark University
1991	Martin A Klein	University of Toronto
1992	Edmond J Keller	University of California-Los Angeles
1993	David Robinson	Michigan State University

1994	Edward A Alpers	University of California-Los Angeles
1995	Goran Hyden	University of Florida
1996	Iris Berger	State University of New York-Albany
1997	Gwendolyn Mikell	Georgetown University
1998	Sandra Greene	Cornell University
1999	David Wiley	Michigan State University
2000	Lansine Kaba	University of Illinois
2001	Catharine Newbury	University of North Carolina
2002	Allen Isaacman	University of Minnesota
2003	Beverly Grier	Clark University
2004	Sandra T. Barnes	University of Pennsylvania
2005	Bruce J. Berman	Queen's University
2006	Joseph C. Miller	University of Virginia
2007	Pearl T. Robinson	Tufts University
2008	Aliko Songolo, President	University of Wisconsin-Madison
2009	Paul Tiyambe Zeleza	University of Illinois-Chicago
2010	Charles Ambler, Vice President, President-elect	University of Texas at El Paso

Source: Courtesy of Afrikan Studies Association (ASA) website, as last updated in 2009.

A similar trend to the earlier mentioned finding, regarding the dominance of American scholars seems to also have applied, in the case of past presidents, of the *Afrikan Studies Association* (ASA). The tabulation of information, in the above table hopefully illustrates this point lucidly. When reading the *table* above, without any doubt, the stark reality, consistent with finding (s) and concerns expressed, in the previous paragraph, should be immediately observed.

The highlighted cases of South Afrikan Absolom Vilakazi (American University-1974), Victor Uchendu (University of Illinois-Urbana-1976), Kenyan Ali Mazrui (University of Michigan-1979), George Nzongola-Ntalaja (Howard University-1988), Lansine Kuba (University of Illinois-2000), Aliko Songolo (University of Wisconsin-Madison- 2008) and finally Paul Tiyambe Zeleza (University of Illinois- Chicago-2009) all emphasise American hegemony, all over. Though these scholars, never made the highly *most influential IR scholars* list (as earlier mentioned), their affiliation to a respective *American University*, appears to have thus enabled their eligibility, to be considered, as worthy presidential candidates in ASA. Anyone smell a rat?

It should thus be understandable, when the author of this study (with particular relevance to the core quest of this study), further begs the following questions ‘are all these scholars not *Afrikans*?’ If so, through their respective scholarly projects ‘may they not have possibly contributed anything towards *IR* (Theory)?’ Unfortunately replying to the following questions, may understandably be beyond, the confines of this particular chapter. Based on that, these questions at least at this stage of the study, in their current form, may serve as examples of the highly sought *food for thought*, as and when they are addressed, in subsequent chapters within this study. The following remark has already been stated earlier, however it is worth being repeated here: concrete examples given here “consolidates beyond any doubt, the dominance of *Westerncentric* scholars (particularly American) within the *IR* discipline” (Maliniak et al, 2009:44).

3.2 International Studies Association (ISA)

Turning some attention, towards the *International Studies Association (ISA)*, as will be revealed in this section, did not inspire any confidence, in as far as explaining (or even justifying) reasons for the dominance of *Westerncentric* scholars found within *IR*. Having perused through *Picture 1.2 (Faces of the past presidents of ISA)*, *Picture 1.3 (ISA Executive Committee 2009-10)* - both on display in the addendum and *Table 1.9 (Countries Where International Studies Association Members Reside)*, all intentionally made available, at this point for empirical data perusal purposes, the overwhelming *Eurocentricity* of *IR* becomes questionable.

It may be worth noting that the author of this study, read the following data on *ISA*, with much interest. This was on the basis of having read and acknowledged the earlier mentioned recommendations by the *American Political Science Association (APSA)*, while it was chaired by Ashu Varshney of *Michigan University, Ann Arbor*. Until the year (2004) wherein the memo in question, was initially authored, as one of the most recognized organisations, to do with *Political Science* in America, the similarities with *ISA*, as captured ahead were striking. Ironically *ISA* would only *switch on* to transformation issues, as raised concerning calls for *internationalization* of *Political Science*, when it begun pursuing working links, with sister

organisations such as *BISA* (British International Studies Association). Note the level of reluctance.

Table 1.9: Countries where International Studies Association Members Reside

Argentina	Estonia	Lebanon	Scotland
Australia	Fiji Islands	Lithuania	Serbia
Austria	Finland	Malaysia	Singapore
Azerbaijan	France	Malta	Slovakia
Bangladesh	Germany	Mexico	Slovenia
Barbados	<i>Ghana</i>	<i>Morocco</i>	<i>South Afrika</i>
Belgium	Greece	Netherlands	South Korea
Bosnia & Herz.	Guam	New Zealand	Spain
Brazil	Hong Kong	<i>Nigeria</i>	<i>Sudan</i>
Brunei	Fiji Islands	Northern Ireland	Sweden
Bulgaria	Iceland	Norway	Switzerland
Canada	India	Pakistan	Taiwan
Chile	Indonesia	Papua New Guinea	Thailand
China	Iran	Peru	Trinidad & Tobago
Columbia	Ireland	Philippines	Turkey
Costa Rica	Israel	Poland	UAE
Croatia	Italy	Portugal	UK
Cyprus	Jamaica	Qatar	Ukraine
Czech Rep.	Japan	Rep. of Korea	USA
Denmark	<i>Kenya</i>	Rep. of Kosovo	Venezuela
<i>Egypt</i>	Kyrgyzstan	Russia	

Source: International Studies Association (ISA) website, as updated on 2nd Oct. 2009.

Note that only the highlighted countries, are the only *Afrikan* states featured. Believe it or not, only seven *Afrikan* states, are participants. What may this mean, in the context of *IR*? This question along with other earlier raised concerns, related to *geographical representivity, choice of language, association with an American university* (before being recognized, as a qualified erudite *IR* scholar) and so on are just a few of the characteristics, due for commentary below. Ideally the envisaged desired commentary, will be done via a prolonged analytical reading of *ISA*.

3.2.1 Henry Teune's Historical Outline of ISA

In what should be read, as a further attempt, to at least understand how such an *Eurocentric status quo* came to be, attention was turned to the history of ISA. This effort of attempting to understand, how the biased phenomenon within IR came about, led the author of this study to Henry Teune's paper (one of ISA's past president(s), who was based at the University of Pennsylvania, during his presidential tenure in 1981-82). In this paper titled *The International Studies Association*¹⁷³. From the onset Teune (1983:1) makes the following disclaimer

As part of efforts, to write the organizational history of ISA, which seeks to mark its first quarter of a century in 1984...what I will not do here is to present ISA's organizational history except to explain what we have become...ISA is also made up of several component parts, each of which has its own history and intellectual identity. Again, they will not be described except where they directly influenced the development of ISA...What I will try to do is to present the intellectual history of ISA, its character, aspirations and organizational ideology. **ISA has a special view of the World, what scholarship should be, and how that knowledge should be used.**

So with the abovementioned disclaimer in mind, the following selected historical points, are captured by Teune (1983:1-12) below:

The Early Years

-Initial generation of ISA leaders were recruited by **Vincent Davis** and **John Turner**

- ISA was formed in late 1950's in response to dissatisfaction with standard content of the *American Political Science Association* and its leadership. The Association, for **understandable reasons, was dominated by American politics.**

-“behavioral revolution” strengthened its position in the Association...the **direction of the association became increasingly American in orientation.**

-**the fact that ISA was a West Coast organization is not irrelevant to its intellectual development.** Accessibility to the east and Washington, where most political scientists lived physically or intellectually made a regional alternative attractive.

-All but one president, *Wes Posvar*, was from the *West* between the first years of *ISA*, 1958 until 1966.

-official statement asserted *ISA* to be a group of scholars and the practitioners; the scholars were to be interdisciplinary to distinguish it from *Political Science* and the practitioners, were to be governmental officials residing in the *U.S* and the *UN*.

-***ISA* was founded with amateur enthusiasm** and kept going through the mental and physical contributions of a few people such as *Charles McClelland*...was a regional organization with few resources to expand.

***ISA* and the Scholarly Community in North America**

-Became a national organisation...reconciled its regional origins, with its national aspirations by establishing a set of regional sections, whose histories have been marked by rises and falls, in organizational and intellectual prosperity.

- An identity crisis was beginning in late 1960's. If *ISA* were to become a scholarly community of individual scholars, dealing with common problems, then region and nation could not be limiting conditions of its growth...**The question was how to relate to scholars outside of North America.** This was a tough issue also because the early ideology of *ISA* was to combine the perspectives of scholars and “**practioners**” and those practioners were mainly from the **U.S agencies of state, defence and intelligence.** There was even discussion of whether *ISA* should move its executive offices to Europe. That of course was impossible. (The physical location of *ISA* headquarters moved east from California, to Colorado, Minnesota (Ohio), Pennsylvania, (South Carolina).
- Beginning of 1970's marked a clear turning point in the intellectual direction of *ISA* toward the World...at that time largely scholars of the international system, mostly political scientists, **almost all from the U.S with a sprinkling of Canadians, many of whom had academic ties to the U.S,** and about a dozen members from the Caribbean... **efforts were to be undertaken to internationalise *ISA*.** A big step was the decision to hold an annual convention in Puerto Rico...which ended up as a failure.
- **One organizational –intellectual question was how *ISA* should deal with scholars from other countries-** as **individual colleagues** or as **members of a country.** Because of experiences with growing international professional societies in *Political Science* and *Sociology*, there was strong inclination against delegations from countries and the inevitable national politics of irrelevance to scholarship. Policies on this issue were formulated...under the leadership of *R.C Snyder*. *ISA* had support for expansion from the *Ford Foundation*, including exploring how we would deal with the outside world. The basic decisions were that

ISA was to be an individually based organization, an international community of scholars, identified with no government or nation.

- To test its capacity to internationalise *ISA* organized a conference...in 1971... the only **clear message was that cooperation would depend on the independent status of *ISA*** and the **openness of its activities** to public scrutiny.

Intellectual Diversity

-Although the main intellectual focus of *ISA* was the *international political system* and more or less *mainstream international relations*, *comparative political scientists* were chosen with some regularity in the 1970's to be vice-presidents. The **commitment to intellectual diversity by integrating several disciplines began to be taken seriously.**

- **The problem of integrating comparative interdisciplinary activities and the study of the international system remained...** Presidents and other key officers of the association were political scientists specializing in *international relations*. A slight deviation from this was *Alexander George*.

- first non-political scientist elected as President *Kenneth Boulding*, tried to integrate intellectually the comparative and international aspects of *ISA*...

-Under the leadership of *John Turner* in the earlier 1970's, the **membership not only grew numerically but also in diversity. Non-North American scholars joined *ISA*...** The differences that separated those wanting a small, intimate *ISA* and those seeking expansion and diversification became more conflictive in the late 1970's...

***ISA* (North America)**

-During 1970's **attempts were made to recruit individual scholars outside of North America by inviting them to special meetings, subsidizing their travel to conventions, appointing them to the Editorial Board of *ISA* and encouraging members to recruit them.**

-By mid 1970's *ISA* began to change the Institutional basis of its character from individual membership to organizational affiliation. The **new constitution required that one of the Vice-presidents be from a country outside of North America.** That *provision officially*

recognised ISA as ISA "North America". ISA began to affiliate with similar organisations in other countries...Great Britain...Japan...Poland. This process accelerated after 1980. The consequence was in Chadwick Alger's goal: no longer did ISA see itself organizationally as a global organization but one of several, in international studies and in some cases as an organisation representing scholars in North America.

-...this development emerged with some initiatives by ISA leadership. Including promoting the yet to be formed **"ISA" in Germany**, participation of "foreign-scholars" also increased and in the 1980's was primary source of new members. The foreign scholar receptors, at conventions became institutionalized.

-...policy formulation in 1970-71 was half achieved by deed. **ISA was not only global but also a part of a network of international scholars.** It would participate not only with other scholars in other countries but would also promote *International Studies* in the U.S. by affiliating with the *American Association for the Advancement of science*, efforts to support Congressional funding for the *United Nations University*, by participating in committees of *UNESCO*, and by joining with others in certain programs of the *United Nations*. This departure led to the **"two faces" of ISA: ISA as a free standing global organization of individual scholars, to ourselves and as ISA North America** to others. This ambivalence is reflected in the *ISA* pattern of affiliation. Other international studies associations and organisations petition to affiliate with *ISA* the "parent" organisation. *ISA*, however, petitions *UN* agencies for affiliation and acts as a *U.S* body on *U.S*. Commission for *UNESCO*.

Theoretical and Ideological Tolerance

-Openness has been and continues to be the dominant organizational style of *ISA*. This tolerance is in part a response, to the closed character of some established disciplines.

-**One matter of continuing criticism was the Western orientated intellectual imperialism of ISA.** This was voiced in many ways: relationships with Canadian colleagues, our presence in Puerto Rico, **our insensitivity to Third World concerns**, and even our selection of a hotel for the 1983 Annual Convention...Most with such accusations, were encouraged to present their views at least at the Convention. *ISA* itself on several occasions, took the initiative to organize forums to hear this accusation.

- During 1970's the *Social Sciences* in the *U.S*, indeed perhaps in all parts of the world became more theoretically diverse...reasons for this are speculative...etc.- Without justifying

their separateness or explaining their claims to legitimacy, I suggest four general **“World” views concerning the international or global system are more or less represented in ISA:**

1) ...first is the most obvious, an **international system of states and the perspectives of international relations, law, organizations and the problems of conflict and cooperation or war and peace.** *The World system is the outcome of state action.* As this view reflected a good deal of reality in the middle of the 20th Century, it is the dominant one today in ISA both in terms of individual members and organizational commitment. With it, of course, there are a *variety of viewpoints, even contentious ones.*

2) ...second, in terms of numbers of members, is tied to **younger scholars and their theoretical interpretations of a global system of interdependence and dependence.** This perspective, with its *emphasis on economic and social relations, that explain politics, sees the World as a global system* and of course, looks at non-state factors in change, including transnational actors.

3)...third is certain **development theories, both Marxist and non-Marxist.** Marxist perspectives spill over on the dependency theoretical orientation but a Marxist “theory” of international system is clearly a minority position.

4)...fourth perspective is **primarily ideological and social,** *interpreting change in the global system as the division and unification of mankind in terms of nationalism, great religions, and the ideological re-definition of the World society by leaders.*

In as far as the author of this study is concerned, the above selected points, as pointed out from Teune’s (1983:1-12) paper, eliminate without any doubt, that the chosen reference of *International Studies Association (ISA)* is grossly a misleading tag. The historical narrative noted here, paints an elaborate picture, of an American organisation, that housed scholars, who continuously harboured ambitions, of forming what should have been read, as an *international academic society.*

In hindsight, the author of this study is of the view that, instead *ISA* became just another one of the many academic societies in America, which claimed to be *international* in their respective scholarly pursuits. A closer analysis, reveals that their core interests have America, wrapped all over their agenda. A society, wherein global phenomena, would be addressed in a scholarly fashion. From the above elaborately quoted narrative, (the highlighted sentences, captured the most critical points, which have been drawn for particular attention- (*author’s emphasis*)). Namely questions related to what precisely, may constitute ‘*international/ universal knowledge*’?

The abovementioned inquisitiveness was based on the realization (with the exception of the Caribbean, Japan and Puerto Rico) that only reference to European countries (namely Great Britain, Germany, Poland etc) was mentioned. Furthermore on the basis of the chief interest, of this study (as posed earlier related to provisions found in the constitution of *ISA*, past effort, seem to have been merely swept aside). What makes this even more significant, is acknowledgemet that “The question was how to relate to scholars outside of North America” (Teune, 1983), appear to have always haunted scholars involved with *ISA*.

Since the beginning of this study, the author noted that *ISA* annual conferences have been hosted, without fail, within the borders of America (Chicago, Illinois 28 March,2007, San Francisco, CA, March 26-29,2008, New York, February 15-18,2009, ABRI-ISA Joint International Conference, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 20-24 July 2009, New Orleans, 2010 and in Montreal from March 16-19). This indicates the strong bias, placed upon America, which is ironically, what the initiators of *ISA*, claimed to have been one of the main reasons, that drove them away, from the *American Political Science Association*.

Silence on the participation of *Female IR scholars*, coupled with the dire absence, in reference to *Afrika*, is deafening in this paper. May this perhaps serve, as concrete proof of blatant denialism? Such a current *status-quo*, cannot even be supported, by the data on offer from *Table 1.9 (Countries Where ISA Members Reside)*. Although only seven *Afrikan* countries appear, namely Egypt, Ghana, Morocco, South *Afrika*, Sudan, Nigeria and Kenya, how possible is it, that not a single scholar, from these countries, to date (since filing this report in 1983-2010) appears on the *ISA* leadership, radar screen? For the author of this study, their conspicuous absence, runs the risk of implying, that from the active cohort of *IR* scholars *emanating from* or *plying in the scholarly trade of IR* in these *Afrikan* countries, questions of capability and credibility are raised.

The above may even be stretched, until a *question mark* regarding qualifications, of the scholars concerned, is placed forward. May these characteristics amongst others, support what seems, as incredibly an enormous amount of suspicion, in as far as competence is concerned? In short, may such disregard, for scholars in the abovementioned countries, be a form of *Afropessimistic* renewal or just downright neo-colonialism? Both of these condescending and negative attitudes, stand as primary suspects, in as far as any justified response, to such an anomaly is concerned.

The closest reference made towards *Afrika* is when, in Teune's own admission, the following criticism was acknowledged "One matter of continuing criticism was the *Western orientated intellectual imperialism of ISA*. This was voiced in many ways... our insensitivity to *Third World* concerns" (Teune, 1983:9). Given the acknowledgement of the above criticism, the author of this study could not help but read the commentary, on the continuation of that anomaly (post 1983 till post 2010), as nothing else but an indictment, which indicated then (from inception-1958 to the eve of its quarter of a century-1983), the condescending attitude paid, towards places, other than the *West* or more specifically America. This appears to still be so, to date (from 1984-2012, reference specifically is made here, to the *ISA Executive*, as displayed in the addendum).

For the author of this study, the grossly denialist thought, prevalent amongst *ISA's* intellectual faithfuls, could not be captured better, than that expressed in the following remark "...Most with such accusations, were encouraged to present their views at least at the Convention. *ISA* itself on several occasions took the initiative to organize forums to hear this accusation" (Teune, 1983:9). Such arrogance and *air of pretence* and obliviousness strongly imply acts of intellectual *crimen injuria*, which has become standard practice within *ISA*. This expectedly should be deeply disturbing, to the concerned *coterie* of *IR* scholars.

Given the overall narrative of *ISA* in the above paper, was it really necessary, for the *ISA* luminaries, to be told by *others*, about their own parochial flaws? The abundance of American (alongside European) scholars views, as already discussed at length above, is worrisome, in as far as *international* representivity, within *IR* scholarship, is concerned. Again 'how may talk

about representivity or *international* perspectives, available in *IR*, be a reality, given such a *Eurocentric* biased *status quo*, within the field of *IR*?

3.2.2 Constitution of *ISA*: Questions and Comments

Important guiding documents, such as the constitution of *ISA*, were found by the author of this study to be silent, in as far as global representivity, with specific reference to gender and racial profile (s) of *ISA*'s eligible members. Members, who may all be assumed, based on fulfilling criteria, set in order to be qualified to stand for leadership portfolios, as executives of *ISA* are concerned. Based on the notable silence regarding attention towards *ISA*'s racial question, the author of this study, pondered about the following clauses as found in the *ISA Constitution* (which to the knowledge of the author of this study, was formally amended, by vote of its members, on the 30th of March, 2009):

- a) Why is it that under *Article V. The Government*, which makes mention of the various portfolios up for contestation, from the President, three Vice-Presidents, president- elect, immediate past president, the treasurer and Executive Director (given the racial challenge noted, to date was there no realization, to introduce and reserve a portfolio of colour (e.g. as a means of genuinely addressing, the criticism of the current damage, associated with the overly *white racial*, and predominantly *male* profile).
- b) In *Article VI. The Governing Council*. (In specific reference to *clause 5 B.*) This clause stipulates that this body, has the power to 'elect the Editor of all Journals of the Association on the joint recommendation of the President and Executive'. So even with so much room to implement change, judging from the Executive committee and its editors on display in the addendum, the need to at least prioritise, scholars of colour here, once again, appears not to have been considered.
- c) In *Article VIII. The President*. In specific interest here to *clause 2(i)* 'The President shall propose programs and policies designed to advance the best interests of the Association.' May such a clause serve as an indictment of all the past presidents of *ISA*, who at this

stage, come across as having not exercised, the influence they had, in so far as racial concerns of *ISA* are concerned.

d) Article XIII. The Annual Meeting of Members. ... shall have the authority to (In Specific reference to clause 2):

- a. alter the agenda prepared for it;
- b. receive and consider reports;
- c. discuss any matter relevant to the purposes of the organization;
- d. adopt resolutions consistent with this constitution, provided that the proposed text has been communicated to the Executive Director or the President at least twenty-four hours in advance;
- e. act upon constitutional amendments initiated in accordance with Article XV, Section 3;

The above clauses along with the below mentioned clause:

clause: 3. Resolutions adopted by the Annual Meeting of Members shall stand as an expression of the views of that body. They shall be considered by the Governing Council and shall constitute formal actions of the Association if they are also adopted by the Governing Council. If a resolution adopted by the Annual Meeting of Members obtains the support of at least one-third of those voting in the Governing Council but fails for adoption, it shall be referred to the membership in a mail ballot.

In the event (given that the suggested attempt is implemented) that all else fails, a reminder that all the above clauses, are supported by the final clause below:

ARTICLE XVII. AMENDMENTS

1. Amendments to this constitution may be proposed by the Governing Council or by the membership.
2. Proposed amendments that are approved by a two-thirds vote of the Governing Council shall be submitted to a mail ballot of the members of the Association.
3. Any group of thirty-five or more members of the Association may propose amendments by a signed petition submitted to the Executive Director not less than sixty days prior to the annual meeting of members. The Executive Director shall promptly announce such proposals to the members. If the annual meeting of members endorses a proposed amendment by a majority vote, it

shall be considered by the Governing Council, and if at least one-third of those voting in the Governing Council approve, the amendment shall be submitted to the members of the Association in a mail ballot.

4. Amendments supported by a majority of those voting in a mail ballot shall be declared adopted.

So in as far as the above clauses provide, so much room to propose and lobby towards a resolution, of seeking to ensure that the racial profile of *ISA*'s top leadership is addressed (with specific interest to inclusivity, beyond the single racial and male lineage, as observed in almost all past executives) to be tabulated for discussion, and at best pursued under the due process, of a ballot. The critical point made here, is that ample room is provided, to attempt to introduce dialogue (in the event that as suspected by the author of this study, has never been attempted before) from amongst its affiliated members, in good standing. Failure of such efforts, may lead to the matter of *ISA*'s racial bias, proceeding indefinitely.

3.2.3 Gender and *IR*

3.2.3.1 The Gender Dilemma in the leadership of *ISA*

Firstly the universities or institutions, which are linked to the *IR* scholars, who have served (in the period 1959- to 2010), on the executive board of *ISA* as presidents, or occupants of other portfolios on the executive, are predominantly American(s) and male. They are closely followed by those, in the *UK*. So faced with such a social reality, *IR* could not escape from being an *Anglo-American* and simultaneously *patriarchally* (sexist because it is male driven) based discourse. This has been such a growing concern, that the *American Political Science Association (APSA)*, posted a study, by *Ishiyama and Breuning's* titled *How International Are Undergraduate Political Science Programs at Liberal Arts and Sciences Colleges and Universities in the Midwest?*. Since this article provides some detailed data, within the context of Midwestern America, in support of the growing concern about *IR* manifesting parochial views, the author of this study read it, as a mini version of what the *TRIP surveys* were addressing, on a much detailed and larger scale. This is judging from the amount of various representatives, of different countries involved, as responders to their consecutively ongoing bi-annual research.

Thanks to the following scholars, an all American hegemony, of past presidents of *ISA* was interrupted -*Nils Petter Gleditsch* (International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, PRIO-Norway), *Susan Strange* (University of Warwick-UK), *Steve Smith* (University of Exeter-UK) and *Helga Haftendorn* (Free University of Berlin- Germany). In the event fellow scholars, have actually been counting, yes indeed, up until the end of the 2010 *ISA* 's presidential tenure, only four non-American scholars (from the total of 49 overall past presidents) from non-American Universities, have been, at the helm of *ISA*.

Note that the above scholars, emanating from *Norway, UK and Germany*, still consolidate the *parochial Eurocentric* form of participation. A question mark over the meaning, of *international scholarly organisation*, may justifiably, be raised here. This above notice, once again, may be taken to serve, as another form of concrete example, consistent with the findings of the *TRIP Survey (2009)*. The *unspoken* special privilege attached, to being affiliated to an *American University*, becoming some form of silent criteria, used as being a serious contributor, in as far as assisting *IR* scholars, to eventually make the *influential IR scholar* list, is notably observed. This certainly stresses the concern of *IR* becoming (that is if it has not yet already become) an overly American orientated discourse.

Secondly notice of the worrisome *gender profile*, has been noted. How is it possible, that since *ISA*'s inception in 1959, out of the total of 49 past presidents, only 5 (yes, only just 5- *authors emphasis*) have been female? If the outgoing *ISA* president is included (2011-2012), then the tally moves up to six. That makes it a case, of *same difference*. *Maliniak et al* (2008:122) record that "Women now receive political science degrees in record numbers...female representation, still lags behind that of many other disciplines, in the *Social Sciences*. Only 26% of 13,000 political science professors in the United States today are women" (Sedowski and Brintall, 2007¹⁷⁴).

The uncomfortably strong presence of elements of *patriarchy*, in the discipline of *IR* seemingly, does not need to be stripped open, especially judging from the data as provided, in the *TRIP Survey* (2009). If such a *status quo*, as observed in the grid in question, is anything to go by, in what is supposedly, meant to be a leading international organisation, then the crude existence, of the male hegemony, is there for all to see.

Against such a *patriarchical* backdrop in *IR*, as provided, in the discussion thus far, the concerned *IR scholars* (note, that the researcher of this study, intentionally did not refer to them as *female IR scholars* but simply maintained, the standard term of *IR scholars*. This is based on the avoidance, to make such scholars, seem as though *their different* or dismissed as belonging in the category of the *other*, when compared to their male counterparts, in the *IR* profession) via their long lasting participation, have thus successfully ensured, that *Feminist views*, within the context of *IR* theory are featured.

One reason provided, seeking to explain the lack of recognition paid towards these particular *IR* scholars, is that “Women may be underrepresented in the profession and trail their male colleagues because they see the World differently; they may see the world differently because of their minority status within the discipline; or the causal arrow may run in both directions” (Maliniak et al, 2008:122).

With regards to the previous paragraph, connotative and not denotative definitions, in as far as reference to gender equality, comes across as key, in as far as the author of this study, is concerned. From a social perspective, the preferred terminology of scholars, usually contributes positively or negatively, to current and future scholars, leading to the perpetuation or renewal, of gender stereotypes. Given the society of patriarchy, wherein most scholars, find themselves in, to date, various verbal abuse, via the male emphasised vocabulary, observed in *IR* (and even beyond the *Social Sciences* realm), remains rife (see commentary on *Feminist IR* theorist such as *J.A Tickner*). Usually than not this may take place, without much realization, by *IR* or *political*

science scholars at large. This is specifically directed, to these scholars, as they are the main user(s) of texts, of the discipline, in question.

Although women may not necessarily be exempted, from the society of patriarchy, which they are forcefully subjected to, “Female political scientists adopt methods and choose topics that are not considered to be the best or most rigorous, types of research by the editors of leading journals” (Maliniak et al,2008:122). This may indicate that *Female IR* scholars, given a choice, may opt not to employ, the *lingua franca*, preferred by their male dominated counterparts, in the discourse of *IR* (and for as long as they may help it, even beyond ¹⁷⁵). It is unfortunate that as a result “Womens publishing opportunities may be restricted, or ghettoized, to specific and gendered domains” (Mathews and Anderson, 2001).

Closer attention towards the works of Susan Strange (who was recorded at number 22 of the *Top 25 Most Influential IR scholars*) and J.Anne Tickner’s *Hans Morgenthau’s Principles of Political Realism: A Feminist Reformulation* (1988), may have provided ample reason, to support the above observation. It is however in *Tickner’s* other work below, wherein focus on her thoughts, pertaining to gender bias/sexism as a *feminist IR* scholar, should ideally be paid.

The theme of *gender/sexism*, for the author of this study, may not be doubted, for coming across as central, to *Feminist IR* scholars, *Tickner’s* article titled *You just don’t understand: troubled engagements between feminists and IR theorists* (1997), serves as an excellent example, illustrating such a view. In this particular article, *Tickner* addresses leading male *IR* scholars, such as *Robert Keohane*, (in a separate article, she does the same with *Francis Fukuyama* ¹⁷⁶, about how male *IR* scholars need, not just be aware, but also to further acknowledge that *IR*, is really a masculine dominated discipline. More than anything else, precisely based on gender related dynamics ¹⁷⁷. From the particular text, mentioned above, *Tickner* alerts *Keohane* and his fellow *IR* brethren (author’s emphasis) as follows:

about how they need to be aware that the discipline of *IR*, is really a masculine dominated discipline, which is mainly filled with *white* masculine based thought, hardly providing much room to sensitivities towards *females* within the discipline, who may not share the same views on issues, as their male counterparts- predominantly because of *gender related dynamics* (Tickner,1997).

The researcher of this study (in subscribing to *Afrocentricity* and also classified as male, in as far as the *gender* category may be determined), couldn't help but agree, with what has been expressed, in the quote above. For the author of this study *Tickner (1997)* has hit the nail, right on its head, in the above remark. For the author of study, even though a male, believes that the dominance of the male perspective in *IR* (such views only serve *patriarchally driven agenda*), runs the risk of *IR* manifesting (or in the current juncture, continuing very robustly and somehow intentionally yet ignorantly) to adhere and uphold, a *patriarchic* stance.

In the case of *IR*, such parochial practice, chiefly stems from *IR's* historically self made, white male scholarly societal perspective. So the theme of 'race' is inevitably also emphasized. So *IR* scholars, may not be far from the truth, when they may have assumed that *IR's* historical content, may have been spearheaded, by the earlier noted existent ***ageing, white male dominance*** (author's emphasis). What is even more disturbing, concerning the above data is that it predominantly makes reference, to the leading practitioners of *IR*. For the record

Of course, *IR Feminists* are concerned with issues of war and peace. But rather than debating whether men are aggressive and women peaceful, they are asking new questions about conflict, as well as trying to expand, conventional agendas. *Feminist* agendas include human rights issues, such as rape in war, military prostitution, refugees (the majority of whom are women and children), and more generally, issues about civilian casualties (Tickner, 1999:8¹⁷⁸).

The above quote should be read, as a response, to the relevance of *Feminist IR*. For the author of this study, more than just raising issues, it is how those issues are raised within the context of *IR*, hence the relevance, of *Feminist IR* theorists. In being the discipline's main scholars, male figures, such as those addressed by *J.A.Tickner* and her *Feminist IR theory* colleagues, are worryingly comfortably based, at the helm of *IR*. Without voices, such as those from the

Feminist IR theorist camp, the male dominated views, may continue to mislead, the majority of the scholars, of *IR*, promoting a parochial Worldview. This applies to all scholars, who may not share, in the *male bias*, which consequently may lead, to distorted male perspectives, in the reading of global phenomena.

Observations as those made above, appear to still be predominately, laced across *IR* literature. Notable examples of other *IR* scholars, who are recommended to be read, on the dilemma of gender in *IR*, range from *Jane Parpart* and *Branwyn Gruffyd Jones* amongst others. Another *Tickner*, (this time emanating from Colombia)-*Arlene Tickner*¹⁷⁹ from amongst the prominent *IR* scholars, notably belonging to the *Feminist IR theory* category, may also be worth viewing. This is in support of the *Feminist* views, as already expressed, related to *IR* and views, as expressed by its male *IR* scholars, thus far.

With the above clarity, having been stipulated at such length, it is the author of this study's view, that it will be recommendable, to actually go as far as naming, the pioneering women, who have also been at the helm of *ISA*- *Dina Zinnes* (University of Illinois-1980-81), *Helga Haftendorn* (Free University of Berlin-1990-91), *Susan Strange* (University of Warwick-1995-96), *Margaret G. Herman* (Ohio State University- 1998-99) and lastly *J. Ann Tickner* (University of Southern California-2006-07). Of all these *female presidents*, mention should be made, that only *J.A.Tickner* is taken to have formally declared herself, as unapologetically, belonging to the *Feminist IR theorist* camp. They must be acknowledged and perhaps, even celebrated (caution of absence of *black Female scholars* should be kept in mind), when taking into account, the historical dominance of the predominantly *white male* hegemony, as observed in the field of *IR*. This proposed celebration, of these scholars, should take place, with the understanding, that *IR* scholars in question, were actually successfully responsible, for intervening, in what has otherwise become, an all male hegemony, in the *ISA* presidency.

By having successfully served their respective presidential tenure (s), the abovementioned *IR* scholars, may be regarded as insignificant, when compared to their male counterparts, who may

also have done the same, in the same capacity. It is the view of the author of this study, that given the scarcity of recognised *IR* scholars, categorized as *female*, the appearance of these women as having been at the helm, of such a prestigious scholarly body of *IR*, should never be erroneously read, as insignificant.

If one of the core points, in as far as the theme of *gender*, is concerned is the argument raised, regarding the subscription and emphasis to *equality*, then the participation of these respective *IR* scholars, in question represents (beyond mythological symbolism) that *female scholars*, can also hold their own, when similar opportunities, are availed to them, as similar to their male *IR* scholar (s) counterparts.

Acknowledgement of the above point, should be read, as even more critically significant, when the biased, *white male ageing IR scholar* syndrome, is taken, into consideration. The respective tenures of *IR* scholars mentioned above, should be read as speaking directly, to the pursued equality of capability and insight, that women (although it is unfortunately, only just *white* women here, the point refers to women of all races), are just as capable, in accomplishing respective tasks, handed out to them similar (if not better) at some tasks, than their male counterparts.

In all fairness to *females*, the above expectation should be expected provided the tasks set, are within their respective, fields of expertise as assigned to them. Unlike in the case, of their *male* counterparts, wherein the sweeping generalization of *simply being male*, the *global society* (which is continuously fuelled by *patriarchy*), *enmasse* assumes that delivery, presumably based on *male gender status*, will almost always be imminent. Unless conclusive evidence is forwarded, to support such blind claim(s), the dire need to correct such misleading *social constructs* remains.

3.2.3.2 The Broader Gender Question in *IR*: Registering Feminist Views as led by *J.Anne*

Tickner and bell hooks

In support of the views of the already mentioned *Feminist scholars* in *IR*, beyond *ISA*, the following scholars and their views, are worth being noted. As earlier suspected, by the author of this study, about the annoyance, related to the male dominated (patriarchical) *lingua franca* in *IR*, the following quote, vividly illustrates the inherent problem “Ambassadors cabling their home ministries, legislators passing laws to restrict foreign imports, bank executives negotiating overseas loans, soldiers landing on foreign hillsides- these are some of the sites from which one can watch the international political system being made” (Enloe, 1990:1).

Cynthia Enloe's opening sentences above, support the earlier remarks, articulated by *J.A Tickner*. It is for this reason, that the following warning, should be registered “if we employ only the conventional, *ungendered* compass to chart international politics, we are likely to end up mapping a landscape peopled only by men, mostly elite men. The real landscape of international politics is less exclusively male” (Enloe, 1990:1).

The closing remark by *Cynthia Enloe* above, may be explained in the review essay, as authored by *Charli Carpenter* (2002) when commenting on the following three notable texts, *J. Ann Tickner's Gendering World Politics*, *Moser and Clark's (eds) Victims, Perpetrators or Actors? Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence (2001)* and lastly *Goldstein's War and Gender: How Gender Affects the War System and Vice-Versa (2001)*. All these texts are aligned, to the theme of *gender*, in the context of the *body politic* of *Political Science*. All three of these texts, are described by *Charli Carpenter* according to his article, *from a non-Feminist standpoint*, as “providing illustrative maps, of the current terrain, in approaches to *gender* in *IR*, while demonstrating the gaps, within *Feminist* thinking, on the subject and the possibilities, for generating meaningful dialogue, with *non-feminist scholars*” (Carpenter,2002:153).

The first of the three texts, reviewed *Tickner's Gendering World Politics* “argues that epistemological and normative differences prevent the *mainstream* from taking gender seriously”. Yet *Feminist IR* also contributes to this marginalization, by resisting the co-optation of *gender* as an explanatory framework, separate from *Feminist* normative commitments” (Carpenter, 2002:154). The second text, “illustrates some of these discursive tendencies within *Feminist* approaches to *gender*” (Carpenter, 2002:154). The last text, deals with the challenge of “mainstreaming” gender in *IR*...to put the analytical category of *gender* to work on topics that are not specifically *Feminist*, without undermining the *IR Feminist* agenda” (Carpenter, 2002:154).

In addition with the already mentioned points, *Brooke Ackerly* (2009) also stresses, the view that “*Feminist* inquiry is not reserved for women or even, for those who identify themselves, as *Feminists*. It invites every scholar, to revisit his or her epistemology and core conceptualization, throughout the research process” (Ackerly, 2009:28). From this review, scholars may walk away, being aware of the various challenges, that exist in the visited methods, of making *IR*, more *gender* representative, in its discourse. Engagement after all, should be the name of the game, whatever position, scholars may have adopted, from their respective learning phase(s) in pedagogy.

Elsewhere commenting on the same theme *Veronique Mottier* (2004) reminds scholars, that even though the “analytical distinction between *sex* and *gender*, has been the subject of much discussion within *Feminist theory*. The concept of *gender* (understood as the social meanings around ‘natural’ *sex differences*) has been the focus of an old and now rather tired debate between essentialist¹⁸⁰ and anti-essentialist views.” (Mottier, 2004:277). In essence, *Mottier* (2004) stipulates that due to *Postmodern* ideas, much focus by *Anti-essentialists* has been given the impression towards “*gender* to be a social and political construction” (Mottier, 2004:277) hence reference to the theme of masculine *power*, should be noted.

In considering that so far, strictly views of *white*¹⁸¹ *female* scholars, have been recorded some effort to include, views of *black*¹⁸² *Feminist* scholars (*bell hooks* et al), is also registered. Since reference was made earlier, to *bell hooks*, so the author of this study henceforth finds it only fitting, to include some of her key comments, at this stage of the study. As a *black American feminist* author and academic, in the bulk of her work, namely *Sisterhood: Political Solidarity between Women* (1986), *Racism and Feminism* (1988) and *Postmodern Blackness* (1990), *hooks* has been vocal, about the non-representivity of *black female* voices, mainly as a result of *racism*, as imposed by, not as popularly assumed - *males*, but instead fellow *white Feminists*.

In *Racism and Feminism* (1988), which is a chapter, from her first text, *hooks* opens with the following words “American women of all races, are socialized to think of racism, solely in the context of race hatred. Specifically in the case of *black* and *white* people, the term *racism*, is usually seen as synonymous, with discrimination or prejudice, against *black* people by *white* people” (*hooks*, 1988:312). Such an opening, is used by *hooks* to lay some form of background, as to how *black* women and their plights, have been intentionally overlooked and ignored, to the point of being *othered* by selfish *white Feminist* agenda’s.

So for *hooks*, even though the “group of college-educated, *white* middle and upper class women, who came together, to organize a women’s movement...were not just advocating, social equality with men. They demanded a transformation of society, a revolution, a change in the American social structure” (*hooks*, 1988:313). Although all this, appeared as a justified act, it however needed to be stripped, off its myth of being representative, of all women’s views. Particular reference here, is directed towards *black* women. So beyond *gender*, the persistent issues of *class* and *race* appear to have not received, the attention they ominously deserved, from such a *Feminist movement*, as that filled with the “college-educated *white* middle and upper class women” (*hooks*, 1988:313).

When keeping in mind, the opening sentence (s), from the previous stanza referring to a *white* and by default *elite feminist movement*, *hooks* was doomed to arrive at problematic, outcomes as quoted in her following statement

American women have been socialized, even brainwashed, to accept a version of American history, that was created to uphold and maintain *racial imperialism*, in the form of *white supremacy* and *sexual imperialism*, in the form of *patriarchy*. One measure of the success of such indoctrination, is that we perpetuate, both consciously and unconsciously the very evils, that oppress us (*hooks*, 1988:312-313).

After *hooks* acknowledged that “No history books, used in public schools, informed us about *racial imperialism*. Instead we were given, romantic notions of the “new world”, the “American dream,” America as the great melting pot, where all races come together as one...*Columbus* discovered America, Indians were scalp hunters...” (*hooks*, 1988:312), for the author of this study, from such indoctrination *hooks* correctly argued

That American women, irrespective of their education, economic status, or racial identification, have undergone years of sexist, or racist socialization, that has taught us to blindly trust our knowledge, of history and its effect on present reality, even though that knowledge, has been formed and shaped by an oppressive system, is nowhere more evident, than in the recent *feminist* movement (*hooks*, 1988:313).

In continuation *hooks* further argues as follows “Women being classed as an oppressed group under *affirmative action programs* further perpetuating the myth, that the social status of all women, in America is the same; the form of women’s studies programs, being established with all-*white* faculty, teaching literature almost exclusively by *white woman*, about *white women* and frequently from racist perspectives...” (*hooks*, 1988). All these factors, just support why *J.A Tickner* and her fellow *IR Feminist theorists* arguments, should be read, with most of the above raised concerns, in mind.

On the local front, South *Afrika’s Makhosi Khoza*, was thus onto something as well, when she was labeled a *lightweight* by one of the journalists of *Sunday Tribune- Nathi Olifant*, (the fact that he was male, made her argument even heavier-*author’s emphasis*) when she referred to

herself as a “triple oppression survivor, under the *racist, sexist, capitalist system*” (Khoza, 2011:34). Elsewhere after providing a background analysis to the *Feminist Contribution to Mainstream Science*, which drew a brief historical overview of origins of *Feminist movement(s)*, then defining *sex* as a *social category* and *concept of analysis*, before turning some attention, to *gender* related shenanigans, as found in the histories of the PAC (*Pan Afrikan Congress*), BCM (*Black Consciousness Movement*) and ANC (*Afrikan National Congress*) Oshadi Mangena also reiterates her black *female* voice, on the point articulated above. “We are therefore in a *patriarchal capitalist order*. It follows that if we want to investigate *sexism* in order to effect change, or a redress then the idea of *sex*, as a *social category*, must be engaged, as an instrument or *concept of analysis*” (Mangena,2010:3).

It is annoying, to the author of this study, that marginalized voices, as those of both the vocal *black female professionals* and those who are *non-professional* such, as the author of this study maintains the belief that both these groups, possess *yet to be* explored insight, from their respective positions. In the case of South *Afrika*, this needs to go beyond *Mamphela Ramphela*¹⁸³, to the rest of the *othered Feminist voices*, such as *Makhosi Khoza* and *Oshadi Mangena* (both PhD holders, in their own respective right) as they remain less known or completely unknown, beyond their mini academic and *activist group* circles.

The above statement is of course, stated in order to address the unknown or missing vacuum, pertaining to the *Feminist* discourse, of the broader South *Afrikan* public domain. In the interest of this study, this statement is mentioned, with particular reference, to a realization of a local *Feminist movement*, with the abovementioned women, as members. Pinned against such a backdrop as drawn above, the following remark by *Khoza*, perceived under such a light, could not be more appropriate “I challenge those, who refer to me as lightweight, to open battle” (Khoza, 2011:34).

In returning back to *hooks*, further points are raised and deserve to be noted. The author of this study, holds the view that although *bell hooks*, has never been declared an *Afrocentrist*, she has raised poignant points, which are consistent with the *Pan-Afrikan* school of thought. In making reference, to the theme of *colonialism bell hooks* turns, to the Tunisian writer *Albert Memmi*, who in his article titled *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, stressed the hazards of *racism*, as a tool of *imperialism*

Racism appears...not as an incidental detail, but as a consubstantial part of *colonialism*. It is the highest expression of the colonial system and one of the most significant features of the colonialist. Not only does it establish, a fundamental discrimination between *colonizer* and *colonized*, a *sine qua non* of colonial life, but it also lays the foundation, for the immutability of this life (Memmi, 1991¹⁸⁴).

So the themes of *racism*, *sexism* and *classism* are consistently raised, as central issues, which need to form, part of the core *Feminist literature*, as already emphasized by *hooks* earlier on. In *Sisterhood: Political Solidarity between Women (1986)*, the above themes, are discussed further, with equal attention. For *hooks*, any pursuit for genuine *sisterhood* or *political solidarity*, amongst women of all races, in the *Feminist* movement, need to accept the “racial conflict between *white women* and *women of colour*” (*hooks*, 1986:125). Without acknowledgement of the above, *hooks* fears that a failure to “formulate a *liberatory theory*, one that is more inclusive, that challenges rather than perpetuate domination” (*hooks*, 1986:125) will not be achieved.

The above should not be read as surprising, given that *hooks* asserts that “ I am grounded in the radical politics, that is based on the belief, that politics of domination, as manifest in *imperialist*, *capitalist*, *racist* and *sexist oppression*, must be challenged and changed, so that a new social order can emerge” (*hooks*, 1986:126). Of significance is that *hooks* admittedly reads herself, as a *socialist*, though she admits that at times, she herself is uncertain of what precisely that may mean. The author of this study, reads such hesitation, as a signature that *hooks* is highly *conscioutised* about the on-going battle of acquiring knowledge, about thyself and furthermore making sense of it. For *hooks* it is such efforts, which may assist, on the path of eventually realizing the calamitously sought, social justice.

Such a flawed *social order*, may not be realized under the “*Sisterhood* created by bourgeois women’s liberationists. According to their analysis, the basis for bonding was shared victimization, hence the emphasis on common oppression. This concept of bonding, directly reflects male supremacist thinking” (hooks, 1986:128). So the privilege of *class*, between *white* and *black* women is clearly pointed out, as an *elephant in the room*, which cannot be ignored. “It would be psychologically demoralizing, for these women, to bond with other women, on the basis of shared victimization” (hooks, 1986:128).

In order to “develop *political solidarity* between women, *Feminist* activities cannot bond on the terms, set by the *dominant ideology of the culture*” (hooks, 1986:129). For *hooks* bonding should be, on the “basis of shared strengths and resources” (hooks, 1986:128). “*Racism* is fundamentally a *Feminist issue* because it is so interconnected, with *sexist oppression*. In the *West*, the philosophical foundations of *racist* and *sexist ideology* are similar” (hooks, 1986:131).

A “radical movement to end racism (a struggle that many have died to advance) is far more threatening, than a women’s movement shaped to meet the class needs, of upwardly mobile white women” (hooks, 1986:132). Given this premise, it may thus be understood, why on the effect, on realization of *theory building*, *hooks* stipulated that “*Racism* allows *white* women to construct *Feminist theory* and praxis, in such a way, that it is far removed from anything resembling *radical struggle*...Time and time again, they have shown that they do not want, to be part of the *Feminist movement*-they want to lead it” (hooks, 1986:132). To illustrate her point further, on the subject of *racism*, *hooks* draws her reader’s attention, to an essay authored by *Elizabeth Spelman*, a fellow *black Feminist*, academic and activist:

...this is a racist society, and part of what this means, is that generally the self-esteem of *white* people, are deeply influenced by their difference, from and supposed superiority to *black* people. *White* people may not think of themselves as racists, because they do not own slaves or hate *blacks*, but that does not mean, that much of what props up white people’s sense of self-esteem, is not based on the racism, which unfairly distributes benefits and burdens to *whites* and *blacks* (Spelman, 1998¹⁸⁵).

From the same article, *Spelman* (1998) further points out other concerns, similar to those as raised about *racism* by *hooks*, are found. Given the philosophical interest of this study, related articulations by *Plato* and *Aristotle* were particularly of interest, to the author of this study

Derogatory stereotypes of *blacks* versus *whites* (as well as of manual workers versus intellectuals), have been very similar, to the derogatory stereotypes of women versus men. Indeed, the grounds on which *Plato* ridiculed women, were so similar, to those on which he ridiculed slaves, beasts, and children, that he typically ridiculed them, in one breath. He also thought it sufficient, to ridicule off one such group, to accuse it of being like another (women are like slaves, slaves are like children etc.). *Aristotle's* defence of his claim, about the inferiority of women to men, in the *Politics* is almost the same as his defence, of the view that some people, are meant to be slaves. (*Aristotle* did not identify, what he called the *natural class of slaves by skin color*, but he says that identifying that class, would be much easier, if there were readily available physical characteristics, by which one could do that.). Neither in women nor in slaves, does the rational element work, the way it ought to. Hence women and slaves, are thought in different ways, to attend to the physical needs of the men/masters/ intellectuals... (*Spelman*, 1998:358).

Two main points, may be derived from the above quote. Firstly *patriarchic* views, (as read above) informed by stereotypical masculine views, have a long historical tradition of existence, dating back to the works of *Plato* and *Aristotle*, from amongst the early *Mainstream Western philosophers*. *Mangena* (2010) adds *Kant* and *Locke* to this list and connects it fittingly to *theory*:

Kant, the German philosopher, was quoted having said that ‘if you ever find yourself arguing sensibly with a woman, you should ask her, when she removed her beard. The British philosopher *John Locke*, was quoted having written in his “Two Treatise to the King” that the system that the revolution is presenting, referring to *capitalism*, can only be established and maintained by men, (male persons) who have always worked, with tasks of rationality. Men who work with a spade (referring to labourers), “seldom develop reason, let alone the other *sex*” (referring to the *Female* person). Here *John Locke* was checking out, also the male knowledge, established only in the field of *Philosophy*, has for a long time been “formulated upon the exclusive experiences of men, as seen by men only”. Women could not even be interviewed, in projects of *scientific* investigation. They were said to be devoid of reason and too emotional to exercise “objectivity”, the main principle in scientific pursuits. Therefore, women would colour objectivity, with their own idiosyncrasies, for the end results, to make no sense, it was said. The result of this approach to *science*, was that theories of human and social development, in the various aspects of human life, were loaded, with the exclusive experience of the *male person*, at the subordination and even exclusion, of *Female experience*. No wonder that women, were for a long time, subjected to oppression and exploitation,

in the *patriarchal capitalism*, in particular, the system that is based upon *scientific rationalization* (Mangena, 2010:1).

The disturbing reality of *Westerncentric male philosophers*, justifying their *parochial views*, based on *ill founded scientific reason*, is clearly illustrated, in the above quote. It should go without say, that the biased views noted here, compel for *scientific rationality*, to be reviewed anew and stereotypes, based on *male chauvinism*, require much needed (long overdue) correction.

The second point, is related to what *Spelman* referred to as *Somatophobia* (the identification of woman with her body). In *Spelman's* words “the identification of *woman with her body*, has been the *source of our oppression*, and that hence, the *source of our liberation* lies in surrendering that connection” (Spelman, 1998:357). *Spelman* stresses, that such thought is ludicrous and has been part of the *male understanding*, of *women's woes*. For the author of this study, the gross assumption and condescending *male driven thought pattern*, towards *Feminist identity*, (as read in the definition of *somatophobia* above) is disgraceful, coming from such highly regarded esteemed philosophers, such as *Plato, Aristotle, Kant* and *Locke*. Furthermore (from the same article, under discussion) *Spelman*, discusses the works of *Simone de Beauvoir, Betty Friedan* and *Shulamith Firestone* and concludes that their respective opinion, “contributes to *white solipsism*” (Spelman, 1998:358). The abovementioned post-*Socrates* philosophers, brutally relegate *Females* to a demeaning level, wherein *Females* are comparable to animals.

If *Solipsism* is the “belief that only oneself and one's experience exists...the extreme consequence of believing that knowledge, must be founded on inner, personal states of experience and then failing to find a bridge, whereby they can inform us of anything beyond themselves” (Blackburn, 2008:343), then the philosophers (similar to those as mentioned above), have to the best, of their will, lived upto the noted troublesome traits. For the author of this study, it is absurd, to hold a *philosophical theory*, which endorses, the view that with regards to the *knowledge of self*, absolute knowledge of that kind, could be secured. The above view is eloquently supported by *Karin Fierke*, in her article *Whereof We Can Speak, Thereof We Must Not Be Silent: Trauma, Political Solipsism and War* (2004).

In returning back to *hooks*, a way forward is suggested. In as far as *white Feminist* theorists are concerned, the tendency to “cover up the fact that they are totally unwilling, to surrender their hegemonic dominance, over theory and praxis, a dominance which they would, not have established, were this not a *white supremacist, capitalist state...*”¹⁸⁶ (*hooks*, 1986:133), should come to an end. The empty acknowledgement of “racism in *Feminist movements* or calling attention to personal prejudice” (*hooks*, 1986:133) according to *hooks*, should cease to exist. The author of this study agrees, without any reservations, to this last point, as articulated by *hooks*:

Women will know they have made a political commitment to eliminating *racism*, when they help change the direction of the *Feminist movement*, when they work to unlearn racist socialization, prior to assuming positions of leadership or shaping *theory* or making contact with women of colour, so that they will not perpetuate and maintain racial oppression or, unconsciously or consciously, abuse and hurt *non-white women*. These are the truly radical gestures, that create a foundation, for the experience of *political solidarity* between *white women* and *women of colour* (*hooks*, 1986:134).

Although *hooks* proposes, for *cultural codes*, to be switched and appreciated by all groups involved, she maintains that “Respecting diversity does not mean uniformity or sameness” (*hooks*, 1986:135). For the author of this study, this should be understandable because such behavior, may be erroneously read as equivalent, to subscribing to submission or conformity. For the author of this study, the following quote, speaks directly to *J.A. Tickner* and company

“Outspoken *socialist-feminists*, most of whom, are *white women*, have emphasized class, but they have not been effective, in changing attitudes, towards class, in the *Feminist movement*. Despite their support of *socialism*, their values, behaviours, and lifestyles, continue to be shaped by privilege” (*hooks*, 1986:136).

For *hooks*, it is this privilege, which has led, to *white Feminists* in America, not to have

worked hard to organize with the poor and *working-class women*, who may not identify as *socialists*, but do identify with the need for redistribution of wealth, in the United States. They have not worked, to raise the *consciousness of women*, collectively. Much of their energy has been spent addressing, the *white male left*, discussing the connections between *Marxism* and *Feminism*, or explaining to other *feminist* activists, that *Socialist-Feminism*, is the best strategy for revolution (*hooks*, 1986:136).

In closure from the above article, *hooks* magnanimously eventually stipulated that, in order to achieve solidarity “in the *Feminist movement*, there is need for diversity, disagreement and difference, if we are to grow” (*hooks*, 1986:138).

In her final article, titled *Postmodern Blackness (1990)*, by far the shortest, of all her articles reviewed thus far by the author of this study, *hooks* expresses her thoughts, on the theme of *Postmodernism*. Her opening sentence, arguably sets the appropriate tone astonishingly, for the rest of the article. “*Postmodernist* discourses are often exclusionary, even as they call attention to, appropriate even, the experience of ‘difference’ and ‘Otherness’ to provide oppositional political meaning, legitimacy, and immediacy when they are accused of lacking concrete relevance” (*hooks*,1990:388). One of the poignant challenges, that *hooks* was confronted with was the

conventional language used ...I find myself on the outside of the discourse looking in. As a discursive practice, it is dominated primarily by the voices of the *white male* intellectuals and /or academic elites, who speak to and about one another, with coded familiarity. Reading and studying their writing, in order to understand *Postmodernism* in its multiple manifestations, I appreciate it but feel little inclination, to ally myself, with the academic hierarchy and exclusivity, pervasive in the movement today (*hooks*, 1990:388).

From all the *Eurocentric* data, presented thus far within this study, pertaining to *IR*, it should not be surprising then that the author of this study, (who subscribes to *Afrocentricity*) relates to the distance, felt by *hooks* as expressed from the abovementioned context. The same feeling has been and continues to be felt, by the author of this study, when reading *Mainstream IR* theories and the bulk of *Mainstream Philosophy* (author’s emphasis). Elsewhere *Arlene B. Tickner* is paraphrased as follows “an acknowledged member of a field or an academic community, implies recognizing the field’s value, rejecting non-field based thought and upholding the importance of scholarly knowledge, as opposed to its practical variants” (Bourdieu 1988:95).

In being critical about *Postmodernism*, in hindsight *hooks* acknowledges, that she has become more aware, of the focus paid to ‘*otherness and difference*’ yet such an emphasis appears to lack, the desired impact, as a form of analysis, which may possibly change the “nature and direction, of *Postmodernist theory*” (*hooks*, 1990:388). It is expected that “actors entering a given field, necessarily succumb to the power relations that characterize it, and in doing so, they gain recognition as legitimate participants, in the struggle to produce “*scientific*” knowledge” (*Tickner*, 2007:4).

For *hooks* On the basis that *Postmodern* “theory has been constructed in reaction to and against high *Modernism*, there is seldom any mention of *black* experience or writings by *black people* in this work, specifically *black women* (though in more recent work, one may see a reference to *Cornel West*¹⁸⁷, the *black male scholar* who has most engaged *Postmodernist* discourse” (*hooks*, 1990:389¹⁸⁸). Within the context of *IR*, this point is elaborately illustrated by *Sandra Halperin*’s article titled *European Modernity and the History of the State: Reflections on the Historical and Ontological Basis of IR Theory* (2007). In this article, it is stressed how *Subaltern studies*, seek to break free from the ever-domineering pedagogic yolk of *Eurocentricism*.

In support of the above point, made by *hooks*, the text wherein this particular article is featured within *John Storey’s Cultural Theory and Popular Culture, A Reader* (2009), in the contents page, under the theme, of *Postmodernism* authors include, *Jean Baudrillard* (The Procession of Simulacra), *Barbara Creed* (From Here to Modernity), *Meaghan Morris* (*Feminism*, Reading, Postmodernism), *Dick Hebdige* (Postmodernism and ‘The Other Side’), *Elizabeth Wilson* (Fashion and Postmodernism), *Jim Collins* (Genericity in the Nineties) and alas *Neil Perryman* (Doctor Who and the Convergence of Media). So the concern, of *gender* and *race* and even class, starkly sticks out, throughout all the abovementioned articles supporting earlier points, that were raised by *hooks et al.*

Leading upto the third article by *hooks*, the author of this study, found *hook's* train of thought, quite consistent, when considering her expressed views thus far, towards the themes, of *race*, *class* and *gender*.

The failure to recognize a critical *black* presence, in the culture and in most scholarship and writing, on *Postmodernism*, compels a *black* reader, particularly a *black Female* reader, to interrogate her interests, in a subject where those who discuss and write about it, seem not to know, *black women* exist or even to consider the possibility, that we might be somewhere, writing or saying something, that should be listened to, or producing art, that should be seen, heard, approached with intellectual seriousness (hooks,1990:389).

In proceeding forward, *hooks* in the quote below reveals, how she was unpredictably not naïve, about the challenge, that lay ahead.

Confronting both the absence of recognition, of *black Female* presence, that much *Postmodernist theory* re-inscribes and the resistance, on the part of most *black* folks, to hearing about real connection, between *Postmodernism* and *black* experience, I enter a discourse, a practice, where there may be no ready audience, for my words, no clear listener, uncertain then, that my voice can or will be heard (hooks, 1990:389).

Throughout this particular study, of seeking for what *Eurocentrists* do not believe exists (an *Afrikan* contribution to *IR*), has made the author of this study relate, to the feelings as expressed in the abovementioned quote by *hooks*. For the author of this study, (especially with regards to *Afrocentric* subscribers) before any form of voice can be heard (be it *Afrikan* or any other), the *owner of the voice*, should ideally focus, on numerous attempts of initially discovering themselves, before attempting to understand others. It is from such a step, whereby such a discovery of the *inner voice*, which possesses a corpus of untouched and ignored treasures, may be accessed.

Within the context of such an abstract and overly sensitive a project, based on the depth of the *self*, that is questioned, as under investigation in this study, the process to proceed to locate *one's*

self, then securing that place of belonging, where one may fit, into a specific hole, of acquired *identity*, as made possible in the interest of this study in the form of *Afrocentricity*, should be the cornerstone, of one's maturity, as an upcoming *Afrocentric* scholar.

Thus throughout the process of investigation, all *that is* and *has been* regarded, by so many *IR* scholars *as much ado about nothing*, could thus be greeted, as part of the expected hurdles, deliberately placed before one, in order to sponsor, the project of *Postcolonial* failure within academia. In line with the *Afrocentric* goals as highlighted in the context of this study, when an *Afrikan* scholar becomes aware that the task placed before them, requires a *Goliath* to intervene, it is arguably at that point wherein turning to the *Afrocentric* self, in order to be able to get on, with the task at hand, may become a necessity. Exploring such an option may confirm, whether or not as an *IR* scholar, one has finally located their *unknown/unfamiliar Afrocentric* voice.

With the above in mind, on the desired pedagogic path ahead, all that may be required beyond having explored the *Afrocentric* route, may be the struggle for its appropriate use. For the author of this study, it is at such a critical point wherein one may argue, to be encouraging effort(s), which may assist in leading towards subscribing to *Afrocentricity*. Just for the record, no endorsement from any outside groups, are necessary, once the process leading closer to an overall realization of one's *Afrikan self* (identity consciousness), has been realised.

As an outsider, similar to *hooks* in her explanation above, on her thoughts on *Feminism*, as expressed by *elite white women* or when she was searching, for her entrance options, into the field of *Postmodernism*, *hooks* justifiably felt alienated. For the author of this study, it should have been expected that for any outsider, seeking to venture successfully, in an already established discourse, the internal processes required to successfully negotiate towards the adoption of change (from the *Eurocentric status-quo of IR (theory)*, are almost certainly bound to be triggered, during the effort of seeking a *just* entrance, into any *nouveau* scholarly arena.

Denialism presented in any form of scholarship, should be confronted. “Theories and expectations of development, over the past half century, have been crucially shaped, by a policy initiative and scholastic programme, which emerged in the *United States* after *World War II*” (Halperin, 2007:4). In heeding the blunt advice above, the author of this study is of the view, that it is highly advisable for fellow scholars, to consistently review their innocent outlook, with regards to *pedagogy*. In addition to this point *Bruce Cumings* is partly paraphrased as follows

“scholars make use of two types of power, in academic fields: *academic capital*, consisting of “control of the instruments of reproduction, of the professorial body”, and *scientific authority*, measured primarily in diverse forms, of member recognition, including citation volumes and translation, into other languages, membership into editorial boards...” (Tickner, 2007:4).

So from such a context, the rules of engagement are clearly, biased in favour of the hegemonic *Westerncentric* voice. This is especially, where your *kind* (*black, oppressed, Third World citizen* and *black Female* –in the case of *hooks* etc) in the recent past or even, in the present reality, has/is always been perceived, as mere objects or subjects of study. The inferiority complex felt within, by victims of *Eurocentric* perceptions, will always have to be addressed, by a renewed effort, to negotiate one’s *Afrocentric* passage. This may possibly be through an unshakeable-*will*, to prosper and if anything else, *get to the finished line* and see the *Promised Land*, as preached by *Martin Luther King Junior*. The struggle for identity-*conscioutisation* amongst many other *equally vital factors*, indeed appears to still linger onward, remaining a firm case of *aluta continua*.

With such psychological challenges in mind, in the aftermath of the *black power movement*, of the 1960’s, for *hooks* approaching the 1990’s, she believed that “ It has become necessary, to find new avenues, to transmit the message of *black liberation struggle*, new ways to talk, about *racism* and other *politics of domination*” (*hooks*,1990:389). So *hooks* was convinced, that more than anything else

Radical *Postmodernist* practice, most powerfully conceptualized as a ‘politics of difference’, should incorporate the *voices of displaced, marginalized, exploited, and oppressed black people*. It is sadly ironic that the contemporary discourse, which talks the most about *heterogeneity, the decentered subject*, declaring breakthroughs, that allow recognition of *Otherness*, still directs its

critical voice, primarily to a specialized audience, that shares a *common language*, rooted in the very *master narratives*, it claims to challenge (hooks, 1990:390).

Notice the stubbornness, associated with the struggle, to let go of acquired habits, as imposed by supremacist thought. The process of letting go, of the *masters tools* and writing with *the master in mind*, remains as one of the greatest challenges, to the literature associated, with the *pedagogy of the oppressed*. It is for this reason, that *hooks* believes that

If radical *Postmodernist thinking*, is to have a transformative impact, then a critical break, with the notion of ‘*authority*’ as ‘*mastery over*’ must not simply be a rhetorical device. It must be reflected, in *habits of being*, including *styles of writing*, *passively absorb white supremacist thinking*, and therefore never notice or look, at *black people*, on the streets or at their jobs, who render us invisible, with their gaze in all areas, of daily life, are not likely to produce *liberatory theory*, that will challenge *racist domination*, or promote a breakdown in traditional ways of seeing and thinking, about reality, ways of constructing *aesthetic theory* and practice (hooks, 1990:390).

From the above, the author of this study, takes the point, that responsibility to attainment of freedom (whether of speech, theory or other), may not be surrendered, to the *supremist* or *capitalist class*, consisting of the same *class exploiters*, being *elite white folks*. *Blacks* need to prolong their various struggles, in amongst others *pedagogy*, until their respective historical goals, are met. For “without adequate *concrete knowledge of* and *contact with the non-white ‘Other’*, *white theorists* may move in discursive theoretical directions, that are threatening and potentially disruptive of that critical practice, which would support radical *liberation struggle*” (hooks, 1990:390).

It is with such a background, in mind, wherein themes, such as those to do with *identity*, need to be reviewed.

“ Scholarly *being –in-the-world* is thus determined, to a significant degree by the *processes of socialization*, existing within specific fields of study and by *boundary practices*, that are employed to keep ‘*illegal immigrants*’ out and to establish *legitimate speakers* and *rules of the game* that favor the *status quo*” (Tickner,2007:4).

In also being aware of the above, *hooks* stipulates that

“*Postmodern theory*, that is not seeking, to simply appropriate the experience of ‘*Otherness*’ to enhance, the discourse or to be radically chic, should not separate the ‘*politics of difference*’ from the *politics of racism*. To take *racism* seriously, one must consider the *plight of underclass people of color*, a vast majority of whom are *black*” (hooks, 1990:390).

Such a consideration is critical because for *bell hooks* “*Afrikan-Americans...under the current postmodern conditions have been characterized, by continued displacement, profound alienation, and despair* (hooks, 1990:391).

In support of the above statement the profound words of *Cornel West* below are due:

There is increasing *class division* and differentiation, creating on the one hand a significant *black* middle-class, highly anxiety-ridden, insecure, willing to be co-opted and incorporated into the *powers that be*, concerned with *racism*, to the degree, that it poses underclass, an underclass that embodies a kind, of walking *nihilism*¹⁸⁹ of pervasive drug addiction, pervasive alcoholism, pervasive homicide, and an exponential rise, in suicide. Now because of the deindustrialization, we also have a devastated, *black industrial working class*, we are talking here, about tremendous hopelessness (West, 1988¹⁹⁰).

To supplement the above point, *hooks* later quotes *Lawrence Grossberg*, from his essay titled ‘*Putting the pop back into postmodernism*’¹⁹¹

“The *postmodern* sensibility appropriates practices as boasts, that announce their own...They offer forms of empowerment not only in the face of *nihilism* but precisely through the forms of *nihilism* itself: an empowering *nihilism*, a moment of positivity through the production and structuring of affective relations” (Grossberg, 1998).

Given the might of influence by secular¹⁹² literature, versus literature on theology, with direct reference, made towards sources, such as the *Holy Bible*, *Holy Quran* and *The Torah* from amongst other sources, the *oppressed* remain at the crossroads. No equally powerful religious text(s) which may be comparable, to those just mentioned above, are known to have been authored by the *oppressed class* amongst *black* people. Such an absence may pose, as a threat at many levels in as far as theological issues are concerned, in the light of the abovementioned religious sources. Such absence may in certain quarters, serve as a form of indictment, on whatever may be presented, to be representative of *black theological knowledge*. Note the

overwhelming curious tone, suggested by such a socially constructed concept, as if to assume that, there is such a thing as *white knowledge*. Pitifully, it is such *essentialist language*, which overly dominates literature, within both the *colonial* and *postcolonial* spaces.

It is the contention of the author of this study, that the above sentiment, should just be another feather, which may be used to argue that most reference towards the *postcolonial*, is nothing more than a figment of imagination, alive in the headspaces of those that subscribe, to such socially constructed existence. For the author of this study, addressing such norms remains a goal which should be elevated, from its imaginary form. This is especially towards achieving the aim, of a better society, beyond the currently, capitalistic dictatorial modes, as imposed from the contemporary systems, as found almost upon the entire scholarly domain. In certain quarters however, a response may be advanced, that this is precisely, the space that *Afrikan philosophy* has sought to occupy.

With the above in mind, then the emphasis on *nihilism* as emphasized by *West (1988)* and *Grossberg (1998)*, should not be taken lightly. So from all the above, the task to *reimagine* and *reconstruct*, by engaging what *black* people “are seeing, thinking, or listening to” (*hooks*, 1990:394) symbolically should be read by the *oppressed*, as unfinished business, that stares all *Afrocentric* scholars, whom are genuinely concerned about *IR(theory)*, in the face.

Once it is realized *enmasse*, by both scholars and the majority of the uneducated folks, that

“a space is there for critical exchange...*to think, write, talk about, and create art*, that reflects passionate engagement with popular culture,...this may very well be ‘the’ central future location of resistance struggle, a meeting place, where new and radical happenings can occur” (*hooks*, 1990:394).

The author of this study, shares the same sentiments, as expressed by *hooks* above. For the author of this study, *hooks* has revealed distinctive qualities (as observed throughout her writing thus far), as may be related to *Afrocentric* thought.

Given the core academic fields of concern, that *bell hooks* has dedicated, into most of her work (promoting a *liberatory theory* to be realised, as a counter from the *master-narratives*), it is the contention, of the author of this study, that she truly lives upto being an exemplary role-model, for budding *Afrocentrist* scholars of *IR* (theory) and beyond. So *Feminist IR* scholars, such as *J.A Tickner's* views, should be registered, with their respective limits, as expressed at length here, by *Afrocentrists*, under the demonstrated guidance of *hooks-* ranging from *Spelman, Mangena* and *West* from amongst those already quoted.

A return back to *ISA* is due, at this point. Keeping in mind, what was observed and discussed earlier, under the subheading *The Gender Dilemma in the leadership of ISA*, further commentary, on the *lack of gender* representivity here, is renewed. It is almost a case of standard expectation, that men, are bound to deliver. When this is not the case, *gender* is highly unlikely to be the cause. Instead in most cases, some form of other valid explanation, will always be found, in order to justify, *under par* performance by male figures. In the case of women, it is almost always guaranteed, that blame, will be enormously linked, to their *Femininity*, such a view could only consolidate the present *status quo* of a *society of patriarchy*.

Such *socially constructed* attitudes, as those located above, seem to take their *que*, from their respective *patriachical* realities, as captured by *Mangena* earlier on and also from such pioneering philosophers ranging from *Plato, Aristotle, Kant* and *Locke*. In the light of earlier reference, to these highly esteemed *Westerncentric* philosophers, *Afrocentrist Mangena* simply exposed their weak arguments, based on the strength of stereotypes, masquerading amongst others, as *scientific rationalism*. On the grounds that such influences, have disturbingly been informed, by age old myths, they should be read, as nothing more than, mere prophets of propaganda. Their misleading observations should be discouraged and where-ever possible, by all means, halted and discouraged from being preached any further.

The theme of *gender* is central, to *Feminist IR scholars*, as also captured in the article by *Jean Bethke Elshtain*'s titled *Feminist Themes and International Relations (1991)*. *Elshtain (1991:118)* in retrospect acknowledges how much *Kenneth N. Waltz*'s thoughts, had so much influence on her and this influence, consequently was much later realised in her dissertation

at the time, it must be said, I was not particularly concerned with the 'man' portion of the title of *Waltz*'s splendidly lucid volume. I was, instead, taken with his conceptual schema, which I found enormously helpful, in sorting out the world of *Feminist theory*. I returned to my dissertation recently, as I thought of the influence of *Waltz* on my own, theoretical work and I discovered an utterly *Waltzian* formulation, in my introduction (*Elshtain, 1991:118*).

To the above quote *Elshtain (1991)* would further comment as follows below

"That was then; this is now. As a *Feminist IR* theorist, the above quote reveals how, *Elshtain* came to realize, the influence of not just *Waltz* as her past lecturer, part also as a *male theorist*, who expressed himself, also in line with *male views*. As *Bob Dylan* once sang, 'I was so much older then/ I'm younger than that now.' This is a generational way of saying: I'm far less confident of my own solutions and resolutions, than I was at the tender age of 30" (*Elshtain, 1991:119*).

In short *Elshtain* realised just how much influence, the masculine orientated "game theoretical approaches, to which I was subjected in *Waltz*'s course" (*Elshtain, 1991:119*) shaped her *Feminist thought*, at that early stage of her scholarly pursuit. For the author of this study, hopefully the irony, of an *IR Feminist*, arguing from a *male influenced* (patriarchal) premise, should be starkly noticed, as later was realised by *Elshtain*. Such influential practice continues.

Although texts on *IR* refer to *Waltz* as a *Realist* theorist, it should be noted, that in his own admission, he viewed himself, above all else, as a *political philosopher* orientated to theoretical thought, from pioneering philosophers, such as *Thucydides* from his college days at *Oberlin* (*Kreisler, 2003:2*). *Waltz* openly confesses that he was influenced, by *John Lewis* and his wife *Ewart Lewis*. Amazingly however, overall credit is only directed to *John Lewis*. Notice the

disappearance of the significant role, played by the *woman* (*Ewart Lewis*). From *Waltz's* psyche, the impression given here, is that *Waltz*, did not perceive such, biased perception, as a problem.

For the author of this study, the above may serve, as a typical example of the core message, from *The Erasure of Black Women* (1998), as authored by *Elizabeth Spelman*. In this particular instance, although *Ewart Lewis* is a *white woman*, the concerns of the prioritization or pecking order, associated with *gender* amazingly just continue to take place, in the scholarly and broader society, without paying much mind to it. Notice the invisibility or insignificant role of *Ewart Lewis*, in *Waltz's* memory, even though, he admits in the same breath, that she was just as instrumental, as an influence to him, as her husband *John Lewis*. It is from such a *male, chauvinistic* driven background, wherein female students, such as *Elshtain*, would become one of the leading *Feminist* scholars of *IR* under *Waltz*. Note the amount of violence upon the psyche.

In returning back, to the article in question, *Elshtain*, asserts herself more boldly, and her *Feminist voice*, amidst the complexity, of the other noted 'beasts' is unquestioned, when she makes reference to "*realism, neo-realism, world systems theory, neo-liberal institutionalism, dependency theory, game theory, rational choice theory structuralism, neo-structuralism, and now post-structuralism*. Similarly *Feminism* defies premature attempts at closure." (*Elshtain*, 1991:120). For the author of this study, given that this statement, reveals how *Elshtain* finally got to see and locate her role, in the context of *IR*, makes these last words to be read, as a form of superb, yet instructive summary.

With all the above having been mentioned, when returning back to the attention given to the earlier mentioned *most influential IR scholars* interestingly "*James Fearon* Professor at Stanford University, *USA* ascended the most, he was mostly mentioned by *US* scholars and received no votes, in several countries such as Singapore, Hong Kong, New Zealand and South Afrika" (*Maliniak et al*, 2009:44). Again in as far as *Females* are concerned, *Susan Strange* was the highest *Female IR* scholar at number 22, *Martha Finnemore* trailed her at number 23 and

Cynthia Enloe completes this tripartite of *IR* scholars, at number 24. Of interest, to the author of this study, is that *Susan Strange* (interestingly received 22%, of votes from *SA* respondents), equaling *Barry Buzan* also at 22% by *SA* responders. *Martha Finnemore's* major votes at 11% came from *NZ* and *Cynthia Enloe's* major votes at 6% were secured from *ISR, Austr. and UK*).

Overall for the author of this study, in as much as the *most influential IR scholars* results may be open, to multiple interpretations, for the author of this study however this finding, is just another additional point, which further demonstrates the depth of *Westerncentric* control, over the discipline of *IR*. Specific reference here is made towards America, courtesy of its own homegrown *IR* scholars and those that it has trained (becoming its exports), has thoroughly enjoyed its dominance, over the discipline of *IR*. Not only are parochial views promoted, in the literature of *IR* (judging from the *gender, age and racial profile of IR's leading scholars*) but in the process, worryingly the *status quo*, seems to be perpetuated. This could only spell out disaster for *IR*.

In slight deviation, from the theme of *gender* the following remark seems necessary, while still on the point of American dominance over *IR*. On the subject of methodology for example,

the field of *IR* is still dominated by scholars who employ *qualitative analysis*. Almost all respondents in all countries, indicate that they use *qualitative methods* in their research questions. Although a quarter of *U.S* scholars specialize in *quantitative methods*, larger percentages of academics in Ireland (31%) and Israel (24%) rely primarily on statistical approaches. Interestingly Israel, Hong Kong, United States and Ireland are the same four countries, with the highest number of respondents, who use *quantitative methods* (Maliniak et al, (2009).

In continuation below

The Frequent use of *quantitative methods*, in Ireland may also be explained, by the high percentage of respondents, in that country. Their *IPE* theory...may be capturing, *quantitative comparativists*, who study European intergration and *political behavior*, within *EU* institutions. Findings also reveal that scholars, mostly use only one method e.g. only 14% of *U.S* academics report, that they use no other approach, in addition, to their primary method. This suggests that *IR*

scholars, mix methods or at least, are inclined to use more than one approach, in their work.”
(Maliniak et al (2009).

Of significance to the author of this study, the quote above may serve the purpose of going, as far as explaining, the end product of *IR* being *Eclectic, fragmentary* and *parochial*. In *Question 8 of the TRIP Survey (2009)*, the percentages of assigned readings, by various authors, as per region were checked. The author of this study, noted the following percentages of American authors used, in the *US* (78%), *UK* (45%), in *Canada* (47%), *Australia* (42%), *NZ* (58%), *Ireland* (46%), *Israel* (75%), *SA* (29%), *Hong Kong* (58%) and *Singapore* (57%). No specific or direct percentages were found, regarding how much of these authors were *Female* nevertheless the following remark, below according to the author of this study, summarize these findings quite succinctly:

If ever there was any doubt, about *U.S.A's* hegemony within the *IR* discourse, the response to this question clearly dismisses it. Interestingly *South Afrika* appears to be the exception to the rule, however *intro IR* classrooms around the world are dominated by *U.S literature*. This thus supports the claim, that *international relations* is an *American social science*. Besides *South Afrika*, every country in the survey, was found to be using more literature, authored by Americans, than by scholars, from any other country in the world. Even *U.K's IR* scholars, assign 6% more literature from the *U.S.A*, than their homegrown material. The *TRIP* researchers explain, that many of the foundational texts, which are likely to be taught, in an *intro IR* course, are written by scholars affiliated, with American universities, but like *Hans Morgenthau, Karl Deutsch, Stanley Hoffman* and *Arnold Wolfers*, many of these scholars were born and educated outside of the United States”
(Maliniak et al, 2009:17).

The following critical factors, in as far as the *gender* question is concerned, has also been brought afore from the *TRIP Survey (2009)*:

In as far as age goes, **very few scholars under the age of 50, are ranked here and men far outnumber women**. This is not new, as only two women made it, onto this list in *2006* and three in *2008*. The last factor is that **it is predominantly, US scholars who dominate this list**. It is also interesting, that scholars who rank highly worldwide, are relatively ignored, in the States, namely *Robert Cox* (ranked 10th overall), only secured 3% of American votes, compared with 17% to 44% in *Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, South Afrika* and the *U.K*. Similarly, *Hedley Bull*

(author of foundational English School) and *Barry Buzan* (a prominent contemporary acolyte of the same paradigm, are mentioned by only 2% of *U.S* respondents, although they rank 16th and 21st in the World, respectively” (Maliniak et al, 2009:44).

The highlighted points, capture the gist, of what the author of this study, found as vital from the above quote. For the author of this study, *Maliniak et al* (2009) emphasised the grey areas, that are in grave need of attention, in the abovementioned quote.

3.2.4 The *White Scholar* Hegemony in *ISA*: the promotion and consolidation of

Parochial views in *IR*

In returning back to *ISA*'s past presidents and the *ISA Executive* (2009-10), the third observation of a *majority male* and an outright *racial bias* (*authors emphasis*), is worryingly noted. For the author of this study, the earlier stated characteristics, related to what contributes to becoming an *influential IR scholar*, seemingly applies here. Beyond the above scholar's affiliation to an American University, as noted by *Maliniak et al* (2009) “One thing that stands out, about these high achievers, though is how similar they are: *Nearly all are white men older than 50*. That result, is even more striking, as *almost a third of the field's scholars, are women* and half the respondents received their *Ph.D*, in the past 12 years.”

With the closing remark, from the prior paragraph in mind, it is astonishing to the author of this study, that when the following question, regarding a *'divisive' issue amongst IR scholars* was posed, the expected response (s) ranging from the *lack of Female recognition, lack of racial balance* of participant's and their respective *Worldview(s)* nor even the *Westcentric nature* of the discipline, since its formal inception in 1919 were absent. None of these ghosts, that haunt the discipline, were brought up.

Surprisingly the response read, as follows below: as captured on *Question57* (Maliniak et al 2009:70) even indicates the choice of *Epistemology*¹⁹³ utilized manifests additional concern(s).

Table 1.10: Divisive factor among IR scholars today

Q57: Which of the following do you believe generate the most division among IR scholars today? Please rank the following in descending order with 1 indicating the greatest divide.

	All	US	UK	Can	Aus	NZ	Ire	Isr	SA	HK	Sin
Epistemology	67	64	78	76	64	60	74	64	75	54	77
Generational	29	31	22	30	27	20	32	29	38	15	31
Issue Area	22	23	21	19	24	25	26	36	0	38	31
Method	69	74	62	59	55	75	68	71	63	46	8
Ontology	39	34	46	49	57	45	32	21	75	38	54
Paradigm	52	53	50	53	48	60	42	50	38	69	23
Region of Study	10	9	9	9	13	15	21	14	13	23	85

Source: TRIP Survey of IR Faculty in Ten Countries (Maliniak et al 2009:70).

According to the *TRIP* researchers, scholars in almost all countries consider *epistemology and method selected for use*, as the two most divisive issues, in *IR* research. *Paradigm* tends to rank a distant third, with the notable exception of New Zealand, where 50% of scholars were split between *Realism* and *Constructivism*. Only 11%, in NZ, do not use paradigmatic analysis. Interestingly, the four countries, in which scholars care least about *ontology*-U.S.A. Ireland,

Hong Kong and *Israel*, Interestingly these are also the four countries, with the greatest percentages of *Positivists* (also see *Post-positivists*¹⁹⁴).

Respondents from *Singapore at 80% are largely alone in believing that region of study divides the field*. But this may be explained, by the fact that the regional focus of Singaporean scholars, is split evenly among East Asia (30%), Southeast Asia and those who use cross-national data or study transnational actors (21%) - with no respondents specializing in the former Soviet Union states, Latin America, the Middle East, North America and Oceania.

Given the continuously grave ghosts, that haunt *IR*, it should be understandable when *IR* scholars, concerned about the state of their discipline, read the above response with surprise, shock or disappointment. For the author of this study, pondering whether or not, such a response may possibly also serve, as an indictment of *IR*, remains as some food for thought. It may sound scary to many *IR* scholars, that given the history and apparent lack of transformation, (specifically as haunted by its *hegemony of ageing white scholars, predominantly American or of American approach*, in their orientation to *IR* and alas the lack of *gender* contemplation –as was observed in the discussion of *ISA*) more attempts to address, the above raised concerns, regarding *IR* is needed. Ever since *Teune's (1983)* earlier discussed paper, the following conclusion below, seems appropriate.

Having stated at the beginning of the paper, that in as far as ideology goes “*ISA* has a special view of the World, what scholarship should be, and how that knowledge should be used” (*Teune, 1983:9*), securing a glimpse of what was meant, by such a statement, appears to have provided some form of details, in his reference, made towards the theme of *ISA's* four existent theories. These outrightly *Eurocentric* theories apparently manifest, the specified *ISA Worldview (s)* in the final stanza.

Summing it up, with the four *worldviews*, believed to be represented in *ISA*, consolidates the *Eurocentric provincialism* of thought, as located from their composition of *IR*. As noted by the

author of this study, such thought under discussion, seemingly has a lengthy history of existence, within *ISA* and yet apparently, still seems to be laboriously promoted further, albeit under subtle denialism, by the already pointed out *Westerncentric* perpetrators. In as far as the author of this study is concerned, *ISA* bluntly stipulated, mirrors an organisation with a predominantly *parochial* mindset. This is aptly illustrated in *Figure 1.1* courtesy of *Mgonja and Makombe (2009¹⁹⁵)*. Perhaps a reminder, here is due, as provided under the subheading of the *Early Years* “*ISA was founded with amateur enthusiasm...*” (Teune, 1983:2). At best *ISA* should simply be read, as a subsidiary wing, of the very body that it was claiming to be weary of- the *American Political Science Association*. The sooner *ISA*’s participants reconcile with this reality, the better for those *IR* scholars, seeking authentic scholarly organisations, that are consistent and genuinely attempt, to live up to the claim of being *international/ universal*.

3.3 *IR* Journals, Paradigms of *IR* and Issues of Epistemology

Table 1.11: A list of influential *IR* Journals

Q42: List the four journals in *IR* that publish articles with the greatest influence on the way *IR* scholars think about international relations. These can include general political science journals and/or non-political science journals.

Overall Rank	Journal	All %	US %	UK %	Can %	Aus %	NZ %	Ire %	Isr %	SA %	HK %	Sin %
1	International Organization	73	74	70	75	69	58	71	71	88	70	80
2	International Security	45	47	38	46	51	21	14	64	13	70	47
3	International Studies Quarterly	44	49	29	50	28	32	33	43	0	40	20
4	American Political Science Review	28	36	9	18	6	5	33	36	0	10	20
4	World Politics	28	29	20	31	29	42	33	14	50	30	20
6	Foreign Affairs	28	30	19	25	32	21	14	21	25	50	40
7	Journal of Conflict Resolution	14	18	4	7	0	5	19	29	0	10	7
8	European Journal of Intl Relations	14	9	31	14	26	21	10	21	0	10	0
9	Review of International Studies	14	4	47	22	0	53	24	0	25	0	7
10	Foreign Policy	9	20	5	7	9	11	0	14	38	10	7
11	Millennium	8	3	24	12	18	11	19	7	38	0	0
12	American Journal of Pol. Science	6	7	2	2	2	0	0	7	0	0	0
13	Security Studies	5	7	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
14	International Affairs	4	2	14	1	14	11	0	0	0	20	7
15	Review of Intl Political Economy	4	2	6	14	3	16	5	0	13	0	0
16	International Studies Review	4	4	2	5	6	16	5	14	13	0	0
17	Journal of Peace Research	3	5	2	1	2	5	0	0	0	0	0
18	Global Governance	2	2	2	5	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
19	Journal of Politics	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
19	International Studies Perspectives	2	2	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
19	Survival	2	2	3	1	5	0	0	7	13	0	0
22	National Interest	1	1	2	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0
23	International Relations	1	1	0	3	8	0	5	7	0	0	0
24	Political Science Quarterly	1	1	1	1	2	0	0	7	0	0	0
25	Comparative Politics	1	1	1	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0

Source: *TRIP* Survey Maliniak et al (2009:49).

On the subject of *journals* related to *IR*, as displayed above, the following observation is brought afore. It is agreed that “there is hardly any consensus with regards to the best journals, beyond the fact that every scholarly community in the survey ranked *International Organization*, as the top *IR* journal” (Maliniak et al 2009:49). South *Afrikan* participants at 88% interestingly, gave it the highest rating. Reasons for this, are disappointingly not provided but it would have been interesting for the author of the study, to have been able, to take note of them.

If peer reviewed journals define the state of knowledge in a field, then *IR* is not a single discipline. American based *political science* journals such as *APSR*, *AJPS* and *JOP*, are predictably more prominent in the United States, than elsewhere. The divergence of opinion, regarding the European journals, is even greater: *Millennium* is ranked as the 3rd most important journal in S.A and is listed, as one of the *top 4 journals* by 24% of *British IR scholars*; yet this same journal is apparently unread and unrated, in Hong Kong and Singapore and is only considered, to be in the *top 4*, by only 3% of *US scholars* (Maliniak et al 2009:50).

As further speculated below:

Perhaps the biggest transatlantic disconnect revolves around the *British International Studies Association's* flagship journal “*Review of International Studies*”, which is mentioned by 47% of U.K scholars (and 53% of New Zealand readers), but only 4% of *U.S* scholars. The conflicting assessments of *JCR* may be driven, by the relative popularity of *quantitative methods in the USA*, *Israel* and *Ireland*, as compared to the UK, Australia, SA and New Zealand (Maliniak et al 2009:50).

In addition to all the above

It is noticed that within the United States *IR* community, there is some movement, among the top journals. *APSR* rises, from position 6 to position 4. It is assumed, that this might be as a consequence of publishing more *IR* research, over the past 6 years and because the new editor, is a prominent *IR* scholar, *Ronald Rogowski*. *World Politics* is headed, in the opposite direction, probably because it is publishing less *IR* (when it publishes at all) and continues its decline from number 4 in 2004 (37%), to number 5 in 2006 (30%) to number 6 in 2008 (29%). The *European Journal of International Relations* maintains a solid reputation, among American *IR* scholars and remains locked, at number 9, on the list. There are two non-peer reviewed publications, in the *top 10 journals*, *Foreign Affairs*, which holds steady at around 30% and *Foreign Policy*, which has improved from 2004 (14%) to 2006 (16%) to 2008 when 20% of American scholars, listed it as a *top 4 journal*.

For the author of this study it is interesting to note, how much respect, is given to the top ranked journals, by all the participating countries, especially because South Afrika (*the only Afrikan country*), registered the highest amount of interest at 88%, regarding the *International Organization Journal*. In posing the question, of how much of *Afrocentric* or perhaps *Africanist's IR* scholar's work feature, in this particular journal, perhaps such a question may assist, in explaining such a high percentage.

Given the limited space set for this study, that question may, at best given the confines of this study, remain food for thought. A note here may be highlighted, that the majority of these highly ranked journals, appear to be headquartered, in the *West*, specifically in America. A trend here should be noted of *IR* (at least in the contemporary phase), being an overly *American didactic dish*, served to the *World community*. May *Afrocentricity* have any say, in all the above? Well, that remains to be seen, as this study progresses.

In stemming from the following background above, the following remark as paraphrased below, by *Maliniak et al* (2007:15) stipulates that

there is no *hegemonic paradigm*, within the discipline of *IR*, at least not as reflected, in the articles being published, in the major journals. Instead, *IR* scholars continue to employ a wide variety of *paradigms* and theories, to guide their research. We may have *normal science*, taking place within specific *paradigms*, in other words, but there is little sign, of any particular paradigm, establishing a dominant position, in a *Kuhnian* sense (Kuhn 1970).

Finally with the future of *IR* in mind, after having made mention of paradigms of *IR* (which included *Realism, Idealism, Liberalism, Historical Structuralism and Critical Theory*) the author of this study, thought it important, to record some comment, towards the findings regarding *epistemology* of *IR* scholars. *Epistemology*, to be understood here as being “Theory of the method or grounds of knowledge” (Fowler and Fowler, 1964: 408). An important finding, by

Maliniak et al (2007:17) seems to be, that unlike with the *paradigms of IR*, in as far as its *epistemology* is concerned, *Positivist* research, appears to be dominant, in the present *IR* scholarly community (refer back to *Table 1.3*).

Moreover according to the findings, a trend is noted which indicates that *IR* scholars, associated with this category, instead of declining, their popularity in the contrary, seemed to be on the rise. This finding thus enforces the reason, why the author of this study, had to reserve a word regarding *epistemology*, because of what its possible implications, for the future of *IR* entailed.

Though a *Positivist epistemological* approach, is defined as “The theory that social and indeed all forms of enquiry should adhere strictly to the methods of the natural sciences.” (Heywood, 2007:456), in the context of this study, the following disclaimer has been expressed

Our definition for *Positivism*, which we elaborate in the codebook, would likely not pass muster with *philosophers of science*; however, we attempted to capture the meaning of *Positivism* as it is used in the *IR* discipline. The language in the codebook reads: We code articles as *positivist* if they implicitly or explicitly assume that *theoretical* or *empirical propositions* are testable, make causal claims, seek to explain and predict phenomena, assume that research is supported by empirical means, and aspire to the use of a *scientific method*. Generally, these articles present and develop theory, derive hypotheses from their *theory*, and test them using data (empirical observations from the world). However, we code an article as *Positivist*, even when it does not explicitly employ the *scientific method*, if scientific principles are used to judge the validity of a study or the author is defending a concept of *Social Science* that uses these methods to establish knowledge claims. We also code an article as *positivist* if it describes, a scientific research project – such as *POLITY*, *COW*, *KEDS*, or *TRIP*-and/or explains coding rules and evidence collection procedures. Although these articles do not test hypotheses, make causal claims, or use evidence to make inferences, they clearly are part of a *positivist* research agenda (Maliniak et al (2007:17)).

The comment below provides details to support the abovementioned observation

American *IR* scholars are more likely than academics from other countries, with the exception of *Israel and Singapore*, to describe their work as *positivist*, although Ireland and Singapore are close behind the United States. A majority of academics from the *U.K, Canada, Australia, New Zealand* and *South Africa*, reported that their research was either *non-positivist* or *post-positivist*, while

only 35% of *U.S* respondents, said their research, could be categorized as such. The conventional wisdom, suggested by the *TRIP* researchers, is that evidence of a substantial *epistemological* divide, exists among *IR* scholars; with the deepest cleft being between the American academy and *IR* scholars, in the United Kingdom, Australia and South Afrika (Maliniak et al (2007:17).

So what may be the reasons, which may support such a rise of *positivist thought*? A response to this question is partly explained by mention of “a decline in *atheoretic* articles, that appear frequently in the 1980’s” (Maliniak et al, 2007:17). So in the affirmation that the “*TRIP* faculty survey provides strong evidence that *IR*, in the United States is *overwhelmingly positivist* (and the demographic data, suggests that it will become even more *positivist* as older scholars retire), but the survey data, actually understates the extent, to which the *positivist epistemology*, dominates journal publications” (authors emphasis) (Maliniak et al, 2007:16). With specific percentages at 58% in 1980 to 90% in 2006.

3.4 British International Studies Association (BISA)

3.4.1 BISA: An Historical Overview

Having dedicated, so much space to *ISA*, some effort, was also to be reserved, for *BISA*. Amongst other worrying characteristics, the *boys choir*¹⁹⁶ syndrome (as earlier pointed out, by *Susan Strange, Elshtain and hooks et al*) also notably stands out. When compared to *ISA*, *BISA* is a much younger organisation, beginning its historical narrarive from as recent as 1973¹⁹⁷. From its website, scholars learn that

British International Studies Association (BISA) was proposed by the British Coordinating Committee for International Studies (*BCCIS*) in 1973, following much debate and discussion, about creating, a mutli disciplinary forum, for the study of international affairs. In Jan 1974, an inaugural meeting, was held at the *14th Bailey Conference*, on International Studies, at the *University of Surrey*, and at that time, a draft interim constitution was agreed. The first, interim executive committee was: *Professor A Buchan* Chairman, *RJ Jones* Secretary, *Susan Strange* Treasurer, *Professor PA Reynolds*, *Professor G Goodwin*, *Professor D Wrightman*, *Dr CM Mason*, *Dr T Taylor*, *Professor A James* and *Professor J Spence*.

The above *founding team*, proposed that *BISA*, should strive, to be relevant, by serving the needs and reflecting interests, of those pursuing research and teaching of *IR*, particularly at the postgraduate level. The cornerstone of achieving such goals, was believed to have relied upon the emphasis, which should be placed, on the facilitation of contact, between scholars. From the abovementioned quote, an immediate notice, of the same characteristics, as was observed in the *ISA* executive, should be noted. Given that *Susan Strange*, appears to be the solitary *Female*, an overwhelming group, of *elite, white male hegemony*, is thus once again, registered here.

Just for the record, the abovementioned *Strange* is the same *Susan Strange*, who was at *Warwick University*, when she would later become, the president of *ISA*, during the *1995-1996* tenure. So after her passing, in October *1998*, the *Susan Strange Book Prize* may justifiably appear, to the many affiliates of *BISA*, as a fitting tributary accolade, in her honour.

Another founding committee member, who was also bestowed, a similar honour, was *Michael Nicholson*, of which the prize named in his honour, has been specifically referred to, as the *Michael Nicholson Doctoral Thesis Prize*. For the record, this is the same *Michael Nicholson*, whose definition of *IR*, was quoted in the beginning of the *second chapter*, of this study as noted from his book titled *Formal theories in international relations*. *Nicholson* unlike *Strange*, was part of those founding members, that were co-opted, at the first Executive meeting, on the *23rd of January 1974*. The other members included *I MacGibbon*, *Colin Cherry*, *Dilks* and *P Oppenheimer*. The *boys choir syndrome*, a justifiable concern raised by the *Feminist IR theorists* (eg. *J.A Tickner* and *hooks* et al, as earlier captured in this study), disappointingly continued to haunt *BISA*, as it grew.

One of the other important resolutions, taken from the meeting above, was the date and theme, of the first annual general meeting of *BISA*. Under the theme *New Dimensions of Foreign Policy*, hosted at *Lincoln College, Oxford*, on the second of January 1975, the official formation of *BISA* was thus realized. It was from this, opening conference wherein, the *British Journal of International Studies* was established, with *J.E Spence*, as its first editor. Furthermore *BISA's* Interim Constitution, was amended and adopted. To cap it all off, the same leadership committee, was thus elected, to serve, until the forthcoming conference.

With the second AGM, hosted at *Birmingham University* on the 17th of December 1975, it was reported that *BISA*, had acquired charitable status. This milestone was also followed, by the publication, of the first volume, of the *BISA* journal. Notably by that second meeting, membership had increased, from *eighty* members in the last AGM to *one-hundred and seventy* members. To date *BISA* is believed, to have an international membership, stretching across forty countries. In addition to the journal, a newsletter was proposed, to run for a year on trial purposes, under *Trevor Taylor*, as its editor. To date *BISA* publications include, the *Review of International Studies*, *International Studies Today* which is a biannual bulletin and there is also, collaboration with *Cambridge University Press*, on the Book Series referred to as *Cambridge Studies in International Relations*.

From the current tenure (2011-2012), the president of *BISA* is *Stuart Croft*, author of *International Relations and Afrika* (1996). *BISA's* national office is currently based, at the *Aberystwyth University*, which is hosted by the *Department of International Politics*. The author of this study, recalls that *Scott Burchill* (1996:4) and *William Wallace* (1996:80), whom were quoted in the *second chapter* of this study, informed fellow *IR* scholars, from their respective texts, that it was at *Aberystwyth University*, where *IR* as an academic discipline in 1919, was formally initiated.

So from the above background, *BISA* (being based in the UK) and *ISA* (being based in America), may be read, as two separate organisations, related to *IR* however they both share the same goals, with regards to *IR*. According to the author of this study, *critics may correctly raise the Anglo-American flag*, being renewed in contemporary fashion, in the form of such scholarly organisations.

For the author of this study, the abovementioned criticism may, given its own meritorious argument, be read as a *mirror of contemporary IR*. From their respective list of members and *modus operandi*, for the author of this study, both these organisations should be read, as being nothing else, but *two sides of the same coin*.

3.4.2 A glimpse of the *BISA Afrika Working Group*

According to its *home page*, on its website, *BISA Afrika and International Studies Working Group* stipulates that

The *Afrika and International Studies Working Group* was formally established, in the summer of 2007. The Group aims to provide a forum, in which to bring together, a diverse range of scholars, to discuss and debate: substantive issues arising from a study of *Afrika* and 'the *international*'; theoretical and conceptual debates, about the relationship between generalities of the discipline, of *International Studies* and *Afrikan* historically-based specificities; and ideas about the relationship of issues and theory, in the pedagogy of *International Studies* in and of *Afrika*.

Since inception, membership of this group has been steadily growing, with an estimated figure of just over *one hundred and forty members*, from around the world. Members of this group have, to date, been very active participants, at the respective annual *BISA* and *ISA* colloquia. The closest one to the author of this study, having been at *Stellenbosch University* (Western Cape, South Afrika¹⁹⁸). The *detour to Lumumba* confronting the ghost of *King Leopold II*¹⁹⁹, below however may be more appropriate, in as far as the goals of this study are concerned. This group

has also organized, a number of their own workshops, where platforms for conference papers, *have been* and appear to *still continue*, to be written and presented. Against such a backdrop, initiatives such as *Afrika's 100 best books of the 20th Century*²⁰⁰ need to be highly recommended.

After having secured *ESRC* funds, to host the *Research Seminar* series in 2011, on *African Agency in International Politics*, under the leadership of City University's *Sophie Harman* and Open University's *William Brown*, the progress on this series, was overall, concluded to have been satisfactory. The question one may pose at this stage may be 'if satisfactory, to who/m?'

All the planned five seminars, under the given title *Afrikan Agency Seminar Series* (which has a slot in the website), ran successfully throughout 2011. The initial host was *City University* (UK) followed by *Birmingham University*, interestingly ranked at 22nd spot on *Simon Hix's Top 200 political Science departments* (UK), *University of Kent* (UK), *Stellenbosch University* (Western Cape, South Afrika) and the last host, was *Chatham House* (UK).

While still on *William Brown*, the following commentary (although made in passing) is due, towards his infamous article titled *Afrika and international relations: a comment on IR theory, anarchy and statehood* (2006). In as much as the positive role played by *Brown*, as hopefully stipulated above, the author of this study takes issue with *Brown's* effort of *mounting something of a qualified defence of the current IR theory* (Brown, 2006). His argument that stipulates that "in order to explore the relevance of *IR theory* to *Afrika*, we need to distinguish between *neorealism*, which is the real target of the critics fire and other strands of *IR theory* and this will assist in revealing the relevance of the other theoretical standpoints" (Brown, 2006).

As noble as *Brown's* intentions may seem to have been, he appears to have missed the point completely, of an *alleged absence* or *lack of acknowledgement* of any possible *Afrikan*

contribution to IR. The views, as expressed in his article, of downplaying this overall concern, by *rationalizing down* and limiting discussion, down to the level of a defence of *Neorealism* and exploring the concepts of *state* and *anarchy*, merely consolidate and renew the hegemonic grip of *Westerncentric* discourse in *IR*. Throughout this paper, the status of the *hegemonic Westerncentric* voice, has been repeatedly found, to be the core challenge which needs to be overcome, in the generic scholarship of *IR*.

Given the responsibility entrusted upon him, as the convenor of the *BISA Afrika Working* since its inception in 2007, according to the author of this study, it is highly doubtful, that from such a condescending and short-sighted view(s), observed from the article under discussion, the task entrusted upon him alongside his colleagues, appears to be executed satisfactorily, only in so far as administration is concerned. *Brown* has raised doubts, as to the reasons why he has taken up such *historical responsibility* (especially since he also fits the typical profile of the problematic *hegemonic white male voice* in *IR*). All this makes a mockery of efforts, aimed at addressing the very ghosts of the *parochial, white male and overly Eurocentric IR* voice. In a one word summary, the author of this study feels *disappointed*.

3.4.3 Lest we forget- a detour: *Lumumba* confronts the ghost of *King Leopold II*

Immediate notice may be observed here, that all but one (which was *Stellenbosch University*), of the hosting institutions, is based in *Afrika* -*South Afrika* (precisely located within the province of *Western Cape*). In the light of the pursuit of the goals of this group, what may such a pattern represent? Has *Harman* and *Brown* (amongst other conveners of such initiatives, to do with *Afrika*, but spearheaded by *Westerners/Afrikanists*), of this working group, taken the place of *Bismarck et al*? For others, perhaps turning towards the colonialist *King Leopold II of Belgium*, before the eventual colonisation of the *Congo*, might be a more appropriate reference. “A meeting on international geography, took place in 1876 in Brussels, Belgium. Amongst its objectives, it stipulated three main projects: the exploration of Central *Afrika*, the introduction of European civilization...” (Mudimbe, 1994:105).

From the amount of brutal conquest pursued, in the name of *Christianity*, as carried out, as part of a mandate by *Roman Catholic missionaries*, obeying direct orders from

Pope Pius IX (1846-78), the pontiff who...already expressed his benevolent and sympathetic attention, for the *oeuvre civilisatrice* of *Leopold II*, in writing to *Baron d' Anethan*, the Belgian representative, in the *Vatican*...In fact, the *Vatican*, after losing its temporal power in Europe, still wished to expand *Catholicism* elsewhere and in *Afrika*, it relied on *Leopold* (Mudimbe,1994:106).

From the above, it may be pointed out, that from the amount of damage achieved, both physically and metaphysically upon the *Congolese*, the main colonialist architect *Leopold II* behind the scheme, never even once, set foot in the contentious *Congo*. Although *Leopold the II*, never saw the repercussions, upon the psyches of the overpowered *Congolese folk*, whom were victims of his physical and metaphysical brutality, in the name of colonialisation (because he opted to be limited to updates and reports, from his subjects, thus truly subscribing to the imperialist's *modus operandi*), one of his descendants however would come face to face, with the *Afrocentric* voice of *Lumumba*. The embarrassment and panic felt, would later lead to the evil plot of assassinating, the prolific *Pan-Afrikanist* activist *Lumumba*.

An idea of the amount of suffering felt by the *Congolese* people, is captured in this *June 30, 1960* independence day speech, below:

For this independence of the *Congo*, even as it is celebrated today with Belgium, a friendly country, with whom we deal as equal to equal, no *Congolese* worthy of the name, will ever be able to forget, that it was by fighting, that it has been won [applause], a day-to-day fight, an ardent and idealistic fight, a fight in which we were spared neither privation nor suffering, and for which we gave our strength and our blood. We are proud of this struggle, of tears, of fire, and of blood, to the depths of our being, for it was a noble and just struggle, and indispensable to put an end, to the humiliating slavery, which was imposed upon us by force. This was our fate for *80 years* of a colonial regime; our wounds are too fresh and too painful, still for us to drive them, from our memory. We have known harassing work, exacted in exchange for salaries, which did not permit us to eat enough, to drive away hunger, or to clothe ourselves, or to house ourselves decently, or to raise our children as creatures, dear to us (Lumumba, 1960).

If ever some form of thought was spared, by *Joseph Conrad* when writing his denigration of *Afrika*, in what has to date become his notorious *colonially influenced novel/canon Heart of Darkness (1899)*, that someday from among those “strange beings jumping up and down on the river bank, making horrid faces...” (Achebe, 1990) in the forests of the Congo, a voice such as that of *Lumumba’s*, from amongst a plethora of others, would not just simply emerge and be heard, judging from *Lumumba’s* remarks above. The echo of the message of such a *Pan-Afrikanist* voice, would cut right across, the murky and distorted filled suburbia of *Eurocentric* driven *falsehood* and claim its rightful place, in the *Pan-Afrikan* family home. From such a location, it could thus be able to *speak truth to power*, thus living upto the *Afrocentric clarion* call.

Given the amount of insults that *Afrika* and *Afrikans* have had to endure, why should it matter that bespectacled scholars, mostly from the descendants of *Conrad* and *Leopold’s* hue, who *do not* and most probably, *will most likely* vehemently vow, never to subscribe to *Afrocentricity*, may raise the point of clarity, from what has been stipulated above. By raising concern that the existence of the *postcolonial canon*, was nothing but a reaction, to the *colonial canon*, hence two wrongs do not make a right. For the author of this study, the following *Afrocentrist* provides a fitting response, to such *clarity-seeking* concern(s)

...I have neither the time nor energy, nor the disposition to worry about miseducation, on that side of the colour line. Let them do the worrying. We have more than enough to occupy our minds...we the oppressed have to uproot the fences...To wait and constantly to react, to what is done to us, is eventually self –demeaning. We have to apply our collective intelligence to...aggressively promote our sense of becoming (Mphahlele, 1986).

It is from this *Pan-Afrikan* location, in what *Mphahlele* explained as a *sense of becoming* wherein he located “the centre of any educational effort” (Mphahlele, 1986), that epistemological issues regarding the current colonially scripted education, may be engaged. According to the author of this study, it is from such a vantage point, wherein *Afrocentrists* could continuously reconnect, with their forebearers.

To recall what had transpired in the guise of *colonisation* and *imperialism*. Yes, indeed from those very same *uncivilized savages*, as depicted by texts such as *Conrads*, alongside others such as Joyce Cary's *Mister Johnson* (1939) wherein a galaxy of star-studded *Pan-Afrikanist* voices, who may be read as descendants of *Conrad's cannibals*, captured from the *colonial canon*, have advanced their claim to *write back to the center*. It is such *historicist* efforts, which are supported and promoted by *Afrocentrists*.

It is from the above generation of *Pan-Afrikanists* ranging from *Mphahlele, Achebe and Ngugi Wa Thiong'o* amongst others, almost all impressively articulate as *Afrocentric* voices, henceforth worthwhile contributors to the envisioned *Afrocentric* connection and thus boldly adding to Lumumba's voice, by *speaking back* to the voices of the assumed *center*, such as those represented by *literary colonialist Joseph Conrad*. In the process of their response, to the imperialist voices, which historically have been read, as annoying, in their renewal of the distorting echo, as heard and read from the *colonially* driven *Westerncentric canon(s)*, the aspiring *Afrocentrists* in turn, have created an impressive *Pan-Afrikan/ postcolonial* library, to date.

The on-going conflict however to inspire and encourage even their own *Afrikan* target audience, to read stories intended, to inform and empower, fellow *Afrikans* about themselves (sadly amongst other reasons) remains a psychological battle, which is yet to be conquered. From such voices, a realization that getting onto *Marlowe's* boat, as realized by *Achebe* further below (which symbolized, an act of rejecting your own culture, in favour of being like the *colonizer*, thus adopting *foreign culture* as your own), *was not* and *indeed should never have been*, the ambition of those, whom have been *oppressed*. Thought(s) of *oppression* beyond the physical, stretched to include *systematic imposed oppression* (e.g. *capitalist, imperialist, Christianization* etc). So in further discussion wherein *Afrocentricity* is proposed, *systematic oppression* should be kept in mind.

Writing in the introduction of the 2008 edition of *Albert Chinualumogu Achebe's* classic text *Things Fall Apart*, which is recognized as one of *Afrika's 100 best books of the 20th Century*, *Mpalive-Hangson Msiska*²⁰¹ comments as follows

Things Fall Apart stretches the novel form, to create a space for the authentic *Afrikan* subject and his or her world. It seeks to go beyond the colonial depiction of grunting 'savages' and 'cannibals' with no language or cultural and historical links to their physical environment and , as such, it reverses the colonial gaze, in order to reveal an essential humanity, that the colonial novel either deliberately elided or repressed or was incapable of articulating. This blindness to the *Afrikan* reality was not natural, but a consequence of an ideological legitimation, of the colonial project (Msiska, 2008: i).

In continuation *Msiska* (2008: ii) further informs readers that "Achebe arrived at the above position by learning, to read the *colonial canon* differently and uncovering its underlying ideological subtext". To illustrate this point, *Msiska* (2008) paraphrases *Achebe* below

I read lots of English books... I did not see myself as an *Afrikan* to begin with. I took sides with the *white men* against the savages... But a time came when I...realized...I was not on *Marlowe's* boat steaming up the Congo in *Heart of Darkness*. I was one of those strange beings, jumping up and down on the river bank, making horrid faces... That is when I realized that stories are not innocent (Achebe, 1990:7).

The spirit of *Afrocentricity* ensures that *Lumumba's* words above, did not die with him. The story of *Blyden's* and *Sirleaf's* Liberia, *Lumumba's* and *Mudimbe's* Congo, *Biko* and *Mphahlele's* South Afrika, *Achebe* and *Chinweizu's* Nigeria, *Kenyatta* and *Wa Thiong'o's* Kenya, *Ki-Zerbo* and *Sankara's* Burkina Faso and lastly *Marechera* and *Mugabe's* Zimbabwe are afterall, microcosms of most, of the imperialistically constructed states in *Afrika*.

The plight of the pioneering *Afrocentrists* in the diaspora, such as *Du Bois*, *CLR James*, *Frederick Douglas*, *Walter Rodney*, *Van Sertima* is also included. Dehumanizing acts such as those, of the massive enforced exodus of the slave trade, cannot simply be wished away and

forgotten. As descendants of the historically enslaved, *Afrocentrists* have a duty to *jog the minds* of not just their *kith and kin*, within *Afrika* and throughout the *Afrikan Diaspora* but the entire global community. When such a mission is carried out successfully, the respective distorted legacies of *Bismarck and Leopold et al*, would have been overcome by the defiant *Pan-Afrikan spirit*, as already on display by livewire *Afrocentrists*, in the mould of *Lumumba et al*.

3.4.4 Driving back towards the ambiguous *ISA* and *BISA* conundrum

In short, in consideration of what has been stated in the *detour* above, are the leaders of this *IR and Afrika working group* engaged, in a renewal, of what may be classified, as a form of *Neo-colonialism*? Judging from the overwhelming *Africanists*, partaking in such contemporary ventures-both those spearheading, such initiatives and the majority of the cohort of *IR* scholars, who have been active participants, in such forums, may also add their voices of agreement, with those that may respond, in the affirmative, to the above posed question. It thus remains the argument of the author of this study that *Afrocentricity*, which is the driving doctrine sought to be upheld, by the author of this study, needs to thus be advanced in such well meaning pedagogically presumed conventions. In the interest of this study, this is in order for the desired *Afrocentric* perspectives, believed to be absent, within the *Mainstream* discourse of *IR*, to secure a fitting platform, wherein space to articulate their respective expressions, may be placed on record. Hopefully this may contribute, towards the much needed and desired growth of *IR*.

When looking at the forthcoming events, in the *2012* calendar year, not much difference, appeared to be expected. This is particularly the case, in as far as the inclusion of *Afrocentric* insight (s), from such convention(s), was concerned. This is especially stated at this juncture in the event, that the same pattern and trends noticed, wherein such engagement has been hosted, since *2007* when the *BISA Afrika group* was launched, is anything to go by.

Given the background of *ISA* and *BISA*, *Afrocentric* inclined *IR* scholars, may have been optimistic, that the recently hosted *BISA-ISA Joint international Conference* (hosted from *Wednesday 20th of June to Friday 22nd of June 2012*, in Edinburgh (Scotland-UK), may have attempted to address the theme of *Afrocentricity and IR*. In hindsight this was unfortunately not the case, therefore not much difference from the past *BISA* nor *ISA* conventions was captured. A typical sad case of ‘in as much as things claim to change, they bitterly remain ever stubbornly the same’. It cannot be emphasized enough, that perpetuating such a *status-quo*, should be discouraged by encouraging amongst others, an exploration of an *Afrocentrist* paradigm shift, within the context of *IR* study.

In the upcoming month after the conference mentioned above, a *Working Group Funded Workshop*, on *Thursday 19 July - Friday 20 July 2012*, at *Queen Mary University of London (UK)*, was also on the cards. The *Eurocentric* regional emphasis, where *BISA* events are hosted (Sliema, Malta-2006, San Diego California-March 22nd 2007, University of Leicester 14th-16th December 2009, Budapest, Hungary 3-6 June and the 2011 conference, which was eventually cancelled, was due to be hosted in Buxton, UK) may perhaps be read, from the angle that *BISA*, is after all a British association. Once again *master-narratives* concerning the *colonized* were continuously eloquently discussed, lucidly in the *colonial master's* own space of comfort. Once again *bell hooks*, *Lumumba*, *Frantz Fanon* and *Mphahlele et al's* respective concerns, as elaborately raised earlier on, appear to be constantly re-affirmed.

Given the mission and goal(s) of the abovementioned working group (s) (*BISA* and *BISA-ISA*), the author of this study, finds the abovementioned rationale as raised in the previous paragraph to be as, typical of *Eurocentric* influenced pedagogic arrogance and ignorance. A classic case of the *Eurocentric* driven *status-quo*, being perpetuated and promoted even further. Such *Eurocentric* views informing the discourse of *IR*, disturbingly consolidates *parochial analysis (master-narratives-from master's own back yard)*. For the author of this study, the concerns raised by

hooks earlier, seem to echo here: *elitism, classism, sexism, racism, exploratory systematic capitalism and supremacist ideology.*

It is the contention, of the author of this study, that for as long as absence of *Afrocentric insight* remains unexplored by *IR* scholars, such platforms (based on misplaced priorities serving interests of the hegemonic few *Westerners* eg. focusing solely on projects, which may have economic benefits (funds related to influencing or defending aspects of *USA* or *UK's* foreign policy), as a result of amongst others the *Capitalist system*) remains missing, in such *IR* forums, conversations renewed, would only be representative, of those voices, from the *Africanists* camp. This can only secure, another category of *parochial* views, vividly existent in *IR*. This time in addition to the *Anglo-American* views, the second category could be of *Africanist* views. It is the contention of the author of this study, wherein this should be read, as being equally problematic.

The modus-operandi of the *BISA Afrika Working Group*, appears to be a typical case, of being interested in *Afrikans* and *Afrika*, yet ironically limiting engagement amongst fellow *Africanists* (who as *hooks* (1988) reminded readers, may be no different to the *college educated white Females*, who formed the *Feminist movement* in America). From such *supremacist thought, Eurocentrically driven* and endorsed via the *systematic might of Capitalism*, through the falsehood, of the dual spirits of *Modernity* and *Postmodernity* projects, it remains the researcher of this study's view that even other *Afrocentric IR* scholars, may neither be *attracted to affiliate* (to the *join them, if you cannot beat them* train of thought- a pitifully defeatist attitude) nor participate with glee, in such obscure forums, which perpetuate the *Westerncentric scholarly Worldview*. Subscription to such forums also possibly carries the fear of rendering aspiring *IR scholars*, who differ from *Mainstream IR thought*, to be criticized and singled out as sellouts.

For the author of this study, it is only by virtue, of what *hooks*, referred to as *the need for engagement*, the task of finding *new ways to address the questions of racism, patriarchy,*

classism and *mastery narratives*, which may hopefully, chart the much needed hope, as part of the way forward for *IR*. It is from such a premise, that an *Afrocentric* scholar of *IR*, would see the need, of participating without any reservations, in the *ISA* and *BISA* colloquia.

The hidden internalized violence, should be noted here, which acts as a compelling agent, for the need of such action, to be taken up, in order for the sought *international* growth of *IR*, to be achieved. In the interest of this study, *Es'kia Mphahlele's* message, expressed in the text titled *Afrika My Music (1984)* suggests how to *Afrikanise* our education. These selected words as paraphrased below, should be recalled. By adjourning this chapter, with these carefully selected words, as derived from the abovementioned text, seems to be crucial for the author of this study.

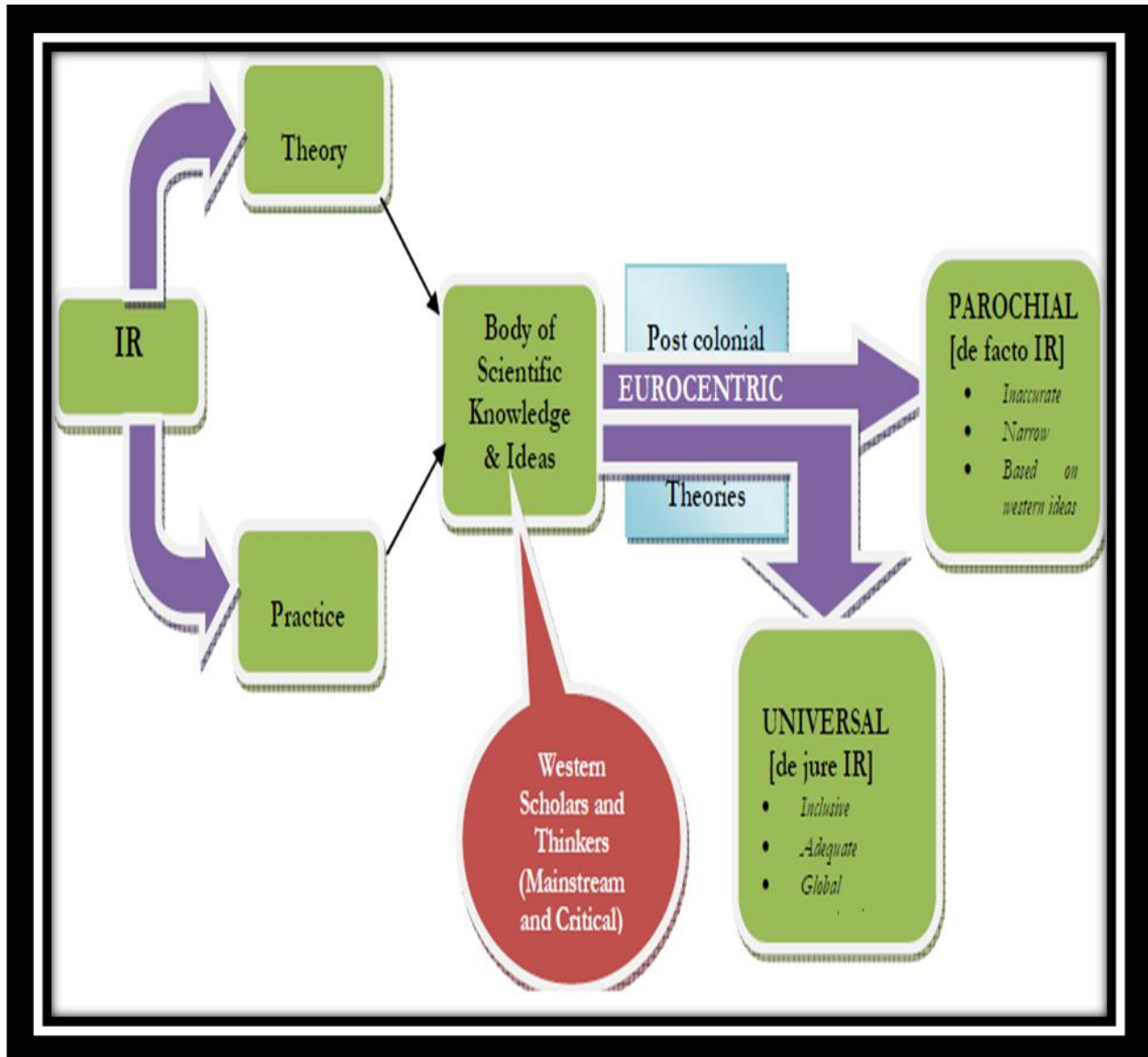
Simphiwe Sesanti in his paper, delivered at the *ZEKE in Y2K Conference* (hosted in February 2001) paraphrases *Mphahlele*, who was advising the newly elected South *Afrikan* government, under the presidency of Nelson Mandela on the theme of *Afrikanising our education* “I tell them something about *Afrikan humanism*. I suggest how, if our *education system* is based on this philosophy, it will truly express, our independence of mind, a decolonized mind” (*Mphahlele, 1984:209*). For *Mphahlele* the above reminder was crucial, on the grounds that

in every colonized person there are two selves: the indigenous (traditional) self and the other self imposed by the colonizer. The two come closer to each other and move away from each other by turns. The wise man tries to unite the two...He thinks deeply about the combination so that he can understand himself better, where he comes from, where he is today and what has happened to him, and where he is going (*Mphahlele,1975*).

So after all that has been captured, about *IR*, the figure below captures the core data, to be recalled. Note the key words of *Eurocentric, Mainstream and Parochial* (inaccurate, narrow, based on *Eurocentric* ideas). All the unhealthy ingredients, forming the body of *IR*, are graphically *stripped bare* for all to see. The elaborate expressions of *Tickner, hooks et al*, on the emphasis concerning patriarchy, could be the only other features, to be added in the *diagram*

below. Factors concerning the *class struggle, race/racism, gender/sexist, exclusivist language* all fit into this succinctly tabulated summary.

Figure 1.2: IR discipline summarized



Source: Mgonja and Makombe, African Journal of Political Science and International Relations, Vol.3 (1) pp.29, January, 2009).

In closure the prolonged absence of *Afrocentric* insight, which may be related to *IR* (theory), clearly remains a case of *not yet uhuru*.

Chapter 4: Marginalization of *Afrika* in *IR* (Theory):

Assumption or Reality?

Afrika was “an unhistorical continent, with no movement or development of its own” (Hegel, 1975 [1822]: 142²⁰²).

‘[M]y map of *Afrika* lies in Europe. Here is Russia, and here... is France, and we are in the middle; that is my map of *Afrika*’ (Bismarck, 1871-1890²⁰³).

This chapter seeks to record and preview, what past scholars of *IR*, whom have also demonstrated interest, in the central question(s) of this study: A) does an *Afrikan contribution to IR* (theory) exist? B) If so, what may be such contribution(s) – (namely doctrines or characteristics, which may inform such theories, would highly be recommended). The style adopted by the author of this study, for this particular chapter is to provide, by way of chronological order, various literature reviews, from various texts (books and articles) pertaining to the area of study, in question.

The core point of this chapter, was intended to assist the author of this study, to firstly be familiar with the views of past *IR* scholars, whom have also taken interest in the theme in question- *Afrika’s contribution to IR*. Secondly from the recorded views, the author of this study, could thus hopefully be enabled, to apply one’s mind, to the variety of expressed views captured. In the light of detailed data, as recorded in the *second* and *third chapters* respectively, the suggested literature review, on offer in this chapter, is believed to provide an adequate opportunity, for the author of this study, to also arrive at a more informed conclusion, of whether or not there is/has been an *Afrikan contribution to IR*.

Proposed insight on offer in this chapter, is firstly of particular interest to the author of this study, because it should ideally capture, the contemporary views of *IR* scholars, found as relevant for

this study. Secondly *IR* scholars belonging to the earlier mentioned *Africanist(s)* or *Afrocentrist(s)* camps, may also be suss(ed) out, on the basis of the premise, of their respective content.

4.1 General *IR* scholars speak out: mini literature reviews and general comments

The following somewhat pessimistic/choking voices, capture the overall worrisome tone, picked up by the author of this study, in reference to *IR* scholars general comments, on the theme of *Afrika and IR*. The first scholars stipulate as follows “We recognize that there are a number of monographs, that examine *Afrika*’s interstate politics with a discerning eye, but many of them, have an outsider’s perspective” (Keller and Rothchild, 1996: ix²⁰⁴). Enormous pessimism was captured, from the comment of this next scholar “In a word, I gave up *Afrikan* studies because I found it depressing (Kitching, 2000:2²⁰⁵). Lastly with much caution exercised, this third scholar argued that “*Afrika* has always been impacted by, but also responded to ‘global’ relations (Shaw, 2008:1²⁰⁶).

With the above voices in mind, the two core questions of this study are worth being repeated at this point, *has there been any Afrocentric contribution towards IR? If so, what examples may be named?* This chapter seeks to attempt, to respond to such key questions, by registering some of the views, of general *IR* scholars (amongst others including those, who have been active, in *BISA* and *ISA* forums). Since this study, is conducted in South *Afrika*, focus will thus shift, to articles that were predominantly drawn from *IR* practioners, plying their trade within South *Afrika*. Other equally significant scholars, from elsewhere found to be relevant, will also be considered.

4.1.1 Robert Smith on diplomacy in Pre-colonial West *Afrika* (1973²⁰⁷)

In his article titled *Peace and Palaver: International Relations in Pre-Colonial West Afrika*. Robert Smith (1973) seems adamant to prove that

Despite the unwritten nature of law in *Afrika*, and of many of the historical sources, there is abundant evidence of formal relations at the highest governmental levels between the different people's of West *Afrika* in the pre-colonial period, and there is even some evidence of the existence of an inter-states system (Smith,1973:599).

Prior to the claim made from the last quote, much to the interest, of the author of this study, discussion in this article, was advanced under the topic of “*Customary law as International law*” (Smith, 1973:599). This scholar acknowledges and observes the following, key points, from the outset

So far as individuals within a community are concerned, conduct in the intermediate ground is regulated by the law, of that community. But tension and negotiation between communities, as states, subordinate bodies, or their individual members, fall within the province of ‘international law’, while the whole field constitutes that of ‘*international relations*’. Both *international law* and *international relations* are concepts, evolved in *Western Europe*, where they have been the subjects of much study, but as yet they have been, hardly touched upon by students, of the indigenous institutions of pre-colonial *Afrika* and of their histories (Smith, 1973:599).

Having made the above observation *Smith* (1973) sets out to support his argument of the existence of ‘*international relations*’ activity, which has taken place in pre-colonial West *Afrika*. *Smith* (1973) mainly does this by drawing concrete examples, which in his argument may be found as fitting, to be recognized as forming part of the current professional practice of diplomacy. Throughout the article, *Smith* (1973) presents some examples, which support his abovementioned claim and then examines, the relations and inherent characteristics found, in order for a “comparison to be made with the international system elsewhere” (Smith, 1973:599).

Going forward, the narrative in this article, raises scepticism associated, with the use of the noted terms, such as *Afrikan law* or *Afrikan customary law* and considerations, of some external influences, on the practice of *international relations* in West *Afrika*. Direct reference is made here to the Islamic influence and then *West European* influence. Overall *Smith* (1973:620) wraps up his article, as follows

The similarities of the *West Afrikan* to the *West European system*, especially as the latter was before, the emergence of the nation state and of permanent diplomacy, about the time of the Renaissance, are striking...*International relations* in pre-colonial *West Afrika* were conducted in accordance with customary law, which exhibited broadly, similar characteristics over a wide area. Trade and politics, linking the coast, the forest and the savannah, led to the development of diplomacy, in the more centrally-organized states... The indigenous system of international relations, was affected by two major external influences. The first that of Islam...The second that of *Western Europe* (Smith, 1973:620).

Although *Robert Smith's* article is separated, into the following subheadings *Customary Law as International Law*, *Inter-Afrikan relations and Islamic* and lastly *West European influence; written record and continuous diplomacy*, the core argument of the author of the text in question, is that adequate evidence is available to prove, that *international relations* in pre-colonial *West Afrika* indeed existed. So for *Robert Smith* in as far as contribution, related to *diplomacy* is concerned, *Afrika* has contributed to *IR*. From the historical references forwarded here, a lengthy history of diplomatic interaction, which took place since pre-colonial times in *West Afrika*, may support the aforementioned notion that, in that sense *Afrika* has its own respective contribution (s), that it has displayed, in as far as *IR* is concerned.

4.1.2 *IR* Karate Master Stephen Chan's View from Afrika (1987²⁰⁸)

Shifting attention, to the New Zealand born *Steven Chan's* text, titled *Issues In International Relations, A View From Afrika*, from such a title the author of this study, was optimistic that some form of *Afrikan* contribution to *IR*, would be secured. Disappointingly, in all *three parts* (this is how the book's content, is organized and presented) discusses *Afrika* as a *Third World*, which is what has speedily become, the standard vocabulary and reference as used by *IR* and *Political Science* scholars, to date. The approach and language, remains that found, from *Mainstream IR lingua franca*. Having written this book from *Chan's* experience, while a lecturer, at the *University of Zambia*, *Chan* at least acknowledges, the following with regards to teaching *IR* in Zambia:

In the field of *international relations*, no book in the library was less than ten years old, and many went back considerably earlier-remnants of a time of prosperity. I found, however, that it was not possible, simply to recommend the books available and improvise, a modern view, of the discipline on top of them. As my students pointed out, it was not simply a case of being up-to date in a discipline, but of inducing a sympathy, for a view of the world, that had been crafted in metropolitan countries-in which the *Third World*, the world of my students, was incidental, accorded a few paragraphs, in case studies, but was essentially swept aside, in the theories of international power and international systems. I soon found that this feeling, existed at other *Third World* universities. (Chan, 1987: VII).

From the above quote, awareness by *Chan's* *Zambian* students, may support the view, that existing *IR* content, hardly included any material associated with *them* (as *Afrikan* students-author's emphasis), besides passing references, in sparse paragraphs. So this view, from the *Zambian* students and others, in *Chan's* view, regarding the *Third World*, appears to support the concern, that *Mainstream IR* literature, has indeed, marginalized them as *Afrikans*, particularly as members of the *Third World*.

From the abovementioned concern, after beginning in *Part 1* with the *contemporary approaches to IR* (chapter 2), *Communist view of the international system* (chapter 3), *recent Western approach to the international system* (which touches on *Kissinger and geopolitical equilibrium*) (chapter 4). For the author of this study, *The Chinese theory of three worlds* (chapter 5), serves as *Chan's* most striking effort, of attempting to include *Afrika*, in the historical narratives of *IR* events.

The Chinese maintained, that the *three worlds theory*, was formulated by *Mao Zedong*, in his discussions with a *Third World* leader, in February 1974. This leader was probably President *Kaunda* of *Zambia*. Who talked with *Mao in Beijing on 22 February 1974...by 1974...* Mao's thought had coalesced into the *three worlds theory*, and the theory was announced by *Deng Xiaoping* at the *United Nations* on 9 April 1974. The two superpowers, the *US* and the *Soviet Union*, together constitute a *First World*; the developing nations, together constitute a *First World*; the developing nations, together form a *Third World*; while the developed nations in between comprised a *Second World*. China belonged, *Deng* said, firmly in the *Third World* (Chan, 1987:21).

Given China's current economic status, it may arguably be interrogated why the notion of China, being categorized, as being part of the *Third World*. Timothy Shaw and other likeminded *IR* scholars may equivocally argue that an analysis of *BRICS* might justifiably be worth being viewed, in an attempt of securing a noteworthy response, to such a hypothetically raised question. Just for the record "South Afrika is in the *Brics* [the political grouping that includes Brazil, Russia, India and China.] As a matter of courtesy it may be stated, that no way does South Afrika's economic performance, merit comparison with that of the other *Bric* countries. It's unable to match, the dynamism of the *Bric* countries, where you do have growth" (Chan, 2011²⁰⁹). So in summary, to the above

the *US* and *Soviet Union*, were equal partners, in a combined, pole of *capitalist* and *socialist imperialism*. The world was multi-polar and, insofar as two major poles could be identified, they were the poles of the *imperial First world* and the self-liberating *Third World*. It was romantic, but it posed certain problems" (Chan, 1987:22).

The above articulation, for the author of this study, indeed may be read as romantic, given that *communist China* under *Mao Zedong*, was a China of another era, to the present one, under the helm of outgoing President *Hu Jin Tao*. Its ascendancy on the global stage, is predicted to surpass America, as an economic powerhouse, at least before 2020. The significant point, to be pointed out at this stage, is that while *Chan* makes reference to China's effort, to point out data that may perhaps have been either, overlooked or just simply ignored wherein *Afrika*, was also connected, as one geographical space that also constituted towards the body, of the core role players towards knowledge production.

Chan's extensive reference to *Afrikan* states, is noted in this particular text, with specific segments dedicated, towards *South Afrika as a regional power and policy* (chapter 20²¹⁰) maker, the *foreign policy of Zambia* (chapter 21), *security of small states* (chapter 170) and *The Third World in international relations* (chapter 23).

After reading the final chapter titled *The Third World in international relations (chpt.23)*, Chan's discussion of power and how the *Third World*, seems to have attempted and continues to try, to achieve power, reference is made to the *international economic order* and the *international power system*. For the author of this study, Chan does this in the typical manner of *international political economy (IPE)*, which he argues stifles efforts, made towards development. Chan proceeds, to provide ten categories towards a successful attainment, of such an ideal. In a nutshell, the following points are advised by Chan, for consideration:

- 1) The Chinese view of a tripolar world.
- 2) The adroit manipulation of superpowers e.g. Israel and Syria.
- 3) The assumption of status and role of regional power e.g. South Afrika and Nigeria.
- 4) The construction of deliberate maverick roles e.g., Libya.
- 5) Attempts to accumulate moral authority e.g. the case of Zambia.
- 6)The broadcast of a wider moral internationalism, replacing military arsenals with intensified developmental efforts within the international economic system, as argued for by the *Brandt* and *Palme* Commissions and *Third World* Nations in their increasing domination of *UN* Agencies at their plenary levels.
- 7) Attempts to forge a *Third World* unity eg. *Group of 77*, *NAM*, *OPEC*, *OAU*, *SADC* and discussion of a *Third World* Secretariat.
- 8) The campaign for a *new international economic order*, or major concessions within the existing one.
- 9) The search for independent economic growth e.g. South Korea and South East Asian States.
- 10) The *Third World* search for independent nuclear power (Chan, 1987:175-176).

Emphasis and continued reference to China, by Chan impresses, upon the author of this study, that although, he may have been born in New Zealand, his "parents were refugees from China" (Waal, 2011:7). Chan is consistent in his reference(s) to his ancestral land (note that one of his contemporary books, dedicate more emphasis -judging from his vast commitment, to martial arts, a respectably soft spot, for his Chinese ancestral roots). As recommendable as this may be, what implications, towards his (*Worldview*) analysis, which engages *Afrika and IR* may his ancestral orient origin, have had on Chan? This is especially in the light, of being regarded, as a leading, *IR* scholar on *Afrika* today. *Stephen Chan*

whose work has been, in the British Empire's former colonies, in Southern *Afrika*... besides his vast experience, including almost "30 years in countries such as Zimbabwe, Zambia, Eritrea, Ethiopia and Uganda...monitoring elections, training diplomats, and talking to countless people all over *Afrika* and the World, from peasants to presidents. He has also incidentally taught martial arts to many youths in townships in Zimbabwe and Zambia" (Waal, 2011:7).

At the time, of writing this particular article *Shaun de Waal*, makes mention that *Chan* was soon to compete in the *European Masters karate championships in Venice*-in the upper age group, because he is 62...he adds that a martial streak runs in the family: "My grandmother was a swordfighter during the warlord era in China in the early 20th century" (Chan, 2011:7). Perhaps besides being labeled as an *Africanist*, *Chan* may also advance an argument, for an *Asiacentrist*-that is any scholar subscribing to a worldview, that has Asia as its center of analysis. The *Asiacentrists* similar to the *Afrocentrists* in *IR*, may perhaps eventually also be ushered into *Mainstream IR*, by other scholarly projects, as similarly proposed with *Afrocentric contribution* in this particular study. Perhaps chairman *Mao Tse Tung*, *Sun Yatsen*, *Francis Fukuyama* and *Takeshi Inoguchi*, could all be affiliates of such a group, alongside *Chan*.

Having noted all the above, fellow scholars, who have also been disappointed, by this text, should recall *Chan's* warning, from the *preface* of the text under discussion

This book is, therefore, a modest attempt, to redress a bad situation, and to do so, in a way that does not fall prey, to sloganeering and formula analyses. It is perhaps, worth pointing out, what this book is not: it is not a definitive text, and is probably not even close to being an authoritative one. It hopes merely to be a pioneer, in what may eventually become, under the pens of other more capable authors, a series of exemplary texts- of texts that attempt, to view the world, from a neglected vantage point" (Chan, 1987:VII).

Having stated the above, specifically *what this book is not*, the following disclaimer captures the challenge found, which has become synonymous, in as far as, such exploratory investigations are concerned.

... it is impossible to dispense, with treatments of existing theories of *international relations*, or to give them, short shrift. There is a discipline, with deficiencies, but there is a discipline. This book

does not set out to challenge, the received discipline, nor even to offer, a sustained commentary on all parts of it. It does, however, set out to describe major issues, within the discipline, and then to offer a view of them, which, hopefully, would facilitate discussion and thought, in the *Third World* lecture halls and tutorial rooms (Chan, 1987: VIII).

From the closing quotes above, *Chan's* attempt, at authoring a text, that *may* or *may not* have added some value, to research on *Afrika and IR*, may duly be parked, at this point.

4.1.3 O' Neill and Vincent: On *The West and The Third World* (1990)

*Robert O' Neill*²¹¹ and *R.J Vincent*²¹² as the editors, of this text in question, inform readers that they compiled it, in honour of the *realist* scholar *J.D.B Miller*, a past *IR* scholar, who dedicated himself, to the study of the relationship, between the *West and the Third World*. For *Miller*, this field, was one of his central concerns. This text lists, a number of essays, by various notable *IR* scholars, ranging from *F.H Hinsley*, *William T.R. Fox*, *Corall Bell*, *James Mayall*, *T.B Millar*, *Jack Spence*, *James Piscatori*, *Andrew Hurrell*, *Peter Lyon*, *Susan Strange*, *J.L Richardson* and *Richard H. Ullman* who submitted articles, notably under the following subtitles *Part II- Western Policy Towards The Third World*, *Part III – Third World Policies Towards The West*, *Part IV- Multilateral Linkages Between The West and The Third World*.

JDB Miller is first introduced elaborately, by *Vincent*, before progressing with the business of the text. A few points about this *IR* scholar, may be of interest here. Belonging to the school of *Realism*, scholars are informed that *Miller's realism* “has two aspects, *substantive and procedural*. The *substantive aspect*, is his view, of international politics, as ordered by certain inevitable regularities. The *procedural aspect*, is his disdain for the elaborate methodological paraphernalia, which those who are not *realists* place, between themselves and their subject-matter” (Vincent, 1990:3).

Miller in his *Nature of Politics*²¹³ is believed to have dealt, with the *substantive aspect* of his *realism*. The foundation of all kinds of politics (domestic and international, as long as it involved, various issues by people). Later in Miller's *The World of States* (1981²¹⁴), the theme of inequality, was to be addressed formally. For Miller the core interests, of *politics* was the addressing of "plurality of human experience, common concerns of the various sections within this plurality produce, and about the way differences among them are resolved or played out" (Vincent, 1990:3). Miller's interest with the *Third World* led him, to pen one of the volumes in the *Chatham House Series* titled *Survey of Commonwealth Affairs: Problems of Expansion and Attrition 1953-1969* (1974). This was followed by another *Chatham House* paper *The Politics of the Third World* (1966). Other themes pursued included *foreign policy*, *international organisation* and *international political economy*. Applied an empiric method, to most of these themes.

For the author of this study, all the authors mentioned, delivered typical *Africanist* rhetoric. The language expressed did not shift from *Mainstream IR* dialogue, hence the tools of engagement with the *Third World* remained confined, to the standard *Westerncentric perspectives* or *Westerner's viewpoints* on the subject of *Africa*. With regards to Miller's definition of *politics* (as expressed above) which is a train of thought, that in the admission of both Miller and the other author's of this text under discussion, is to be traced and categorised into the *Realist* tradition of *IR*. At best the effort of the contributors to this text, may be classified as participants of the *Third debate* in *IR* (see *Box 1.5*).

The abovementioned debate between *Realism/NeoRealism* and *Neo-Marxism* is believed, to have "further complicated the *IR* discipline because it shifted the subject of *IR*, away from political and military issues. It also introduced the distinct socioeconomic problems of *Third World* countries" (Jackson and Sorensen, 2003:58). In short nothing substantial with regards to *African contribution to IR*, could be derived from this text, according to the author of this study.

4.1.4 Ojo, Orwa and Utete's: *Afrikan International Relations* (1990)

A collaborative effort of *O.Ojo*²¹⁵, *D.K.Orwa*²¹⁶ and *C.M.B Utete's*²¹⁷ expressions, on the theme at hand. Given the title of this book, the author of this study was quite disappointed, with what was found in its content. The text was organized in such a way, that all its three contributors, were allocated whole chapters, under a specified theme. From its opening chapter, under the title *Theories of international relations* (as was done in this study), background of *IR* is provided. Already from that point, one may deduce that the usual names, of *IR* scholars were mentioned. Throughout this chapter, views of those introduced, as *Mainstream IR* theorists in the first chapters of this study (also refer to *Picture 1.1*) ranging from *Quincy Wright* (1955), *TRW Fox* (1959), *Stanley Hoffman* (1960), *JK Holsti* (1967), *Charles McClelland* (1961), *Paul Nitze*, *Hedly Bull* (1969), *John Spanier* (1972) and *Roger Spegele* (1980) were noted.

Reference to *Power Theory* (as informed by the school of *Realism*), specifically derived from Carr's *Twenty Year's Crisis and Morgenthau's Politics Amongst Nations* is made. Subsequently *The scientific school of international relations*, is introduced and discussed. Perceived as important because it "arose, as a reaction to the limitations, inherent in the *power theory*" (Orwa, 1990). On reference to *Dependency analysis*, which was read by the author of this study, as almost similar to *Murphy and Augelli's International Institutions, Decolonization and Development* (1993), *Orwa's* tone in this particular article, reminded the author of this study, of *Chan's* earlier text, of attempting to place a pro –*Afrika* argument, in *as far as Afrika* having been a role player, in *IR*. Noble as the gesture may have been, the problem with it, is that it has been done, within the standard reference and jargon, of *Western* engineered approaches to *IR*.

Only once under the confronted topic, of *Theory and the study of Afrikan international relations* did the author of this study, refreshingly observe references captured by *Claude Ake* (1978), *Ali Mazrui* (1977), *Nzongola-Ntalaja* (1978) and *William Zartman* (1966 and 1967). The overall message, from these scholars however as noticed, by the author of this study, was not much different to that captured, from the earlier *Africanists*. The following remark below, almost comes across as a disclaimer

The study of *Afrikan international relations*, is only just beginning, to attract the interest of scholars and students. This fact is underscored by the lack of relevant texts, on the subject and by the absence of debate, on the theoretical framework, for the study of *Afrikan international relations*. The *systems theory* of *international relations*, is not particularly, well suited to *Afrika*. This is partly because it was developed, to explain *international relations*, in the industrialized world, partly because much of the data that is needed, to make it applicable to *Afrika*, simply is not available and partly because of the uniqueness and complexity of the *Afrikan* case (Orwa, 1990:13-14).

Meritorious as the abovementioned remark may seem, it is the view of the author of this study that *IR* scholars who may read the gist of the above quote, as a form of submission to the superiority of *Mainstream IR*, may not really be faulted. Indeed from the above quote, one may arrive at a conclusion that Orwa (1990), was giving a confession, that any reference to what may be labeled, as *Afrikan international relations* may be nothing more than a myth, if presented outside of the scope of *Mainstream IR*. For Orwa (1990), this was as a repercussion of the *major debates* in *IR*, dating back to *Carr and Morgenthau's* seminal texts.

It is for the abovementioned reason, why Orwa (1990), made reference to *Power Theory*. “*Power theory*, resting on certain universal assumptions, about the nature of man, is easier to apply to *Afrika*. Its emphasis on the importance of struggle, for survival (achieved through the acquisition of power), finds many sympathetic listeners in *Afrika*” (Orwa, 1990:14). In augmenting his view, Orwa (1990) goes on to refer to *Ali Mazrui* and somehow, even takes the effort to paraphrase him. “Ali Mazrui, for example, who approaches *Afrikan international relations* from the perspective of *political philosophy* and *political sociology*, sees *Afrikan international relations*, as a struggle against dependency, a situation imposed upon the continent, by its historical experience” (Mazrui, 1977).

The author of this study finds the above expression(s) of Orwa (1990) thoroughly problematic. On the grounds of Orwa's (1990) submission, that for him the study of *Afrikan international relations* is still in its infant stage, should not compel him, to fall back to *Mainstream* theory in order to attempt, to secure a way of engaging phenomena related to *Afrika*. Secondly the point

made with regards to *Mazrui's* use of *political philosophy* and *political sociology* does not vindicate him nor *Mazrui*, for falling into the same trap of the *Africanist Worldview*.

For the author of this study, *Chinweizu's* concern about prominent *Afrikan* scholars such as *Mazrui*, *Wole Soyinka*, *Chinua Achebe* and *Ngugi Wa Thiong'o* (although with age most of these leading voices in *Afrikan* literature, begun to be critical of their misgivings, as inspired by the abovementioned oversight, as noted from their respective works) remains meritorious to date. The classic case of *Ngugi Wa Thiong'o* is provided further on, in this chapter.

Amongst other factors, this last point above affirms the view that these scholars, have become recognized, predominantly based on the *Westernised* audience, which they had kept in mind, at the time of writing their most infamous, yet renowned projects. This was opposed, to the consideration of their own fellow *Afrikan kith and kin*, while they were in the process of authoring, what became incredibly commercialized pedagogic cultural projects, focused on *Afrika(n)* based stories.

Just for the record, the author of this study, noted for example from highly acclaimed texts such as critically acclaimed Achebe's *Things Fall Apart (1958)*, interestingly this title was initially derived from *W.B. Yeats's* poem '*The Second Coming*'. Given *Achebe's* earlier self confessed *Africanist* position, this should not have been as astonishing to fellow readers, as it was when found by the author of this study. For such an acclaimed book, in the *Afrikan postcolonial library*, such *Eurocentric* inspired influence was unexpected. For the author of this study, this should consolidate, *Mphahlele's* earlier remark which suggested the *process of becoming*.

A stanza of the poem, where the title of the above text was derived is paraphrased *as follows* "Turning and turning in the widening gyre, The falcon cannot hear the falconer; Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold; Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world" (Yeats quoted from *Achebe's Things Fall Apart*, 2008 edition).

From amidst such troubling observations, about one of the leading contemporary *postcolonial* texts in *Afrikan* literature, at least artists such as *Fela Kuti* also, had their fair share of creative

influence, which also inspired books to be written and even movies to be produced about them. An example of such a work, is *Patrick Chabal's* text titled *The Politics of Suffering and Smiling* (2009). *Chabal* acknowledges that the title was inspired and born from 'Shuffering and Shmiling' which "is the actual title of *Fela Ransom Kuti's* famous song of 1978" (*Chabal*, 2009).

Typical of critics, counter arguments to the raised point above, may be placed across, by quoting respective projects of these individuals. In the end, over a certain period of time, these individuals such as *Wole Soyinka's* heated engagement with *Mazrui*, on the subject of *Mazrui's* claimed *Afrikan* identity-just revealed their process of *re-awakening*, at least much to the realization of their followers and critics alike. An example has already been provided above, when reference to the case of *Chinua Achebe* (see *Achebe*, 1990:7) was raised.

For the author of this study, the abovementioned engagement represented a positive, sense of self awareness. Lastly as pointed out, in the *second chapter* of this study, with authoritative guidance of *Valentin Mudimbe*, the very reference to the complex concept of *Africa* (authors emphasis), clearly appears, not to have been problemmatized. This applies to all the *IR* scholars recorded thus far, hence it may be safe to charge them all, on the count of being guilty, of being *ahistorical*.

From the observed remarks thus far, *Orwa's* (1990) fellow collaborators, also do not fare any better than him. The titles of their respective contributions, may provide an idea, of such a position- *The International actors, Afrika and the global economy, Regional co-operation and integration* (all by *Olatunde Ojo*) and *Foreign policy and the developing state, Afrika and the former colonial powers, Afrika and the United Nations* (all by *CMB Utete*). So even though these are *Afrikans* and *Afrikan* academics, in the enterprise of related disciplines such as *political science*, based in *Afrika*, they serve as classic cases of *Africanists* from amongst those referred to as *Afrikans* by others and themselves.

4.1.5 Ali Mazrui: *Diplomacy of Dependency and Change* (1977²¹⁸)

Revered Ali Amin Mazrui's text *Afrika's International Relations: Diplomacy of Dependency and Change* (1977) provides an account, similar to the earlier IR scholars' texts above. For the author of this study, the selected methodology as read in the above account, could be traced back, to any of the *Mainstream IR* theories, specifically the *Mainstream* theoretical school's of *realism*, *liberalism* and *Neo-Marxism*. Even from the title, a giveaway seems to be noted, which reveals the tendency by Mazrui to have leaned towards *Dependency theory*. Really? In ensuring the validity of the immediately made remark, a study of Mazrui's other works may be due, at this point of exploratory review.

So Mazrui's employment of a *Marxist* analysis, coupled with his use, of selected vocabulary, common in the literature of the litany of *Africanists* as found within *IR*. Such a reading may unintentionally yet inevitably have led Mazrui to land, in the position of a normative *Westerncentric* voice. With key terms in this text, borrowed from the typical *Westerncentric* authored *Political Science*, ranging from *Third World and West Africa* (spelling author's emphasis), in reference to what has commonly been referred to, within *Political Science* literature as *states*. Against such a backdrop nothing new seemed to emanate, from Mazrui's engagement. As explained in the *second chapter*, such an approach is thus labeled as *statecentric*- a distinct standard *Mainstream IR* signatory concept.

It is only when an in-depth reading of Mazrui (available beyond the abovementioned text) may scholars realize, that the above points provide an oversimplified depiction of Mazrui. Given the prolific profile of Ali Mazrui (especially as one of the most recognizable *Afrocentrists*), not only did this text *not live upto* the expectation of at least securing, whatever *may have been* desirably presented, as an *Afrikan contribution to IR*, but instead it further left an overall impression, to question whether Mazrui could be classified in the *Africanist camp*. Such an impression of course somewhat weakens the *Afrocentrist* camp. An anti-climax indeed.

Without getting into too much detail, (for no other reason, accept due to the lack of space) into *Mazrui's* other projects, a passing reference from his other works, may at least be noted. From the other works read by the author of this study, namely *Beyond Dependency in the Black World: Five Strategies for Decolonization* (1980), *The Africans, A Triple Heritage* (1986), *Cultural Forces in World Politics* (1990), *Neo-dependency and Africa's fragmentation* (2002) *Seek ye first the political kingdom* (2003), *The development of modern literature since 1935* (2003), *Trends in Philosophy and science in Africa* (2003), from the bulk of these texts *Mazrui* consistently argues, for an *Afrocentric* approach. The last two noted texts above, specifically reveal how much *Mazrui* (notwithstanding his *Eurocentric* flaws, as informed by his *Westerncentric* education- common amongst fellow *Pan-Afrikan/ Afrocentric* affiliates), emphasized the clarion call for *Afrocentricity*.

Supposedly as an undergraduate of *Manchester University*, *Masters degree from Columbia (MA)* and a *doctoral holder* (Phd) from *Oxford University* respectively (needless to say all the above institutions are based in the *UK*), *Mazrui* in a lot of ways, may have mistakenly been read, to have attempted to get *on board Marlowe's* (the *colonizer's club* in the guise of subscribing to the *Afrikanists* club) boat. With the *larger than life presence*, paid towards *Mazrui's* works at *Oxford University* and also at other major universities, in the *West* and across *Afrika*, reveals that *Marlow* (the colonizer) in return of *Mazrui's* pro-*Afrocentric* position, survived from adopting an *assimilationist stance*. An outstanding feat, given the concerns raised, concerning the unspeakable aims of *Eurocentric* centered pedagogy.

So the contents of the particular text in question, may advisably be read, as an *Afrocentrist's* battle to participate in *Western discourse*, by negotiating much of *Mazrui's* use of the *West's* tool- kit of analysis. As a reward *Mazrui*, has over time been embraced, as a distinguished *IR scholar*, who learnt and later mastered, the uncomfortable role of being an *Afrocentrist* and *Postcolonial* pedagogic activist (instead of being another *Western* servant, providing a scholarly service, on behalf of the *colonial canon filled library*). Although his religious affiliation to *Islam*,

has ensured that his humble personality, never deserted him, it however added to the complexity of his family roots and consistency of his pro-*Afrocentric* position.

Then again from a complex *cultural lens*, may anyone claim a perfect or non-contradictory *identity*? With all the inherent ambiguities (both positive and negative) as noticed in as far as *Mazrui* is concerned, it is unfortunate that for all his excellent efforts, justifying him as a distinguished scholar (beyond the label of *Political Scientist*), *Mazrui* may certainly introduce a paradox, as an affiliate and subscriber to *Afrocentricity*. In all fairness to leading contemporary *Pan-Afrikan* scholars such as *Ali Mazrui*, a detailed study should be promoted on such fallable prominent *Afrocentric* figures. In the interest of this study, the proposed investigation should be able to provide the desired relevant data, that may assist in the securing of examples of *Afrikan contribution to IR*. Given all the above, the main text in question may be read, as part of the growing efforts to explore for that space to *think, write, talk* and *create Afrocentrist* thought.

4.1.6 Christopher Clapham: *Afrika and the International System* (1996²¹⁹)

At this stage, shifting attention, to another *IR* scholar is suggested. *Christopher Clapham's* text titled *Afrika and the International System: The politics of state survival* (1996). Based on the frequency that it has been quoted, in as many of the works of past scholars, that have taken interest, in studies concerned with *Afrika and IR*, the author of this study thus found it important here, to be also included for analysis. This critically acclaimed text, in as far as the author of this study is concerned, overly focuses on the analysis of 'Afrikan statehood and *international relations*'. May that somehow, possibly lead to securing and explaining an *Afrikan* contribution to *IR*? The author of this study is yet to be convinced, of any possibly affirmative responses.

The standard reliance on the *Eurocentric* tune, of *state and inter-state analysis, reference to Afrikan statehood, single party phenomena, structural adjustment programmes* and under the

section of the *shadow state*, elaborate reference that is made towards former *Afrikan* despots, such as “Mobutu, Stevens or Siyad Barre” (Clapham, 1996:254) did not provide, anything worthy for much reference, that may perhaps be indicative of qualifying to be referred to as the desired *Afrikan* contribution to *IR* (theory).

Even after *Clapham* (1996:256) commented about possible experiment of “... de-stating of external relations with *Afrika*” for the author of this study, all the above factors with all their methodology, (mention should be made that a *Positivist* tone, in this text, was picked up, by the author of this study). All the above were found by the author of this study, to be at best ambiguous, in as far as response to the key questions of interest, in this study were concerned.

Having discussed about *Afrika* and its possible relationship, with the *international system* in the almost standard manner, as would have been expected from a *Realist*, *liberalist* or even a *Marxist* perspective, for the author of this study, not much value could be extracted, which may justifiably, explain the popularity of this text. Whatever the category few may argue, that *Christopher Clapham*, based on the bulk of his scholarly work, on the subject of *Afrika*, belongs to the *Africanist* club of *IR* scholars. Perhaps that is where the gist of the problem of his *worldview* analysis, may have been located, according to the author of this study. The author of this study however agrees, with *Clapham* (1996:267) when he ends his paper by declaring that

The encounter between *Afrika* and the *Westphalian* assumptions of Sovereign statehood, built into the practice of European powers and the *international system* that they created, underlies the entire modern history of the continent...The *international relations* of *Afrikan* states, since most of these became independent in the early 1960's provides no more than one aspect of that encounter (Clapham: 1996:267).

Commentary continues below by *Stuart Croft* on *Clapham's* text above. Suffice to say however thus far, the author of this study, remains unconvinced of any *Afrikan* insight to *IR*, as located in this text. The author of this study is also mindful that *Croft*, authored the article below prior to occupying the current presidency of *BISA and Afrika Working group*.

4.1.7 Stuart Croft: On *Clapham's International Relations and Afrika* (1996²²⁰)

Interestingly for the author of this study, in a review article of which *Clapham's* (1996) text above, was also included, some helpful insight on *Afrikan contribution to IR* (theory) seemed to have been secured. "After continuous emphasis, on *IR* having become fragmentary as a discipline, as a side-effect of the 'great debates' "during these 'simple' times, *IR's* paradigms left no room for the study of *Afrika*, for the key focus on the 'great powers'..." (Croft, 1996:608). Noting further

in the 1970's, space seemed to open up for *Afrika*-and indeed much of the rest of the developing world-through the concept of *trans-nationalism* and through *dependency theory*. But again, *Afrika* was not brought in to *IR*. The trans-nationalists argued, that there were actors, other than *states*, that were important in *IR*-multi-national corporations, religious organizations, terrorist groups- but the best examples, seemed to be outside *Afrika*. And the debate over *dependency theory*, focused on rival models-Latin America versus East Asia-not on *Afrika*" (Croft, 1996:608).

The provision of history is dimmed as important, as *Croft* (1996:608) believes that "it sets the framework for the treatment of *Afrika* by *IR* scholars. The many paradigms have collectively and uniquely excluded *Afrika*." Since *Croft's* (1996) paper was a *Review article* of three recent texts concerning *IR and Afrika*, he analytically dismisses the first two of the three (*Paris, Pretoria and the Afrikan Continent: The international relations of states and societies in transition* edited by *Chris Alden and Jean-Pascal* (1996) and *Sovereignty as Responsibility: Conflict management in Afrika*, by *Francis M, Deng et al* (1996).

The third text *Afrika and the International System* (1996) by *Christopher Clapham*, is showered with compliments. Much credit is given to *Clapham* (1996) for employing an ontological approach to the study, instead of adopting a *Realist* or *liberalist* approach, as observed in the other two texts. The author of this study, agrees that although it appeared to be important for

Clapham (1996) to comprehend *international relations* of *Afrika*, by grasping *Afrikan politics*, *Afrikan economics*, *Afrikan society* and *Afrikan history*. Overall this text, has really placed enormous focus, on the theme of ‘*Afrikan statehood*’ and in the process made *Clapham* one of the prominent *Africanists* on the subject of *Afrika in IR*. The emphasis of a leading *Africanist* as opposed to an *Afrocentrist*, should be noted.

4.1.8 Kate Manzo: on themes and arguments on *IR* and *the Third World* (1999)

With the above in mind, erudite *IR* scholar *Kate Manzo* (1999) shares her insight, on the topic under discussion. In her paper titled *The international imagination: themes and arguments in international studies* (1999) “Employing two key texts, in ways that illustrate *Fredrickson*’s own comparative method, this article extends *Fredrickson*’s arguments from history, to international studies” (Manzo, 1999:493). Although *Manzo*’s (1999) articulations are focused on two texts, that of *Imperial Encounters: The Politics of Repression in North-South Relations* (1996) as authored by *Roxanne Lynn Doty* and *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*, as authored by *Arturo Escobar*, in the context of this study, these texts are only relevant, as interpreted by *Kate Manzo*.

Points of relevance, stemming from *Manzo*’s (1999) central argument that “international studies (like history) should draw more, than it does from outside the discipline of *International Relations*” are noteworthy. In reference to the two books mentioned, some of these remarks include these two selected texts being

important because they suggest novel ways of thinking about accepted categories of analysis-like *Third World*. And they invite significant (possibly disturbing) questions about the relationship of power to knowledge in contemporary academic disciplines” (Manzo, 1999:493).

Kate Manzo continues below

...other disciplines share with *international relations* a number of common interests (eg. theme of power), in Doty's text, these are linked "to themes of representation and colonialism (and to a lesser extent, development), on the other hand Escobar's text "is more expressly tied to anthropology's 'most cherished notions, such as ethnography, culture, and science'" (Manzo, 1999:494).

In noting further *Manzo (1999:494)* stipulates that "while ethnography (like colonialism) has yet to gain much ground, in international studies, the notion of culture has certainly become respectable. The comparison of *Doty* and *Escobar* by *Manzo* hopes to reveal that no one discipline, has a monopoly on the study of power, and that power might usefully be studied, in a number of different ways." Of significance is *Manzo's (1999:495)* "plea not to overlook categories of analysis (such as race), approaches to the study of power, or the work of certain authors, simply because they do not fall succinctly, within established disciplinary boundaries. Self-censorship is not the best recipe, for intellectual growth or theoretical breakthroughs"....

In continuing to single out, crucial points from the two texts, reference made, under the sub-title *The power of argument: analysis, evidence, questions* *Kate Manzo (1999:495)* advances, one of her most important points. In her reference to *Doty's* text, she paraphrases her as follows:

The purpose of *Imperial Encounters* is 'to isolate severely specific historical encounters between the Anglo-European world and the imperialist countries'. The book's title is meant to convey, the idea of asymmetrical encounters, in which one entity, has been able to construct "realities" that were taken, seriously and acted upon and the other entity, has been denied equal degrees or kinds of agency.' The book in total, conveys a constitutive understanding of power. That is, Doty treats imperial encounters, as productive of the identities, of both parties. It is power relations that create identity and enable or deny agency; not the other way around (Manzo, 1999:495).

In a nutshell, the author of this study agrees, that the points raised, in this article deserve some serious consideration. For the author of this study, the closing point below, drives the essential point home

basic argument (presented in the introduction) is very clear. Binary oppositions (like North/ South) 'that we routinely draw upon and that frame our thinking' are 'a realm of politics' and not just 'an

area of theory and practice'. For Doty, common sense categorizations of world regions and peoples are not 'natural' inevitable, or arguably even useful'. They are the effect of power relations and thus subject to political change. (Manzo, 1999:495).

The points raised above by *Manzo*, located from *Doty's* and *Escobar's* texts, may serve *IR* scholars well, in the process of understanding the contributing factors, that lead to the ways in which reference, to the theme of *IR* and *Afrika*, may have already been shaped by *Mainstream IR* literature.

4.1.9. Tom Young's Review: The State and Politics in *Afrika*²²¹

In this review, Tom Young focused at three projects, focused on the theme of *politics and Afrika*. The specific texts include Jean Francois Bayart's *The State in Afrika: The Politics of the Belly* (1993), Patrick Chabal's *Power in Afrika: an essay in Political Interpretation* (1992) and lastly Mahmood Mamdani's *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Afrika and the legacy of late Colonialism* (1996). As an opener *Chabal* (1992:4) is quoted as follows "There is nothing specifically *Afrikan*, about politics in *Afrika*". That opening quote sets the tone, for the rest of the review. *Young* makes a claim for the significant role of *Political Science*, which all texts under review, respectably seek to stake a claim, on how such a discipline, may be improved with particular reference to *Afrika*. In a nutshell, all three texts criticize *Mainstream Political Science* because of its paradigms, based on outdated ideologies.

Modernization theory and *dependency theory* are dismissed, based on dogma and hypocrisy, as they are rooted from *Enlightenment philosophy* by *Bayart* (1993). In that light *Modernization theory*, could only see a failed state, on the basis of tradition, expressed in *vacuos teleology* or a *facile exoticism* *Bayart* (1993). With the above mentioned the "key slogan is *historicity*" (*Young*, 1999:151). For *Young* *historicity*, does not mean to think historically. Emphasis instead is made towards examination of the facts, seeing things as they are; opening one's eyes. For *Young* (1999) the significance of such suggestions should be read, as having *epistemological* and *moral impact*

(Young, 1999). Care should also be taken as *historicity* may also lead to hybridity. Interestingly from Bayart's texts *states* in the case of *Afrika*, are read as kleptocracies, systematic political predation, mere reflexes of insatiable greed (Bayart, 1993).

In reference to the power struggle the following is stipulated, as an appeal by all three contributors

we live in an age when the story of *Western* domination of the world, past and present is almost too painful to tell, perhaps to recognize. Both perpetrators and victims feel besmirched. How could we/they have been so wicked? How could they/we have been so weak? Thus there are powerful pressures both in academe and the real world to produce narratives, which integrate the particular in the universal while respecting 'difference' (Young, 1999:153).

So the *politics of below*, is emphasized. For *Mamdani* the central theme of his text is the bifurcated *state*, characterized by a tension between the creation of an urban civil society (initially for European settlers) and a rural zone administered by means of ethnic division and retribalised authority, in which 'traditions' were distorted to buttress alien rule...so attention to the *Afrikan* form of a *state*, thus becomes an important task (Young, 1999:153). Throughout *Mamdani's* account, effort to sublimate (his favourite term) the numerous polarities of *social theory* (modernism and communitarianism) and political life (customary and civil; participation and representation) which he rightly sees as linked (Young, 1999:154). The closing of this review is noteworthy

The deep links between *Western Social Science* and *Social theory* for all the *positivist* pretensions to objectivity of the former. Bayart suggests, intriguingly, in the preface to the English translation of his book that *Afrika* is the pretext for 'an essay on the theme of Fullness and Vacuum in politics' (Bayart, 1993:15). It has been and is a pretext for much else, most of all the *Same* and the *Different*. The dilemma facing *Enlightenment* is not especially novel but it is now perhaps particularly acute. To deny *difference* appears to be a species of *oppression*; to allow difference appears to sanction non-universality and the 'spectre of relativism'. The solution (as ever) is to find the *difference* that makes *no difference*; and that search shapes *Western social thought* in its 'empirical' as much as its 'theoretical' moments (Young, 1999:154).

In summary from the above review, in as much effort that *may have and continue to be made* towards the theme of ‘*Afrika and IR*’, the hegemonic claws of *Western theoretical* rhetoric raise their ever-present colonially driven heads. The reference to *dependency* and *modernization theories*, have been clarified to actually be traced back, to the the works of *Enlightenment* philosophers. Ruling out any hope of securing some form of tangible *Afrikan contribution to IR*.

4.1.10 Other recommended IR voices on this theme

From the above scholars so far, it seems as though, presenting any *Afrikan contribution to IR* is a mammoth task. From their narratives, so far the author of this study, seems to have interpreted their attempts as *struggles* or *claims* of various forms of *Afrikan contribution (s) to IR*. Due to limited space in this study, the following texts, are also recommended under this theme:

4.1.11 Rothchild and Keller et al: *Afrika In The New International Order (1996*²²²)

Most of the authors, who have reflected interest in the theme of *Afrika and IR* (theory), appear to have done so, leaning heavily from the utilization of *Eurocentric* tools, as made possible by *Westerncentric IR* literature. In Rothchild and Keller et al’s *Afrika In The New International Order (1996)*, which was a text dedicated to former Nigerian President “*Olusegun Obasanjo*, statesman, scholar, and patriot” almost all the contributors (including *William Zartman*, *Terence Lyons* and *Francis Deng* amongst others) offer a standard *Westerncentric* account, focused around the theme of *Afrika*, during and post the *Cold War* era. So the emphasis on security issues, *Afrikan* elites, *Afrika’s* economy, all just illustrate concerns as raised and lucidly captured by *Young (1999)* above, from the texts of *Chabal et al*. For the author of this study, growing from a

Realist theoretical school of thought, such engagement may also be traced back, to the *Third debate* in *IR*.

4.1.12 Shaw and Heard: *Politics of Afrika* (1979²²³)

From *Shaw and Heard's Politics of Afrika* (1979), a “collection of fourteen original essays is intended to be both a review and overview, of current theoretical and empirical research, on *Afrika*...representing a selection from the exciting research, currently being undertaken in Canada and elsewhere, on the impact of political change and development in *Afrika*” (Shaw and Heard,1979). This text is split into five parts: *Uneven Development and Class Formation*, *Dependent Development*, *Political Change and Participation*, *Aid to Afrika: Interdependence or dependence?* And *Afrika and International Politics*.

It is the view of the author of this study that of all the articles, featured in this text, it is *Timothy Shaw's* contribution of *The Actors in Afrikan International Politics*²²⁴ which is situated, in the final part of this book, which was worth a mention. Although *Shaw* argues that the *Afrikan* political system, has been in existence for centuries, *Shaw* goes on to provide a narrative, which focuses on *regionalism*, *Afrikan political organisations*, *religious reference* and also serving a scholarly orientated *dish*, which did not leave out *IPE*, as part of his analysis.

So at best this text may be read as *Shaw's* way of inviting conversation, to *Afrika*, within the context of the theme of *Afrika and IR* because for him “*Afrika's* rediscovery of *realpolitik* is a function of its developing continental inequalities” (Shaw, 1979:384). In the end all *Shaw* could predict for *Afrika*, was a new balance of power, on the horizon. Given *Shaw's* prolific profile on the theme under discussion, so much more was expected from any project authored by *Shaw*. Overall this analytical account in question, was read as over-rated and not convincing at all.

4.1.13 *Dunn and Shaw et al: Afrika's Challenge to International Relations (2001²²⁵)*

In the view of the author of this study, this text's *direct* attempt of connecting *Afrikan* issues to *IR* theory perhaps should be, read as a watershed mark from the various attempts, of the contributors found in this text. Right from the foreword, *Craig Murphy* sets the tone for the concern, in which this text, seeks to address the theme under discussion "More than one out of ten people are *Afrikan*. More than one out of four nations are *Afrikan*. Yet, I would warrant a fewer than one, in hundred university lectures, on *International Relations (IR)* given in Europe or North America, even mention the continent" (Murphy, 2001: ix).

This book is organized into three parts: *Part I* (Troubling Concepts), *Part II* (Theoretical Interventions) and *Part III* (Implications and Policy ramifications, by the preceding chapters), for a text, that has received extensive reviews, namely from *Maxi Schoeman, Lisa Mueller, Lee J, Seymour, Robert Charlick, Seifuden Adem* and *Ian Taylor* within the theme under discussion, it is the view of the author of this study, that some of the contributors of this text, arguably deserve the amount of attention, that they have received, from the array of *Africanists*, captured so far.

The congratulations however begin and end only, in as far as the *Africanist* attempt, read by the author of this study, as leading towards (however not arriving) at the sought point of *Afrocentricity*. The above point is illustrated so well, by the following words, as captured from the introduction of the text in question

This collection seeks to rethink traditional *IR* theories, by taking *Afrika* as its starting point. Yet the aim of this collection, is more than just 'bringing *Afrika* into the mix'. By using *Afrikan* examples, this collection seeks to problematise both existing *IR* theory and theorizing in general. While this contribution, belongs to a long tradition of scholarship critical of *Western* provincialism in *IR*, it is different in that it is not trying to construct, a 'better' universal theory. Nor is it the interest of the authors, to construct an autonomous '*African*' *IR* theory. Rather, the authors are using *Afrika*, to distrust existing ways of reading *IR*, by exposing the limitations and fissures of these denotative interpretations (Dunn, 2001:4).

So from the above, especially judging from the acknowledgement that it was never, the interest of the contributing authors of this text under discussion, to create nor introduce some form of

autonomous ‘*African*’ *IR* theory, this may perhaps be read as a form of confirmation, that the *Afrocentric* vacuum, remains unaddressed, under the theme in question. For the author of this study, this should be read as disappointing, even from such a well meaning seminal text, such as this. It is such challenge(s) that should be noted, wherein the authors in this collection, seek to be read as stating a case, for *Afrika*’s marginalisation in *IR theory*, however the same pit of extensive reference made towards *Realist*, *Liberal* and other *Mainstream IR* theories were observed, almost from all the narratives of the contributors, of this text.

Under the theme of *Troubling Concepts In Part I*, which comprises of four essays, the core intention of the authors included in this opening segment of the text, seek to illustrate the questionable nature of the “foundational concepts and the denotative interpretations, given them by the dominant/ dominating readings of *IR*” (Dunn,2001:6). This is why, under the title *Postcards from the edge*, the earlier noted observation above, is emphasised by *Kevin Dunn*, who forthrightly declares that “the *state-centric* approach ...misses important elements of *Afrikan international relations*” (Dunn, 2001:50).

In order to illustrate his point, *Dunn* draws reference to *non-state actors*, such as international financial institutions, regional strong men, extractive corporations and *non-state* military bodies (Dunn, 2001:51-5). Disappointingly however *Dunn*’s trajectory also leads him, towards the same *cul de sac* sign, which almost always leads towards the promotion, of the concept of the state in *Afrika*. It is such points, which spoil the healthy effort, expressed by the contributing scholars, found in this text. The failure to transcend beyond this stubborn *Mainstream Westerncentric IR* pit of reference, almost insinuates that the efforts of almost the entire cohort, of the contributors as found within this text, seem to have been of nothing else but echoes of redundancy.

Assis Malaquias’s attempt in the *second chapter*, to also address the challenge posed by the extensive use of *Eurocentric IR* theory, using *Angola* as a case study, is almost similar (if not entirely the same) as *Dunne*’s effort expressed above however captured, from the *fourth chapter*. Overall the author of this study, found *Malaquias*’s offering of an alternative approach, by focusing on *the nation* and *nationalist movements* not convincing.

*Siba Grovogui*²²⁶ in the *third chapter* employs a comparative study, with specific reference to *Congo (Zaire), Belgium and Switzerland*. In this chapter, *Grovogui* advances an argument over the conception of sovereignty. The same methodology, seems to have been employed by *Randolph Persaud* in his focus on *Marcus Garvey* (refer to *chapter 8* of this text). *Grovogui* argues that such an idea is central, to all *Westphalian IR* theories. For *Grovogui* “sovereignty is a historical mode of global governance, intended to effect a moral order of identity and subjectivity” (Grovogui, 2001). Furthermore *Grovogui* states that “the regime of sovereignty implemented in *Afrika*, did not involve a different morality than that which applied to European powers. It simply established a distinct degree of moral solicitation, consistent with historical will and desires, which effected specific modes of identities and subjectivity and corresponding modalities of allocation of values and interests (Grovogui, 2001:31).

For *Seifudein Adem* (2001) “*Siba Grovogui* provides a well-informed and rigorously argued critique, of the predominant discourse surrounding the concept of sovereignty in *Afrika...Grovogui’s* lucid analysis of this discourse, tries to reveal in comparative terms “the analytical errors, ideological confusions, and historical omissions” (Grovogui, 2001:29) as paraphrased by *Adem* (2001:135). For the author of this study, whether *Grovogui* succeeded or not, in this analysis should not be an issue, what is of more significance is that the extensive use of the *Westphalian* system, within the discourse of *IR* was questioned and stripped, of its hegemonic status.

The *fifth chapter* was of special interest to the author of this study. As a past student of *IR* at *Stellenbosch University (SU)*, a familiar name from the list of contributors was that of *SU IR* lecturer *Janis van der Westhuizen* (whose contribution of *marketing power*, was really questionable, to the author of this study, as an article that belonged in this text), *Ian Taylor* (also a past *SU* graduate and lecturer) also shares the same concern, in his review of this book. The use of music, film and sport by the South *Afrikan* government, in order to improve the country’s image, is notable but does not seem, to contribute anything tangible towards the theme under discussion.

In *Part II* under the title of *Theoretical Interventions*, the *six chapters* placed in this segment, were intended, more than anything else, to challenge the hegemonic readings of *IR* theory, by showing how the literary material under *Mainstream IR*, has failed to address *Afrikan* experiences. While *John Clark's* (chapter 6) article is notable, in its effort of reinterpreting *Realism*, which dismisses the *positivists* route, as taken by most of its scholars, given the lack or unknown *black female(s)* especially amongst *IR* scholars, from *Afrika* (in this case *South Afrika*), to secure the voice of such an individual, in the form of the views of *Thandeka Nkiwane*, with all her flaws (as similarly noted with *Ali Mazrui* earlier) was refreshing for the author of this study.

Thandeka Nkiwane takes issue with assumptions necklaced around *liberalism*, specifically those of *Francis Fukuyama's End of History*, economic growth and *democratic peace theory*. One of the reviewers criticised *Nkiwane* as follows "...that struck me as rather old hat. The chapter is weak and very short and adds nothing to the book" (Taylor, 2001²²⁷). Another critique captured was that "Nkiwane specially concentrates on *Afrika's* challenges to *democratic peace theory*, which the author (wrongly) asserts, is the outgrowth of *Francis Fukuyama's* 'the end of history' thesis (Adem, 2001²²⁸) as paraphrased by *Nkiwane (2001:105)* herself. Needless to say, from such a local *South Afrikan* scholar of *IR*, the author of this study expected much more, especially when concerns read, in the light of *bell hooks's* earlier raised *Feminist and Liberatory Theory*. In a nutshell for the author of this study, in the light of the sought *Afrikan* contribution to *IR*, this text in question disappointingly spells itself out, as simply disappointing.

Part III of this book, in its aim of *examining implications and policy ramifications* from the past chapters features *James Jude* (Chapter 12), who places much emphasis on the theme of *developmental integration*. *Jude* makes such a suggestion, after presenting an argument that "the uncritical use of the *Westphalian model* is flawed and leads to counter-productive policies" (Jude, 2001). It is from such a concern wherein *Jude* calls for the "re-examination of *Afrika*, from alternative perspectives, that should place more stress on developmental integration" (Jude, 2001).

Timothy Shaw (chapter 13), explores the growing impact of *multinational corporations, state organisations, intergovernmental organisations* and *civil societies* within the *Afrikan* continent.

The core focus is placed on the themes of “human security/peace-building nexus, new regionalisms, emerging markets, and the prospects for a ‘new realism’ ” (Shaw, 2001). *Shaw* wraps up the chapter, by listing multiple lessons, which may be learnt from modern states of *Central Afrika*.

Criticised by (one of the book’s reviewers) for having “no homogeneity...contributors are so diverse that they disagree on many issues...*Realism and the state...*” (Okoth 2001:238²²⁹), for the author of this study, all the above simply manifests the *eclectic* nature of *IR*. In closure the author of this study, agrees with the view which stipulates that “the premise of this book is very ambitious...the book rather fails to deliver. A number of the chapters say more about North American intellectual fashions, than they do about *Afrika*’s place, within the *IR* discipline” (Taylor, 2001).

It has been noted that “throughout this collection, the authors seek to replace the dominant/dominating denotative reading of the *IR* text, with a more pluralist connotive reading” (Dunn, 2001:8). So overall, almost all the reviewers, read by the author of this study collectively agreed, that this text, marks an excellent meeting place, of *Africanists* (authors emphasis). With all its flaws this text “lays a good foundation for further investigation and research into the relevance of *Afrikan* issues to *IR* theory. It is a valuable text, both for the scholars of *Afrikan* studies and for those in the wider *IR* field” (Adem, 2001).

For the author of this study, commentary on the above text, should be made in consideration of the other projects, that have been conducted by *Shaw* and *Dunn* elsewhere yet may be linked to the text in question. For example in an interview²³⁰ with *Dunn*, the author of this study was thoroughly impressed with *Dunn*’s acknowledgement of the *gender* concern, in *IR* (specifically when he singled out the *white male bias of the field*). In responding to a question, posed by *Theory Talk* about the abovementioned book, under discussion

The majority of “authoritative” *IR* theory, has largely been produced by *white males* from *North America* and *Western Europe*, who have written about world politics, from their own unexamined subject positions. *Western-centric IR* theory has created a system of dispositions, that posits their historical experiences and cultural values, are the norm for the international community. Their

assumptions and experiences, are passed off as “normal” and have enabled definitions and concepts, that privileged this narrow segment of the world’s population, to become accepted as the norm, within *IR* theory. Because most *IR* theory begins with ingrained assumptions about world politics based on *Western* experiences, thoughts, and desires, *non-Western* examples appear to be abnormal or aberrant and in need of explaining and, more often fixing... The goal of *Afrika’s challenge to IR Theory* was to place *Afrika* and *Afrikan* experiences, as our starting point for analysis and theorizing (Dunn, 2008).

Elsewhere *Dunn’s* project on *identity* namely *Imagining The Congo: The International Relations of Identity* (2003) alongside *Historical Representations* (2008²³¹) provide a broader picture of *Dunn’s* thought, over related work to projects sharing the themes addressed in this study.

With *Dunn* being the freshhand, when turning to *Shaw*, this should be read as a symbolic sign of turning, towards the seasoned *oldhand* of *IR* scholarship in the context of the discourse to do with *IR* and *Afrika*. In an almost similar course outline (as that placed in the addendum), course director *Roger Coate* (based at the University of South Carolina) of *Globalization, Governance and International Relations Theory*²³² appears to have placed one of *Shaw’s* works “*Afrikan Foreign Policy in the New Millenium : From Coming Anarchies to Security Communities? From New Regionalisms to New Realisms?*” as compulsory in his lessons of *Afrika* and *IR*. A chapter from *Dunn* and *Shaw’s* book has already been discussed at length above.

Another notable work from *Shaw* was ‘*Afrika and Global Relations/Studies: lessons from/for the continent* (2008).’ In this work, intended to be presented at *BISA*, *Timothy Shaw* continues on the same line, of concern as expressed in the main book above. On the focus on *Afrika/ Sub-Saharan Afrika* appears to always have been a challenge, of *International Relations (IR) theory*.

The global is not only more inclusive of transnational relations in general-which in one sense is true by definition-but it is also constitutive of them in a way which they are not of it. Increasingly, transnational, regional –and *international relations* are informed by a sense of the world as a social and cultural context, more than this global sense is informed, by the international regional or transnational (Shaw,1999).

The point made here is that both *Shaw* and *Dunn*, when read from the vast array of their scholarly analysis, fellow scholars may deduce that they have been consistent, with their interest of *Afrika and IR*. Similar to *Dunn* above, the interview conducted with *Shaw*²³³ left the author of this study impressed, as to the amount of attention paid, towards what this seasoned *IR* scholar referred to, as the 'global souths'.

In their paper titled *Neo-Modernisation? IR and the Inner Life of Modernization Theory* (2002²³⁴), the respective authors of this paper paraphrase the following scholars, in order to stress their point that *IR* as a discipline, has overlaps thus should not be read as an autonomous field “ *International Relations* theory emerges and remains embedded within a matrix of disciplines and sub-fields. Perhaps most prominently and intricately, *IR* is interwoven with *political philosophy* (see Walker, 1993 and Onuf, 1998). Similarly, the case can be made that *IR* is embedded within the *political economy* tradition (Gilpin, 1987; Rosenberg, 1994; Inayatullah and Blaney, 1995) and within *social theory* more generally (Wendt, 1999). So the eclectic nature of *IR* is stressed here with the view that scholars, working on the theme of *Afrika and IR*, have all these *Westerncentric* hurdles to negotiate, worsened by sharp *Africanist's* corners yet to be comprehended. For further views, on what has been stated in the previous sentence, the works of the following *IR* scholars, are highly recommended *Douglas Lemke's Review Article: African Lessons for International Relations Research*²³⁵, *Branwyn Gruffyd Jones's Afrika and the Poverty of International Relations*²³⁶, *William Brown's Afrika's and international relations: a comment on IR theory, anarchy and statehood*²³⁷, *Mgonja and Makombe's Debating international relations*²³⁸.

4.1.14 Stephanie G. Neuman et al: *IR Theory and the Third World* (1998²³⁹)

From *Stephanie G. Neuman et al's International Relations Theory and the Third World* (1998), which was a text that captured *IR* voices from the *ISA* 1995 annual convention, poignant points were raised concerning the *Third World*, yet nothing (given the broadness of the reference of *Third World*) could be grasped, as *African contribution to IR*. Notable points raised included

attempts at responding to questions, such as from *Neuman's*²⁴⁰ opening article “How do less powerful states, perceive their position in world politics? How do they plan for their defence? What factors explain their foreign and defence policy choices? Which set of internal or external factors most influence those choices?”(Neuman, 1998:1).

Neuman's response, sets the tone for the rest of other contributors found in this book. “To answer these questions, we examine numerous concepts, approaches, models and theories drawn from the *IR* literature, that focus on the importance of, for example, military, bureaucratic, organizational, political, economic and psychological factors, alliance behavior and the structure of the international system”(Neuman,1998:2).

So from the above response reference to *Rational Choice, The State, Sovereignty* all just cement the confined pool that restricted *Neuman* in her offering. Other chapters in this text such as the fifth chapter, Holsti's *International Relations Theory and Domestic War in the Third World: The Limits of Relevance*²⁴¹, the sixth chapter Puchala's *Third World Thinking and Contemporary International Relations*²⁴², and from the Seventh chapter Acharya's *Beyond Anarchy: Third World Instability and International Order after the Cold War*²⁴³ all float in the same pool of the first chapter, as authored by *Neuman*.

In summing up the contributions stipulated thus far from the text in question, Barry Buzan states as follows “up to this point, my argument has been that one needs both unit- and system –level theories to understand the *Third World*” (Buzan, 1998:226²⁴⁴). Notably elsewhere *Acharya and Buzan* teamed up to author a text, titled *Why is there no non-Western international relations theory?*²⁴⁵ In that text they interestingly respond to the question, posed by crediting “*Western IR*, to have discovered the right path, to understanding *international relations*, so as to preclude the need for other voices” (Acharya and Buzan, 2007). Focus however is thus shifted and focused on *Asia* and its lack of resources. Overall the above scholars seem to reluctantly agree, that *Afrikan contribution to IR* seemingly does not exist.

Acharya and Buzan however may be classified as contemporary contributors, to the above question, *Martin Wight* (an old *IR* hand as Tim Dunne) has also posed the same question as above, phrased slightly differently *Why is There No International Theory? (1966)*²⁴⁶. In his attempt to respond to the above posed question, *Wight* goes on to provide a historical account of *IR* theory, tracing back for emphasis basis to classical *Westerncentric* philosophers, specifically *Plato, Aristotle, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau Kant* and *Stuart Mill* amongst others. In brief, the sought response is referred back to ancient military law scholars, such as *Grotius et al.* At best the above works serve as examples, of how the discourse of *philosophy always has/ and continues* to inform the background premise of *IR* (theory).

4.1.15 Peter Vale: *International relations in South Afrika in the late 1980's (1989)*²⁴⁷

The study of *international relations* in South Afrika has been preoccupied with the international situation of the country's ruling minority. As a result the discipline is ill prepared for the changes which will follow the country's re-integration into the community of nations, once the present order collapses (Vale, 1989:84).

Peter Vale (1989) in proceeding forward, from the above quote, further informs fellow colleagues, at an academic workshop hosted at *Rhodes University in 1989*, titled *International Relations: A debate on methodology* as follows

...the study of *international relations* is dominated by whites: the Political Science Association, to which almost all those involved in *international relations* belong, has not one *black* member; The *South Afrikan Institute of International Affairs*, the country's premier *international relations* organisations, has in over 50 years, never appointed a *black* professional staff member! (Vale, 1989:84-85).

When scholars consider the period, in which the above *IR* scholar, made the above remark, a reminder that South Afrika, was still under the dark cloud of *apartheid*, may go some way, in justifying his comment. For the author of this study, having been a resident scholar, at the

university, mentioned below and specifically, the department concerned (as an undergraduate student), the commentary below was expectedly irking and consequently set the worrisome tone, with regards to past and contemporary progress, concerning the study of *IR*

In the so called “*black*” universities, a similar bias exists. Take, for example, the “*International Relations*” programme at one of these universities, *Zululand*. The Syllabus outlines these sub-topics: “Nationalism, National Power, Foreign Policy, Diplomacy, War, Peace and Neutrality”. These are perfectly respectable, although somewhat timebound, topics but not one touches *Afrika*, nor inter-state relations in *Afrika*, nor wars of national liberation, nor non-alignment. They are remote, distant and of no direct consequence, to the international experience and aspirations, of those they are intended, to reach-they describe a world, through *white*, almost colonial eyes (Vale, 1989:85).

Interestingly, judging from the list of participants, at the workshop in question, none of those present, could contest the above comment, as they themselves, were *white South Afrikans*²⁴⁸, (including their guest scholar (s) whom were mostly *Westerners* -in attendance were their descendants- predominantly emanating from *UK* and *America*) completing an entirely *white IR scholarly contingent*. Note the silent elephant in the room- only parochial views could be aired.

Just for the record, *Peter Vale* himself, the observing local *IR* analyst, whom authored the article in question, is also a *white, male IR scholar*. Recall in the previous chapters, that these were identified, as standard characteristics, of the majority of most authoritative *IR* scholars. From *Vale’s* opening quote above, the author of this study is willing to contend that, to the broad *IR* community (eg.skeptics and critics and supporters of *Mainstream IR*), the message is clear that another way of teaching *IR* is critically desired, in order for such a discipline to be able to claim its relevance, beyond the *Westerncentric* normative articulation(s).

What has been noted in the final sentence of the previous paragraph affirms *Vale’s (1989)* opening point above, that the authors of the prescribed texts and the contents of the material, they presented truly manifest that “They are remote, distant and of no direct consequence to the

international experience and aspirations of those they are intended to reach-they describe a world through *white*, almost colonial eyes” (Vale, 1989:85). In as far as the author of this study is concerned, *Peter Vale* could not have summed it up any better.

Other highly recommended papers from similar conventions include: *Engel’s And Olsen’s Afrika in International Relations Theory* (2006²⁴⁹), *Stefan Andreasson’s Thinking Beyond Development: The Future of Post-Development Theory In Southern Africa* (2007²⁵⁰), *Peter Mandaville’s Telling other stories about the World: Post-hegemonic scholarship and (undisciplined) International Relations* (2007²⁵¹), *Christopher LaMonika’s Where Is African Political Thought in International Relations Theory?* (2008²⁵²), *Sajed Alina’s Nativizing Discipline (s) and Disciplining Natives: Post-Structuralism and the Postcolonial in IR Theory* (2008²⁵³), *Arlene Tickner’s International Relations Scholarship Around the World* (2009²⁵⁴) and lastly *Stephanie Lawson’s The Cultural Politics of Postcolonial IR: A Critique*²⁵⁵.

So from the long and short of it, the various reasons provided for sparse progress made towards concrete findings of *Afrikan contribution to IR*, in the view of the author of this study, should really be owed to the lack of attention, paid towards the vast efforts, already made by past *IR* scholars. Each advancing albeit in their own mini way (s), towards acts of revolution opposing the current *Eurocentric* education, which has been inherited, from the previous *political* and current *socio-economic controlling masters*, the *Eurocentric* colonizers and unapologetic imperialists.

In closure, it is the author of this study’s contention, that without pursuing such a mission, with the suggested vehicle of *Afrocentric knowledge*, *Mainstream* academic curricula in *Afrika* will remain stuck, in the same tiresome space of regurgitating *Eurocentric* data, regarding the subject matter of *IR* and other scholarly fields. So the dilemma of having no *Afrikan pedagogy/education*, by implication no *Afrikan contribution (s)* to anything, associated with intellectualism, as it is currently the case, in the minds of the *colonizers* and *colonized* alike, if not continuously challenged, will pitifully linger on unabatedly.

5. In Retrospect: *Afrika* and *IR*- A Case of Marginalization, Misunderstanding or Absentia?

One of the main weaknesses of the marginalization discourse is that it does not address perspectivism or its own sociology (Ake, 1996:13²⁵⁶)

The great historical tragedy of *Afrika* has been not so much, that it was too late in making contact with the rest of the world, as the manner in which that contact was brought about; that Europe began to propagate at a time when it had fallen into the hands of the most unscrupulous financiers and captains of industry (Cesaire, 1972:23 as quoted by V.Y Mudimbe, 1988:2)

Being an *Afrocentric* disclaimer-this chapter seeks to unpack (via a commentary style narrative) the author of this study's findings and personal opinion(s). Extensive reference to views of *Afrocentrists*, as would be relevant to this broad *IR* theme is sought, within this chapter. The critical multiple function(s) played by amongst others, the dynamics of *language* are also to be noted. The factor (s) that may have led to confusion (as informed by the hegemonic *Eurocentric* distortions), of whether or not there has been an *Afrikan* contribution to *IR*, is also to be discussed within this chapter. This is with the view, that the intended role, of linking this study to concerns, as raised in the discourse of *Afrikan philosophy*, may also be realised.

5.1.1 *Afrika* and *IR*: Findings and Commentary

We must prove to our oppressors that we are men, possessed of like susceptibilities with themselves by seeking after those attributes, which give dignity to a state (Blyden, 1887²⁵⁷).

No people that laughs at itself, and ridicules itself, and wishes to God it was anything but itself, ever wrote its name in history (Du Bois, 1868-1963²⁵⁸)

Has there been any *African* as opposed to *Afrikan/Afrocentric* (author's emphasis) contribution to *IR* theory? Given the technicalities found in this question, namely the notable types of *simplified* (more likely, should be referred to, as *oversimplified*) definitions of *Africa(n)*, as discussed in the

opening chapter of this study, summoned for a decision, by the author of this study, to be made. Seeking to achieve the desired clarity, which the above posed question, in its current form, if left as is, had the potential to inevitably spiral onwards, into further hurdles of whatever may then possibly, be presented as *African contribution* to anything.

IR notwithstanding concerns, of having been born and grown as a *Eurocentric* pedagogic product, as a field of study, appears to have also fallen victim, of being trapped, in such an overarching, amount of *Eurocentric* abstractness. This is predominantly owed to its great *ancestor*, the discipline of *Philosophy* (as located within the *Social Sciences*). In the interest of this study, this could only lead to “distorted or myopic European or *Eurocentric* views about *Afrikanness*” (Rafapa, 2005:1-2²⁵⁹). The theme of *Afrikan* identity being key, in such a study, should explain the rationale behind the following statement “South *Afrika* is only superficially an *Afrikan* country; it is really an anachronism which is governed by a besieged minority which needs to proclaim and insist upon its “*Afrikan-ness*” in order to believe it” (Vale, 1989:84).

Beyond the above realization, the disagreement of *IR* scholars themselves, concerning the contested reference premises pertaining to *Afrikan* (s), as noted in the numerous definitions of *IR* (as captured, in the *second chapter* of this study), also just added more salt, to the ever-widening exploratory wound. This is because it left, the author of this study baffled, about what precisely, was to be researched. With such puzzling traits in mind, helplessly bound to *open to interpretation* broadness, linked to the questions of interest, in their current form are factors, which convinced the author of this study, to consider a rephrasing, of these questions. Careful effort however of avoiding, any alteration or deviation from the core enquiry, of the opening questions in this stanza, was however to be upheld, at all costs.

In keeping stock of what has been stated above, the decision to pose the same questions, as done in the first chapter, was thus adopted. *Has there been any Afrocentric contribution to IR (theory)? If not, what may be the reasons? If so, what examples may be named?* Judging from the data

presented, from the preceding chapters thus far, alongside vintage beliefs, as those expressed in the *fourth chapter*, by the two *larger than life* German figures (pioneering phenomenologist Philosopher *Geog Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel* and German military General and later Chancellor of Germany, *Otto Van Bismarck*), a *flat no* appears, to be an expectedly fit reply, to the posed questions above.

To such a response, as assumed above, both *Africanists* and *Afrocentrists*, may collectively be expected, to refute such a response. Given the definitions of *Afrocentricity*, as provided in the opening chapter by *Mafeje (2000:66-67)* and *Asante (2003:2)*, the latter may arguably be more hostile in their response, than the former. While both views of these scholars, may be classified as part of the rationale behind *postcolonial literature*, such views may be understandable if indeed it is understood, that such amour of defence, as worn by those that may be labeled as *Afrocentrists*, was aimed at shielding them, from the *Eurocentric Worldview(s)* (as realized in the previous two chapters, of this study).

As discussed earlier, repercussions of *Westerncentric* notions of Knowledge, serve no other purpose, beyond consolidating a *parochial* lens, as informed predominantly, from the undermined sources of *Afrikan Philosophy*. With *Indigenous knowledge (IK)* or *Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS)*, being one of its latest, yet increasingly growing scholarly round(s) of ammunition. In as far as the author of this study is concerned, the existence of *IKS*, should be read, as being part of a last chapter, within *Afrikan philosophy's* ever-growing scholarly domain.

5.1.2 Identity: Realising the Relevance of *Afrocentricity*

Based on what past *IR* scholars (as predominantly captured in the *fourth chapter*), the overwhelming response, compels the author of this study, to simply echo a 'dismissive *no*', as a response to whether or not, there has been any *Afrikan* contribution to *IR* (theory). Really? How

true is such a direct response and furthermore may a sparse response to such a broad historical and complex theme, be that forthrightly simple? It is the view of the author of this study that an in depth interrogation of the relevant literature, concerning the theme in question, hopefully has exposed the complexity of varying views, on such a contentious theme. So any response, supporting any oversimplified reply, which may suggest or consolidate the view that- *No Afrikan contribution to IR (theory) exists*, should expect its fair share of critics and their respective rebuttals. In the light of what has been stipulated thus far, concerning *Afrocentricity* by *Afrocentrists* themselves, resistance to the above ‘*simplified -flat no /negative*’ response, should expectedly *not* be surprising.

For the author of this study, contrary to widely held belief, as suggested throughout all the texts captured in the *fourth chapter yes/ affirmative*- there has been *Afrikan contribution to IR (theory)* however to date, such a response has been ambiguous. It is the view of the author of this study that the high level of ambiguity, has been as a result of *Africanists* as opposed to *Afrocentrists* being at the forefront of such an expedition. The author of this study arguably *holds* and *will continue* to subscribe, to such a position until *Afrocentric insight*, which brings forth arguments, that are related yet *remain excluded and left analysed*, in as far as the scholarly body of *IR*, begins to be carefully acknowledged and registered. Until such a time that the agenda of the *gatekeepers* (authorities) of *IR*, are interrogated and overcome, securing response(s) in support of *the negative/flat no* to questions, as raised in this study, will continue to haunt, the current and future scholars of *IR*.

The above view however can only be realised, once *IR* scholars, are willing to transcend from their *parochial* binoculars. This does not just imply, reading beyond *Eurocentric* perspectives however it emphasizes shifting focus, from the standard *Eurocentric IR* (theory) discourse. One of the ways, that the above suggestion may be achieved, is by paying more attention, between the *differences* on the subject of contested *Worldviews* between *Africanists* and *Afrocentrists*, as earlier distinguished in the earlier chapters, of this study (eg. *Weltanschauung Worldview vs*

Afrocentric Worldview- interestingly if they do indeed differ, what may be the reasons and note their respective characteristics).

It is the argument of the author of this study, that both the abovementioned groups *more or less* both possess critical insight, that may be worthwhile, in so far as directing interested scholars regarding the *IR* theme under discussion, towards interesting findings from the *IR* zoo. Amongst a plethora of counter-arguments, which may be available from the scholars, in the above two groups mentioned, perhaps the option of advancing their respective point (s) of refutation (disagreeing with the view, which stipulates that *no Afrikan* contribution to *IR* exists), by way of firstly insisting, that the response of a forthright *flat no*, should be read, as being part of the labyrinth of *Westerncentric* condescending perspectives. Afterall “Hegelian *Afrika* was a European myth” (Wa Thiong’o, 2002:53²⁶⁰). *Afrocentrist Ngugi Wa Thiong’o* reminds scholars, that such expressions, being prime example (s) of stereotypes, should therefore be read as amounting, to nothing else but *Afropessimism*.

5.1.3 Afrocentrists emphasis on language significance

Lesibana Jacobus Rafapa below, in his doctoral study, which was focused on the prominent *Afrocentrist Es’kia Mphahlele’s Afrikan Humanism*, affirms the above expressed view, as follows

Ngugi Wa Thiong’o’s 1986 accentuation of the need to decolonize the mind of the *Afrikan* writer and reader, for example should be seen as nothing other than a call for the writer to achieve this by aggressively analyzing the consciousness of the community primarily as a man towards purging the *Afrikan* individual of the distortions effected by colonization: “Writers are the surgeons of the heart and souls of a community ... (Rafapa, 2005:31).

Prior to 1977, when *Wa Thiong’o* would take an *Afrocentric* decision to write in *Gikuyu* (his mother tongue, as it was a local dialect spoken in Kenya) after having authored *A grain of wheat* (1967), he confessed as follows

I came to realize only too painfully that the novel in which I had so carefully painted the struggle of the Kenya peasantry against colonial oppression would never be read by them. In an interview shortly afterwards in the *Union News*, the student newspaper, in 1967, I said that I did not think that I would continue writing in English: that I knew about whom I was writing, but for whom was I writing? (Wa Thiong'o: 2002:56).

The closing question, in the above quote, marks a realization of the employment of *English* as a language of choice, as noted in *Wa Thiong'o's* novels. In retrospect, the author of this study is convinced that *Wa Thiong'o* sought to intentionally emphasise and furthermore stress upon the misleading myth, which intended to masquerade to the global community that "Europe was the centre of the Universe. Europe, the centre of our imagination?" (Wa Thiong'o, 2002: 55-56). On *Wa Thiong'o's* return in 1967, to the country of his birth, Kenya, he realized that in the *English* department of the University of Nairobi, *Mphahlele's* earlier efforts, of ensuring, that the inclusion of *Afrikan* scholars, were introduced into the syllabus was still necessary.

The previous paragraph reminds scholars that the gist of the struggle related to *language*, signified even more, the need of authoring what would become his next text, *Decolonization of the Mind* (1987). *Wa Thiong'o's* desire, to continuously *seek to be* and *remain* relevant to his community, indicates a form of consistency, based on the strength of priority of values, to the *process of becoming* and then remaining *Afrocentric*. As explained here by his fellow *Afrocentrist* "Only when you have regained self-pride and reassembled the various elements of tradition and given them dignity, hallowed them, can you decide wisely which of the new values to throw out, which to appropriate or incorporate" (Mphahlele, 1975²⁶¹). Still on the theme of an *Afrikan language* "Unfortunately until now, *Alexis Kagame* has not received due recognition. One reason is that a big part of his work was published in *Kinyarwanda*, his mother tongue, and has never been translated" (Kagabo, 2004:231²⁶²). A leading authority in the field of language in South *Afrika*, categorically mentions that "For, it is a truism that there is no learning without language...we treat language the way we treat a window. We look *through* the window, and very seldom, look *at* the window" (Alexander, 2010:6²⁶³).

5.1.4 An *Afrocentric* route to reclaim the *medulla oblongata*: Enter *Afrikan Philosophy*

One of the cornerstone functions of *Afrikan philosophy*, is to address *race consciousness*, wherein both *oppressors* and the *oppressed* as imposed by the *Eurocentric pedagogic machinery*, have had such an adverse impact, on their respective psyche (human mind and soul). This psychological conflict is particularly to be located deep in one's *cerebrum* (main part of the human brain, where amongst other functions, memory is stored).

Typical other *Afrocentric* responses, which may add to the list of rebuttals, may range as thus: on the subject of *paleontology* “We must restore the *historical consciousness* of the *Afrikan* peoples and reconquer a *Promethean consciousness*...The triumph of the monogenetic thesis of humanity” (Leakey²⁶⁴), furthermore even at the stage of “*Homo sapiens-sapiens*,” compels one to admit that all races descended from the *Black race*, according to a filiation process, that science will one day explain” (Diop, 1974: XV²⁶⁵). Diop's works dismisses *Eurocentricity* as continuation or renewal of the *Worldview* of the primary human beings- *black Afrikans*. While still on the theme of *consciousness*, the following reminder, which was quoted in the opening stanza's of this study (see *chapter one*) is key “It is no use talking in the abstract about an *Afrocentric Worldview* based on traditional values, if at the same time we are content, to live in a physical and human landscape created or determined by a *European Worldview*?” (Mphahlele, 1975²⁶⁶).

The influence of *Pan-Afrikanism*, resulted in amongst others, *WEB Du Bois*'s project of *Double Consciousness*, which later influenced *Angela Davis*'s interest on the *History of Consciousness*, and later initiatives such as the *Black Consciousness* doctrine in *South Afrika*, as would be articulated astonishingly by prominent *Pan-Afrikan* acolytes, such as *Robert Sobukwe* and *Steve Bantu Biko* and alas the existence of *Black Existentialists*, as observed from scholars such as *Kathryn Gines*, *Lewis Gordon* and *Desiree Melton* amongst others, are all worth some mention. *Black Nihilism* by *Cornel West* and *Postcolonialism* by *EC Eze* and *Frantz Fanon*, are just as equally important.

After *Afrocentric* scholar *Van Sertima* tirelessly dedicated his life, to the study of *Afrika*, the realization of the almost entirely overlooked contribution as located in the text *Blacks in Science*²⁶⁷, the following message was echoed “The lineaments of a lost science are now emerging and we can glimpse some of the once buried reefs of this remarkable civilization. A lot more remains to be revealed” (Sertima, 1983). Proceeding in the same tradition, of unraveling and where possible, also deciphering data related to historical contribution(s) of *Afrikans*, in other fields, such as architecture and art, wherein scholars such as *Diop* and *Obenga* (both multilinguists and categorized in certain quarters as Egyptologists). Through their respective deciphering efforts, their various contributions focused on ancient *Afrikans*, which would later influence international scholars, to take interest on the theme of *Afrikan* descent, was thus brought afore.

On the theme of *Afrikan history* it needs to be both clarified and emphasized that “*Afrika* has a history. Unfortunately, for far too long, little was known about it and the little that was known was misunderstood (Ki-Zerbo, 2003:1²⁶⁸). Amongst a multitude of factors, that led to the distorted myth, of *Afrika*, not having a history (essentially implying, that *Afrikans* had no past) were as a result of “Too much of *Afrikan* historiography, has been about writing *Afrika* for Europe without writing *Afrika* for itself, as itself, from its own perspectives” (Asante, 2007: xii-xiii). As emphasised, in the elaboration on *anamnesis* “The idea of remembering what has transpired in the past is foundational to the relevance of knowledge and values, which our educational system should disseminate” (Murove, 2010:3²⁶⁹).

On the theme of *Afrikan Identity*, complex and controversially abstract, as it may seem to both critics and supporters alike “we need to remember that what is vague, is not necessarily meaningless” (Mazrui, 2002:528²⁷⁰). The following warning however is also noteworthy “If everybody is an *Afrikan*, then nobody is an *Afrikan*” (Prah, 1997:33²⁷¹). On *Afrikan culture* “Culture can be an instrument of domination or it can be an instrument of liberation. South *Afrika* has known both variants” (Mzamane, 2010, 1²⁷²). Elsewhere another less noted

Afrocentrist, yet highly respected amongst the *Pan-Afrikan* family, as the founding Editor of *Presence Africaine* explains that “Each country or each cultural region has its terminology; in France, we invented negritude (negro-ness); in the Anglo-Saxon countries, they invented Pan-Afrikanism; and together, we launched another expression with the same perspective, the *Afrikan* personality (Diop, 1962:339²⁷³).

On the theme of *Afrikan philosophy*, although *WJ Ndaba* of *Zululand University*, pioneered the contemporary South *Afrikan black* scholar contingent in this study area, it is however from his fellow colleague *Joe Teffo* whom until the year 2000, from amongst the cohort of *black* South *Afrikans* was “appointed as a full professor in philosophy at the University of the North” (Duvenage, 2002:113) that a key point is captured. From him we note that “In phenomenology man is not just a pure consciousness on its own, apart from the world” (Teffo, 2002:301²⁷⁴). Prior to *Afrocentric* scholars, such as *Joe Teffo*, other local scholars in philosophy in South *Afrika* included

already in the 1940’s *Anton Lembede* who wrote a remarkable *MA* study on *Socrates*. Writers such as *Eskia Mphahlele* and *Credo Mutwa*²⁷⁵ contributed to an *indigenous thinking* and writing tradition. There was also the influential *Black Consciousness Movement* of the 1960’s, with figures such as *Steve Biko*, *Barney Pityana* and *Mamphela Ramphele*. The work of these figures though, passed the corridors of academic *philosophy* in South *Afrika*.” (Duvenage, 2002:112).

Reasons for the above point, could only inspire for the overdue need, to subscribe and actively participate, in the *Afrocentric* enterprise. The enormous responsibility and sacrifice of those that were entrusted, with the duty to share the legacy of their *Afrikan* tradition, as practiced in the past, is captured elaborately by the following *Afrocentrist* below, who explains that as one of those, who have been blessed

with good memory and a great capacity to remember words and repeat them exactly as they heard them spoken. These people were told the history of the Tribes, under oath never to alter. Add or subtract any word. Anyone who so much as thought of changing any of the stories of his tribe, that he had been told, fell immediately under a *High curse* which covered him, his children and his children’s children. These Zulu tribal story-tellers were called *Guardians of the Umlando* or Tribal History (Mutwa, 1964).

From the above, modern scholars should grasp, that as proud as *Mutwa* was, of being a member of the lineage of *Zulu* story-tellers, as captured in his text above, he openly risked being labeled an outcast from the members of his own *Zulu* community. *Mutwa's* intention, to share some of the stories, in the very words of the *Guardians* who told them to him, to all (global community) folks, that may have reflected some interest in them, amidst all the personal risks involved, may reflect the urgency wherein some *Afrocentrists* seek for respective *Afrikan knowledge*, to be brought afore.

The above last point is especially mentioned, on the basis that the author of this study, had the privilege of witnessing the *Credo Mutwa Village*, in *Jabulani, Soweto* (South Afrika). The first hand account of *Mutwa's* work and portions of his thoughts pertaining to an *Afrocentric ubuntu Worldview*, is on display. It is such exhibits that consolidate *Mutwa's Afrocentric* legacy.

The brutality of South *Afrika's* history, was noted in the abovementioned park because the village, in question is overshadowed by the imposing *Oppenheimer Tower*²⁷⁶. The erection of such a tower (justified to the *Mutwa village* visitors as a monument), in the same space where attempts are and continue to be made about *being Afrikan*, somewhat violently reminds the author of this study, of the ever-present *colonial ghost*. A ghost that ensures that its cohort of *Afropessimistic* narrators, would keep intact and renew the *ahistorical* content regarding *Afrika*.

Another equally significant site was observed just down the road, from the *Mutwa Village*, aptly called *Regina Mundi*. It is a church, which was used for political gatherings, in the *hey days of June 16 1976 Soweto uprising*. Trivial as the above information may seem, for the author of this study, taking interest in one's history (particularly local history), plays a fundamental role, in as far as self-consciousness is concerned. For people, who have no knowledge of their past, are people who are inevitably doomed, when expected to comment about their own nation's future aspirations.

Shocking as it may seem, while on a visit for excursion purposes, at all the abovementioned sites, it dawned upon the author of this study, that from personal observation (perusal of the visitor's logbook, conversation with the local tour guides, signatures of past visitors on the walls) the majority, of contemporary South *Afrikans* (especially the youth), may grossly not be aware of the significant historical role, of such establishment(s). Yet they exist and still stand erect. From the walls of *Regina Mundi* church, it was observed that keen visitors, were not local South *Afrikans*, but tourists from *abroad* (geographically based beyond *Afrika*), interestingly mostly Americans. The same realization, was noticed at the *Ohlange Institute (Inanda* ²⁷⁷), *Adams College (Amanzimtoti* ²⁷⁸), *Luthuli Museum (Groutville, Greytown* ²⁷⁹), *King Shaka KaDinuzulu kaMangcinza's* burial site (*KwaDukuza, Stanger* ²⁸⁰), all situated between *Northern Durban* and *Stanger*. All these places are a ridiculous, stone throw away from *Zululand University*. So why is it that a lack of excursions (if at all, there are any organized by *National and Provincial department(s) of Arts and Culture*) seemingly, has/have become the norm? All this appears to continuously promote *ahistorical* based memoirs.

For the author of this study, the significant historical data, situated in such places, forces the relevant plenipotentiaries in government and relevant scholars located in academia, to prioritize the desired attention, due to be paid towards such historical monuments. From the type of syllabus, provided to local scholars, which hardly makes any reference, to the above places, such acts of *amnesia* should signify the amount of violence, imposed on the mind(s) of local scholars, and furthermore the disrespect, of those that paid such an enormous prize, for the freedom that local South *Afrikans* *claim* to enjoy today. Limited or distorted freedom, is not freedom at all.

All the above phenomena should serve as testimony, that *Afrocentrists* such as *Mutwa*, understood fully well, that by accepting the harsh stigma, of possibly being labeled, as a traitor by his own people, still ardently instilled the self-belief, that by sharing his input about ancient *Zulu* culture (with emphasis on *Zulu* history), this would be one of the many ways, of helping contemporary folk (notwithstanding his own), to be knowledgeable about their own traditions and customs. This was in order for them, to comprehend themselves better.

It is the view of the author of this study, that in so far as *Mutwa*'s abovementioned perception and attitude, interestingly some of the less acknowledged attributes, which have continuously been displayed by Pan-Afrikanists may be observed. This may go a long way in challenging (since dismissal or elimination of any existing data at this stage, rightly or wrongly seems out of question), data concerned with *Afrikan*s to be read, as perceived through *Eurocentric* mindsets. Through more projects of *Afrocentricity*, it is expected that *hope* can only grow, from such renewed research effort.

Having acknowledged the early South *Afrikan* philosophical scholars above thus far, the author of this study, is of the view that, it cannot go without mention, that all the above *Afrocentric* voices, rose above the challenges, as posed by some of the themes noted below

British idealism, European continental thinking (which include *phenomenology, existentialism, critical theory* and *hermeneutics*) as well as *logical positivism* and religious philosophical approaches such as *Christian philosophy* (Christelike Wysbegeerte) and *neo-Thomism*. It is also presently the case that South *Afrikan* philosophers, who are working in such fashionable fields such as *Postmodernism, Feminism and Analytical Philosophy*, do so with heavy emphases that are stemming from other contexts (Duvenage, 2002:107).

The above quote captures the challenge, in which the *Eurocentric* voice(s) enjoy center stage, within *IR* discourse. The project of *Modernity* has indeed arrived, with its baggage, and this should not be ignored. Having already discussed, in the preceding chapters, that *IR(theory)* was a grandchild of (*Western*) *Philosophy*, what is expressed in the above quote, should thus not be surprising, at this stage of the study. The existence of the school of *Negritude*, in all its strengths and shortcomings, from its own definition, arguably has the ability to speak for itself “*Negritude* is the whole complex of civilized values- cultural, economic, social, and political-which characterize the *black* peoples or more precisely, the *Negro-Afrikan* world (Senghor, 1961²⁸¹).

On the theme of *Afrikan languages*, from *Ubuntu Philosophy*, we note that “One of the primary functions of *language* is to break the silence of *be-ing*” (Ramose, 2002:232). It should be

mentioned at this point however that some scholars, who may be classified, as belonging to this school, by virtue of their *Africanist* stance, end up confusing what should precisely be the *Philosophy of ubuntu*. A classical example of such a scholar is *Johan Broodryk*²⁸². Believed to be one of the first local South *Afrikan* scholars, to have obtained a doctorate, on the theme of *ubuntu*.

With the above information in mind, interestingly for the author of this study, *Thaddeus Metz*'s, grasp of *ubuntu* (notably in his articles *Toward an Afrikan Moral Theory*²⁸³ and another which he co-authored titled *The Afrikan ethic of Ubuntu/ Botho: implication for research on morality*²⁸⁴ had so much more appeal to the author of this study, than *Broodryk*'s expressed views, in his article titled *Ubuntu African Life Coping Skills, Theory and Practice*²⁸⁵. In hindsight both these scholars however manifest the ambiguous voice, which scholars have come to associate, with typical *Africanists*.

Although for the author of this study, they both qualify to belong to the *Africanist* club, the above point, in the previous paragraph, as expressed by the author of this study, is even more queer, stemming from the knowledge that *Broodryk*, is identified as being an *Afrikaner* and *Metz* an *American*. For the author of this study, reading the work of both these scholars, whatever their differences and similarities, reveals, just how much *Africanists* remain without doubt, rigid, in their *Africanist* campsite, in so far as expressing their outlook on *Worldview (s)*.

The above traits sets both of the abovementioned scholars poles apart, from *Ubuntu* as expressed, by *Afrocentrists*, such as *Mphahlele*, as articulated under his theme of *Afrikan Humanism*, as demonstrated at length, in the earlier mentioned, *doctoral* study conducted by *Rafapa*'s (2005). On the otherhand however works of *Ubuntu* scholars, such as those of *Mogobe Ramose*²⁸⁶ and *Mabogo More*²⁸⁷ resonate views on *Ubuntu*, which subscribe to *Afrocentricity*. Such articulation sets these *Afrocentric* scholars, quite apart from the two earlier mentioned *Africanists*, above.

5.1.5 An *Afrocentric* Disclaimer as informed from the narrative thus far

Having provided examples of various views above, that may form part of the rebuttals from *Afrocentrists*, in direct response to the scenario of a *flat no*, when shifting the same attention towards the *Africanist* scholars, not all may necessarily share the same perspectives, towards the abovementioned rebuttal point. Within the context of this study, in order to strike a balance, in pursuit of the question posed, affirmation or rejection of the views, expressed so far, by the author of this study, in reference to both the *Africanists* and *Afrocentrists*, will ideally be explored. Hopefully this will be executed mainly from the insight, provided, from *IR* scholars, dimmed as relevant for this study.

In reference to the definitions of *Afrocentricity*, as already provided by *Mafeje (2000)* and *Asante (2003)* in the initial chapter of this study, they are at this point of the study, complemented by the following two definitions. “*Afrocentrism* refers to an attitude that directly combats *European* hegemonic discourse, in order to negate its inherent *Eurocentrism* as a pole diametrically opposed to that associated with *Afrikanness*” (*Rafapa*, 2005:2). In paraphrasing, the prominent *Afrocentrist* below, *Rafapa (2005:2)* believes that their articulation “confirms the accuracy of the way” in which he has just described *Afrocentricity*

Afrocentricity is...the term used [to describe] global as the sum total of continental *Afrika* [as well as] the diaspora of enslavement created by the dispersal of enslavement and finally the [later] diaspora of colonization or the dispersal caused by the destabilization and long-term consequences and disruptions of the colonial era...[as well as] a dialectical method, seeking to negate the...negative portrayal of the most distorted history in the world, that of the *Afrikan* people [so that where] the thesis is *euro-centrism*, the antithesis is *afro-centricity* (*Mazrui,2004:17*²⁸⁸).

From all the above definitions, the author of this study, is convinced, that the apparent case of *dissenting voices*, amidst the *Afrocentrists* may hardly apply, in the way that it has been, noticed in the *Africanist* camp thus far. In the event that no paradigm shift, takes place amongst the scholars in that *Africanist campsite*, the *status quo* is suspected to continue, to be so. In noting that where the thesis is *Eurocentricism* and the antithesis is *Afrocentricism*, clarification around the implication related to *racism* is hopefully provided below

Eurocentricism that gained huge momentum during the *Enlightenment* could loosely be referred to as a type of *racism*... to be *Eurocentric* or *Afrocentric* is not necessarily to be *racist*, despite the fact that the two opposed theoretical perspectives, may be evaluated as *racist*, by those interpreting them. While it is true... that *racism* emanated from and became rife in the same historical context as *Eurocentricity*, it is a separate issue in its own right, as is the case with other modes of thinking... (Rafapa, 2005:2).

In being consistent to their values, of claiming their dignity, by embarking on the voyage, to rediscover and reclaim their past *Afrikan* knowledge, via the corpus and oratorical sources, for *Afrocentrists*, after having raised the significant point of *Afropessimism*, the need to proceed further, appears to be compulsory in order for the author of this study's point, to be clarified.

The need to furthermore extrapolate further, based on the strength, of the relevant yet unrecognized or overlooked data, with formidable reference to an *Afrikan* past, is dimmed for *Afrocentrists* as necessary. In addition to revision of topics in history, texts as authored by committed *Pan-Africanist* scholars, combined with the availability of sources, made possible, through revelations as articulated within the discourse of *Afrikan Philosophy*, responding to the main question(s), posed in this study deserves a reviewal and renewal, of precisely which data may have been derived, as presented for example by *IKS*. Provided that the required authenticity, as recognized, by the various sages of the respective communities involved, this may merit, some earnest consideration, in present discourse. Such future efforts should thus not, be taken lightly.

Against the backdrop, of having been dismissed, as being “unhistorical” (Hegel, 1822) and the British *Enlightenment* philosopher *Hume*, also adding that “the *Afrikan* is “incapable of artistic production and, by implication [of intellectual] aesthetic judgment” (Gikandi, 1999²⁸⁹), it is such utterances, that serve as consistent reminders, of *historical denial* of any acknowledgement by *Afrikans* to projects displaying various forms, of intellectualism (eg. *Afrocentricity*). So from the *Eurocentric philosophical discourse*, a realization that the deafeningly silent, yet ironically grotesquely violent strokes from the pens of such *Westerncentric philosophical pioneers*, as those mentioned above (with gleeful inheritance, passed on to their descendants) brutally resulted, in the realization of *colonialism* and *imperialism* and its infinite renewal. It is the argument of the author of this study, that this renewal exists both at the physical and metaphysical levels, of both the oppressor and oppressed. All this phenomena consolidated the visibly condescending attitudes, which have come to exist, towards *Afrikans*. As later realized, by *Afrocentrists*, such as the one below

Berlin in 1884 was effected through the sword and the bullet. But the might of the sword and the bullet, was followed by the morning of the chalk and the black board. The physical violence of the battlefield, was followed by the psychological violence, of the classroom (Wa Thiong’o, 2002:9).

It is with such an abovementioned background in mind, wherein the consistent activism, as undertaken by *Afrocentrists*, is taken, in their stride. This is further recognized, as a way, in which active members may fervently, still seek to renew their subscription, towards *Afrocentricity*. Though scholars from the above two camps in contention (*Africanists* and *Afrocentrists*), may to date be critically perceived, in certain quarters, as nothing else but mere *cabals*, similar to *Giuseppe Mazzini’s* affiliation to the *Carbonari*. Such criticism should be understood, given the hegemony of the *Eurocentric* voice, in which *Afrocentrists* continuously, seek to address. Against the might of the *Eurocentrically* authored and exported, pedagogical system, such suspicion as expressed here, should therefore not raise any eyebrows. Interestingly the above view, of suspiciousness about any form of *Afrikan* contribution(s), may be found as being applicable, to predominantly those scholars who may be associated to both the *Africanist* and *Afrocentric* camps, respectively.

So from the findings of the respective *TRIP Surveys* (especially that of 2009), consolidating that *IR*, is without any shadow of doubt, an *American* discourse, the following question deserves some mention “What kinds of stories should I tell my two “Americanised” children about *Afrika?*” (Mudimbe, 1994: xi²⁹⁰). In the light of the data presented, leading upto this chapter, on the theme of *Afrikan contribution to IR (theory)*, the envisioned findings should amongst others, be able to address *Mudimbe’s* poignant question above. In as far as *Afrocentricity* is concerned, this would be a fitting way, to respond to the clarion call for *Sankofa -Se wo were fin a wosan kofa a yenki*²⁹¹.

Chapter 6: Conclusion and Recommendations

6.1 Conclusion: Summary of Chapters

After *investigating* the theme of *Afrika and IR theory*, *examining* most of the findings and finally *determining* the problematic areas, which may possibly inform recommendations, the following words of closure are due. An attempt from the *second chapter*, to provide a *bird's eye view*, of the historical background of *IR*, was undertaken. Though overly *revisionist* in tone, perhaps due to this chapter's structure, the intention to introduce *IR* and furthermore seek, to comprehend the basis, of its original make-up, formed the core of this chapter.

In still remaining within the confines of the *second chapter*, in the effort of defining *IR*, the author of the study, found that *IR* was an elusive subject and its scholars, were apt to differ, with regards to its vast and *eclectic* composition and meanings. Difference would amongst other issues, include what should form, the subject focus of *IR* and suitability of *IR's* various approaches, to its study. It was thus found that the historical events, as traced at least since the period, of its formal inception in *1919*, at the *University of Aberystwyth (UK)*, and later spread out across Europe, was mostly pre-occupied with themes, that circulated around understanding the rationale for *conflict*, amongst nations. A reading, categorized as *high politics*. It may be added here (author's emphasis) that the primary *conflict* under discussion here, referred to *conflict* taking place, amongst predominantly the *Western* based nations. Such a trademark consolidated the *Westerncentric* premise, in which the scholarly discipline of *IR* emanated.

Acts such as American president *Woodrow Wilson's* proposal, of calling for a realization of the *league of Nations*, would inspire intergovernmental structures, to be formed into existence, such as the *United Nations*. Such events consequently informed the bulk, of *IR's* early, scholarly

enterprise. By more than anything else, paying special attention, to the trajectory of *IR*'s history, (given the limited space, afforded to capture such a background), nevertheless having opted to embark on such an exploratory expedition, in this historical way, at least enabled the author of this study, to grasp how, *IR* scholars, by predominantly being based in the *West*, their reality or reading of the World (which consequently informed their *Worldview*), inevitably resulted in parochial articulation. Such a biased reading, in essence, could never escape, criticism of being inherently myopic, in nature. So it has become apparent, that right from its inception, marks of parochial expressions, within *IR* were present.

Reference to *the great debates*, which gave way, to what would eventually be referred to, as the *Core/Mainstream IR* theories, was also highlighted. Attention was paid to details of some of the *Mainstream IR* theories, and *Realism* (though ambiguously contested, in some quarters) was found to be still a leading *school of thought*, amongst *Mainstream IR* scholars. The significance of academic centers, for the study of *IR* and its related parent *Political Science* (all products of *Western Philosophy*), affirmed *IR* to have graduated from being a British and American discipline, to currently being predominantly presented as an overly *American enterprise*. Effort to also cast the fence and also pay attention, to selected approaches of *IR*, were also presented within the second chapter.

The data secured and presented in the *third chapter*, consolidated the worrisome factors of *IR* clearly being a parochial (more American than Anglo-American) discourse, which eventually consolidated the view that *IR* came into existence, overly for the loyal service of its *Eurocentric* founders. A closer data analysis of suspect comments, as earlier articulated (from the previous chapter), concerning *IR* was made, within this chapter. By drawing from detailed *TRIP Survey* data findings, which was complimented by the respective historical outlines of the *International Studies Association (ISA)* and *British International Studies Association (BISA)*, recurring features were noticed as outlined below.

A key observation was that the *Eurocentric Mainstream* theories, enjoyed a lot of attention. *J.M Joseph's* course outline (displayed as a typical example) elaborately consolidated, the *Eurocentricity* of *IR's* authoritative authors. Data displayed from *Table 1.4* consolidated the dominance of *Westerncentric* scholars in *IR* with *Robert Keohane, Alexander Wendt* and *Kenneth Waltz* leading the pack, of the most influential contemporary *IR* scholars. The displayed data on the past presidents of *ISA* and *American Political Science Association (APSA)* and *Afrikan Studies Association (ASA)*, consolidates the abovementioned observation as well.

Even the top universities for *IR* study, were outrightly identified to be predominantly located in the *West*, to be predominantly in America. Lastly *Harvard, Princeton, Yale* lead the undergraduate degrees list. *Georgetown, John Hopkins, Harvard, Columbia* and *Princeton* lead the masters (*MA*) list. *Harvard, Princeton, Stanford, Columbia* and *Yale* lead at the doctoral (*Phd.*) level. The only highly ranked university, beyond America, was *London School of Economics (LSE)*, based in the United Kingdom (*UK*), which was ranked sixth in the respective *TRIP* Surveys, at both the *MA* and *Phd* levels respectively. The dominance of the top American universities in *IR*, corresponded with the list of the top *IR* scholars, as they all received their terminal degrees in America. Top *IR* scholars whom are exceptions to the rule (these are non-Americans yet studied or are linked to top American universities) include *Hans Morgenthau, Karl Deutsch* and *Stanley Hoffman*.

From the elaborate diagrams and tables on display, in the *third chapter*, overwhelming evidence supported the claim of *IR* literature, being guilty of emphasizing Europe, as being at the *center* or *core* of its discourse. *Racism* truly stood out, as the ever looming elephant in the room, wherein *Mainstream IR* scholars, annoyingly fain overwhelming denialism. Interestingly *ISA's* past president *Henry Teune* alongside *APSA's* past president *Ashu Varshney*, respectively acknowledged, the criticism directed towards their respective organisations, on charges of promoting parochial views. From these two presidents however, it was *Ashu Varshney* and his fellow *APSA* colleagues that spelt out the strong desire, to transform towards the process of “internationalization”. According to the author of this study, given that the overwhelming *white*

male IR scholar hegemony, was observed in most of the presidential lists of *IR* organisations- *APSA*, *ISA* and *BISA*, the call made above appears to be long overdue.

Concern over patriarchy was also elaborately raised. An almost disturbing silence over the participation of *Female IR* scholars, coupled with the absence of specifically *black female IR* scholars was registered. This was eloquently lamented at depth, by the prominent *black female Feminist bell hooks*. Local South Afrikan Feminist Oshadi Mangena even specifically quoted *Immanuel Kant* and *John Locke*, as clear cut examples of *white male Mainstream Westerncentric philosophers*, whom dismally failed to respect nor grasp the complex nature of women. For Mangena, Kant and Locke were *white male philosophers*, who justified their parochial views on the basis of ill founded *scientific reason*. Being against such male chauvinistic views, of the above authoritative *Western* Philosophical scholars, the author of this study was of the view, that the clarion call to review *Scientific rationality* undoubtedly needs to be supported. Elizabeth Spelman furthermore pointed out how the *white male Eurocentric philosophers*, namely *Plato* and *Aristotle* also ridiculed women. Spelman believed more than anything else, this was as a result of *somatophobia* (identification of women with her body) and *white solipsism* (only one's self and one's experience exists).

So the stark features concerning *gender* sensitivity (issues related to patriarchy), age and racial profile of *IR's* leading scholars, has been noted from this chapter. It remains worrisome that when reading the bulk of contemporary *IR* literature, the *status quo* has seemingly been perpetuated. Amongst the many reasons for this is, the renewed employment of standard methodology eg. qualitative analysis. On the contrary however initiatives of the *BISA Afrika Working Group*, may have been greeted with much relief. The author of this study articulates as above, however being mindful of not promoting *neo-colonialism*. Lessons from *Steve Biko* and *Frantz Fanon* amongst the labyrinth list of postcolonial voices, exist to remind us that perpetrators or affiliates of the ruling class (neither for political nor economic reasons), cannot simultaneously be the ones to also call for solutions, at the expense of the presence of the historically silenced voices, of the victimized/ downtrodden class.

From the *fourth chapter*, the highlighted general voices of *IR*, captured from texts aligned to such a theme, of this study as reflected from the numerous articles, of the contemporary scholars at *ISA* and *BISA* conventions were captured. The outcome of the above collective voices enmasse, illustrated the view, that their various efforts, of *making a claim* of an *African contribution to IR*, was nothing more than a regurgitation, of analysis as located in most texts of *Political Science* as informed from the premise of Western philosophical discourse.

For the author of this study, the noted attempts captured were further weakened, by what was the notable absentia, in their opening premises, of not having problematised their employment of the concept of *Africa* (this particular spelling remains the author's emphasis). For the author of this study, almost all the past participants captured, in this chapter appear to have sealed the view, held by the author of this study, to be read as qualified *Africanists*. Armed with a background of *colonial* education, ensured that any interested participants of *IR* would enter the discourse, heavily influenced by *Eurocentric* roots. Researchers, who would thus also pursue such a study, if not careful, are prone to fall into the same *Eurocentric pedagogic pit*, as illustrated in the recorded projects of senior *Africanist IR* scholars.

The abovementioned trend has from amongst others, namely been observed from *Ali Mazrui*, *Stephen Chan* and *Stephanie G. Neumann* et al. From such an end, current and future *IR* scholars researching on such a theme, may also be doomed to fail, in their contemporary pursuit to constructively engage, respective quest(s) to advance any responses, which may thus claim possible existence of *Afrikan contribution to IR theory*. Paulo Freire's text titled *pedagogy of the oppressed* in this regard, should thus be highly recommended, for singling out the selfish absurdities expressed, in the name of imparting *knowledge*.

It is the contention of the author of this study, that the above noted problem(s) proliferated, as a result of *IR* scholars (both those who may be regarded as local, on the grounds that their based in

Afrika, alongside those based beyond *Afrika*-in the *Diaspora*), who have sought to conduct research, in this area, have been heavily influenced by *Mainstream IR* literature. As a consequence their respective views expressed, have thus been nothing more, than paying *lip service*, as appendages of the *West*. The author of this study, pins the cause of this down to *IR* theory scholars, not having gone through the process of *unlearning*, from what they have consciously (and to a certain degree unconsciously) acquired, from the *Westerncentric* knowledge pool, as located and derived from the *colonial* authored *canon* texts (that have amongst others) overtime developed, into *Mainstream IR* scholarship.

The *fifth chapter* above all else, may aptly be summarized as the *Afrocentric disclaimer* turf. Its purpose was to provide an opportunity to articulate, what *Afrocentrists* may have stated, with regards to the theme in question. Above all else, this chapter was authored with the view of providing a response by the author of this study, to the key posed question regarding the possibility of any existence, of an *Afrikan* contribution to *IR*.

Consistent with an *Afrocentric Worldview*, the author of this study was adamant, in upholding the view that *Afrikan* contribution to *IR* exists and as a matter of fact, has *always existed*. It is however the argument of the author of this study, that such a view could only be upheld, once the *Eurocentric/ Westerncentric* spectacles are removed. For *Afrocentric* insight to be attained successfully, turning more attention towards views of *Afrocentrists* is non-negotiable. The much contested breathing space of *Afrocentrists*, whom may mostly be arguably read as *Afrikan Philosophers* (based on their broadness, in their own respective right) have been afforded an opportunity, to be brought afore in this chapter.

Articulation captured by *Afrocentrists* in this chapter, addressed key themes of *Afrikan identity* (*Afrikan-ness*), the growing importance of the study of *Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS)*, language significance (the bias caused by the medium of instruction, of any scholarly discipline), the intended emancipatory role intended to be played by *Afrikan Philosophy* (e.g bringing forth

and exploring the significant role of *philosophy of Ubuntu*) and so on. The briefness of this chapter simply affords scholars, the opportunity to seek to dwell more on *Afrocentricity*.

6.2 Recommendation(s)

Our children may learn about the heroes of the past. Our task is to make ourselves the architects of the future (Jomo Kenyatta – as quoted by *Langa Nzuzo, 24 June 2012*)

So after having *examined, determined* and *investigated* the theme in question, with interest mainly upon *Africa* (as opposed to *Afrika*-author's emphasis) and *IR*, the following recommendations are advised. Arriving at this point, has compelled the author of this study, to at least address what may have come across, as necessary problems which consequently led to connotations, associated with *Afrikan* contribution to *IR* (theory). Providing suggestion (s) which may serve, as a guide for a way forward, should complete this chapter.

For the author of this study, the initial recommendation would have to be directed at the topic itself. *African (author's emphasis) contribution to IR Theory* is a very broad topic. So scholars may assist themselves immensely, by looking at such a topic, as advised to the author of this study, by the academic and ambassador *Manelisi Genge* (former Chief Director of Policy Research and Analysis Unit (PRAU) – (in Pretoria, South Afrika during 2006), as a loaf of bread. It would be too much to consider eating a whole loaf in one meal, so selecting a *slice* (a particular aspect) and preparing your *meal* (collecting your data) around that *topic of interest* (theme). In this instance, the author of this study, identified that the term *Africa* called for more effort to be placed, on the theme of *identity*. This thus led to a focus on even the etymology, of the concept-*Africa*. From such a position progressing onwards to what then, may be *African* (such spelling remains the author's emphasis) *contribution to IR (theory)* may thus be addressed.

Due to the limited space, in this study, the author of this study acknowledges that much more, could have been addressed, pertaining to themes related to *Afrocentrists* henceforth more views from *Mudimbe, Ramose, Serequeberhan, Duvenage* (*Afrikan* philosophers), *Cheikh Anta Diop, Joseph Ki-Zerbo* (*Afrocentric* historians), *Es'kia Mphahlele* (*Afrocentric* author(s) and theorist(s)) etc could have been sought. The decision to be *Afrocentric*, demanded the researcher of this study, to practicalize or set into operation, the *clarion call* of approaching this study, with *Afrika* placed at its center (an *anamnesis* approach). Suggestions of responding to such a *clarion call*, demands that future research compels a shifting of attention, towards academic fields, such as *Afrikan philosophy* and *IKS*. *Afrocentric* results may be achieved, if the suggested shift, is respected, as opposed to being dependent, on *Mainstream IR* scholars and broader *IR* literature.

After having pursued the above suggestion exhaustively, future *IR* scholars may thus then be enabled to arrive, at their own definition(s) of *who may thus be African(s)* or as utilised and discussed, in this study *Afrikans*? This may inform the basis of *what then may be read as Afrikan contribution to IR*? As hopefully reflected in this study, this is a critical part of such a study, as it will determine, where the contribution sought, may be emanating from. The reasons for this are equally critical, as they should complement the question of *Afrikan identity*. It is from the abovementioned premise wherein attention, between the differences on the subject of contested *Worldviews* between *Africanists* and *Afrocentrists*, may elaborately be read.

A suggestion to take up some of the issues, which have been identified as problems in this study further, is encouraged. This may range from themes of *Racism, Hegemonic voices (master narratives), language of IR theory etc*. Ideally this should be done, taking stock of worthwhile previous suggestions, as proposed by other contemporary *IR* scholars (as depicted in the *fourth chapter*). As aspiring *IR* scholars, based in *South Afrika*, perhaps an intense analysis of works of *IR* scholars, with strong links to *South Afrika* (but not necessarily restricted, to those that may be classified as *South Afrikans*) should be encouraged and pursued further, in such a study. Examples of such scholars range from those as displayed in *Picture 1.4- Clapham, Khadiagala, Vale, Schoeman, Taylor, Karen Smith, Sabelo Ndlovu and Thandeka Nkiwane* amongst others.

They should be read closer, regardless of whether they may be *Africanists* or *Afrocentrists*. After reading the views of the above scholars however on the topic under discussion, a question should be posed, seeking to clarify whether a *gap* of *other* arguably relevant *Afrocentric* voices, which may also equally, be registered as *overlooked contributors*, to the discipline of *IR- academic and non-academic* may exist or not? Without taking away any merit of insight, from the abovementioned scholars, it is the view of the author of this study, that characteristics of *identity*, *context* and *pedagogy* (educational background of the scholars concerned) should not be ignored.

Encouragement to lift eyes away, from *Mainstream IR literature*, to the other fields found under the *Social Sciences* (and ideally beyond), ranging from namely disciplines such as *History* (specifically what has been termed as *Afrikan history*), *Anthropology*, *Sociology*, *Palaeontology*, *Geography*, *Psychology* and *philosophy* (both *Western-philosophy proper* and *African philosophy*) all remain highly advisable. By *Afrikan history*, the author of this study, specifically refers to the authoritative voices of this field, such as those located in the seven volume *UNESCO GENERAL HISTORY OF AFRICA* series. As it is from such scholars, that a healthy grasp of historical material, on any period on *Afrikan history*, could be located for further use. The international scholarly profile of the scholars located, throughout all the editions is indeed humbling, as elaborate evidence of *Afrika's* history, has been displayed bare, for all to witness.

From views expressed from the *Afrocentric* voices as captured in the *fifth chapter*, a link with *Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS)*, remains a suggestion worth investigating. From such an enterprise, more work on the theme of *Afrocentricity* and *IR* is highly encouraged, given what has been expressed in this particular study. Future study may also be placed, from the combined sources which make up *Afrikan Philosophy*.

So in essence, from the recommendations above, the recognition of the toxic (distorted *Eurocentric* pedagogic formula) which has led to the constituted knowledge body of *IR*, such as that illustrated in the summary of the third chapter (see *Figure 1.2*), pointed out the challenge,

pertaining to the scholarship of *IR theory*, that emanated from an *Eurocentric* knowledge-bank (parochial, sexist and racist). From such a discourse, which has no particular local connection, to the theme in question, except for the lived experience (s) of the *white IR* scholars (as elaborately captured throughout the *second chapter*), who read themselves as *Africans* and *Africanists* (author's emphasis), yet have continuously drawn almost entirely, their pedagogic attention, from the *Westerncentric* inclined views. Reviewing such premise is crucial and seeking for the transformation of such biased scholarly practice, should be registered as a keynote exercise.

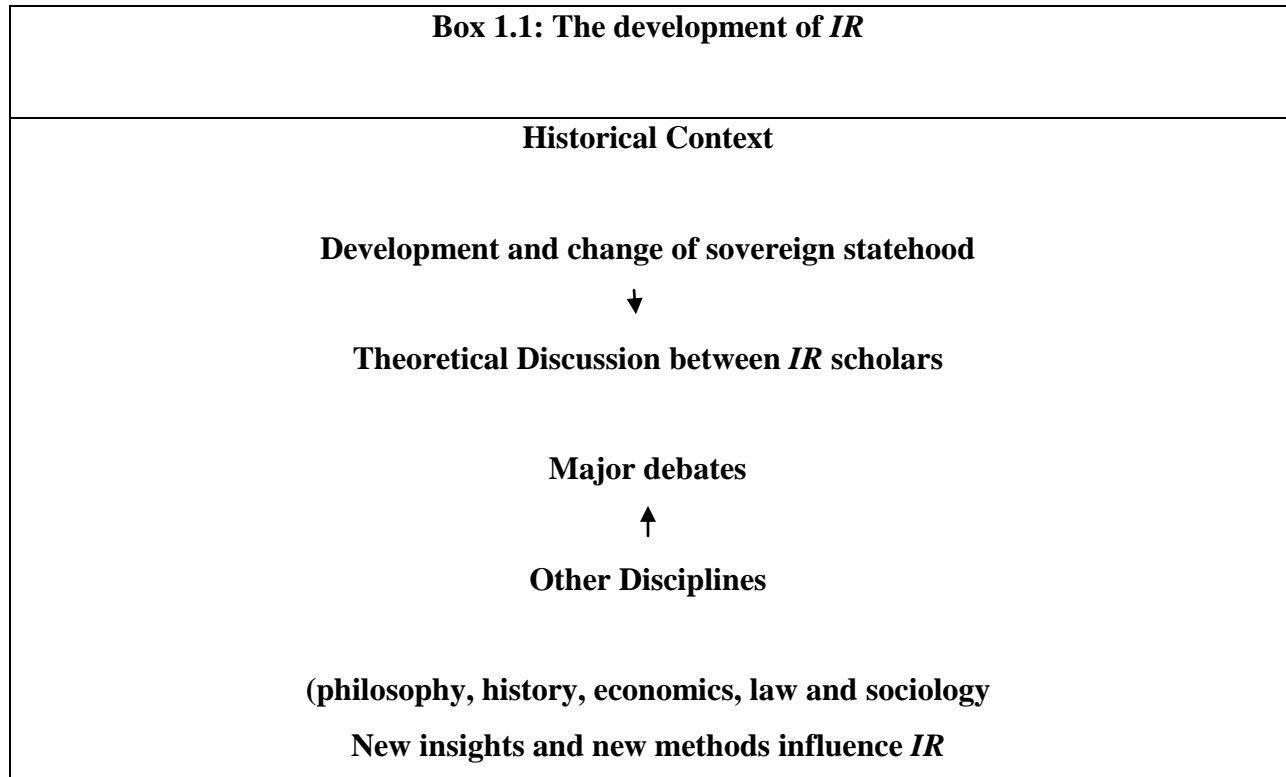
Perspectives that have been sponsored by the *Western* franchise of *Harvard* and *Columbia* universities (top two ranked for *doctoral* study in *IR*), *Georgetown*, *Johns Hopkins*, *Princeton*, *London School of Economics* and *Aberystwyth* et al (top American and *UK* institutions to pursue a *Master's* and *undergraduate* degree in *IR*). As argued by amongst other *Afrocentrists bell hooks*, *Eskia Mphahlele*, *Ngugi wa Thiong'o*, *Cornel West et al* could only proceed to serve, as a recipe for disaster. Such a *status quo* should thus at all cost, not be perpetuated.

It remains the contention of the author of this study, that it is such distorting practice, which needs to be challenged, by form of exploring and presenting *Afrocentric* orientated findings. An understanding of the truly universal *Worldviews* (beyond the *Eurocentric*), is just as critical. Harsh as this may seem, failure of not doing so, can only result in anything produced, under the theme of *Afrika and IR* being frowned upon and interrogated, and read as being something else, besides what it truly is. An *other* that may not be recognized, as constituting part of the possibly growing studies on *Afrika's contribution to IR theory*. Again note the theme of *power*, which is at play here. Who decides *what is* and *what is not* qualifying to be read as *IR theory*?

In seeking to address what has been raised above, the author of this study is of the view that- if it remains the hegemonic *Eurocentric* scholars (such as those predominantly quoted in the *second chapter*) or American scholars (both by identity and by association with *American* institutions, as depicted in the *third chapter*), then the writing is on the wall, as to the *zero-sum* game at play. As

suggested by *bell hooks* “space should be created to think, write, talk and create art that reflects passionate engagement with popular culture and indeed, where central future location of resistance struggle, can occur (*hooks*, 1990:394)”. Turning to the very lessons available, from *Afrikans* and *Afrocentrists* (distinguished from Africans/Africanists), as such a study, attempted to be centered around the conversation, regarding *Afrikan identity*, is no longer an optional matter. This is articulated on the basis, that genuine efforts, of securing response to the various issues raised, in this study, are indeed taken seriously and actively explored further. *Aluta Continua*.

7. Addendum



Captured from **Jackson and Sorensen (2003:35)**. Jackson, R. and Sorensen, G. 2003. *Introduction to International Relations Theories and Approaches*. Second Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Box.1.2: Core Values of IR and Theories of IR

Focus	Theories (<i>Mainstream</i>)
<p>1. Security power Power politics, conflict and war</p>	<p>Realism²⁹²</p>
<p>2. Freedom Cooperation, peace and progress</p>	<p>Liberalism²⁹³</p>
<p>3. Order and Justice (Shared interest, rules and institutions)</p>	<p>International Society (The English School)</p>
<p>4. Welfare (welfare, poverty, economic equality).</p>	<p>International-Political Economy theories (e.g. Neo-Marxist critique- an attempt to analyze the situation of the <i>Third World</i> by applying the tools of analysis, first developed by Karl Marx , a 19th Century political economist, who focused on Capitalism in Europe. Dependency is a core concept for neo-Marxists. (2003:57). Immanuel Wallerstein²⁹⁴ looms large in this school.</p> <p>Liberal IPE- Differs and is almost opposite to <i>Marxist critique</i>. Liberal IPE scholars argue that human prosperity, can be achieved by the free global expansion of <i>capitalism</i>, beyond the boundaries of the <i>Sovereign state</i> and by the decline of the</p>

	<p>significance of these boundaries. Notably such doctrine is mostly drawn from <i>Adam Smith</i> and other <i>classical liberal economists</i>, who argue that free markets together with <i>private property</i> and <i>individual freedom</i> create the basis for self-sustaining economic progress for everybody involved. (Jackson and Sorensen, 2003:58).</p> <p>Realist IPE: Differs once again from the previous two schools of thought. It can be traced back to the thought of <i>Friedrich List</i>, a 19th Century German economist. <i>Liberalist IPE</i>, is based on the idea that economic activity should be put in the service of building a strong state and supporting the national interest. Wealth should thus be controlled and managed by the state, that statist IPE doctrine is often referred to as <i>‘Mercantilism’</i> or <i>‘economic nationalism’</i>.</p>
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Captured from Jackson and Sorensen (2003: 6 and 58).

Box 1.3: First Major debate in IR	
<p>Utopian liberalism 1920's</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Focus ←</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. International law 2. International organization 3. Interdependence 4. Cooperation 5. Peace 	<p>Realist Response 1930's – 1950's</p> <p style="text-align: center;">→ Focus</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Power politics (have vs. have nots) 2. Security 3. Aggression 4. Conflict 5. War

Captured from Jackson and Sorensen (2003:44).

- 1) Believed to have been won by *E.H Carr* and *Hans Morgenthau*.
- 2) Other important *classical realists* included *Kennan* and *Niebuhr*.
- 3) Realism became the dominant way of thinking about *IR*, amongst scholars, politicians and diplomats. E.H Carr's text *The Twenty Years Crisis, 1919-1939* alongside Hans Morgenthau's book *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for power and peace* dominated the majority of the on-going discourse, within this debate. Thus it set the tone.
- 4) *Morgenthau's Politics Among Nations (1948)* became the most influential American book, on *IR*, as it argued that *Morgenthau* gave the clearest summary of *Realism's* core claims and thus had the widest appeal, to *IR* scholars and their students.

Liberalism was severely challenged by *Realism* and is believed to have eventually been split into two groups- **strong liberals** and **Weak liberals**.

Box 1.4: Second Major debate in IR	
<p>Traditional Approaches</p> <p>Focus</p> <p>Understanding</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Norms and values - Judgment - Historical knowledge <p style="text-align: center;">Theorist inside subject</p>	<p>Behavioralist Response</p> <p>Focus</p> <p>Explaining</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Hypothesis - Collection of data - Scientific knowledge - Theorist outside subject

Captured from Jackson and Sorensen (2003:48).

- 1) *No clear winner* as it was believed that each argument, was informative for the other.
- 2) *Behavioralism* was used extensively after WW2, especially where quantitative and scientific ambitions, were to be found.

Box 1.5: Third Major debate in IR	
<p>Realism/NeoRealism</p> <p style="text-align: center;">←————→</p> <p>Liberalism / Neoliberalism</p>	<p>Neo-Marxism</p> <p>Focus</p> <p>Capitalistic World System</p> <p>Dependency</p> <p>Underdevelopment</p>

As captured from Jackson and Sorensen (2003:58).

- 1) Political military issues
- 2) First focused on *North and South relations* and then *expanded to include IPE issues* in all IR areas.

- 3) It further complicated the *IR* discipline because it shifted the subject of *IR* away from political and military issues. It also introduced the distinct socioeconomic problems of *Third World* countries.
- 4) Of significance is that this debate introduced *3rd World* problems in *IR* literature.
- 5) *No clear winner* as this debate marked the expansion of *IR* research agenda, to include more socioeconomic questions of welfare.

Box.1.6 : Fourth Major debate	
<p>Established Tradition</p> <p>Realism / neorealism</p> <p>Liberalism / neoliberalism</p> <p>International Society</p> <p>International political economy (IPE)</p> <p><u>Mostly dealt with themes concerned with</u></p> <p>-terrorism</p> <p>- civil war</p> <p>-National minorities</p> <p>-democratization</p> <p>-ethnic cleansing, humanitarian issues</p> <p>- state partition and disintegration</p>	<p>New Voices</p> <p>-Post-positivist methodologies</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">a) Confirmed that there's always been dissident voices in <i>IR</i></p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">b) Philosophers and scholars have rejected certain views and tried to replace them with alternatives.</p> <p>-Post-positivist</p> <p>The 2 main factors of focus</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">1) End of cold war (East vs. West conflict came to an end).</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">2) Diverse other issues emerged</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;"><u>Some of the attack groups included</u></p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">1) Critical theory</p>

	<p>2) Historical Sociology</p> <p>3) Feminist Writers</p> <p>4) Current writers seeking <i>IR</i>'s development</p> <p><u>So new issues in <i>IR</i> included</u></p> <p>-The Environment</p> <p>-Gender</p> <p>- Sovereignty</p> <p>- changes in statehood and New Security challenges</p>
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Captured from Jackson and Sorensen (2003: xiv).

Picture 1.1: IR Theorists and Thinkers-An Overview









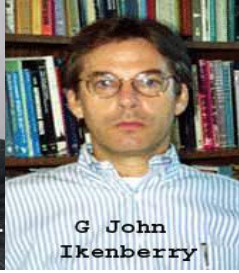
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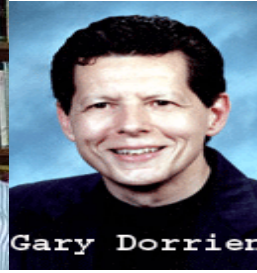
Immanuel Wallerstein



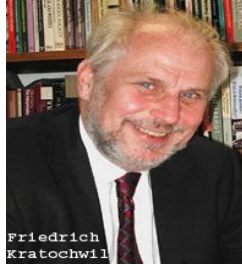
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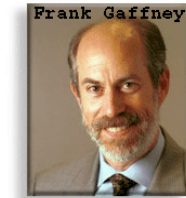
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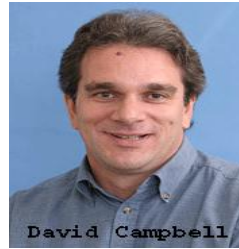
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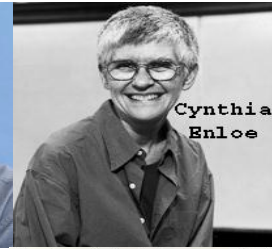
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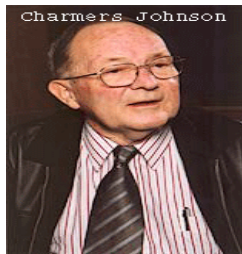
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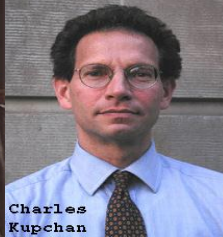
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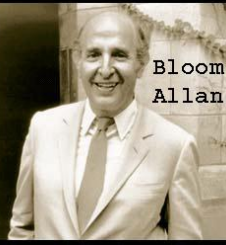
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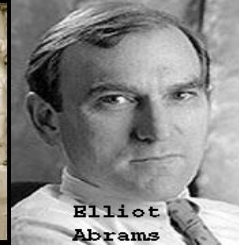
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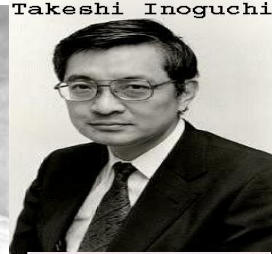
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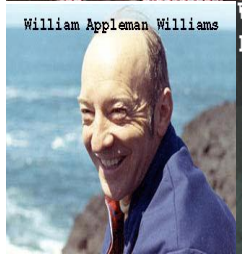
Bloom Allan



Elliot Abrams



Takeshi Inoguchi



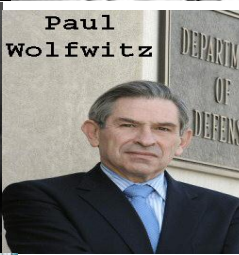
William Appleman Williams



Walden Bello



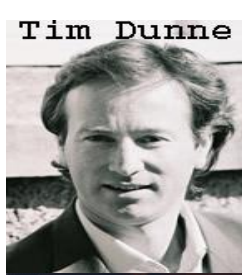
Umberto Eco



Paul Wolfowitz



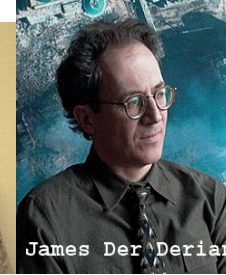
Torbjorn Knutsen



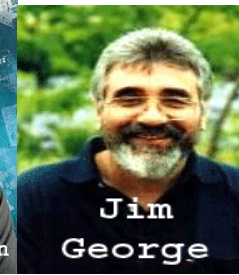
Tim Dunne



Michael Shapiro



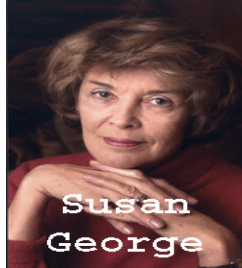
James Der Derian



Jim George



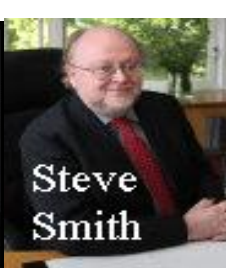
RBJ Walker



Susan George



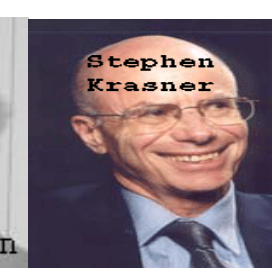
Fareed Zakaria



Steve Smith



Barry Buzan



Stephen Krasner





A historical portrait, of early to present *IR* scholars (theorists and authors). **Source: Constructed November 2010-** mainly as a combination of the *Australian National University, IR Department* website of 2009 and author's own addition (s).

From the abovementioned post- *Socrates* and overly *Westerncentric* philosophers, the discourse of *IR* was born. Pioneering philosophers such as *Saint Augustine of Hippo* (354-430 AD) have been to date, presented as one of the first and greatest Christian scholars of *Africa* (spelling author's emphasis). Notable other *Westerncentric* scholars include *Pliny the Elder*, *Hegel* and *Karl Marx* whom also join in the ranks of *Eurocentric* Philosophers, that had much to articulate about *Africa*. Interestingly hardly any of what they stated and thought of *Africa* and *Africans*, was of any positivity. It is from such distorting *Eurocentric* voices, that urge for *Afrocentric* efforts to be brought forth and provide the alternative narrative, pertaining to data concerning *Afrika*. With the exception of *Henk Van den Heuvel* and *Simon Bekker* above (*both Social Anthropologists*), the *University of Kent* reading list (see *Appendix A* within this *Addendum*) for *International Relations Theory in Module PO824*, serves as a typical example, emphasizing the hegemonic status, of the voices of the above *Eurocentric* scholars, within the literature of *IR* (theory).

PO824 - International Relations Theory

Convened by Dr J M Joseph



This list has been automatically published

This list has been automatically copied over from last year and the convener for this course has not yet confirmed it is the finalised list for this year.

1: Introduction to IR theory and the structure of the course

Core Texts

Book Core text

Wight, M. (1995) 'Why is there no international theory' in Der Derian, James, *International theory: critical investigations*, Macmillan

Notes: Chap: 2

Recommended Reading

Book

Brown, Chris 1945, (2009) *Understanding international relations*, 4th ed, Palgrave Macmillan

Notes: Chap: 1

Book

Burchill, S. (c2009) 'Introduction' in Burchill, Scott 1961, *Theories of international relations*, 4th ed, Palgrave Macmillan

Book

Dunne, Timothy 1965, (c2007) *International relations theories: discipline and diversity*, Oxford University Press

Notes: Please read introduction

Book

Elshtain, J. (1995) 'International politics and political theory' in Booth, Ken, *International relations theory today*, Polity

Book

Jackson, Robert H, (2005) *Classical and modern thought on international relations: from anarchy to cosmopolis*, Palgrave Macmillan

Book

Leppgold, J., 'Is Anyone Listening? International Relations Theory and the Problem of Policy Relevance' in *Academy of Political Science, Political science quarterly*, Academy of Political Science pages 43-62

Journal

Nicholson, M. (2000) 'What's the use of international relations' in *Review of international studies* 26, 2, pages 183-198

Book

Morgenthau, H. (1995) 'The intellectual and political functions of theory' in Der Derian, James, *International theory: critical investigations*, Macmillan

Journal

Smith, S. (1997) 'Power of truth: A reply to William Wallace' in *Review of international studies* 23, 4, pages 507-516

<http://readinglists.kent.ac.uk/faculty-of-social-sciences/school-of-politics-and-international...> 9/28/2011

Book Smith, S. (1995) 'Ten self-images of a discipline' in Booth, Ken, *International relations theory today*, Polity
Notes: Chap: 1

Book
Jackson, Robert H, (c2007) Introduction to international relations: theories and approaches, 3rd ed, Oxford University Press
Notes: Chaps. 1 and 2

2: Origins of the discipline and the classical tradition of realism

Core Texts

Book Core text
Viotti, Paul R, (c1999) International relations theory: realism, pluralism, globalism, and beyond, 3rd ed, Allyn and Bacon
Notes: Readings from Thucydides, Machiavelli, Hobbes and Rousseau

Recommended Reading

Book
Boucher, David, (1998) Political theories of international relations: from Thucydides to the present, Oxford University Press
Notes: Chap: 7

Book
Brown, Chris 1945, (2002) International relations in political thought: texts from the ancient Greeks to the First World War, Cambridge University Press

Book
Buzan, B (1996) 'The timeless wisdom of realism' in Smith, Steve 1952, *International theory: positivism and beyond*, C.U.P.

Book
Carr, Edward Hallett 1892-1982, (2001) The twenty years' crisis, 1919-1939: an introduction to the study of international relations, Palgrave
Notes: Esp. The beginnings of a science

Book
Carr, Edward Hallett 1892, (2001) What is history?, 2nd ed., Palgrave

Book
Clark, Ian 1949, (1996) Classical theories of international relations, Macmillan Press, St. Martin's Press, in association with St. Antony's College, Oxford

Book
Elshtain, J. (1995) 'International politics and political theory' in Booth, Ken, *International relations theory today*, Polity
Notes: Chap: 12

Book
Hutchings, Kimberly 1960, (1999) International political theory: rethinking ethics in a global era, SAGE

Book
Jackson, R. (2008) 'The evolution of international society' in Baylis, John 1946, *The globalization of world politics: an introduction to international relations, 4th ed*, Oxford University Press
Notes: Chap. 2

Book Jackson, R. (1996) 'Is there a classical international theory?' in Smith, Steve 1992, *International theory: positivism and beyond*, C.U.P.

Notes: Chap : 9

Book

Jahn, Beate 1961, (2006) *Classical theory in international relations*, Cambridge University Press

Book

Krasner, S. (1993) 'Westphalia and all that.' in Goldstein, Judith, *Ideas and foreign policy: beliefs, institutions, and political change*, Cornell University Press

Book

Morgenthau, Hans Joachim 1904-1980, (1965) *Scientific man vs. power politics*, 1st Phoenix ed, Phoenix Books, University of Chicago Press

Journal

Schmidt, B. (1998) 'Lessons from the past: Reassessing the interwar disciplinary history of international relations' in *International studies quarterly* 42, 3, pages 433-459

Book

Schmidt, B. (2002) 'On the history and historiography of International Relations' in Carlsnaes, Walter, *Handbook of international relations*, Sage

Notes: Chap. 1

Book

Tuck, Richard 1949, (2001) *The rights of war and peace: political thought and the international order from Grotius to Kant*, Oxford University Press

Journal

Welch, D (2003) 'Why International Relations theorists should stop reading Thucydides' in *Review of international studies* 29, 3, pages 301-319

Journal

Michael C. Williams (1996) 'Hobbes and International Relations: A Reconsideration' in *International Organization: World Peace Foundation* 50, 2, pages 213-236

3: Classical realism

Core Texts

Book Core text

Morgenthau, Hans Joachim 1904, (c2006 [i.e. 2005]) *Politics among nations: the struggle for power and peace*, 7th ed., McGraw-Hill Higher Education

Notes: Please read chap. 1. Various editions held in Library.

Recommended Reading

Journal

Bain, W. (2000) 'Deconfusing Morgenthau: moral inquiry and classical realism reconsidered' in *Review of international studies* 26, 3, pages 445-464

Book

Claude, Inis L, (1962) *Power and international relations*, Random House

Book

Donnelly, Jack, (2000) *Realism and international relations*, Cambridge University Press

Notes: Chap. 1

Book Dunne, T. and Schmidt, B. (2008) 'Realism' in Baylis, John 1946, *The globalization of world politics: an introduction to international relations, 4th ed*, Oxford University Press

Notes: Various editions held in Library

Book

Dunne, Timothy 1965, (c2007) *International relations theories: discipline and diversity*, Oxford University Press

Notes: Chap. 3

Book

Garnett, J. (1992) 'State-centric perspectives' in Baylis, John, *Dilemmas of world politics: international issues in a changing world*, Clarendon Press, Oxford University Press

Notes: Chap: 2

Book

Gilpin, Robert, (1981) *War and change in world politics*, Cambridge University Press

Book

Guzzini, Stefano, (1998) *Realism in international relations and international political economy: the continuing story of a death foretold*, Routledge

Book

Jackson, Robert H, (c2007) *Introduction to international relations: theories and approaches*, 3rd ed, Oxford University Press

Notes: Chap. 3

Journal

(2003) 'Forum on American realism' in *Review of international studies* 29, 3, pages 2003

Book

Kennan, George F (George Frost) 1904, (1952 [c1951] *American diplomacy, 1900-1950*, Secker & Warburg

Book

Kennan, George F (George Frost) 1904, ([197-?] *American diplomacy, 1900-1950*, New American Library, New English Library

Book

Morgenthau, Hans Joachim 1904-1980, (1965) *Scientific man vs. power politics*, 1st Phoenix ed, Phoenix Books, University of Chicago Press

Book

Vasquez, John A. 1945, (1998) *The power of power politics: from classical realism to neotraditionalism*, Cambridge University Press

Book

Wheeler, N. and Booth, K. (1992) 'The security dilemma in theory' in Baylis, John, *Dilemmas of world politics: international issues in a changing world*, Clarendon Press, Oxford University Press

Notes: Chap: 1

Book

Williams, Michael C (Michael Charles) 1960, (2004) *The realist tradition and the limits of international relations*, Cambridge University Press

On liberalism

Book

Angell, N, ([1914] *The great illusion: a study of the relation of military power to national advantage*, Heinemann

Notes: Introduction. Various editions held in Library

Book

Burchill, S. (c2009) 'Liberalism' in Burchill, Scott 1961, *Theories of international relations, 4th ed*, Palgrave Macmillan

Notes: Various editions held in Library

Book Griffiths, Martin 1961, (1992) *Realism, idealism, and international politics: a reinterpretation*, Routledge

Book

MacMillan, John, (1998) *On liberal peace: democracy, war, and the international order*, Tauris Academic Studies, In the United States and Canada, distributed by St. Martin's Press

Journal

Richardson, J.L. (1997) 'Contending liberalisms - past and present' in *European journal of international relations* 3, 1, pages 5-33

4: International society

Core Texts

Book Core text

Bull, H. (1995) 'Society and anarchy in international relations' in Der Derian, James, *International theory: critical investigations*, Macmillan

Notes: Chap: 5

Recommended Reading

Book

Bull, H. (1995) 'The theory of international politics' in Der Derian, James, *International theory: critical investigations*, Macmillan

Notes: Chap: 8

Book

Bull, Hedley, (1984) *The Expansion of international society*, Clarendon Press, Oxford University Press

Book

Brown, Chris, (2002) *Sovereignty, rights, and justice: international political theory today*, Polity, Blackwell Publishers

Notes: Chap: 4

Book

Brown, Chris 1945, (2009) *Understanding international relations*, 4th ed, Palgrave Macmillan

Notes: Chap: 2 Various editions held in Library

Book

Carr, Edward Hallett 1892-1982, (2001) *The twenty years' crisis, 1919-1939: an introduction to the study of international relations*, Palgrave

Notes: Esp. The beginnings of science

Book

Clark, Ian, (1989) *The hierarchy of states: reform and resistance in the international order*, C.U.P.

Notes: Chaps. 5 and 8

Book

Clark, Ian 1949, (1989) *The hierarchy of states: reform and resistance in the international order*, Cambridge University Press

Notes: Chaps. 5 and 8

Book

Dunne, T. (2008) 'Liberalism' in Baylis, John 1946, *The globalization of world politics: an introduction to international relations*, 4th ed, Oxford University Press

Notes: Chap: 8 Various editions held in Library

Book Dunne, Tim 1965, (1998) *Inventing international society: a history of the English school*, Macmillan in association with St. Antony's College, Oxford, St. Martin's

Notes: Chap: 2

Journal

Dunne, T. (2003) 'Society and hierarchy in international relations' in *International relations* 17, 3, pages 303-320

Journal

Dunne, T. (1995) 'The social construction of international society' in *European journal of international relations* 1, 3, pages 367-389

Book

Dunne, Timothy 1965, (c2007) *International relations theories: discipline and diversity*, Oxford University Press

Notes: Chap: 7

Book

Hollis, Martin, (1991) *Explaining and understanding international relations*, Clarendon Press, Oxford University Press

Notes: Chap: 2 The growth of a discipline

Book

Jackson, Robert H, (2005) *Classical and modern thought on international relations: from anarchy to cosmopolis*, Palgrave Macmillan

Book

Jackson, R. (1995) 'The political theory of international society' in Booth, Ken, *International relations theory today*, Polity

Notes: Chap: 5

Book

Linklater, A. (2001) 'Rationalism' in Burchill, Scott 1961, *Theories of international relations, 2nd ed*, Palgrave

Book

Linklater, A. (2005) 'The English school' in Burchill, Scott 1961, *Theories of international relations, 3rd ed*, Palgrave Macmillan

Book

Linklater, Andrew, (2006) *The English school of international relations: a contemporary reassessment*, Cambridge University Press

Book

Vincent, Raymond John, (1990) *Order and violence: Hedley Bull and international relations*, Clarendon

Book

Olson, William Clinton 1920, (1991) *International relations then and now: origins and trends in interpretation*, HarperCollins Academic

Notes: Chaps: 4 and 5

Journal

Osiander, A. (1998) 'Rereading early twentieth-century IR theory: Idealism revisited.' in *International studies quarterly* 42, 3, pages 409-432

Legacy Journal

Hidemi Suganami (2001) Alexander Wendt and the English School in *Journal of international relations and development* 4, 4, pages 403-423

Book

Wight, Martin, (1978) *Power politics*, Leicester University Press, Royal Institute of International Affairs

Journal

Waever, O. (1995) 'International Society: Theoretical Promises Fulfilled?' in *Cooperation and conflict: Nordic studies in international politics* 27, 1, pages 125-154

Book

Wheeler, Nicholas J, (2000) *Saving strangers: humanitarian intervention in international society*, Oxford University Press

URL

'English School of International Relations Theory, University of Leeds' in *English School of International Relations Theory | Politics and International Studies (POLIS) | University of Leeds*

5: Neorealism and liberalism

Core Texts

Book Core text

Waltz, Kenneth Neal 1924, (c1979) *Theory of international politics*, Addison-Wesley Pub. Co.

Notes: Esp. Chaps. 1,4 and 5.

Book Core text

Waltz, K. (1986) 'Theory of international politics' in Keohane, Robert O ((Robert Owen)) 1941, *Neorealism and its critics*, Columbia U.P.

Journal Core text

Greico, J. (1988) 'Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism' in *International Organization: World Peace Foundation* 42, 3, pages 485-507

Recommended Reading

Book

Ashley, R. (1986) 'The poverty of Neo-realism' in Keohane, Robert O ((Robert Owen)) 1941, *Neorealism and its critics*, Columbia U.P.

Book

Baldwin, David A ((David Allen)) 1936, (1993) *Neorealism and neoliberalism: the contemporary debate*, Columbia University Press

Book

Buzan, Barry, (1991) *People, states and fear: an agenda for international security studies in the post-cold war era*, 2nd ed, Harvester Wheatsheaf

Notes: Various editions held in Library

Journal

Deudney, D. and Ikenberry, J.G. (1999) 'The nature and sources of liberal international order' in *Review of international studies* 25, 2, pages 179-196

Book

Dunne, Timothy 1965, (c2007) *International relations theories: discipline and diversity*, Oxford University Press

Notes: Chap: 4

Journal

(2002) 'Forum on Waltz' in *Review of international studies* 28, 1

Journal

David Davies Memorial Institute of International Studies (2009) 'Forum on Waltz' in *International relations* 23, 2 and 3

Book

Gilpin, R (1986) 'The richness of the tradition of political realism' in Keohane, Robert O ((Robert Owen)) 1941, *Neorealism and its critics*, Columbia U.P.

Journal

Guzzini, S. (1993) 'Structural power: The limits of neorealism power analysis' in *International Organization: World Peace Foundation* 47, 3, pages 443-478

Book Hasenclever, Andreas, (1997) Theories of international regimes, Cambridge University Press

Notes: Chap: 1

Book

Hobson, John M, (2000) The state and international relations, Cambridge University Press

Book

Hollis, Martin, (1991) Explaining and understanding international relations, Clarendon Press, Oxford University Press

Notes: Chap: 5

Book

Keohane, R. (c1999) 'Theory of world politics: Structural realism and beyond' in Viotti, Paul R, *International relations theory: realism, pluralism, globalism, and beyond, 3rd ed*, Allyn and Bacon

Book

Keohane, R. (1989) 'Theory of world politics: Structural realism and beyond' in Keohane, Robert O (Robert Owen) 1941, *International institutions and state power: essays in international relations theory*, Westview Press

Book

Keohane, Robert O (Robert Owen) 1941, (1984) After hegemony: cooperation and discord in the world political economy, Guildford, Princeton University Press

Book

Keohane, Robert Owen, (c1977) Power and interdependence: world politics in transition, Little, Brown

Notes: Various editions held in Library

Book

Kolodziej, Edward A, (2005) Security and international relations, Cambridge University Press

Notes: Chap: 4

Book

Krasner, Stephen D, (1989) International regimes, Cornell U.P.

Notes: Introduction and conclusion

Journal

Kratochwil, F. (1993) 'The embarrassment of changes: neo-realism as the science of Realpolitik without politics' in *Review of international studies* 19, 1, pages 63-80

Book

Linklater, A. (1995) 'Neo-realism in theory and practice' in Booth, Ken, *International relations theory today*, Polity

Notes: Chap: 11

Book

Little, R. (1985) 'Structuralism and realism' in Light, Margot, *International relations: a handbook of current theory*, Pinter

Journal

John J. Mearsheimer (1990) 'Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War' in *International security* 15, 1, pages 5-56

Book

Mearsheimer, John J, (2001) The tragedy of Great Power politics, W. W. Norton & Company

Journal

Nye, Joseph S. (1988) 'Neorealism and Neoliberalism' in *World politics: a quarterly journal of international relations* 40, 2, pages 235-251

Book

Jackson, Robert H, (c2007) Introduction to international relations: theories and approaches, 3rd ed, Oxford University Press

Notes: Chaps: 3 and 4

Book Snidal, D (2002) 'Rational choice and international relations' in Carlsnaes, Walter, *Handbook of international relations*, Sage

Notes: Chap. 4

Legacy Journal

Waltz, Kenneth N (1990) Realist thought and neorealist theory in *Journal of international affairs*. 44, 1, pages 21-37

Book

Waltz, Kenneth N (1986) 'Reflections on Theory if international politics' in Keohane, Robert O ((Robert Owen)) 1941, *Neorealism and its critics*, Columbia U.P.

6: Positivism and post-positivism: The second and third debates

Core Texts

Book Core text

Smith, S. (1996) 'Positivism and beyond' in Smith, Steve 1952, *International theory: positivism and beyond*, C.U.P. pages 11-44

Journal Core text

Lapid, J (1989) 'The Third Debate' in *International studies quarterly* 33, 3, pages 235-254

Recommended Reading

Book

Banks, M. (1985) 'The inter-paradigm debate' in Light, Margot, *International relations: a handbook of current theory*, Pinter

Book

Bull, H. (1969) 'International theory: The case for the classical approach' in Knorr, Klaus Eugen 1911, *Contending approaches to international politics*, Princeton University Press

Notes: Chap: 2

Journal

Barry Buzan and Richard Little (2001) 'Why International Relations has Failed' in *Millennium: journal of international studies* 30, 1, pages 19-39

Book

Dunne, Timothy 1965, (c2007) *International relations theories: discipline and diversity*, Oxford University Press

Notes: Chap.1

Book

Hollis, M. (1996) 'The last post?' in Smith, Steve 1952, *International theory: positivism and beyond*, C.U.P. pages 11-44

Book

Jackson, Robert H, (2003) *Introduction to international relations: theories and approaches*, Rev. and expanded 2nd ed, Oxford University Press

Notes: Chaps: 8 and 9

Book

Jackson, Robert H, (c2007) *Introduction to international relations: theories and approaches*, 3rd ed, Oxford University Press

Notes: Chaps: 10 and 11

Book

Kaplan, M. (1969) 'The New Great Debate: Traditionalism vs. Science in International Relations ' in Knorr, Klaus Eugen 1911, *Contending approaches to international politics*, Princeton University Press

Journal Kaplan, M. (1966) 'The New Great Debate: Traditionalism vs. Science in International Relations' in *World politics: a quarterly journal of international relations* 19, 1, pages 1-20

Book

Singer, D.J. (1982) 'The level-of-analysis problem in international relations' in Knorr, K, *The international system: theoretical essays*; ed K Knorr and S Verba, Greenwood Press

Notes: Various editions held in Library

Book

Smith, S. (2008) 'New approaches to international theory' in Baylis, John 1946, *The globalization of world politics: an introduction to international relations, 4th ed*, Oxford University Press

Notes: Various editions held in Library

Book

Vasquez, J. (1995) 'The post-positive debate' in Booth, Ken, *International relations theory today*, Polity

Notes: Chap: 10

Book

Waever, O. (1996) 'The rise and fall of the inter-paradigm debate' in Smith, Steve 1952, *International theory: positivism and beyond*, C.U.P.

Journal

Wight, C. (1996) 'Incommensurability and Cross-Paradigm Communication in International Relations Theory' in *Millennium: journal of international studies* 25, 2, pages 291-319

Journal

Whitworth, S. (1989) 'Gender in the Inter- Paradigm Debate' in *Millennium: journal of international studies* 18, 2, pages 265-272

Book

Wight, C. (2002) 'Philosophy of social science and IR' in Carlsnaes, Walter, *Handbook of international relations*, Sage

Notes: Chap: 2

7: IR constructivism

Core Texts

Journal Core text

Hopf, T (1998) 'The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory' in *International security* 23, 1, pages 171-200

Journal Core text

Wendt, A (1992) 'Anarchy is what states make of it: The social construction of power politics.' in *International Organization: World Peace Foundation* 46, 2, pages 391-425

Book Core text

Wendt, A (1995) 'Anarchy is what states make of it: The social construction of power politics.' in Der Derian, James, *International theory: critical investigations*, Macmillan

Recommended Reading

Journal

Adler, E (1997) 'Seizing the Middle Ground: Constructivism in World Politics' in *European journal of international relations* 3, 3, pages 319-363

Book

Adler, E (2002) 'Constructivism and IR' in Carlsnaes, Walter, *Handbook of international relations*, Sage

Notes: Chap: 5

Journal Barnett, M and Finnemore, M (1999) 'The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations.' in *International Organization: World Peace Foundation* 53, 4, pages 699-732

Journal
Dessler, D (1999) 'Constructivism within a positivist social science' in *Review of international studies* 25, 1, pages 123-137

Book
Dunne, Timothy 1965, (c2007) *International relations theories: discipline and diversity*, Oxford University Press
Notes: Chap: 9

Journal
Fierke, K.M. (2002) 'Links across the Abyss: Language and Logic in International Relations' in *International studies quarterly* 46, 2, pages 331-354

Journal
(2000) 'Forum on Wendt' in *Review of international studies* 26, 1

Journal
Guzzini, S (2000) 'A Reconstruction of Constructivism in International Relations' in *European journal of international relations* 6, 2, pages 147-182

Journal
Keohane R. (1988) 'International Institutions: Two Approaches' in *International studies quarterly* 32, 4, pages 379-396

Book
Keohane, R. (1995) 'International Institutions: Two Approaches' in Der Derian, James, *International theory: critical investigations*, Macmillan

Book
Kolodziej, Edward A, (2005) *Security and international relations*, Cambridge University Press
Notes: Chap: 7

Book
Klotz, Audie, (c1995) *Norms in international relations: the struggle against apartheid*, Cornell University Press

Journal
Moravcsik, A, "Is something rotten in the state of Denmark?' Constructivism and European integration.' in *Journal of European public policy* 6, 4, pages 669-681

Journal
Millikin, J (1999) 'You have access to this article via a personal or institutional subscription The Study of Discourse in International Relations: A Critique of Research and Methods' in *European journal of international relations* 5, 2, pages 225-254

Journal
Neufeld, M (1993) 'Reflectivity and international relations' in *Millennium: journal of international studies* 22, 1, pages 43-76

Book
Onuf, N., (1989) *World of Our Making: Rules and Rule in Social Theory*
Notes: This title is out of print and not available in the Library

Book
Reus-Smit, C. (1996) 'Constructivism' in Burchill, Scott 1961, *Theories of international relations*, St. Martin's Press
Notes: Please read: Onuf, N 'Constructivism'

Journal
Price, R. and Reus-Smit, C. (1998) 'Dangerous Liaisons?: Critical International Theory and Constructivism' in *European journal of international relations* 4, 3, pages 259-294

Journal
Thomas Risse (2000) "'Let's Argue!": Communicative Action in World Politics' in *International Organization: World Peace Foundation* 54, 1, pages 1-39

Book Wendt, Alexander 1966, (1999) *Social theory of international politics*, Cambridge University Press

Journal

Wendt, A. (1995) 'Constructing International Politics' in *International security* 20, 1, pages 71-81

8: Critical theory and Marxism

Core Texts

Journal Core text

Cox, R. (1981) 'Social forces, States and world orders.' in *Millennium: journal of international studies* 10, 2, pages 126-155

Book Core text

Cox, R. (1986) 'Social forces, States and world orders.' in Keohane, Robert O ((Robert Owen)) 1941, *Neorealism and its critics*, Columbia U.P.

Recommended Reading

Book

Ayers, Alison J, (c2008) *Gramsci, political economy, and international relations theory: modern princes and naked emperors*, 1st ed, Palgrave Macmillan

Journal

Christopher Chase-Dunn (1981) 'Interstate System and Capitalist World-Economy: One Logic or Two?' in *International studies quarterly* 25, 1, pages 19-42

Journal

Chase-Dunn, C. and Rubinson, R. (1977) 'Toward a Structural Perspective on the World-System' in *Politics & society* 7, 4, pages 453-476

Book

Cox, Robert W (Robert Warburton) 1926, (1987) *Production, power and world order: social forces in the making of history*, Columbia University Press

Book

Cox, Robert W. 1926, (1996) *Approaches to world order*, Cambridge University Press

Book

Dunne, Timothy 1965, (c2007) *International relations theories: discipline and diversity*, Oxford University Press

Notes: Chap: 8

Journal

Germain, R. and Kenny, M. (1998) 'Engaging Gramsci: international relations theory and the new Gramscians' in *Review of international studies* 24, 1, pages 3-21

Book

Gill, Stephen 1950, (1993) *Gramsci, historical materialism and international relations*, Cambridge University Press

Book

Gill, Stephen 1950, (2003) *Power and resistance in the new world order*, Palgrave Macmillan

Book

Linklater, Andrew, (1990) *Beyond realism and Marxism: critical theory and international relations*, Macmillan

Book

Linklater, Andrew, (1998) *The transformation of political community: ethical foundations of the Post-Westphalian era*, University of South Carolina Press

Book Linklater, A. (1996) 'Marxism' in Burchill, Scott 1961, *Theories of international relations*, St. Martin's Press

Book

Lenin, Vladimir Ilich 1870-1924, ([1970] *Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism: a popular outline*, Progress Publishers

Notes: Various editions held in Library

Book

Linklater, Andrew, (1990) *Beyond realism and Marxism: critical theory and international relations*, Macmillan

Book

Devetok, R. (1996) 'Critical theory' in Burchill, Scott 1961, *Theories of international relations*, St. Martin's Press

Journal

Hoffman, M. (1987) 'Critical Theory and the Inter-Paradigm Debate ' in *Millennium: journal of international studies* 16, 2, pages 231-250

Book

Bieler, Andreas 1967, (2006) *Images of Gramsci: connections and contentions in political theory and international relations*, Routledge

Book

Rosenberg, Justin, (1994) *The empire of civil society: a critique of the realist theory of international relations*, Verso

Book

Robinson, William I, (1996) *Promoting polyarchy globalization, US intervention, and hegemony*, Cambridge University Press

Journal

Rupert, M. (2003) 'Globalising common sense: a Marxian-Gramscian (re-)vision of the politics of governance/resistance ' in *Review of international studies* 29, Supplement S1 , pages 181-198

Book

Rupert, Mark, (2002) *Historical materialism and globalization*, Routledge

Book

Linklater, Andrew, (2007) *Critical theory and world politics: citizenship, sovereignty and humanity*, Routledge

9: Feminism and gender

Core Texts

Journal Core text

Tickner, J. A. (1997) 'You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements between Feminists and IR Theorists' in *International studies quarterly* 41, 4, pages 611-632

Recommended Reading

Book

Dunne, Timothy 1965, (c2007) *International relations theories: discipline and diversity*, Oxford University Press

Notes: Chap: 10

Book

Elshtain, J. (1997) 'Feminist inquiry and international relations' in Doyle, Michael W, *New thinking in international relations theory*, Westview

Journal

Elshtain, B. (1998) 'Women and War: ten years on.' in *Review of international studies* 24, 4, pages 447-460

Book Enloe, Cynthia H 1938, (1990) *Bananas, beaches, and bases: making feminist sense of international politics*, University of California

Notes: Various editions held in Library

Journal

Institute for World Order (1993) 'Feminists write IR' in *Alternatives: a journal of world policy*, Winter

Book

Grant, Rebecca, (1991) *Gender and international relations*, Open U.P., in assoc. with Millennium: journal of international studies

Journal

Jones, A. (1996) 's:43:"Does ' in *Review of international studies* 22, 4, pages 405-429

Book

Peterson, V. Spike, (1992) *Gendered states: feminist (re)visions of international relations theory*, Lynne Rienner

Journal

Peterson, S (1992) 'Transgressing boundaries' in *Millennium: journal of international studies* 21, 2, pages 183-208

Book

Stears, Jill, (1998) *Gender and international relations: an introduction*, Polity

Book

Sylvester, Christine 1949, (1994) *Feminist theory and international relations in a postmodern era*, Cambridge University Press

Book

Sylvester, C. (1996) 'The contributions of feminist theory to IR' in Smith, Steve 1952, *International theory: positivism and beyond*, C.U.P.

Journal

Tickner, JA. (2006) 'On The Frontlines or Sidelines of Knowledge and Power?' in *International studies review* 8, 3, pages 383-395

Book

Tickner, J. Ann, (2001) *Gendering world politics: issues and approaches in the post-Cold War era*, Columbia University Press

Book

Tickner, J. Ann, (1992) *Gender in international relations: feminist perspectives on achieving global security*, Columbia University Press

Book

True, J. (c2009) 'Feminism' in Burchill, Scott 1961, *Theories of international relations, 4th ed*, Palgrave Macmillan

Notes: Various editions held in Library

10: Ethics in IR

Core Texts

Journal Core text

Frost, M. (1998) 'A turn not taken: Ethics in IR at the millenium' in *Review of international studies* 24, 5, pages 119-132

Recommended Reading

Book

Beitz, Charles R, (1985) *International ethics*, Princeton University Press

Book Beitz, Charles R, (1999) Political theory and international relations, Princeton University Press

Book

Brown, Chris 1945, (1992) International relations theory: new normative approaches, Harvester Wheatsheaf

Book

Cochran, Molly (Molly Maude) 1967, (1999) Normative theory in international relations: a pragmatic approach, Cambridge University Press

Book

Frost, Mervyn, (1996) Ethics in international relations: a constitutive theory, C.U.P.

Journal

Frost, M. (1998) 'Migrants, civil society and sovereign states: Investigating an ethical hierarchy.' in *Political studies: the journal of the Political Studies Association of the U.K* 46, 5, pages 871-885

Book

Hurrell, A. (2002) 'Norms and ethics in IR' in Carlsnaes, Walter, *Handbook of international relations*, Sage

Notes: Chap: 7

Book

Hoffmann, M. (1994) 'Normative international relations theory: approaches and issues.' in Groom, A. J. R ((Arthur John Richard)) 1938, *Contemporary international relations: a guide to theory*, Pinter

Notes: Please read pp. 27-45

Book

Hoffmann, Stanley, (1981) Duties beyond borders: on the limits and possibilities of ethical international politics, 1st ed, Syracuse University Press

Book

Hutchings, Kimberly 1960, (1999) International political theory: rethinking ethics in a global era, SAGE

Journal

Linklater, A. (2005) 'Dialogic politics and the civilising process ' in *Review of international studies* 31, 1, pages 141-154

Book

Nardin, Terry 1942, (1983) Law, morality and the relations of states, Princeton U.P.

Book

Shapcott, Richard, (2001) Justice, community and dialogue in international relations, Cambridge University Press

Book

Walzer, Michael, (2006) Just and unjust wars: a moral argument with historical illustrations, 4th ed, Basic Books

Notes: 3rd edition unavailable in library

11: Post-structuralism and postmodernism

Core Texts

Book Core text

Devetak, R. (1996) 'Postmodernism' in Burchill, Scott 1961, *Theories of international relations*, St. Martin's Press

Recommended Reading

Book

Agamben, Giorgio, (1998) Homo sacer: sovereign power and bare life, Stanford University Press

Book Ashley, R. (1996) 'The achievements of post-structuralism' in Smith, Steve 1992, *International theory: positivism and beyond*, C.U.P.

Notes: Please read pp.11-44.

Book

Ashley, R. (1989) 'Living on border lines ' in Der Derian, James, *International/intertextual relations: postmodern readings of world politics*, Lexington Books

Journal

Ashley, R., 'The geopolitics of political space' in *Alternatives: a journal of world policy* , XII, pages 403-434

Journal

Campbell (1998) 'MetaBosnia: narratives of the Bosnian War ' in *Review of international studies* 24, 2, pages 261-281

Book

Campbell, David 1961, (1998) *Writing security: United States foreign policy and the politics of identity*, Rev. ed, Manchester University Press

Notes: Various editions held in Library

Book

Dillon, Michael 1945, (2008) *Foucault on politics, security and war*, Palgrave Macmillan

Book

Dunne, Timothy 1965, (c2007) *International relations theories: discipline and diversity*, Oxford University Press

Notes: Chap: 11

Book

Edkins, Jenny, (1999) *Poststructuralism & international relations: bringing the political back in*, Lynne Rienner Publishers

Book

Smith, S. (1997) 'New approaches to international relations' in Baylis, John, *The globalization of world politics: an introduction to international relations*, Oxford University Press

Notes: Various editions held in Library

Journal

(1990) 'Special Issue' in *International studies quarterly* 34, 3

Book

Sylvester, Christine 1949, (1994) *Feminist theory and international relations in a postmodern era*, Cambridge University Press

Book

Walker, R. B. J, (1993) *Inside/outside: international relations as political theory*, Cambridge University Press

Journal

Wight, C. (1999) 'MetaCampbell: the epistemological problematics of perspectivism ' in *Review of international studies* 25, 2, pages 311-316

Source: www.readinglists.kent.ac.uk/faculty of social-sciences-of politics-and International relations as organized by *Dr. J.M Joseph of University of Kent (United Kingdom)*.

Picture 1.2: Faces of the Past Presidents of International Studies Association (ISA)

It should be noted, that the Presidency of *ISA* changes annually and to date has been held, by the distinguished *IR* scholars listed below:

 <p>Thomas G. Weiss 2009-2010 The Graduate Center, The City University of New York</p>	 <p>Nils Petter Gleditsch 2008-2009 International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, PRIO</p>	 <p>Jack S. Levy 2007-2008 Rutgers University</p>
 <p>J. Ann Tickner 2006-2007 University of Southern California</p>	 <p>William Thompson 2005-2006 Indiana University</p>	 <p>Jacek Kugler 2004-2005 Claremont Graduate University</p>



Steve Smith
2003-2004
University of Exeter



John A. Vasquez
2002-2003 Vanderbilt Univ.



Bruce Bueno de Mesquita
2001-2002
Stanford University



Craig Murphy
2000-2001
Wellesley College



Michael Brecher
1999-2000
McGill University



Margaret G. Hermann
1998-1999
Ohio State University



James A. Caporaso
1997-1998
University of Washington



Davis Bobrow
1996-1997
University of Pittsburgh



Susan Strange
1995-1996
University of Warwick



Ted R. Gurr
1994-1995
University of Maryland



Charles Kegley, Jr.
1993-1994
University of South Carolina



Hayward R. Alker, Jr.
1992-1993
Massachusetts Institute of
Technology



Maurice East 1991-1992
The George Washington
University



Helga Haftendorn
1990-1991
Free University of Berlin



Charles F. Hermann
1989-1990
Ohio State University



Robert Keohane
1988-1989
Harvard University



Harold Guetzkow
1987-1988
Northwestern University



Kal J. Holsti
1986-1987
University of British
Columbia



J. David Singer
1985-1986
University of Michigan



James N. Rosenau
1984-1985
The George Washington
University



Bruce Russett
1983-1984
Yale University



Harold K. Jacobson
1982-1983
University of Michigan



Henry Teune
1981-1982
University of Pennsylvania



Dina Zinnes
1980-1981
University of Illinois



Ole K. Holsti
1979-1980
Duke University



Chadwick F. Alger
1978-1979
Ohio State University



Herbert Kelman
1977-1978
Harvard University



Vincent Davis
1976-1977
University of Kentucky



Richard Rosecrance
1975-1976
Cornell University



Kenneth Boulding
1974-1975
University of Colorado



Alexander George
1973-1974
Stanford University

Presidents of ISA (continued below)

William T.R. Fox

1972-1973

Columbia University

Richard C. Snyder

1971-1972

Ohio State University

Norman Palmer

1970-1971

University of Pennsylvania

Robert North

1969-1970

Stanford University

William Olson

1968-1969

American University

F. Field Haviland, Jr.

1967-1968

Tufts University

Vernon Van Dyke

1966-1967

University of Iowa

John Grange

1964-1966

University of Oregon

Ross Berkes

1963-1964

University of Southern California

Fred Sondermann

1962-1963

Colorado College

Wesley Posvar

1961–1962

University of Pittsburgh

Minos Generales

1959-1961

San Diego State College

Source: Courtesy of International Studies Association (ISA) website 2010.

Note these outstanding characteristics: average age *-above 50 years old, predominantly white males (patriarchal and racially biased), majority being Americans*. How may we then talk about representivity or *international perspectives* being available from the discourse of *IR*?

Picture 1.3: International Studies Association Executive Committee 2009-10

<p>PRESIDENT</p>  <p>Thomas G. Weiss Ralph Bunche Institute for International Studies, The Graduate Center, The City University of New York</p>	<p>PRESIDENT-ELECT</p>  <p>David A. Lake University of California, San Diego</p>
<p>PAST PRESIDENT</p>  <p>Nils Petter Gleditsch International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, PRIO</p>	<p>TREASURER</p>  <p>Mary K. Meyer McAleese Department of Political Science, Eckerd College</p>

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR



Thomas J. Volgy
International Studies Association,
University of Arizona

VICE PRESIDENTS



Mark Boyer
Department of Political Science,
University of Connecticut



Sandra Halperin
Department of Politics & Intl Relations,
Royal Holloway College, University of
London



Ido Oren
Department of Political Science,
University of Florida

MEMBERS-AT-LARGE



William R. Thompson
Department of Political Science,
Indiana University



Lorna Lloyd

School of Politics, Intl Relations & Philosophy,
Keele University



Roger Coate

Georgia College & State University

Governing Council

The ISA Governing Council includes: The ISA Executive Committee; the Region Presidents; the Section Chairs; the journal editors, and the following persons listed below.

All Members of the Governing Council have voting status and shall perform duties in concurrence with Article VI of the ISA Constitution.

ISA GOVERNING COUNCIL 2009-2010 VICE PRESIDENTS ELECT



Didier Bigo

Center for Intl Research and Studies,
Sciences-Po Paris & King's College
London War Studies



Marijke Breuning

Department of Political Science,
University of North Texas



Brett Ashley Leeds
Department of Political Science,
Rice University

**NON-NORTH AMERICAN
MEMBERS-AT-LARGE, 2008-2010***



Theo Farrell
Kings College, London



Gunther Hellman
University of Frankfurt



Timothy Shaw Univ. of the West Indies

**NON-NORTH AMERICAN
MEMBERS-AT-LARGE, 2009-2011****



Iver B. Neumann
Norwegian Institute of International Affairs



Henk Overbeek
Department of Political Science,
VU University Amsterdam



Shirin Rai
University of Warwick



**2010 Programme Chair: Elizabeth R.
DeSombre** -Dept.of Political Science, Wellesley
College

UN-NGO REPRESENTATIVE



Jacqueline Braveboy-Wagner
The City University of New York

* This Non-North American Member-at-Large term, is a two-year term, that officially begun, with the start of the *ISA Annual Convention* meeting in **2008** and ended, with the closing of the *ISA Governing Council meeting of the final year listed (2010)*. NNA representatives were voting members, of the ISA Governing Council meetings in **2009** and **2010**.

** This Non-North American Member-at-Large term is a two-year term that officially begun, with the start of the ISA Annual Convention meeting in **2009** and ends with the closing of the ISA Governing Council meeting of the final year listed (**2011**). NNA representatives are voting members of the ISA Governing Council meetings in **2010** and **2011**.

Journal Editors

The *International Studies Association* publishes five premier academic journals, and co-sponsors a sixth. Our publisher, Blackwell, is one of the world's leading academic publishers. With *923 staff members in offices in the US, UK, Australia, Japan, Denmark, and Germany*, Blackwell publishes over 700 journals in partnership with more than 550 academic and professional societies. Each journal maintains its own editorial team, publication policies, and a voting presence on the Governing Council. To contact our editors, please see the information below:

INTERNATIONAL STUDIES QUARTERLY (ISQ)



William R. Thompson
EDITOR, JAN 2009 - DEC 2013
Department of Political Science,
Indiana University

INTERNATIONAL STUDIES REVIEW (ISR)



J. Sterling-Folker
EDITOR, JAN 2008 - DEC 2012
Department of Political Science,
University of Connecticut



Mark Boyer
CO-EDITOR, JAN 2008 - DEC 2012
Department of Political Science,
University of Connecticut

FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS (FPA)



A. Cooper Drury
EDITOR, JAN 2010 - DEC 2014
Dept of Political Science, Missouri Univ.

**INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
PERSPECTIVES (ISP)**



Douglas A. Van Belle
EDITOR, JAN 2010 - DEC 2014
Media Studies and Politics,
Victoria University of Wellington

**INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL
SOCIOLOGY (IPS)**



Didier Bigo
EDITOR, JAN 2007 - DEC 2011
Center for Intl Research and Studies,
Sciences-Po Paris, & King's College
London War Studies



R.B.J. Walker
EDITOR, JAN 2007 - DEC 2011
Department of Political Science,
University of Victoria

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INTERNATIONAL INTERACTIONS (II)



Paul Diehl

EDITOR, JAN 2009 - DEC 2013

Department of Political Science,
University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

Source: International Studies Website, as updated in October 2009.

Picture 1.4: Sample of Contemporary Scholars who have taken interest on the theme of *IR* (Theory) and *Afrika*





Source: Authors Construct, August,2010. *Tshepo Mvulane-Moloi* is pictured in the last box.

A somewhat sparse and worrisome list of interested participants. Notable absentees amongst many others include *Christopher Clapham, Adekeye Adebajo, Siphso Maseko* (Former Head of Political Science department at the University of Western Cape and an Abe Bailey Fellow. He published on black student activism (before he passed away from cancer in 2002.) And New Zealand born *Stephen Chan*. All distinguished *IR* scholars, in their own right. *Archie Mafeje* and *John Akokpari* have been included here, though they seem as unusual suspects amongst the list of the usual suspects.

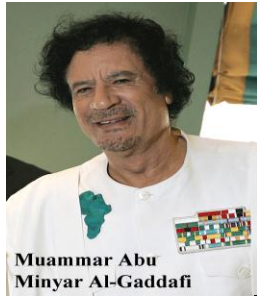
The above illustration is an attempt by the author of this study, to clearly indicate the enormous challenge, faced by *IR* scholars who have attempted, to present insights related to the theme of *Afrika and IR*. Although the above diagram includes individuals, which have mainly been derived from the *BISA and Afrika* membership list, as per 2009, it also includes other scholars (eg. **Archie Mafeje**), who may arguably be just as relevant to this study. It should be noted that the above picture, mainly refers to academics- lecturers, authors and two fellow postgraduates (**Audun Solli** and **Rickus Oswald**), who have also written on topics, related to the theme, of this study. Another notable fellow postgraduate is **Nicholas Dietrich**, who is missing from the above pictures.

A question may thus be posed here, whether a *gap* of *other* arguably relevant *Afrocentric* voices, which may also equally, be registered as *overlooked contributors*, to the discipline of *IR-academic and non-academic* list may exist or not?

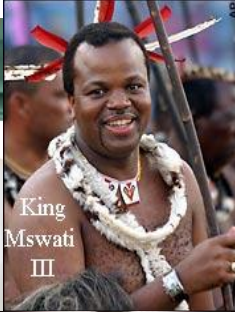
Picture 1.5: Dissident or Marginalized *Afrocentric* Voices missing from the field of IR?







Muammar Abu Minyar Al-Gaddafi



King Mswati III



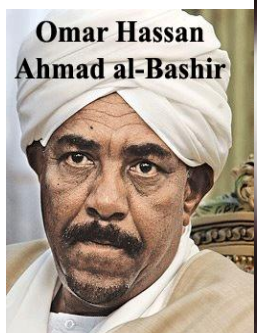
Paul Kagame



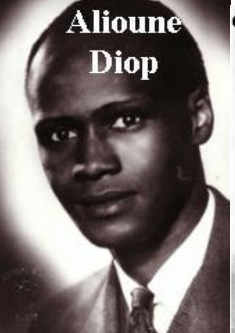
Charles Ghankay Taylor



Ellen Johnson Sirleaf



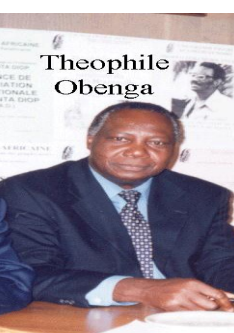
Omar Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir



Alioune Diop



Cheikh Anta Diop



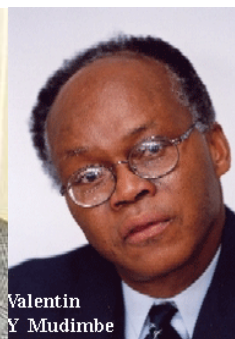
Theophile Obenga



M B Ramose



Kwasi Wiredu



Valentin Y Mudimbe



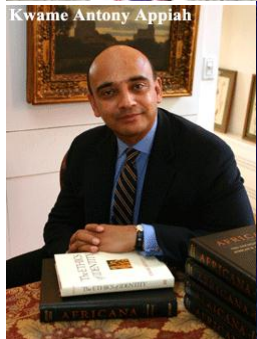
Paul Hountondji



Lucius Outlaw



Tsenay Serequeberhan



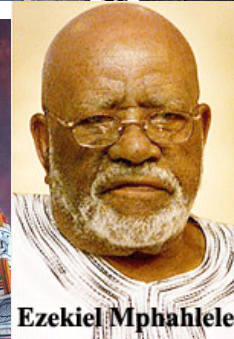
Kwame Anthony Appiah



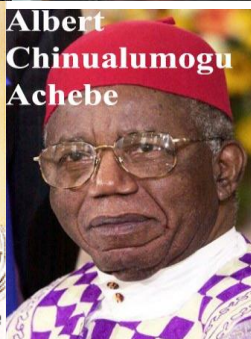
Mfukusekwa J Bhengu



Johann Broodryk



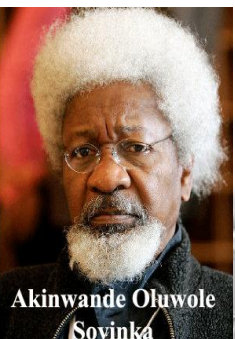
Ezekiel Mphahlele



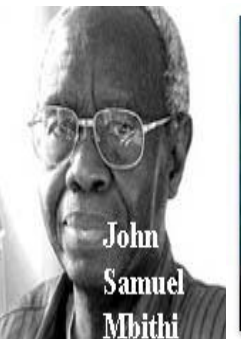
Albert Chinualumogu Achebe



Ngugi Wa Thiong'o



Akinwande Oluwale Soyinka



John Samuel Mbithi



Nadine Gordimer



Dambudzo Marechera



Source: Author's construct, November, 2010.

8. Endnotes

1) The decision to adopt this particular spelling is stipulated so well by *Mike Stainbank* (CEO of the Es'kia Institute)- “while scholars have differing opinions on the origins and “correct” spelling of *Afrika*, The Es'kia Institute has chosen the “*Afrika*” spelling to reflect the reclamation and change from a *Eurocentric* point of reference to an *Afrikan* one, in line with the views of professor *Es'kia Mphahlele* more so in terms of language and pronunciation, *Africa* spelt with a “c” has no identifiable *Afrikan* root, to the extent that it even does not belong to (or “is foreign to”) many *Afrikan* languages. This is true of many names created by the colonial powers, whose intention was to convey meaning that made sense to their European audience.” Effort to discuss this concept further, will hopefully be undertaken, in the advanced stages of this study.

2) For examples of *Pan-Afrikanists* see *Picture 1.5* in the addendum (for the purpose of this study, the author of this study is convinced, that such individuals, may also be similarly referred to as *Afrocentrists*- thus these two concepts in the context of this study, may thus be used interchangeably). Individuals who believed that all people of *Afrikan* descent, shared a common history and cultural experience. Refers to the movement that seeks to ensure *Afrika*'s nationalism. For the purposes of this study, reference to this movement, should be read as a specific reference, to an idea that grew out of the *19th century* efforts, to end slavery, slave trade, colonialism and racism. Its 2 main goals, were firstly to counter the idea that people of *Afrikan* origin, were inferior to other people and to build unity amongst people, with an *Afrikan* background in different parts of the world. Its origin was sparked by the early leaders from the *Diaspora*, found in various places, such as those initially based in the Caribbean Islands and later moved to the *USA*. In short- it literally means ‘all *Afrikanism*’. Inspired by amongst others the views of Saint Thomas, U.S Virgin Island born *Edward Wilmot Blyden*, USA's *W.E.B Du Bois* and *Marcus Garvey*. Other prominent and less prominent members include *Ron Maulana Karenga*, *Omali Yeshitela*, *Runoko Rashidi*, *Sierra Leone's Isaac Theophilus*, *Akuna Wallace Johnson*, 1st president of Mali *Modibo Keita*, Republic of Congo's *Patrice Lumumba*, Burkina Faso's *Joseph Ki- Zerbo*, Republic of Guinea's *Ahmed Sekou Toure*, Senegalese *Cheikh Anta Diop*, Zambia's *Kenneth Kaunda*, Ghanaian *Kwesi Kwaa Prah*. Diasporic voices include Guyanese *Walter Rodney* and Trinidadian-American black activist *Stokely Carmichael*. Notable South *Afrikan*'s include *Tiyo Soga*, *Pixly Ka Isaka Seme*, *Steve Biko*, *Robert Sobukwe*, *Archie Mafeje*, *John Nyathi Pokela*, , *Mongane Wally Serote*, and *Thabo Mbeki* and amongst many others.

3) This concept will be utilised as explained by Pan *Afrikan* scholars, such as South *Afrika*'s *Archie Mafeje* and *Afrikan*- American *Molefi Kete Asante* (alongside other *Afrocentric* scholars). The approach employed by this study, will attempt to articulate, whatever may eventually be presented or recommended, to be recognised or read as *Afrocentric contribution to IR theory*. To be distinguished, from those that may arguably be referred to, as *Africanists* (folks from all races whom have taken interest in *Africa* (-notice the spelling, author's emphasis), as a subject of study but do not subscribe to the *Afrocentric* paradigm). This is applicable to even those scholars, that may be classified whether by themselves or others as *Afrikans*, however by virtue of not subscribing to the ideals of

Pan-Afrikanism, they may thus arguably, not qualify as *Afrocentrists*. Their respective contribution(s), should thus not be read, as being *Afrocentric*.

4) “Note that when we speak about the academic subject ‘International Relations’ (*IR*), we use capital letters. When we refer to those events in the world that are studied by the subject, we use small letters and call them ‘international relations’” (McGowan et al, 2006: 13). Since this definition has become conventional, within the discourse of *IR* literature, it would thus make sense, to adhere to this definition, in this study as well.

5) Within the context of this study, this term refers to the *Core/Western/ Mainstream IR theories*. These terms may thus be used interchangeably, in this study. Typical examples of these include the four major theoretical traditions, namely *Realism* (forerunner to *Classical Realism and Neorealism*), *Liberalism* (forerunner of *Neoliberalism*), *International Society* (The *English School*) and *International Political Economy Theories* (these include Classical theories such as *Mercantilism, Economic Liberalism, Marxist and NeoMarxist theory*). Approaches to the study of *IR* also consist of *Methodological debates* namely the *Classical vs. Positivist Approaches* (*Utopian liberalism vs. Realism, Traditional approaches vs. Behaviouralism, Neorealist/Neoliberalism vs. Neo-Marxism and Utopian Liberalism vs. Realism*). *Post-Positivist Approaches* include *Critical Theory, Postmodernism and Constructivist and Normative Theory*. *Non- Core or Third World / Dissident voices* vary, but will be referring here, to mainly scholars, arguably attempting to present *Afrika’s* case. For a sample of core values, see *Box 1.2*

6) In context of this study, reference made towards European or Western originated philosophical based thought (also refer to *footnote 10*). Which in time, proceeded to inspire the existence of the various *IR* theories. For an in depth critique of what may be claimed, as *European* originated thought, advisably a reading of the works, of early or ancient philosophers (from the *Milesian philosophers-Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes, to Pythagoras, Heraclitus, Parmenides, Zeno, Empedocles, Anaxagoras*, is suggested. A further reading should include the *Atomists* (*Leucippus and Democritus*), then progress on to the *Sophists* (*e.g. Protagoras and Gorgias*) until one may arrive at the period of *Socrates* and beyond). For an excellent text for this purpose, refer to S. E, Stumpf’s *Philosophy, History and Problems* (1971). In this study texts, such as *Edward Wilmot Blyden’s West Afrika Before Europe: And Other Addresses, Delivered in England in 1901* (1905), *Walter Rodney’s ‘How Europe Underdeveloped Afrika* (1972) *Samir Amin’s ‘Eurocentrism, Modernity, Religion, and Democracy: A Critique of Eurocentrism and Culturalism* (1988) are all highly recommended, in order for adequate, insight on *Afrocentric* perspectives to be achieved.

7) For graphic illustration and more details of these past scholars see *Picture 1.1* in the addendum. The majority of these researchers, seem to collectively share the view that more attempts, of study seeking for *Afrikan* contribution to *IR* theory, are necessary, in order to ensure that *IR*, truly lives up to its universal ideal.

8) *Es'kia* (1919-2007) “originally published as *Ezekiel Mphahlele*, but upon his return to South *Afrika*, after twenty years in exile changed his name to *Es'kia Mphahlele*. So this study will stick to his preferred name of *Es'kia* or simply, *Mphahlele*. He has hewn autobiographies, novels, short stories, plays, anthologies and poems. The several awards and a *Nobel Prize* nomination for literature, have led him to be fondly referred to, as the Dean of *Afrikan* letters. This South *Afrikan* poet, artist, writer, academic, teacher, novelist, humanist and iconic literary critic, has been selected for this study, in order to serve as a representative of the ‘Ubuntu scholars (within the broader *Afrocentric* family-authors emphasis)’ because he is widely regarded as a pioneer, in cultural activism and is also believed to have been central in shaping critical thought, in the educational realm, through his contribution in literature, culture, *Afrikan* Humanism and social consciousness, over the past fifty years. He has been acknowledged internationally, as arguably the most prolific writer, thinker and commentator on matters affecting *Africans*, on the continent and in the Diaspora.” This particular quote, has been derived from the *Epilogue of ‘Down 2nd Avenue’* (Mphahlele, 2004: 207).

9) Organization which was the brainchild of the collective efforts, of the new predominantly black South *Afrikan* intelligentsia, from the late 19th century. Believed to have been represented by five generations. It’s the 1950’s whereby the 5th and last generation of *Can Themba*, *Bloke Modisane*, *Henry Nxumalo*, and *Arthur Maimane* etc fondly labeled as the DRUM writers, in which Mphahlele features. Alongside the brilliant *Bessie Head*, *Nat Nakasa* and *Lewis Nkosi* amongst others, they were part of the SOPHIATOWN RENAISSANCE, destroyed by the apartheid project. *Mphahlele* would eventually join *Chinua Achebe*, *Wole Soyinka* and others in exile, in Nigeria. It is in exile where *Mphahlele’s* affiliation with magazines such as *Black Orpheus* and numerous other literary movements, concerned with *Afrika*, grew immensely upon him.

10) *Eurocentric/Westerncentric*- these concepts would be used interchangeably, as they make reference, to the same group of people voicing themselves, courtesy of *Mainstream IR* theories. For the author of this study, this group is predominantly, associated with the initiators and upholders, of what has become, hegemonic and non-*Afrocentric* perspectives. In an effort to achieve balance, from the perspectives on offer, by these authoritative voices, particular reference, in this study, will be related to themes, associated with *Pan-Afrikan* literature.

11) An intentionally renewed emphasis from *endnote 3*. Based on sparse definitions found to be uncomfortably narrow or flawed, regarding *Afrika*, for the purpose of this study, this term will mainly refer to the body, of scholarly work, to do with the theme of ‘*Africa*’ (note the spelling as intentionally should be distinguished from *Afrika*), as it has commonly grown to be known, through various definitions. Within this study however, more interest will be focused on insights of selected scholars, who may arguably qualify, to be regarded as *Afrocentrists* (a distinction from those scholars, who are regarded as *Africanists* (not necessarily the same as *Afrikanists*, as these qualify to fit into the bracket of *Afrocentrists*)- this comprises of individuals of all nations, which are not of *Afrikan* origin or

physically associated, with *Afrika*, that have however taken an interest, in the study of different themes related to *Afrika*, refer to *endnote 17* for typical examples of *Africanists*. This distinction arguably, needs to be made, in pursuit of securing appropriate responses, for the benefit of this study.

12) Refers to “Literally, dispersion (from the Hebrew); implies displacement or dispersal by force, but is also used to refer to the communities, that have arisen, as a result of such dispersal” (Heywood, 2007:214). In all its complexity, this term, should be understood as commonly used, by *Afrikan* leaders and various academics, when referring to the people of *Afrikan* descent, spread out across the world.

13) As used by the prolific Brazilian academic *Paulo Freire* in both his seminal texts *Pedagogy of Hope* (2004) which was preceded by *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. In both texts Freire similar to *Frantz Fanon’s Wretched of the Earth* (1963) and *Frantz Fanon’s Black Skin, White Masks* (1967), *Steve Biko’s I Write What I Like* (1987) and *C. Spivak’s article Can The Subaltern Speak*. All these texts, stress the significance of *self-consciousness*, as a self empowerment tool, for all those who have been oppressed, by Western systems. Sadly *Spivak* acknowledges that until the systematic playing fields are levelled, the current Western hegemonic designed education system, brutally drives the point home, that in the current juncture, without any employment of opposing force, the subaltern voice(s) definitely still *may not* and unless drastic change, at a level of pedagogical revolution does not take place – the same voices *will continue not* be able to speak.

14) Quoted here as paraphrased from *DW Nabudere’s 2010 ‘Archie Mafeje Memorial lecture’*, which was organised by the *Afrikan Institute of South Afrika* (AISA). Professor *Archibald Monwabisi Mafeje* (1936-2007) was regarded, as a leading Anthropologist and *Pan-Afrikanist*, emanating from the *Afrikan* continent. Having served in 2001, as a President of the *Council for the Development of Social Sciences* (CODESRIA), the same body honoured him, as a Life member in 2003. Amongst an endless list of Mafeje’s projects, his book titled *‘The Theory and Ethnography of Afrikan Social Formations: The Case of Interlacustrine Kingdoms’* (which he wrote in 1986 but only published in 1991) provides lessons, regarded as *informative* for this study. Frustrated with the ‘colonial approach’ found in Anthropology, it is this book as explained by *DW Nabudere* whereby scholars have constantly been reminded, that *Mafeje* laid out the research approach, that he recommended for *Afrika*. An attempt of highlighting his significance as an Afrocentrist is captured in tribute form in CODESRIA.2007. *Archie Mafeje: A Tribute*. July 2007.

15) As mentioned in endnote 7.

16) Joseph Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness* which has been critiqued by a range of *Pan-Afrikan* scholars - such as *Wole Soyinka*, serve as a typical illustration, of a backward and uncivilised place, that summed up what *Afrika*, represented in the Western mind. Further supported by other Western and local *Afrikan* folks (*Africanists*), which have also shared and continue to share in *Conrad’s* colonialist views. Other equally damaging sources include the

cartoon of *Tin Tin Adventures into the Congo* and the tales of *King Solomon's Mines* by English explorer *David Livingstone*. The renewed and historical effort to somehow 'clear the air' as undertaken by *Pan-Afrikanists*, should thus be read, with the above background in mind. This also applies to other folks (within and beyond *Afrika*) that were taught about *Afrika*, from other biased and distorted perspectives. Books such as *A. Campbell's The Heart of Afrika* (1954), *S. Andreski are The Afrikan Predicament* (1968). And *Heinz-Dietrich Ortlieb's Whither Afrika?* (1978) are also not of much help, as their ambiguous and distant tone of *Afrika* being some form of exotic and a dark mysterious *object of study* is stereotypically maintained. Although highly critical of fellow *Afrikans*, in *Capitalist Nigger* Nigerian academic *Chika Onyeani's* text, still reads more as a word of advice, than a humiliation of his fellow *Afrikan* brothers and sisters. An ongoing effort, to respond to such typically ill-informed stereotypes, seemingly is the inheritance, (that has been left to modern day scholars, interested on various themes to do with *Afrika*). *A task which was begun seriously at the beginning of the nineteenth century by Pan –Afrikan stalwarts*, for the benefit of all.

17) *Molefi Kete Asante* is a Professor and former Chairperson of the Department of *Afrikan-American Studies* at Temple University, Philadelphia, USA. Regarded as a world authority in *Afrikan-American Studies*. See Asante's *Afrocentricity: The Theory of Social Change* (2003). This seminal book takes issue with most issues that haunt *Afrikans*, in as far as their identity is concerned. Of note about this *Afrocentrist* is that he is believed to be the first *Afrikan-American*, to successfully initiate and inspire for the *MA* and *Phd.* Programmes of *Afrikan American studies*, at Temple University, in Philadelphia, USA.

18) Borrowed here from the terminology of the *Black Consciousness Movement* (BCM) in South *Afrika*- which was also a brainchild of the revered *Steve Bantu Biko* and also as used by South *Afrika's Pan-Afrikanist Congress* (PAC), which was a breakaway party from the *Afrikan National Congress* (ANC), initiated by the astitute *Robert Sobukwe* and other colleagues, which were disappointed mainly by the ANC's charterist (this term was meant to be read as a derogatory term referring to the *Freedom Charter* which was signed in Kliptown, Soweto, in 1955). One of the key points of conflict, which led the breakaway to be, was the adoption of the stance that stipulated that 'the land shall belong to all who live in it'. Given that this implied all races, including their then present day oppressors, the Boers (Dutch descendants) and the English (British descendants) and other races, such as Indians and the so called 'coloureds' (people of mixed race).

19) In its philosophical sense denotatively defined as follows "(Greek, episteme, Knowledge) The theory of knowledge. Its central questions include the origin of knowledge; the place of experience in generating knowledge, and the place of reason in doing so; the relationship between knowledge and certainty, and between knowledge and the impossibility of error; the possibility of universal **scepticism*; and the changing forms of knowledge, that arise from new conceptualizations, of the world. All of these issues, link with other central concerns of philosophy, such

as the *nature of truth* and the *nature of experience and meaning*.” (Blackburn, 2008:118). A shorter description stipulates as follows “the branch of philosophy, that focuses on the theory of knowledge” (Clare, J. et al.1996:11).

20) Denotatively defined as the “(Greek, love of knowledge or wisdom).The study of the most general and abstract features of the world and categories, with which we think: mind, matter, reason, proof, truth etc. In philosophy, the concepts with which, we approach the world themselves become the topic of enquiry” (Blackburn, 2008:275).

21) Mudimbe, V.Y.1994. *The Idea of Africa*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

22) Defined and discussed at length, in the *second chapter*.

23) See *Figure 1.1* as displayed in the second chapter (to be hopefully discussed further, in the second chapter, of this study).

24) “...(469-399 BC) The engaging and infuriating figure, of the early dialogues of **Plato, Socrates* represented the turning point in *Greek philosophy*, at which the self-critical reflection on the nature of our concepts and our reasoning emerged as major concern, alongside cosmological speculation and enquiry. The historical *Socrates* cannot easily be distinguished, from the *Platonic* character, as there are few other sources for *Socrates’s* life and doctrines (**Xenophon* is one)...it is uncertain whether he had anything in the nature of a formal school...*Plato’s Crito* and *Phaedo* record the inspirational manner, in which he refused to break the laws of Athens and escape, during the thirty days between his trial and execution, and they celebrate the fortitude, with which he met his death. Whilst his skill at the *dialectical, questioning method* is unquestioned, his positive contributions and doctrines, are matters of some debate, and opinions vary between ascribing to him many of the positive doctrines of *Plato*, and denying that he had any *doctrines*, at all of his own, apart from his attachment to rigorous *dialectical method*, as the instrument for separating truth from error. All the Greek schools of philosophy, conceived of themselves as owing much to *Socrates*, except for the * *Epicureans* who disliked him intensely, calling him ‘the Athenian buffoon’ (Blackburn, 2008:342).

25) Refer back to endnote 6.

26) See Picture 1.1.

27) (427-347 BCE) Introduced as “Greek philosopher. *Plato* was born of an aristocratic family. He became a follower of *Socrates*, who is the *principal figure* in his ethical and philosophical dialogues. After *Socrates* death in 399 BCE, *Plato* founded his own academy, in order to train the new *Athenian* ruling class. *Plato* taught that the material world, consists of imperfect copies of abstract and eternal ‘ideas’. His *political philosophy*, expounded in

The Republic and *The Laws*, is an attempt to describe the ideal state in terms of a theory of justice. Both works are decidedly authoritarian and pay no attention to individual liberty, believing that power should be vested in the hands of the educated elite, the philosopher kings. He was therefore a firm critic of democracy. Plato's work has exerted wide influence on Christianity and on European culture in general" (Heywood, 2007:12).

28) (384-322 BCE) Introduced as "Greek philosopher. Aristotle was a student of Plato...and tutor of the young Alexander the Great. He established his own school of philosophy, in Athens in 335 BCE; this was called the 'peripatetic school' after his tendency to walk up and down as he talked. His 22 surviving treatises, compiled as lecture notes, range over logic, physics, metaphysics, astronomy, meteorology, biology, ethics and politics. In the Middle Ages, Aristotle's work became the foundation of Islamic philosophy, and it was later incorporated into Christian theology. His best known political work is *Politics*, a study of the ideal constitution" (Heywood, 2007:7).

29) "Cicero, Marcus Tullius (106-43 BC) The Roman orator and statesman, is philosophically important partly as a transmitter of Greek ideas in Latin, but also for the unity of philosophy and *rhetoric, that he sought to promote. Rhetoric enables the statesman, educated to wisdom by philosophy, to prevail by gaining the consent of a free citizenry. Cicero was an eclectic who had sympathy with *Stoicism, the * Peripatetics, and the *scepticism of the *Academy, but was opposed to the system of *Epicurus. He exercised a considerable influence on thinkers of the *Enlightenment, and notably on *Hume" (Blackburn, 2008:62).

30) "... (C.460-400 BC) Aristocratic Greek historian of the Peloponnesian War. He was a commander in the Athenian fleet, but failed in his mission and was condemned to death as a traitor. He subsequently fled and spent twenty years in exile. His historical account of the war between Athens and Sparta (*The Peloponnesian War*) is widely studied today, because of the many insights it contains on war and diplomacy and the role of political leadership. It is also noted for its narrative method: the widespread use of imputed speeches, by protagonists and antagonists in the war" (McGowan et al, 2009:23).

31) "Descartes, Rene (1596-1650) French mathematician and founding father of modern philosophy...His first work, the *Regulae ad Directionem Ingenii* (1628/9), was never completed. In Holland, between 1628 and 1649, Descartes first wrote, and then cautiously suppressed, *Le Monde* (1634), and in 1637 produced the *Discours de la method*, as a preface to the treatise on mathematics and physics, in which he introduced the notion of Cartesian coordinates...best-known philosophical work, (*the Meditations on First Philosophy*), together with objections by distinguished contemporaries and replies by Descartes (*the objections and Replies*), appeared in 1641...penultimate work, *the Principia Philosophiae (Principles of Philosophy)* of 1644, was designed partly for use as a theological textbook...Descartes theory of knowledge, starts with the quest for certainty, for an indubitable starting point or foundation, on the basis alone of which progress is possible...this is eventually found in the celebrated 'Cogito ergo sum': I think therefore I am...Although the structure of Descartes epistemology, theory of mind, and theory of matter have been rejected many times, their relentless exposure of the hardest issues, their exemplary clarity, and even their

initial plausibility, all contrive to make him, the central point of reference, for *modern philosophy*” (Blackburn, 2008:95).

32) “*Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527) Italian politician and author...knowledge of public life was gained from a sometimes precarious existence, in politically unstable Florence...After...imprisonment...embarked on a literary career...first major work The Prince published in 1531, drew heavily upon his first-hand observations, of the statecraft of Cesare Borgia and the power politics, that dominated his period...written as a guide, for the future prince of a united Italy. The adjective ‘Machiavellian’ subsequently came to mean ‘cunning and duplicitous’*” (Heywood, 2007:6).

33) *Thomas Hobbes “(1588-1679) English political philosopher...tutor to the exiled Prince of Wales Charles Stewart...writing at the time of uncertainty and civil strife, precipitated by the English Revolution, Hobbes developed the first comprehensive theory of nature and human behaviour since Aristotle. His classic work, Leviathan (1651), discussed the grounds of political obligation and undoubtedly reflected the impact of the Civil war. It provided a defence for absolutist government but, by appealing to reasoned argument, in the form of the social contract, also disappointed advocates of divine right”* (Heywood, 2007:327).

34) *John Locke (1588-1679) “English philosopher and politician. Locke was born in Somerset in the UK. He studied medicine at Oxford University before becoming secretary to Anthony Ashley Cooper, First Earl of Shaftsbury, in 1661. Locke’s political views were developed against the backdrop of the English Revolution, and they are often seen as providing a justification for the ‘Glorious Revolution’ of 1688, which ended absolutist rule and established a constitutional monarchy in Britain under William of Orange...was key thinker in the development of early liberalism, placing particular emphasis upon ‘natural’ or God-given rights, identified as the rights to life, liberty and property...an exponent of representative government and toleration, his views had a considerable impact upon the American Revolution...most important political works are A Letter Concerning Toleration (1689) and Two Treatises of Government ([1690] 1965)”* (Heywood, 2007:327).

35) *Jean-Jacques Rousseau “... (1712-78) was a profound thinker, whose radical critique of the tensions and dissonance within civilised society, allied to his robust defence of participatory democracy, disturbed contemporary social and political assumptions...born in Geneva and moved to Paris in 1742. He was an intimate of leading figures of the Enlightenment notions. Rousseau’s critique of advanced civilisation is expressed most tellingly, in his ‘A Discourse on the Origin of Inequality’ published in 1755, and his conception of democracy is formulated elegantly and controversially, in his Social Contract of 1762. Rousseau’s questioning of advanced civilisation reverberates uneasily, within today’s world of global markets and continued social fragmentation. Likewise, the general sense of political alienation, in today’s world, makes the prospect of radical democracy championed by Rousseau, both disturbing and seductive”* (Axford and Browning et al, 2002:235).

36) Edmund Burke, Irish thinker and politician“ (1729-97) Dublin- born *UK statesman and political theorist* who is often seen as the *father of the Anglo-American conservative tradition*...enduring reputation, is based on a series of works, notably *Reflections on the Revolution in France* ([1790] 1968), that were critical of the *French Revolution*. Though sympathetic to the American Revolution, *Burke* was deeply critical of the attempt to recast French politics, in accordance with abstract principles such as *liberty, equality and fraternity*, arguing that wisdom resided largely in experience, tradition and history...had gloomy view of government, recognizing that it could prevent evil but rarely promote good...regarded market forces as ‘*natural law*’ (Heywood, 2007:49).

37) “...central theme of *classical liberalism* is a commitment to an extreme form of individualism. Human beings are seen as egoistical, self-seeking and largely self-reliant creatures. In what *C.B Macpherson* (1962) termed ‘possessive individualism’; they are taken to be the proprietors of their own persons and capacities, owing nothing to society or to other individuals. This *atomist view of society* is underpinned, by a belief in ‘negative’ liberty, meaning non-interference, or the absence of external constraints upon the individual. This implies a deeply unsympathetic attitude, towards the state and all forms of government intervention.” (Heywood, 2007:47).

38) David Hume (1711-76) “*Scottish philosopher, historian, and essayist*. *Hume* is the most influential thoroughgoing * *naturalist in modern philosophy*, and a *pivotal figure of the * Enlightenment*...Works include *Treatise of Human Nature* (1739)...earlier he had produced the *Essays Moral and Political* (1742)...followed by *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* (1748) and *An Enquiry Concerning the Principals of Morals*...first modern empiricist to refuse any aid, either from *a priori* principles of reasoning, or from any other ideology that ensures a harmony between our perceptions and the world. His genius lay, in the rigour with which he reconstructs, the scaffolding of everyday thought, on this slender basis” (Blackburn, 2007:172).

39) Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) “*UK philosopher, legal reformer and founder of utilitarianism*. *Bentham* developed a moral and philosophical system, that was based on the idea that *human beings are rationally self-interested creatures or utility maximizers*, which he believed provided a *scientific basis* for legal and political reforms. Using the ‘greatest happiness’ principle, his followers, the *Philosophic Radicals*, were responsible for many of the *reforms in social administration, law, government and economics in the UK in the nineteenth century*. A supporter of *laissez-faire* economics, in later life *Bentham* also became a *firm advocate of political democracy*. His utilitarian creed was developed in ‘*Fragments on Government* ([1776]’ 1948), and more fully in *Principles of Morals and Legislation* (1789)” (Heywood, 2007:77).

40) “(1723-1790) *Scottish philosopher and economist*. He is chiefly remembered as an economist today, but *Smith* saw himself as a *moral philosopher*. In his *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759), he viewed sympathy as the *essence of moral sentiments*. His most famous work, however, was his *Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776). In it he examined the consequences of economic freedom, on the *division of labour, functioning of markets and their international implications*. This work laid the foundation for *laissez-faire* economics, but this was

not *Smith's* intention, as he always stressed the importance of moral considerations, in human affairs” (McGowan et al, 2009:76). Elsewhere another elaborate definition reads as thus “...usually seen as the founder of the ‘*Dismal Science*’. After holding the *chair of logic and then moral philosophy at Glasgow University*, *Smith* became tutor to the *Duke of Buccleuch*, which enabled him to visit France and Geneva and develop his economic theories. *The Theory of Moral Sentiments (1759)* developed a theory of motivation that tried to reconcile human self-interestedness, with an unregulated social order. *Smith's* most famous work, *The Wealth of Nations ([1776] 1930)*, was the first systematic attempt to explain the workings of the economy in market terms, emphasizing the importance of the division of labour. Though he is often seen as a free-market theorist, *Smith* was nevertheless also aware of the limitations of the market” (Heywood, 2007:55).

41) “(1806-73) was the son of *James Mill*, who was a friend of *Bentham* and a political theorist in his own right, who subscribed to the doctrine of utility. *Mill's* life and work, were a complex struggle to think through the conditions of his own age, incorporating insights, from a wide range of writers. *Mill's* most celebrated works of political thought, *On Liberty (1982)* and *Considerations on Representative Government (1972)* (written in 1859 and 1861 respectively), offer an incisive analysis of the character of politics and the most pressing needs, facing the modern age. *Mill's* call for a dividing line, between where governments can legitimately regulate individual's lives and where individuals are to be left free, to pursue their own self-chosen ends, resonates in contemporary discussions of the state” (Axford and Browning et al, 2002:239).

42) “*Thomas Hill Green (1836-82)* English *absolute idealist. *Green* was born in Yorkshire, and educated at Oxford...became professor of moral philosophy at Oxford. His introduction to his edition **Hume's* works (produced with *T.H Grose*) is a major attack on traditional **empiricism*, but he is mainly recognised for the *Prolegomena to Ethics*, published the year after his death. In this he argues that *empiricist 'passions'* are inadequate springs of action, which are instead provided by the self-conscious pursuit of a good. This is an early example of a line of criticism of *Humean* and **emotive theories of ethics*, that is still current, but in *Green* the springs of action, rapidly become identified with immersion, in a larger whole, produced by an absolute mind that itself enshrines goodness, truth, and beauty. The ‘*school of Green*’ was an influential element in the philosophical climate of Oxford, until after the First World War” (Blackburn, 2007:172).

43) Lived from 1818-1883. Described as the “*German philosopher, economist and political thinker*, usually portrayed as the father of the twentieth -century communism. After a brief career as a university teacher, *Marx* took up journalism and became increasingly involved with the socialist movement...worked as an active revolutionary and writer, supported by his friend and lifelong collaborator *Friedrich Engels*. In 1864 *Marx* helped to found the *First International*, which collapsed in 1871 because of growing antagonism between *Marx's* supporters and anarchists, led by *Bakunin*. Although much of his voluminous writings, remained unpublished at his death, *Marx's* classic work was the three-volume *Capital ([1867, 1885, 1894] 1970)*. His best-known and most accessible work is the *Communist Manifesto ([1848] 1967)*” (Heywood, 2007:55).

44) *Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel* “(1770-1831) German philosopher. Born at Stuttgart, Hegel studied at Tübingen...went to Jena in 1801 as a *Privatdozent* in philosophy, qualified by his thesis *De Orbitis Planetarium* (‘On the Orbits of the Planets’)...collaborated with *Schelling* in editing the *Kritisches Journal der Philosophie*,...first major work *Phänomenologie des Geistes* (1807, trs. As *The Phenomenology of Mind*, 1910; also as *The Phenomenology of Spirit*, 1977)...His *Naturrecht und Staatswissenschaftim Grundrisse and Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts* (trs. As *The Philosophy of Right*, 1896) appeared in 1821, and many lecture notes by pupils, were collected. The standard edition on Hegel’s works (Stuttgart, 1927-30) runs to twenty volumes...had an unparalleled influence on German philosophy in the 19th century. He was also the *central philosophical influence on *Marx and *Engels*, and on *English philosophy in the *absolute idealist phase*, and although his reputation in the Anglo-American world, has suffered periods of eclipse, *he continues to be a focal point for many thinkers*. The cornerstone of *Hegel’s* system, or worldview, is *the notion of freedom, conceived not as simple licence to fulfil preferences but as the rare condition of living self-consciously and in a fully rationally organized community or state*...Apart from his social and *political philosophy*, one of the most important of *Hegel’s* legacies has been his *conception of logic* (see *Dialectic, Dialectical Materialism*). *Hegel’s* own attitude to logic is complicated by the *equation between history on the one hand and thought or spirit on the other*, meaning that disharmony ‘contradiction’ in thought. Hegel’s own attitude to the idea that actual events, might embody contradictions, and thus in some sense, make contradictions true, has been the topic of much debate” (Blackburn, 2008:161-162).

45) “*Giuseppe Mazzini* (1805-72) *Italian nationalist and apostle of liberal republicanism*...born in Genoa, to Italy...came into contact with revolutionary politics, as a member of the *patriotic secret society*, the *Carbonari*. This led to his arrest and exile to France and, after his expulsion from France, to Britain...returned briefly to Italy during the 1848 Revolutions, helping to liberate Milan and becoming head of the short-lived Roman-Republic. A committed republican, *Mazzini’s* influence thereafter faded as other nationalist leaders, including *Garibaldi* (1807-82), looked to the *House of Savoy* to bring about Italian unification. Although he never officially returned to Italy, *Mazzini’s* liberal nationalism, had a profound influence, throughout Europe, and on immigrant groups in the USA” (Heywood, 2007:116).

46) “(c.1225-74) Born in the castle of *Roccasecca* in the Kingdom of Naples in Southern Italy, into the family of the counts *Aquino*, *Aquina’s* was brought up in the Benedictine monastery of *Monte Cassino*...aged fourteen he was sent to ...university of Naples, one of the few universities of the time, where a full range of Aristotelian doctrine was studied. Here he became influenced by, and... aged...twenty joined, the Dominican order...studied in Paris, and then Cologne, under **Albert the Great*, and returned to Paris in 1251/2...subsequently resided at *Orvieto, Rome, Viterbo, Paris...Naples*, constantly writing and engaging in the doctrinal and philosophical debates of the day. His works include numerous translations and commentaries on **Aristotle*, theological writings, and the two major texts for which he is best known, the *Summa contra Gentiles* (‘Against the Errors of the Infidels’), a ‘text-book’ for missionaries, and the *Summa Theologiae*, begun in 1266, and universally acknowledged to be the crowning

achievement of medieval systematic theology. Throughout his writing *Aquinas's* major concern is to defend a 'naturalistic' or *Aristolean Christianity*, in opposition not only to sceptics but also to the surrounding tendency to read Christianity in *Neoplatonic* terms, derived largely from *Augustine*, and also channeled to the 13th century through such writers as *Avicenn*. *Aquinas* takes issue with the *occasionalism* of the *Neoplatonists*, which reduces mankind to spectators of the world order in which the human being is a composite, but not a queer amalgamation of two things, a soul in a body like a sailor in a ship, as *Plato* is supposed to have held. Like Aristotle, *Aquinas* held that it is meaningless to ask whether a human being is two things (soul and body) or one, just as it is meaningless to ask whether 'the wax and the shape given to it by the stamp are one' (*De Anima*, 412 b 6)" (Blackburn,2008:20).

47) "(1724-1804) German philosopher and founder of critical philosophy. The son of a saddler, Kant was born and educated in Königsberg (Kaliningrad) in East Prussia. After...university he spent ...years in private tutoring, but taking his Master's degree in 1755,...settled to teach a variety of subjects as Privatdozent. Kant's early writings concern physics and astronomy: his *Allgemeine Naturgeschichte und Theorie des Himmels* (1755, trs. As *Universal Natural History and Theory of the Heavens*, 1969)...In 1770 he was appointed *chair of logic and metaphysics* at Königsberg. He never left Königsberg and never married. It was after this that he entered on his greatest 'critical' period. The intellectual landscape in which Kant began his career was largely set by *Leibniz*, filtered through *Wolff*, who had erected a structured and orderly system of *Leibniz's* thought" (Blackburn, 2008:197).

48) It should be acknowledged right from the bat here, that this academic field, in the greater context of Philosophical discourse, is regarded, as at best, a continuation of *Mainstream* or *Western philosophy* (even what some scholars, may label to be philosophy-proper). The most vocal rationale, given of upholding such a criticism, is that scholars of this field, do no more than react or critique, the already available material, as provided from pre-classical, classical upto contemporary Western philosophy. Having acknowledged the above however, views from *Afrikan* philosophers (for the purpose of this study *Afrocentrists*) would be drawn, in order to make the most of the available texts, under this particular school of thought. Examples include texts by the following *Afrocentrists*: Godwin Sogolo's *Foundations of Afrikan Philosophy* (1993). Emmanuel C. Eze's, edited text *Afrikan Philosophy: An Anthology* (1998) And Valentin Y. Mudimbe's. *The Invention of Afrika, Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge* (1988) and its sequel *The Idea of Africa* (1994).

49) "Derived from the Greek word for being, but a 17th-century coinage for the branch of *metaphysics* that concerns itself with what exists. Apart from the *ontological* arguments itself, there have existed many *a priori* arguments that the world, must contain things of one kind or another: simple things, unextended things, eternal substances, necessary beings, and so on. Such arguments often depend upon some version of the principle of *sufficient reason*. *Kant* is the greatest opponent of the view that *unaided reason can tell us in detail what kinds of thing must exist, and therefore do exist*. In the 20th century, *Heidegger* is often thought of primarily as an *ontologist*" (Blackburn, 2008:260).

50) Senior lecturer in *Government and Politics at The Open University (UK)*. Prior to taking up his current post at *Open University in 2000, he lectured at Portsmouth and Leeds Universities*. Obtained his first degree in *Sociology and Politics (Sheffield University (UK-1989) and his PhD (Leeds University- 1995)*. His prominence has been as a result of his effort as *Founder and currently convenor of the BISA Working Group on Afrika and International Studies*. His other professional duties include serving as the *Award Director for the OU's International Studies degree*. Published in the field of *IR with a particular focus on Afrika, and on the international politics of development aid*. His most cited work in this regard is titled *'Afrika and international relations: a comment on anarchy and Statehood' (2006)*. He also authored *The Commission for Afrika: results and prospects for the West's Afrika policy, (2006)* and *'The European Union and Afrika: restructuring North-South relations with Afrika*. This work deals with the history of the European Union's relations with *Afrika*.

51) Lecturer in *International Political Economy at Goldsmiths, University of London* since 2007. She teaches *1st year politics of other Cultures, 2nd Year Afrika in the Global Political Economy and MA Theories of Global Political Economy*. Obtained qualifications in *BA General Engineering (Cambridge), MA (Rural Development) at the Centre for Culture, Development and Environment at University of Sussex, PhD (Development Studies)*. She also held an ESRC postdoctoral research fellowship, in *International Relations at the University of Sussex*. Prior to her current position, worked at *University of Leeds (UK) and Aberdeen (Scotland)*. Member of *BISA and Afrika Working group* and worked as an engineer for *Rwenzori Highlands Tea Company in Uganda*. Her research interests, make her highly relevant for this study, they range from *'Theory and histories of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, Race in international relations, discourse and practice concerning 'Failed States' in contemporary imperialism, Global politics of knowledge production with specific reference to Afrikan studies and Method in Social Inquiry (historical materialism; critical realism and alas the problem of Eurocentrism*. Her most recent collaborative project, addressing the problem of *Eurocentrism in IR scholarship, successfully brought together scholars of IR and International Law, which led to her edited book, 'Decolonizing International Relations (2006)*. Articles that have been found, as impressive by the researcher of this study include *'From Eurocentrism to Epistemological Internationalism: power, knowledge and objectivity in IR' (2004), 'Afrika and the Poverty of International Relations' (2005) and 'Race in the Ontology of North –South Relations (2006)*. Needless to say, in as far as this study is concerned, *Branwen* seems to be in her own league and thus she cannot be ignored, in the event that *IR* scholars, really seek to improve on their discipline.

52) (1922-2006). He was from Burkina Faso (previously *Upper Volta*) History Professor, politician and is believed to be one of *Afrika's* greatest thinkers. On return from enforced exile in *1983, after a revolutionary government came into power, he returned to his country in 1992 and founded and chaired his own political party, for Democracy and Progress*. Served as a Parliamentarian until *2006, challenging the then actions of President Thomas Sankara's* ruling party. Selected for this study, as he has written extensively about *Afrikan* history and culture, including the

world-famous book *History of Black Afrika* (1972) that became internationally used in *Afrikan* History classes throughout the world. He was a strong advocate for a unified *Afrika* and he believed, that the knowledge of *indigenous cultures*, should be integrated into new technologies and not thrown away and replaced, with Western ideas. In 1980, he founded the *Centre for Afrikan Development Studies*, to provide resources, research and ideas for *Afrikan* development. He was awarded the 'Right to Livelihood Award' for a lifetime of Scholarship and activism, which has identified key principles and processes, by which *Afrikans*, can create a better future.

53) Examples include *Alina Sajed's Nativizing discipline(s) and disciplining natives: post-structuralism and the postcolonial in IR* and *Christopher LaMonika's Where Is African Political Thought in International Relations Theory?* Both of these papers, were presented at the *annual meeting of International Studies Association (ISA's) 49th Annual Convention, Bridging Multiple Divides, Hilton, San Francisco, CA, USA, March 26-29, 2008.*

54) An example of such a forum is the '*Afrika and IR*' working group courtesy of the *BISA Afrika and International Studies working group*- *BISA* is an acronym referring to the *British International Studies Association*. A growing cohort of likeminded researchers, interested in exploring contemporary research on *Afrika* and International Relations under the convenorship of *William Brown* of Open University in London, provided engagement on such a topic, in the summer of 2007. According to their website, this group (aimed) and still aims to provide a forum, in which to bring together a diverse range of scholars, to discuss and debate substantive issues, '*arising from competing dimensions of the 'international' in Afrika; theoretical and conceptual debates, about the relationship between generalities of the discipline of international Studies and Afrikan historically based specificities; and ideas about the relationship of issues and theory in the pedagogy of International Studies in and of Afrika*'.

55) Currently Lecturer Department of Political Science at University of Cape Town (South Afrika). Formerly lecturer at Stellenbosch University (South Afrika) until 2010. Obtained her DPhil from Stellenbosch University. As listed in the *BISA Afrika and International Working group* her study interests which make her relevant for this study include '*Afrika's marginalization in IR theory; Afrikan and developing World contributions to IR theory and Afrikan Political thought*. Examples of her relevant works include '*Can It be Home Grown?: Challenges to Developing IR Theory in the Global South*' (2006), '*Has Afrika got anything to say? Afrikan contributions to the theoretical development of International Relations: a preliminary investigation*- paper presented at the *BISA and IS* workshop in July 2008, Milton Keynes and then later at the Round Table discussion, June 2009. Her consistent participation at *BISA, ISA* and other conferences or *Roundtable* discussions concerned with the theme of '*Afrika and IR*' indeed also make her submissions, a must to be considered. *This is more so because of the registered concern of the hegemony of the male perspectives in IR and also the lack of voices from the South*, as it has been emphasized by *B.G. Jones and Arlene B. Tickner* respectively amongst others.

56) Commonly used interchangeably within the literature on *IR* with other concepts such as ‘*Global South*’, ‘*Developing Nations*’ and ‘*The Periphery*’. Although there seems to be, no agreed upon definition of these term(s) however it is widely acknowledged, that they refer to what has been labeled, as the underdeveloped, poor, weak states of *Afrika*, Asia and Latin America. Common characteristics, about these states include, sharing a common history of colonization, having a vulnerable and insecure status, based on lack of internal cohesion both economically and socially. Marginalization especially in relation to the dominant, international security, economic concerns and easy permeability by external actors (be they more developed states, international institutions or transnational corporations). For an in depth refresher discussion of this term, see chapter 2 of *N.J Dietrich’s MA* titled *IR Theory and the Third World academic: Bridging the Gap*. In addition to the other past researchers (already mentioned earlier in the study). Other relevant works undertaken by fellow departmental colleagues, also worthy of being considered in this study from *Stellenbosch University’s Political Science department during 2008* include - *Rickus Oswald, Audun Solli and Nicole Sarmiento*.

57) See *chapter 1* of the following text: *V.Y. Mudimbe’s The Invention of Afrika, Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge (1988)*. For the interest of this study also see *Rickus Oswald’s* discussion on this concept, from his unpublished MA titled *Constructing Africa(ns) in International Relations Theory: Bridging a Theoretical Abyss (2009)*.

58) See the *Third Major debate in IR (Box 1.5)*. Specifically selected here because it is within, this debate wherein *Third World* problems in *IR* literature, are believed to have been introduced.

59) Stemming from the philosophical term *Constructivism* “(ethical) The view that in moral thought, we do not apprehend an independent moral reality, but construct a system of principles or norms governing right action. The view may suppose, that such construction is constrained, for instance by *considerations of rationality*, or by *human nature*, or it may permit a **pluralism* or **relativism*, allowing that many such constructions are possible.” (Blackburn, 2008:76).

60) As described in *endnote 3* and *endnote 11*.

61) *C.A Diop* (1923-1986) Senegalese historian and anthropologist who studied the human race’s origin and pre-colonial *Afrikan* culture. Those in the know consider him, as one of the greatest *Afrikan* historians of the 20th century. Critics have labeled him a *racialist scientist*. Key books include *The Afrikan origin of Civilization, Myth or Reality (1955)* and *Civilization or Barbarism (1981)* amongst many other scholarly books and articles. By the time of his

death, he was regarded as the modern pharaoh of *Afrikan* studies. In recognition of his scholarly groundbreaking contribution, University of Senegal has been renamed after him.

62) (1945-1997) One of the less celebrated (or bluntly put- forgotten South Afrikan political scientist). A foremost South *Afrikan* scholar and an internationally acclaimed expert, on South *Afrikan* politics. His doctoral thesis titled *South Afrika in Afrika: a study in ideology and foreign policy* made him a local authority, *not to be ignored*. One of his early books is titled *Changing South Afrika, Political considerations* (1982). His last major work is believed to have been titled *limits of anarchy: intervention and state formation in Chad* (1996). It dealt with Chadian modern history, with the intention of exploring the dilemmas that involve its 'fictive states.

63) Nigerian critic, poet, journalist and *Pan-Afrikan* Philosopher. Believed to have been influenced by the philosophy of the 'black arts' movement. Got critical acclaim, after he got what would eventually become his PhD work *The West and the Rest of Us: White Predators, Black Slaves and the African Elite*. A highly recommended *Afrocentric* voice because of his sharp, yet aptly intellectual criticism.

64) This concept is derived from the Adinkra of the Akan people of West *Afrika*. Transliterated in the Akan language as "se wo were fin a wosan kofa a yenki." Literally translated it means "it is not taboo to go back and fetch what you forgot". This term is used today across the Pan-*Afrikan* world, to promote the idea that *Afrikan* people must return to their roots, in order to move forward. Visually and symbolically "Sankofa" is expressed as a mythic bird that flies forward, while looking backwards with an egg (symbolizing the future in its mouth).

65) Contemporary *Afrocentric* Philosopher currently based at the Philosophy department at University of KwaZulu-Natal, South *Afrika*.

66) Although paraphrasing (*Bujo*, 2001:34-35) the author of this study quotes here from *Murove's* unpublished speech, delivered at University of Zululand's Graduation Ceremony, on the 21st of May 2010, titled *Reconstruction of the University through the Pursuit of Relevance and Afrocentric Values in Education*.

67) Prominent *English School* theorist. See his text *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics* (1977).

68) American *Realist* theorist. See his text *Structural Realism after the Cold War*.

69) German *Realist* theorist who made his mark in the United States of America. See *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for power and peace* (1948).

70) Leading American *Liberalist* theorist and past president of the International Studies Association.

71) See *Box 1.1: The Development of IR* in the addendum.

72) See *Box 1.6: Fourth Major Debate in IR*.

73) See Dietrich, Nicholas Julian, 2008. *International Relations Theory and the "Third World academic": Bridging the Gap*. Unpublished Master of Arts Dissertation, December 2008, Stellenbosch University, South Africa.

74) See the works of C.A. Diop which emanated from his Phd. thesis titled *Nations Negres et Culture (1955)* and a visit to the *Origins Centre* at Wits University (South Afrika), exhibits in enormous detail, findings of paleontologists, who continuously engage this issue and have to date convincingly proved, that *Afrikans* are the earliest forms, of the human race.

75) See Brian Schmidt.1994. *The Historiography of Academic International Relations*. Review of International Studies 20 (October, 1994).

76) Letsema- Sesotho or Sepedi word referring to an *Afrikan* collective effort. Selected for use here specifically because it is derived from *Mphahlele's* mother tongue.

77) Intentionally written here in direct opposition to the less problematised use of concepts, such as non-European, non-Western and non-white. By adhering to *Afrocentricity*, continued use of such terminology, may not be accepted, without being problematised and challenged. This should arguably, always be kept in mind, in specific reference to *Afrikans*.

78) To be politically correct, the term employed is the *Afrikan Century*. Employed by *Afrocentrists* such as *Mbeki* and *Nabudere*, to express the belief that the 21st century will bring peace, prosperity and cultural revival to *Afrika*. The renewed formation of the AU (a successor of the *Organisation of Afrikan Unity*), in 2002 and formation of the *New Partnership for Afrikan Development (NEPAD)* in 2001 has been read as part of the first historically gigantic steps, towards the realization of this modern evolution.

79) See *Patrice Lumumba's Independence Day Speech, June 30, 1960*. This speech excellently captures the attitude of the leadership of Belgium, towards Congo, which up until 1960, was their colony. Derived here from amongst other sources In Bayview, National Black Newspaper. San Francisco, June 30 2009.

80) (1938-) Kenyan author and academic, whose works include novels, children's literature, playwright, short story writer, critic, journalist and teacher,. Originally *James Ngugi* he changed his name after his novel *A Grain of Wheat* (1967) was published, marking his embrace of *Fanonist Marxism*. He subsequently renounced English, Christianity together with his first name James, arguing that they were colonialist. He changed his name to *Ngugi wa Thiong'o* and began to write in his native Gikuyu and Swahili. He is a Kenyan author, formerly working in English and now working in his native Gikuyu and Swahili. He is Founder and editor of the Gikuyu language journal, *Mutiiri*. *He went into self imposed exile following his release from a Kenyan prison in 1977*. While living in the United States, he taught at *Yale, University of California, Irvine and New York University* as *Erich Maria Remarque Professor of languages*, with a dual professorship in *Comparative Literature and Performance Studies*.

81) See *Moving the centre: Towards a pluralism of cultures (2002)* wherein in the light of his earlier texts such as *A Grain of Wheat* and personal experience in teaching, *Ngugi* contextualises the significance of this particular book, in as far as the challenges encountered and observed in as far as employment of language use is concerned. Paraphrased here from *Coetzee, P.H. and Roux, A.P.J. (eds.) 2002. Oxford: Oxford University Press*.

82) See E.M, Mncwango's *Language and the current challenges in the South African school system (2009)*. In Ocholla, D.N. (eds.). 2009. *Inkanyiso, Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*. Vol.1 (1) 2009. Just for the record it should be noted that the *Inkanyiso, Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* is the official University of Zululand's Faculty of Art's Journal. Also see from the author E.M, Mncwango's *South Africa's "progressive" language policies: a case of poor implementation?* (2010). Unpublished paper, Department of General Linguistics, University of Zululand.

83) "The eighteenth- century Enlightenment 'project' was based upon a belief in the universality of reason and the power of scientific explanation. *The individual was at the centre of the philosophical and political project*, with human emancipation seen as following from the spread of rational inquiry and decision-making" (Axford et al, 2002:19). Its scholars included Englishman **Francis Bacon*, **Hobbes*, Frenchman **Descartes* and **Kant*. Elsewhere "... associated with a materialist view of human beings, an optimism about their progress through education and science, and a generally **utilitarian approach* to society and ethics." (Blackburn, 2008:115-116).

84) “The distinct way of life found in ‘modern’ societies. A process beginning in Western Europe, in about the fifteenth century, the idea of *Modernity*, achieved its full intellectual flowering during the Enlightenment. It is usual to tie *modernity*, or becoming modern, to the emergence of the nation-state, industrialism and the institution of private property. *Modernity* is also linked to the growth of bureaucratic organisations, secular beliefs and the value of individuality” (Axford et al, 2002:19).

85) The clarion call made by *Seme, Diop, Fanon, Freire, Biko, Lumumba, Prah, Mphahlele* and *Asante* amongst many other *Afrocentrists*.

86) Used here however with respect, to what has been noted in endnotes 2, 3 and 11.

87) (1925-1961). Born in the French Caribbean Island of *Martinique*, received a typical conventional, colonial education in France. Essayist, psychoanalyst and revolutionary. Most of his work, is believed to have been influenced, by *Aime Cesaire* (who was educated at the prestigious *Lycee Loius-Le Grand*, who was a poet, politician and academic, who pursued the theme of identity because of his disgust of colonization). Regarded as perhaps a preeminent thinker, of the 20th century on the issue of *decolonization* and the *psychopathology* of colonization. His works are believed, to have inspired anti-colonial liberation movements.

88) Bear in mind that from philosophical point of view, *scepticism* is defined as “(Greek, *skepsis*, enquiry or questioning). Although Greek *scepticism* centred on the value of enquiry and questioning, *scepticism* is now the denial, that knowledge or even rational belief is possible, either about some specific subject –matter (e.g. ethics) or in any area whatsoever.” (Blackburn, 2008:327).

89) According to their brochure, the vision of this *Centre is to be a leading Documentation Centre, dedicated to uphold an Afrocentric worldview that affirms the importance of Afrikan culture and tradition and will be dedicated for the preservation, protection and dissemination of science and technology, related reports and documents.* Sponsored by the Department of Science and Technology, South Afrika.

90) Established in 2003, as a postgraduate structure of the *University of South Afrika (UNISA)*, to undertake *Afrikan Renaissance studies* utilizing multi-, inter- and transdisciplinary paradigms in advancing the understanding, interrogation, production, dissemination and use of knowledge. This Centre runs *The International Journal of Afrikan Renaissance Studies: Multi-, Inter- and Transdisciplinarity (IJARS)*.

91) See *International Journal of Afrikan Renaissance Studies, Multi-, Inter- and Transdisciplinarity*. 2008. Volume 3, Number 1, July 2008.

92) For the purposes of this study, this concept should be understood to be referring to the combination of the symbolism, behind the re-reading by the author of this study, of the various texts by various *Afrocentrists*, which may be dimmed as relevant, for this study. This is as suggested by *Ngugi*, in order for a ‘write back to the centre’ to be realised. An employment of views as expressed by *Afrocentrists* (under this concept referred to, as postcolonial literary critics) should ideally include *Cabral, Biko, Said alongside Mphahlele* amongst many others. Re-examining, what may be regarded (in the case of this study) as *classical/Mainstream/core IR* literature is crucial for background purposes however, paying special attention, to the social discourse, that shaped the outcome of the insights, presented by this literature should also be read, as equally important. This will hopefully be done, with the view that an explanation, of why *Afrocentric* contribution, has not been recognized or featured in *IR* discourse, may hopefully be clarified.

93) “The method of interpretation first of texts, and secondly of the whole social, historical, and psychological world. The problems were familiar to *Vico*, and raised in connection with biblical criticism by *Schleiermacher*. Under the title of *Verstehen* the method of interpretation was contrasted with objective scientific method by *Weber* and *Dilthey*. Its inevitable subjectivity, is the topic of the major writings of *Gadamer*.” (Blackburn, 2008:165). For further elaborate definition of this term, and a more context specific reference, as to be employed in this study, see articles by *Nabudere, D.W.2002.The Epistemological and Methodological Foundations for an All-Inclusive Research Paradigm in the Search for Global knowledge* followed up by *Nabudere, D.W. 2003.Towards an Afrikology of knowledge production and Afrikan Regeneration*.

94) See K.A. Appiah’s *African Philosophy and African Literature (2004)*. And E.C. Eze’s *Introduction: Philosophy and the (Post) colonial (1997)*.

95) “The property of a statement or theory that it is capable of being refuted by experience. In the philosophy of science of *Popper* falsifiability is the great merit of genuine scientific theory, as opposed to unfalsifiable pseudo-science, notably psychoanalysis and *historical materialism*. *Popper*’s idea was that it could be a positive virtue in a scientific theory that it is bold, conjectural, and goes beyond the evidence, but that it had to be capable of facing possible refutation. If each and every way things turn out is compatible with the theory, then it is no longer a scientific theory, but for instance, an ideology or article of faith.” (Blackburn, 2008:130).

96) “The general science of inference. *Deductive logic*, in which a conclusion *follows* from a set of premises, is distinguished from *inductive logic*, which studies the way, in which premises may support a conclusion, without entailing it. In *deductive logic* the conclusion, cannot be false if the premises are true. The aim of a logic is to make explicit, the rules by which inferences, may be drawn, rather than to study the actual reasoning process that people use, which may or may not conform to those rules... There is no equally simple answer, in the case of *inductive logic*, which is in general, a less robust subject, but the aim will be to find reasoning, such that anyone failing to

conform to it, will have improbable beliefs. *Aristotle* is generally recognised as the first logician...*German mathematician Frege*, who is recognised as the *father of modern logic*...*modern logic is thus called mathematical logic* for two reasons: first, *the logic itself is an object of mathematical study*, but secondly, the forms introduced by *Frege provided a language capable of representing all mathematical reasoning*. This was something traditional *Logic had been quite incapable of tackling*...More specific *logic study particular topics such as time, possibility, and obligation*. Thus there exist **deontic logics, *modal logics, Logics of tense, and so on...*" (Blackburn, 2008: 212).

97) In philosophy "The general study of *method in particular fields of enquiry: science, history, mathematics, psychology, ethics*...The task of the philosopher of a discipline would then be to reveal the correct method and to unmask counterfeits. Although this belief, lay behind much behind the **positivist philosophy of science*, few philosophers now subscribe to it. It places too great a confidence, in the possibility of a purely **a priori 'first philosophy'*, or standpoint beyond that of the working practitioners, from which their best efforts, can be measured as good or bad. This standpoint now seems to many philosophers, to be a fantasy. The more modest task of methodology, is to investigate the methods that are actually adopted at various historical stages of investigation, into different areas, with the aim not so much of criticizing but more of systematizing, the presuppositions of a particular field, at a particular time." (Blackburn, 2008:233).

98) Refer back to *endnote 19*.

99) "According to **Bradley, metaphysics is the finding of bad reasons for what we believe on instinct, although as *Broad remarked, to find these reasons is no less an instinct*. Originally a title for those books of **Aristotle* that came after the *Physics*, the term is *now applied to any enquiry that raises questions about reality that lie beyond or behind those capable of being tackled by the methods of science*. Naturally, an immediately contested issue, is whether there are any such questions, or whether any text of metaphysics should, in ** Hume's* words, be 'committed to the flames, for it can contain nothing but sophistry and illusion' (*Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, Bk xii, Pt 3). The traditional examples will include questions of **mind and body, *substance and accident, *events, * causation, and the categories of things that exist* (see *Ontology*). The permanent complaint about *metaphysics*, is that in so far as there are real questions in these areas, ordinary scientific method forms the only possible approach, to them. Hostility to *metaphysics* was one of the banners of **logical positivism*, and survives in a different way in the *scientific * naturalism of writers such as * Quine*. *Metaphysics* then tends to become concerned more, with the presuppositions of scientific thought, or of thought in general, although here, too, any suggestion that there is one timeless way, in which thought has to be conducted, meets sharp opposition." (Blackburn, 2008:232).

100) "a loose title for various philosophies, that emphasize certain common themes: the individual, the experience of choice, and the absence of rational understanding of the universe, with a consequent dread or sense of **absurdity* in human life. The combination suggests, an emotional tone or mood rather than a set of deductively related theses and

existentialism attained its zenith in Europe, following the disenchantments of the Second World War...significant thinkers include... *Kierkegaard... *Heidegger... *Satre etc. (Blackburn, 2008:125).

101) “A term that emerged in the 18th century, in the writings of *Johann Heinrich Lambert (1728-77)* and *Kant, to denote the description of *consciousness* and experience in abstraction, from consideration of its intentional content (see Intentionality). In *Hegel, phenomenology is instead the historical enquiry into the evolution of self-consciousness, developing from elementary sense experience to fully rational, free, thought processes capable of yielding knowledge. The term in the 20th Century is associated with the work and school of *Husserl.

102) “The title is specifically applied to the philosophical approach, of the *Frankfurt school. This owed its philosophical background to *Hegel and to *Marx, seeing social and cultural imperfections, as defects of rationality, and comparing them with an ideal, to which the progress of reason, embodied in pure and undistorting social arrangements, would ideally tend. *Critical theory* works dialectically, that is by searching out ‘*contradictions’ in social arrangements in which, for example, certain groups are systematically excluded from power, or from the free access to information, that structures rational debate (see *Habermas*). More generally, *critical theory*, may describe any attempt to understand practices of criticism, interpretation, and historical understanding of social action, including especially that of writing. An increased self-consciousness about the role of the critic, and the different social and historical circumstances that interfere with communication and *translation, is characteristic of *postmodernism, and this topic has been expressed, in a variety of literary forms. However, it may be doubted, whether the resulting reflections, are always either critical or theoretical, in any sense recognized in the philosophy of *science. See also *Derrida, Foucault*.” (Blackburn, 2008:84-85).

103) “(Greek, *ethos*, character) The study of the concepts involved in practical reasoning: good, right, duty, obligation, virtue, freedom, rationality, choice. Also the second-order study of the objectivity, subjectivity, relativism, or scepticism that may attend claims, made in these terms.” (Blackburn, 2008: 121).

104) “The study of the feelings, concepts and judgements, arising from our appreciation of the arts or of the wider class of objects, considered moving, or beautiful or sublime. *Aesthetic theory* concerns itself, with questions such as: what is a work of art? ...Can art be a vehicle of truth...The classical origin of many of these questions, is found in *Plato. *The dialogues Ion, Symposium and Phaedrus* are centrally concerned with the place of beauty, in the order of things,...Aristotle’s discussion in the *Poetics* centres on the nature of tragedy...In the modern period aesthetics emerged, as a separate topic in the work of *Baumgarten, *Lessing, *Hutcheson, *Hume and especially *Kant...etc” (Blackburn,2008:8).

105) Reference to *Ethno-Philosophy, Philosophic Sagacity, Nationalistic-Ideological Philosophy and Professional Philosophy* alongside input, as found from the broader literature, authored by *Afrocentrists* (such as *Mphahlele*) may be read, as the insight used, in leading this effort.

106) Term used to refer to the intellectual and cultural movement within the primarily *Afrikan*-American circles. As displayed in *Picture 1.5* in the addendum.

107) A form of ethnic nationalism, advocating a racial definition or the redefinition of national identity as opposed to multiculturalism.

108) The modification of place names and personal names to reflect an *Afrocentric identity*.

109) In a detailed historical review of the history, of the International Studies Association (*ISA*), as authored by one of its past president's *Henry Teune* (1981-82), Acknowledgement of McClelland's contribution to *ISA*, as one of its early organizers and publishers, is duly noted.

110) *US* academic and political commentator. *Huntington* has made influential contributions in three fields: military politics, strategy and civil-military relations; *US* and comparative politics; and political development and the politics of less developed societies. In *The Third Wave* (1991) he coined the notion of '*waves of democratization*' and linked the process of democratization after 1975 to two earlier waves, in 1828-1926 and 1943-62. His most widely discussed work, *The Clash of Civilizations* and the *Making of World Order* (1996), advanced the controversial thesis that in the twenty-first century conflict, between the world's major civilizations, would lead to warfare and international disorder" (Heywood,2007:138).

111) *South Afrikan Political Scientist and Director of the Development Research Institute in Johannesburg, South Afrika*. Originally begun her academic career at *Univercity of Cape Town* where she later departed as an assistant Professor and *took tenure at Smith College in the USA in 2004*, after her six month spell was converted into a permanent position, which *earned her title of Professor of Government*. During her time at *Smith College*,she was also a *Social Science Research Council (SSRC)- MacArthur Foundation Fellow for Peace and Security in a Changing World*. Relevant for this study because her *research interests include international relations theory,regional organizations and Southern Afrikan politics*.Having *taught classes on South Afrika, globalisation, contemporary Afrikan politics, international politics,international political economy and regionalism in the international system* at *Smith College*, *Joined Ohio State University as a Professor of Southern Afrikan politics*. Examples of her work include '*Afrika and international relations:regional lessons for a global discourse*'(2001) and '*The end of history? Afrikan challenges to liberalism in international relations*', found in K.C Dunn and T.M Shaw (Eds), '*Afrika's challenge to International Relations Theory*'(2001).

112) For a contemporary version see Morgenthau, H.J. and Thompson, K.W. 1993. *Politics Among Nations, The Struggle for Power and Peace*. Brief Edition. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc.

113) Specific text here is Bernard Crick's *In Defence of Politics* (2000), 5th edition, London, Continuum International. Also see Nye, Jr., J.S.1987.*Power and Interdependence Revisited*. International Organization 41 (4) (1987): 725-53. World Peace Foundation and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

114) *Bertrand Arthur William Russell (1872-1970)*. English philosopher...born into the liberal and aristocratic family descended from the Prime Minister, *John Russell*, and educated first at home, and then from 1890 at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he read mathematics...after meeting the mathematician *G. Peano (1848-1932)* in 1900, his interests were devoted to the foundations of mathematics. '*The Principles of Mathematics*' was published in 1902. ...Later collaborating with *Whitehead from 1907-1910 to produce '*Principia Mathematica*' published in three volumes (1910-1913). During this period also laid the foundations of life as a radical, active, liberal intellectual, beginning by standing as a suffragist candidate for Parliament...During 1920's his principal works included '*The Analysis of Mind (1921)*' and '*The Analysis of Matter (1927)*',...also published a large number of popular and semi-popular works on social and moral issues...ran a school but from 1938 to 1944 taught at number of American universities, including Chicago and University of California at Los Angeles. He was denied employment by the City College of New York, on the grounds that he was morally unsuitable. In a famous ensuing lawsuit his works were described as '*lecherous, libidinous, lustful, venerous, erotomaniac, aphrodisiac, irreverent, narrow minded, untruthful, and bereft of moral fiber*'. During WWII he wrote '*History of Western Philosophy (1945)*'. '*Human Knowledge's Scope and Limits (1948)*' is Russell's last important philosophical book, but by this time he was a world-famous symbol of philosophy and its radical potential. He was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for literature in 1950...*Russell's* philosophy is generally felt to have reached its peak in the first two decades of the 20th Century...In his general philosophical approach Russell was not only a realist but also, perhaps in continued opposition to the monolithic nature of *absolute idealism, a pluralist and foundationalist, intent upon bringing the resources of modern logic to a basic *empiricism*. He had little sympathy with any movement from those ideas, as, for instance, it developed from the later work of *Wittgenstein. Russell was a gifted raconteur, and as well as his many philosophical works wrote an entertaining three-volume Autobiography (1967-9)" (Blackburn, 2008:322-323).

115) "(1864-1920) German sociologist and philosopher. Born in Berlin into a liberal legal family,...studied law and the history of law, at various universities...had brief academic career as professor of economics, in Freiburg and Heidelberg...before retiring...ill-health 1897...remembered philosophically first for insisting on the between fact and value, and for insisting that the conduct of the social sciences must be value-free...remembered secondly for his adherence to the **Verstehen* tradition of **Dilthey*. On the first issue *Weber* argued that scientific, historical, and philosophical analysis of a period could never by itself provide the criteria necessary for a definitive solution of evaluative questions, including those of *politics*. The *social scientist*, must strictly distinguish between that which

exists, and that which ought to be: the importance *Weber* attached to this reflects his concern at the increasing power of faceless, impersonal bureaucracy, making evaluative decisions on purely 'scientific' and technological criteria. On the second, connected, issue he recognized that *sociological study* must recognize that actions, have a meaning in the eyes of agents, and no scientific approach to them that ignores that dimension can be adequate. The sociologist must be able to place himself in the mind of those he studies. The subjectivity that this might seem to introduce is avoided by the discipline of describing the 'ideal type', embodying the objective spirit of bureaucracy, *Calvinism*, capitalism, etc. *Weber* insisted that no understanding is complete without including the moral, political, and religious dimension of the concerted activities of human agents. His most famous work, '*Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus*' (1922, trs. '*At The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, 1930*'), connected the rise of capitalism with the complacent Protestant desire to find a sign of predestined salvation in worldly success (see also *Elective Affinity*). *Weber* realized that such studies require comparative analysis of other cultures and times, and much of his writing addresses that problem. Important theoretical works include '*Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*' (1922, trs. '*As Economy and Society, 1968*') and the collected papers translated in '*The Methodology of the Social Sciences (1949)*'" (Blackburn, 2008:384-385).

116) *The Teaching, Research and International Policy project (TRIP)* which has been mainly spearheaded by *Daniel Maliniak, Amy Oakes, Susan Peterson and Michael J. Tierney* as a joint venture of the '*Arts & Sciences at the Wendy & Emery Reves Centre for International Studies at the College of William & Mary, in Virginia, USA*'. Another two scholars, namely *James D. Long* and *Richard Jordan* complete the *TRIP* team in a separate report (titled *Teaching and Research in International Politics: Surveying Trends in Faculty Opinion and Publishing-2009*). Arguably the largest and most extensive, data-collection effort, to date, on the field of international relations. It systematically and empirically analyzes, relationships among pedagogy, scholarship and international policy.

117) Discussed in detail, further below, in support of this view.

118) See Nishimura, K. 2007. *Whose Discourse? Which Discipline? A Contextualist Investigation of E.H Carr and the Birth of International Relations Theory*. Prepared for the presentation at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Chicago IL, February 28-March 3, 2007.

119) At the time of authoring his much celebrated text *Afrika and the International System: The politics of state survival*, he was Professor of Politics and International Relations, at Lancaster University. Some of his other important works, include *Transformation and Continuity in Revolutionary Ethiopia (1988)*, *Third World Politics (1985)*, and *Liberia and Sierra Leone: an Essay in Comparative Politics (1976)*. He has lectured at the following Universities *Addis Ababa, Manchester, and West Indies*. He has also been a past president of the *Afrikan Studies Association (ASA-UK Chapter) of the United Kingdom*.

120) As listed in Chapter Three.

121) For other notable examples of statecentric emphasis, see *The State* in Hegel's Philosophy of Right [1821]. Also see Hobbes, T.1965. *Infinite Desire and Absolute Government*, Gramsci, A.1971. *Hegemony, Intellectuals and the State*, Fox, T.R.1975. *Pluralism, the Science of Politics, and the World System*, Keohane, R.E. and Nye, J.S. Jr. 1987. *Power and Interdependence Revisited*, Fukuyama, F. 1989. *The End of History*. *The National Interest* (1989): 3-18 and also Hobson, J.M.1998. *The Historical Sociology of the State and the State of Historical Sociology in International Relations*.

122) See Stumpf, S.E.1971. *Philosophy, History and Problems*. Kenny, A. (ed.).1997 [1994]. *The Oxford Illustrated History of Western Philosophy*. Nelson, B.R.1996. *Western Political Thought, From Socrates to the Age of Ideology*. And Morrow, J. 2005. *History of Western Political Thought, A Thematic Introduction and* Ally, M. and Tsie, M.S.S.2007. *Introduction To Western Philosophy*. Only Study Guide for PLS1033.UNISA.

123) Discussed and defined as “(Greek) City-state; classically understood to imply the highest or most desirable form of social organization” (Heywood, 2007:5). Direct examples included *Sparta* and *Athens*.

124) Described as “... (1906-75), German political theorist and philosopher... brought up in a middle-class Jewish family. She fled Germany in 1933 to escape from Nazism, and finally settled in the USA, where her major work was produced. Her wide ranging, even idiosyncratic, writing was influenced by the existentialism of Heidegger (1889-1976) and Jaspers (1883-1969); she described it as ‘thinking without barriers’. Her major works include *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1951), which drew parallels between Nazi Germany, and Stalinist Russia, her major philosophical work ranges from *The Human Condition* (1958), *On Revolution* (1963) and *Eichmann in Jerusalem* (1963). The final work stimulated particular controversy because it stressed the ‘banality of evil’ by portraying Eichmann as a Nazi functionary rather than as a raving ideologue” (Heywood, 2007:9).

125) See Nevil Johnson's second chapter, titled *The Emergence of Politics as a University Discipline* from his text titled *The Limits of Political Science* (1989).

126) Believed to have been coined by *Herbert Baxter Adams* (1850-1901) an American educator and historian, who was a graduate of Amherst College, Massachusetts, USA in 1872 and completed his Ph.D at Heidelberg, Germany, in 1876. Sometime in 1880, he began his famous seminar in history, where a large proportion of the next generation, of American historians was trained. He is believed to be the first scholar, to be credited of using the term *Political*

Science, while lecturing at *Johns Hopkins University*. These lectures would subsequently lead, to him founding the '*John Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science*'.

127) "1899-1973- German *émigré* historian of ideas and political theorist. *Strauss* was professor of political science in the University of Chicago from 1949 to 1968. An elitist and critic of political egalitarianism, Strauss lamented the morally impoverished political theory of the modern world, from **Machiavelli* through *Hobbes* to *modern liberalism*, all of which he contrasted unfavorably with morally rich writings of *Plato* and *Aristotle*. He interpreted these as advancing an 'esoteric' philosophy, hidden between the lines and concealed from all except initiates, which meant primarily himself and his students. Strauss's own experience was shaped by the collapse of the Weimar Republic, and he saw the modern liberal state prey to *relativism, *nihilism, and a flabby inability to defend itself and its ideals. His influence has been much greater in political science, where the right of government to deceive and ignore the masses is a staple of illiberal conservative doctrine, than in philosophy or classical studies. His students included a galaxy of American 'neo-conservatives', as well as writers such as Allan Bloom whose '*The Closing of the American Mind*' brought *Straussianism* into the American mainstream. His own books include '*Persecution and the Art of Writing* (1952)' and '*Natural Right and History* (1953)'.

128) Also recommended is Pangle, T.L. 2004. *Straussian Approaches to the Study of Politics*. In Gaus, G.F. and Kukathas, C. (eds.). 2004. *Handbook of Political Theory*. London: SAGE Publications.

129) Nuffield Reader in the *Comparative Study of Institutions* in the University of Oxford, and Professorial Fellow of Nuffield College.

130) "US political philosopher and statesman. A wealthy Virginian planter who was Governor of Virginia 1779-81, Jefferson served as the first *US Secretary of State*, 1789-94. He was the third president of the *USA*, 1801-90. Jefferson was the principal author of the '*declaration of Independence*', and wrote a vast number of addresses and letters. He developed a democratic form of agrarianism, that sought to blend a belief in rule, by a natural aristocracy, with a commitment to limited government and *laissez-faire*. He also *demonstrated sympathy, for social reform, favouring the extension of public education, the abolition of slavery, and greater economic equality.*" (Heywood, 2007:289). Just for the record it was general '*George Washington*' (the war hero, wealthy by inheritance and marriage)-now referred to as the '*Father of His Country*', in the second meeting, of all the thirteen colonies on *May 10, 1775*, Congress selected Washington, who was already one of its members. He would lead the Pro-Federalist regime. It is suspected that he was perhaps the only president, who did not angle for this exalted office. Balanced rather than brilliant, he commanded men by strength rather than the art of politics. The '*Bill of Rights*' was a task that fell under his term (see Kennedy et al, 1989: 64,93). The second president, who was also from Washington's '*Federalist Party*', was '*John Adams*' (nicknamed 'Bonny Johnny'-an experienced and ungracious... rugged chip off old Plymouth Rock (Kennedy et al, 1989:103). So in 1796 by a narrow vote of 71 to 68 in the *Electoral College*,

Adams defeated the master organizer and leader of the ‘*Democratic-Republicans*’ thus making *Jefferson* (a tall, freckled, sandy-haired Virginia lawyer, at age 33 was already recognized as a brilliant writer) as runner up Vice-President (see Kennedy et al:1989:67).

131) “After debate and amendment, the ‘*Declaration of Independence*’ was formally approved by the Congress on July 4, 1776” (Kennedy et al, 1989:67). This was after much effort from various individuals across all the colonies, expressing their desire to be independent from Great Britain. Early in 1776, the radical ‘*Thomas Paine’s* ‘*Common Sense*’ was published. It was a passionate yet simple and perhaps even shallow in some respects yet it was direct and persuasive (Kennedy et al, 1989:66).

132) Also see Rousseau, J-J. 1965. *The Organic State as the Unity of Individual Desires and Universal Reason*. In Gewirth, A. 1965. *Political Philosophy*. Toronto: The MacMillan Company.

133) For visual examples of these Western Philosophers, see Picture 1.4.

134) German term, for a general worldview, referring to an overarching philosophy. Commonly preferred to used, by philosophers.

135) Recommended texts highlighting some of these views, include Sheeran, P.2001. *Cultural Politics in International Relations* and Lukic, R. And Brint, M. (eds.) 2001. *Culture, Politics and Nationalism in the Age of Globalization*.

136) Dean of law and Social Sciences at the *School of Oriental and Afrikan Studies (SOAS)*. He held visiting positions in many universities such as at the *University of Zambia (Lusaka)*, *Victoria (Wellington, New Zealand)* and *Queen Elizabeth House in Oxford, UK (as a visiting fellow)*. He has delivered the 2003 *Maurice Webb Memorial lectures in Natal, South Afrika*. His major research interests are in *Afrikan* politics (Robert Mugabe: A life of Power and Violence, 2003), and in the composition of an ethics for international discourse that recognizes the philosophical methodologies of different cultures (*The Zen of International Relations*,2001 with *Peter Mandaville* and *Roland Bleiker*; *Out of Evil*, 2004).

137) IR Lecturer in the School of Arts, Communication and Culture, Nottingham Trent University. Authored papers on Critical international relations theory and hermeneutics but has been more interested in the role of Art in IR theory. Co-authored with Ruth Griffin- *An Introduction to the Study of Violence Through Film* (2006).

138) See Vol. I- *Approaches to IR: Realism*, Vol. II-*Approaches to IR: Pluralism*, Vol.III- *Approaches to IR: Structuralism* and Vol. IV- *Contemporary Reflexive Approaches in IR*.

139) For more definitions, see the following texts: Reynolds, P.A.1994. *Introduction to international relations*. Third edition, Longman.

140) See Christopher Hill's article *Academic International Relations: The Siren song of Policy relevance (1994)*. And Tooze, R. 1994. *International political economy and the national policy-maker*. Both these articles have been quoted from Hill, C. and Beschhoff, P. (ed.).1994. *Two Worlds of International Relations, academic practitioners and the trade in ideas*. Routledge: London.

141) He is the *Paul and Catherine Butteinwieser professor* at the Center For European Studies at Harvard University in the Department of Government. He has been chair of the Center for European Studies since its inception from 1969-1995. He has taught at Harvard since 1955 and *Robert keohane* is just one of his past pupils. He is a typical example of *IR* scholars who are not American such as Hans Morgenthau (Germany) who climbed the ladder and were given much recognition by serving out their careers in America. According to the Government department website "at *Harvard Hoffmann* was born in *Vienna in 1928*. He lived and studied in France from *1929 to 1955*; he has taught at the *Institut d'Etudes Politiques of Paris*, from which he graduated, and at the *Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales*. At Harvard, he teaches *French intellectual and political history, American foreign policy, post-World War Two European history, the sociology of war, international politics, ethics and world affairs, modern political ideologies, and the development of the modern state*. Among his publications, '*Decline or Renewal? France Since the 30's (1974)*'; '*Primacy or World Order: American Foreign Policy since the Cold War (1978)*'; '*Duties Beyond Borders (1981)*'; '*Janus and Minerva (1986)*'; '*The European Sisyphus (1995)*'; '*The Ethics and Politics of Humanitarian Intervention (1997)*'; '*World Disorders (1998)*'; and '*Gulliver Unbound (2004)*'. He is co-author of '*The Mitterrand Experiment (1987)*'; '*The New European Community (1991)*'; and '*After the Cold War (1993)*'. His '*Tanner lectures of 1993*', on the French nation and nationalism, were published in 1994. He is working on a book, on "*ethics and international affairs*".

142) "The property of a statement or theory that it is capable of being refuted by experience. In the *philosophy of science* of **Popper's falsifiability* is the great merit of genuine scientific theory, as opposed to unfalsifiable pseudo-science, notably psychoanalysis and **historical materialism*. Popper's idea was that it could be a positive virtue in a scientific theory that it is bold, conjectural, and goes beyond the evidence, but that it had to be capable of facing possible refutation. If each and every way things turn out is compatible with the theory, then it is no longer a scientific theory, but, for instance, an ideology or article of faith....falsification- The Central notion in the philosophy of science of **Popper*, although foreshadowed by **Whewell* and **Peirce*. In his *Logik der Forschung (1934)*, *Popper* argued that the central virtue of science as opposed to pseudo-science, is not that it puts forward hypothesis that are confirmed by evidence to some high degree, but that its hypotheses are capable of being refuted by evidence" (Blackburn, 2008:130).

143) “*Karl Reimund Popper (1902-1994). Philosopher of science.* Born and educated in Vienna, *Popper* shared with the *logical positivists* an interest in the foundations and the methodology of the natural sciences...lectured in logic and scientific method. ...came to fame with his first book *Logik der Forshung* (1935- translated into *The Logic of Scientific Discovery, 1959*). In it he overturned the traditional attempts to found scientific method in the support that experience gives to suitably formed generalizations and theories. Stressing the difficulty the problem of *induction* puts in front of any such method ...substitutes an *epistemology* that starts with the bold, imaginative formation of hypotheses. These face the tribunal experience, which has the power to *falsify* them, but not to confirm them...A hypothesis that survives the ordeal of attempted refutation, can be provisionally accepted as ‘corroborated’, but never assigned a probability. The approach was extremely popular amongst working scientists, who recognized the value it puts upon imaginative theorizing and patient refutation, and who responded gladly to the liberating thought that it was not a sin but a mark of virtue to put forward a theory that is subsequently refuted. Philosophers have been more cautious, pointing out that something like induction seems to be involved when we rely upon well-corroborated theories...*Popper’s* social and historical writings include the influential *The Open Society and Its Enemies (1945)* and *The Poverty of Historicism (1957)*, attacking the view that there are fundamental laws of history that render its progress inevitable. In the first work *Popper* attacks this belief, which he associates with *Plato, Hegel, and Marx*, although it is unclear that his readings of these thinkers, perform any justice to the stringent ethical conditions, they place upon the rational political systems that they explore. *Popper* associates political virtue, like scientific virtue, with the possibility of free enquiry subject to constraints that minimize the chance of accepting bad systems” (Blackburn, 2008:281-282).

144) “Also known as *logical empiricism* and *scientific empiricism*; the ideals and attitude towards philosophy associated with the Vienna circle...central interest of the *Vienna Circle* was the unity of science and the correct delineation of scientific method. The idea was that, this would act as a final solvent of the disputes of the metaphysicians. The task of constructive philosophy became that of analyzing the structure of scientific theory and language. The movement can be seen as a development of older *empiricist* and *sensationalist doctrines* in the light first of a better understanding of the methodology of empirical science, and secondly of the dramatically increased power of formal logic to permit the definition of abstractions and to describe the structures of permissible inferences. The combination is to some extent foreshadowed in *Russell*, whose *logic* and whose concept of a *logical construction* played a significant role in the doctrine of the movement. The most characteristic doctrine of *logical positivism* was the *verification principle*, or denial of literal or cognitive meaning, to any statement that is not verifiable: the meaning of a statement is its method of verification” (Blackburn, 2008:214).

145) “*Thomas Samuel Kuhn (1922-1996)* American philosopher of science. Born in Ohio, was educated at Harvard as a physicist before his book *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions (1962)* became one of the most influential modern works of the history and philosophy of science. Like *Alexandre Koyre (1892-1964)* and the French writers *Bachelard and Jean Cavailles (1903-44)*, *Kuhn* stresses that the history of science is not a smooth progressive accumulation of data and successful theory, but the outcome of ruptures, false starts, and imaginative constraints that

themselves reflect many different variables. In his account, science during a normal period works within a framework of assumptions called a *paradigm, but in exceptional and revolutionary periods an old paradigm breaks down and after a period of competition is replaced by a new one. The process is like a **Gestalt* switch, and has seemed to many to have disquieting implications for the rationality and objectivity of science. *Kuhn's* other books include *The Copernican Revolution (1957)* and *Sources for the 'History of Quantum Physics (1967)'* (Blackburn, 2008:201).

146) Tickner, J. Ann. 1997. *You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements Between Feminists and IR Theorists*. *International Studies Quarterly*, 41, No. 4 (1997), pp.611-632.

147) Booth.K. *Discussion: a reply to Wallace*. In Linklater.A.2000. *International Relations, Critical Concepts In Political Science*. Routledge.

148) Smith.S. *Power and truth: a reply to William Wallace*. In Linklater.A.2000. *International Relations, Critical Concepts In Political Science*. Routledge.

149) Chan and Moore (2006:xxxv) define systematic, as a concept that resulted in *IR* being separated into four sub-disciplines: 1)...study of state power...*realism* 2)...study of a more plural international system...with room for institutions and moral critiques...*pluralism* or at an earlier stage *Idealism* 3)...study of an economic structure underlying the state system...*structuralism* and 4)...proposition of critical and often philosophical ideas about the morality of international behavior, and this has no agreed name,...sometimes referred to as critical international thought, but might best be described as reflexive, in an effort to capture the many dimensions of this body of *IR* theory”.

150) Was appointed as a German prince, on *21 March 1871*. He is always singled out, because of his instrumental role, in the hosting of the *Berlin Conference of 1884-1885*.Historically this conference has been recorded, as where the partition of *Afrika*, was initially launched. Given his leading role, in the epic episode, which historians in time, would refer to, as the *Scramble of Afrika*, the name of *Bismarck* has become synonymous with colonizer or imperialist of *Afrika*.

151) “(1856-1924) Twenty-eighth President of the US, and widely cited as a proponent of ‘*idealism*’, in international relations. *Wilson* was a professor of political science, President of Princeton University and Governor of New Jersey before he became President in *1912*. In *1917*, repeated German attacks on American ships, forced him, to lead the isolationist *US into WW I*. After the war, he championed the creation of a *League of Nations* in line with his belief, in formal international institutions, as a safeguard of peace and democracy. However, the US Senate failed to ratify the ‘*Treaty of Versailles*’ (which contained the ‘*League Covenant*’). The once-influential President, stood isolated and resentful, during his last year in office and died four years later” (McGowan et al, 2009:31).

152) Quoted from Kallaway, P. et al.1997 [1987]. *History Alive Standard 10*. Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter.

153) Contemporary summits to date, such as those hosted under the flagship of the Group of eight, predominantly European states (G8), might have taken different names, but the core *European* voices maintain their dominance, on most decisions taken to do with international affairs. The Security Council (USA, Britain, Germany, Russia and China), still does not have an *Afrikan* representative. Reforms of such organs in the *UN* have been endlessly proposed by *Afrikan* leaders, alongside their fellow *Third World* colleagues- always landing on deaf ears.

154) Ruth F. DeVernay Professor of Romance Studies and Professor of Comparative Literature and Anthropology at Duke University. He is an editor-in-chief of *The Encyclopedia of African Religions and Philosophy*, working alongside Kwasi Wiredu. His books include *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy and the Order of Knowledge* (1988), *Fables and Parables*, *The Surreptitious Speech* and *The idea of Afrika* (1994).

155) Other general theories in reference to etymology of the concept of *Africa* range. Under Roman rule *Carthage* became the Capital of the province of *Africa* or *Africa Province* (this makes reference to modern day Libya. *Africa* terra-land of the *Afri* (plural, or *Afer* singular) or the later muslim kingdom *Ifriqiya*- this originally referred to the northern part, of what has become the modern continent- namely Tunisia. *-ica* is a *Latin suffix* used at times, to refer to land. *Afri* believed to have been a *Latin name* used to refer to the *Carthaginians*, who lived in modern day Tunisia. This name is usually connected with the *Phoenician afar* “dust”, but Decret and Fantar (1981) argue that *Africa* stems from the Berber word *ifri* or *ifran* referring to cave dwellers. Babington Michell (1903:161) on the other hand assert that *Africa*, *Ifri* and *Afer* are names of the *Algerian and Tripolitanian- Banu Ifran* (Edward Lipinski (2004:200) informs us that *Banu Ifran* was from the Berber Tribe of *Yafran*. A biblical theory forwarded by the 1st century Jewish historian *Flavius Josephus* claims that *Africa* was named for *Epher*, grandson of *Abraham*, based on Genesis 25:4, whose descendants he claimed, had invaded Libya. From Asante (2007:359) scholars learn, that “*Leo Africanus* (1485-1554 CE) writing in the *History and Description of Africa*, suggested the Greek word *aphrike* (meaning without cold). So the combination of the Greek word *phrike* (cold and horror) with the private prefix ‘a’ together indicated that the land is free of cold and horror. Gerald Massey in 1881 derived an etymology from the Egyptian *af-rui-ka-* to turn toward the opening of the Ka. Michele Fruyt in *Revue de Philologie* 50 (1976:221-238) linked the Latin word with *africus* ‘south wind’, which would be of Umbrian origin and mean originally ‘rainy wind’. *The Irish* female name of *Aifric* is sometimes *anglised* as *Africa* but no relation to the *geonym* is acknowledged.

156) Quoted here from the preface of Adebajo, A. 2010. *The Curse of Berlin, Afrika after the Cold War*. University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.

157) Maliniak, D. et al. 2005. *Teaching and Research in International Politics: Surveying Trends in Faculty Opinion and Publishing*. Prepared for 2005 46th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, March 1-5, Honolulu, Hawaai.

158) Maliniak, D. et al. 2005. *Teaching and Research Practices, Views on the Discipline, and Policy Attitudes of International Relations Faculty at U.S. Colleges and Universities*. College of William and Mary, Williamsburg VA, August 2005.

159) Maliniak, D. et al. 2007. *The View from the Ivory Tower: TRIP Survey of International Relations Faculty in the United States and Canada*. College of William and Mary, Williamsburg VA, February 2007. A publication of the Program on the Theory and Practice of International Relations. A joint venture of Arts & Sciences and the Wendy & Emery Reves Center for International Studies at the College of William & Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia.

160) Maliniak, D. et al. 2007. *The International Relations Discipline, 1980-2006*. College of William and Mary. Prepared for the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago Illinois, August/September 2007.

161) Maliniak, D. et al. 2007. *Divided discipline? Comparing views of US and Canadian IR scholars*. International Journal: Spring 2007: 62, 2; CBCA Reference pg. 327.

162) Maliniak, D. et al. 2008. *Women in International Relations*. College of William and Mary. Critical Perspectives, Politics & Gender 4 (1) 2008.

163) Maliniak, D. et al. 2009. *The American School of IPE*. Review of International Political Economy, Volume 16, Issue 1 February 2009, pages 6 – 33.

164) Maliniak, D. et al. 2009. *Inside The Ivory Tower*. Foreign Policy. Washington Post Newsweek, Interactive, LLC.

165) Maliniak et al. 2009. *One Discipline or Many? TRIP Survey of International Relations Faculty in Ten Countries*. Teaching, Research, and International Policy (TRIP) Project. The Institute for the Theory and Practice of International Relations .The College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia, February 2009.

166) As reflected further on in *Table 1.11*.

167) Quoted here from Derian, J.D. (ed). 1995. *International Theory: Critical Investigations*. Macmillan. Interestingly for Tim Dunne besides Tim Shaw (who influenced him about how he thought about *Afrikan* politics) and Jane Parpart (who influenced him about post-modernism and feminist Theory), he credits *James Der Derian* on the influence he had on him while a Phd student of *IR* (see *Theory Talk # 10-www.THEORY-TALKS.ORG*).

168) As captured in *Daedalus*, 106 (3) (Summer), pp. 41-60. Specifically derived here from Derian, J.D. (ed.). 1995. *International Theory: Critical Investigations*. MacMillan.

169) See Hix, S. 2004. *Top 200 Political Science Departments, 1998-2002*. London School of Economics. *Political Studies Review*: 2004 Vol. 2, 293-313.

170) In 1919, the *Chair in International Politics* was established at the *University of Wales, Aberyswyth*, from an endowment given by *David Davies*, is arguably believed to have become the first academic position dedicated to *IR*. Later sometime in the 1920's the London School of Economics also dedicated a department of *IR* at the behest of the *Noble Peace Prize* laureate *Phillip Noel-Baker*. Subsequently around 1927 the *Graduate Institute of International Studies (Institut Universitaire de hautes etudes Internationales)* which was dedicated entirely to the study of *IR* was founded in Geneva, Switzerland. Initially training in this institute, was meant to supply competent plenipotentiaries, to be employed with the aim of assisting to implement the *League of Nations*. In as far as the USA is concerned; its oldest program on *IR* is believed to have been the *Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service*, based in *Georgetown University*. The *Fletcher School*, at *Tufts University* is however believed, to have been the initial graduate school of *IR*.

171) See Hix, S. 2004. *The Rolling Global Top Fifty Political Science Departments (1997-2002)*, London School of Economics (*Political Studies Review*: 2004 Vol. 2, 293-313).

172) Recall that this term is used with all its associated problems.

173) Scholars are informed that this paper was initially "prepared for the 1982 ISA leadership meeting, hosted at the University of South Carolina. Since then, several scholars have also contributed, to the initial paper and its revision" (Teune, 1983:1).

174) Quoted here from Maliniak et al.2008. *Women in International Relations*. *Politics and Gender* 4(1) 2008.

175) See hooks, b. 1986. *Sisterhood: Political Solidarity between Women*. *Feminist Review*, No. 23, Socialist-Feminism: Out of the Blue (Summer, 1986), pp. 125-138. Palgrave Macmillan Journals. hooks. b. 1984. It should be noted, that this particular article, is an edited version of Chapter Four of hooks. b. 1984. *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center*. Boston: South End Press. This book was preceded by hooks.b. 1982. *Ain't I A Woman: Black Women and Feminism*. London: Pluto Press. bell hooks is a black American feminist academic and author. At the time of publication of both these texts, she was lecturing Afro-American Studies and English at Yale University. In her own admission “my first full-time teaching job” (hooks, 1986:126). The absence of capital letters in the spelling of her name and surname is not by error, it has been done, with respect to how bell hooks prefers it.

176) J.A. Tickner. 1999. *Why Women Can't Run the World: International Politics According To Francis Fukuyama*. International Studies Association, 1999, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers. This article by J.A.Tickner was a direct response to Francis Fukuyama, *Women and the Evolution of World Politics*. *Foreign Affairs*.77, No. 5 (1998), pp. 24–40; and Barbara Ehrenreich, Katha Pollitt, et al., *Fukuyama's Follies: So What If Women Ran the World?* *Foreign Affairs* 78, No. 1 (1999), pp.118–129. In this article “Fukuyama boldly asserts that women are more peaceful than men. But, as has so often been the case, Fukuyama deploys his argument to mount a strong defense for keeping men in charge” (Tickner, 1999:2). For Tickner, such charges, should be read as nothing else than mere claims, lacking in substantial evidence.

177) Also see Tickner, J. Ann. 2001. *Gendering World Politics: Issues and Approaches in the Post-Cold War Era*. New York: Columbia University Press. Discussed in a review essay further below in this study.

178) Tickner makes reference to the following texts Ruth Seifert's, *The Second Front: The Logic of Sexual Violence in Wars*, *Women's Studies International Forum* 19, No.1–2 (1996), pp. 35–43; Cynthia Enloe's, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); Katharine Moon, *Sex Among Allies: Military Prostitution in US-Korean Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997); and Susan Forbes Martin's, *Refugee Women* (London: Zed Books, 1992).

179) Professor of International Relations in the Political Science, *Department Universidad de los Andes, Bogota, Colombia*. Avid participant at International Studies Association conferences. Interested on contribution from the *Third World*. Examples of her publications wherein this topic, is concerned include *Seeing IR differently: notes from the Third World* amongst her extensive other publications concerned with *Gender, Latin American voices* and *International Political Economy issues* within IR scholarship. In the mentioned work above Tickner (2003) is very clear about *Third World scholarship being largely invisible within IR*. She attempts to look at some key categories from the standard IR, in the hope of identifying important differences. Her most popular views, are covered in the same cue as held by the much elder J. Ann Tickner (University of Southern California-USA) and B.G Jones amongst other notable feminist voices. Her shared editorial effort in partnership with Ole Waever titled *International Relations Scholarship Around the World (2009)*, captures the gist of what the author of this study sought. The inclusion of

scholars from South *Afrika*, Japan, Southeast Asia, Iran, Israel, Turkey and Russia amongst others, really is helpful in consolidating the argument, that in a nutshell, the current scholarly body of *IR* is dominated by US literature and yet through the 16 case studies provided in the text in question, existing alternatives, worthy of being visited from other parts of the world, in pursuit of understanding contemporary world politics- beyond the *Eurocentric* perspective, needs to be taken up.

180) “although the label of essentialism has become so unpopular today that few feminists seem comfortable with describing their own position in these terms” (Mottier, 2004:277).

181) This term is used, with all the problems that it carries. For the author of this study, it is a grossly oversimplified term, which builds on naïve historical social constructs.

182) Same concern is registered, as in previous endnote.

183) South *Afrikan* medical doctor turned businesswoman. Was affiliated with the black consciousness movement alongside *Steve Biko* and *Barney Pityana* amongst other activists. Formerly an employee of the World Bank, she is a previous Chancellor of University of Cape Town, a vocal social commentator and author of *Laying Ghosts To Rest*, amongst a list of her extended activities on her CV.

184) Memmi, A. 1991. *The Colonizer and the Colonized*. Boston: Beacon Press. Quoted here from hooks, b. 1988. *Racism and Feminism*.pp.313 In Eze, E.C. (ed.).1998. *African Philosophy, An Anthology*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd. This chapter is derived from her first text titled *Ain't I A Woman: Black Women and Feminism* (1982).

185) Quoted here from hooks, b. 1986. *Sisterhood: Political Solidarity between Women*. *Feminist Review*, No. 23, Socialist- Feminism: Out of the Blue (Summer, 1986), pp. 125-138. Palgrave Macmillan Journals.

186) Reference is specifically made to America here, but for the author of this study, given its hegemonic status, in the contemporary political arena, as an assumed ‘center’ the articulation(s) made here are applicable in as far as the global political realm is concerned.

187) Cornel Ronald West (1953-) *Afrikan*-American philosopher, critic, pastor and civic rights activist. Professor at Princeton in the Centre for *Afrikan* American Studies and also in the department of Religion. Popular for his combination of political, moral insight, criticism and his contribution to the post-1960 civil rights movement. The

bulk of his work, focuses upon the role of race, gender and class in American society and the means by which people act and react to their “radical conditionedness”.

188) A collaboration between *hooks* and *West* was later produced, titled *Black Women and Men: Partnership in the 1990's* (1998).

189) “Negative doctrines, total rejection of current beliefs, in religion or morals...skepticism that denies all existence” (Fowler and Fowler, 1974:815).

190) See West, C. 1988. *Prophetic Fragments*. Trenton: Afrika World Press.

191) See Grossberg, L. and Ross, A. (ed.). 1988. *Putting the pop back in Postmodernism*. Universal Abandon, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988.

192) “Concerned with affairs of this world, worldly, not sacred, not monastic, not ecclesiastical” (Fowler and Fowler, 1974:1143).

193) For a philosophical definition of this term, see *endnote 19*.

194) For examples, including list of methodologies and context of this term see *Box 1.6*.

195) For an in depth historical narrative see the *BISA* website –click on the ‘*About BISA*’ icon. What is read here is the author of this study’s attempt at a summary.

196) Referring to strictly males.

197) From the Website click on the *Events* icon, for further details. Reference to the some of the papers, will be commented upon, in the forthcoming chapter. An example would be *BISA Afrika* and International Studies Working Group: *New Directions in Afrika and IR* hosted at *The Open University, Milton Keynes on the 9th of July 2008*.

198) An in-depth discussion, concerning the author of this study’s experience and views while a student at that university, may be of interest in the event that this study is upgraded to doctoral level.

- 199)** This narrative has been inspired by the account read in Dunn, K. 2001. *Tales from the dark side: Afrika's challenge to international relations theory*. Journal of Third World Studies, Spring 2000.
- 200)** An initiative organized by the Zimbabwe International Book Fair.
- 201)** a senior lecturer in English and Humanities at Birbeck College, University of London.
- 202)** Quoted here from Taylor, I.2010. *The International Relations of Sub-Saharan Afrika*. Continuum.
- 203)** Quoted here from Adebajo, A. 2010. *The Curse of Berlin, Afrika After the Cold War*. University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.
- 204)** Keller, J. and Rothchild, D. (eds.).1996. *Africa in the new International Order, Rethinking State Sovereignty and Regional Security*. Boulder, London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- 205)** Kitching, G.2000. *Why I gave up Afrikan Studies*. *Afrikan Studies Review and Newsletter*, vol.XXII, 1 (June 2000), pp. 21-26. Quoted here from LaMonica, C. 2008. *Where Is Afrikan Political Thought in International Relations Theory?* International Studies Association (ISA) Conference (Theme: "Bridging Multiple Divides"), San Francisco, CA USA, March 26-29, 2008.
- 206)** Shaw, T. 2008. *Afrika and Global Relations: Lessons from/for the continent*. BISA, Exeter, December 2008.
- 207)** Smith, R. 1973. *Peace and Palaver: International Relations in Pre-Colonial West Africa*. The Journal of African History, Vol. 14, No. 4 (1973), pp. 599-621. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 208)** Chan, S.1987. *Issues In International Relations, A View From Afrika*. London: MacMillan Publishers.
- 209)** Stephen Chan, as paraphrased from the interview with *Shaun de Waal*, published in the *Mail and Guardian*, of Friday August 19 to 25, 2011. Pp7.
- 210)** See his latest book Chan.S. 2011. *Old Treacheries, New Deceits: Insights into Southern Afrikan Politics*. Jonathan Ball. Chan describes this book as partly "a diplomatic history of South Afrika in a regional (and international) context, but it's one with a keen awareness of all the other variables at play, from basic economics, to

the personality quirks, of leading figures...readable account of the intertwined fortunes of South *Afrika* and, particularly, Zimbabwe...My purpose in this book is to look at the internal machinations of the ANC and try to tie them to the machinations of other parties and other governments in the region. I've always been slightly appalled, that in South *Afrika* there's so little interest in the affairs of your neighbours, and only lip service, to *Afrika* as a whole" (Chan,2011:7).

211) As inscribed in this particular text, is introduced as "Chichele Professor of the History of War at Oxford and a *Fellow of All Souls*. He was formerly Director of the International Institute of Strategic Studies in London, and Professorial Fellow in International Relations at the Australian National University. He is the author and editor of several books including *The German Army and the Nazi Party 1933-39 (1966)* and *Australia in the Korean War 1950-53*" (O'Neill and Vincent,1990:XI).

212) Montague Burton Professor of International Relations at the London School of Economics. He has taught at the *Australian National University* (where he was a student of Bruce Miller), *Keele, Princeton and Fellow of Nuffield College at Oxford University* and visiting appointments at the *International Institute for Strategic Studies* and *Chantham House*. Author of *Nonintervention and International Order (1974)* and *Human Rights in International Relations (1986)*.

213) J.D.B Miller.1965. *The Nature of Politics. Harmondsworth*. Was first published by *Gerald Duckworth*.

214) J.D.B Miller.1981. *The World of States*. London.

215) Taught in the *School of Social Sciences*, University of Port Harcourt.

216) Taught in the Department of Government, University of Nairobi.

217) Taught in the department of Political Science in the Universities of Dar es Salaam and Zimbabwe.

218) Mazrui, A.A. 1977. *Afrika's International Relations: The Diplomacy of Dependency and Change*. Heinemann.

219) Clapham, C.1996. *Africa and the International System, Politics of State Survival*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

220) Croft, S.1996. *International Relations and Africa*. Review Article. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- 221)** Young, T. 1999. *Review: The State and Politics in Africa*. Journal of Southern African Studies, Vol. 25, No. 1 (Mar., 1999), pp.149-154. Taylor and Francis, Ltd.
- 222)** Rothchild, D. and Keller, E.J. (eds.). 1996. *Afrika In The New International Order*. Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- 223)** Shaw, T.M and Heard, K.A. (eds.).1979. *The Politics of Afrika: Dependence and Development*. Longman and Dalhousie University Press.
- 224)** Shaw, T.M.1979. *The Actors in Afrikan International Politics*. In Shaw, T.M and Heard, K.A. (eds.).1979. *The Politics of Afrika: Dependence and Development*. Longman and Dalhousie University Press.
- 225)** Dunn, K.C. and Timothy, M. Shaw, (eds.). 2001. *Africa's Challenge to International Relations*. New York: Palgrave.
- 226)** The author also relied more on the separately published article by Siba Grovogui, S.N.2002. *Regimes of Sovereignty: International Morality and the Afrikan Condition*. European Journal of International Relations, 2002; 8; 315.
- 227)** Taylor, I. 2001. *Review Article: Afrika's Challenge to International Relations Theory*. Commonwealth and Comparative Politics.
- 228)** Adem, Seifudein.2001. *Review Article: Afrika's Challenge to International Relations Theory*. Journal of Contemporary Afrikan Studies.
- 229)** Okoth, P.G.2001. *Review Article: Afrika's Challenge to International Relations Theory*. Journal of Third World Studies, Fall 2004.
- 230)** See Schouten, P. 2008. Theory Talk # 22: *Kevin Dunn on Identity in International Relations, The African Challenge to IR Theory and the White-Male Bias of the Field*. Theory Talks, www.theory-talks.org/2008/10/theory-talk-22 .
- 231)** Dunn, K.C. 2009. *Historical Representations*. In Klotz, A. and Prakash, D. (eds.).2009. *Qualitative Methods in International Relations, A Pluralist Guide*. Palgrave Macmillan.

- 232)** Globalization, Governance and International Relations Theory, July 17-28, 2006. CEU Summer University.Course Syllabus.
- 233)** Shaw, T.2008. *Theory Talks # 10.Timothy Shaw on the Importance of BRICs and Understanding the Global South*. Theory Talks. www.theory-talks.org/2008/06/theory-talk-10
- 234)** Blaney, D.L and Inyatullah, N. 2002. *Neo-Modernisation? IR and the Inner Life of Modernization Theory*. European Journal of International Relations 2002; 8; 103.
- 235)** Lemke, D. 2003. *Review Article: African Lessons for International Relations Research*. World Politics-Volume 56, Number 1, October 2003, pp. 114-138.
- 236)** Jones, B.G. 2005. *Afrika and the poverty of IR*. 1 December, 2005, Third World Quarterly, Vol. 26, No.6, pp.987-1003. New York: Routledge.
- 237)** Brown, W. 2006. *Africa and international relations: a comment on IR theory, anarchy and statehood*. Review of International Studies (2006), 32, 119-143.
- 238)** Mgonja, B.E.S and Makombe, I.A.M. 2009. *Debating international relations and its relevance to the third world*. African Journal of Political Science and International Relations Volume 3 (1), pp. 027-037, January 2009.
- 239)** Stephanie G. Neuman, S.G. (eds.). 1998. *International Relations Theory and the Third World*. Macmillan Press LTD.
- 240)** Stephanie, G Neuman.1998. International Relations Theory and the Third World: An Oxymoron. In Stephanie G. Neuman, S.G. (eds.). 1998. *International Relations Theory and the Third World*. Macmillan Press LTD.
- 241)** Holsti, K.J. 1998.*International Relations Theory and Domestic War in the Third World: The Limits of Relevance*. In Stephanie G. Neuman, S.G. (eds.). 1998. *International Relations Theory and the Third World*. Macmillan Press LTD.

242) Puchala, D.J.1998. *Third World Thinking and Contemporary International Relations*. In Stephanie G. Neuman, S.G. (eds.). 1998. *International Relations Theory and the Third World*. Macmillan Press LTD.

243) Acharya, A.1998. Beyond Anarchy: Third World Instability and the International Order after the Cold War. In Stephanie G. Neuman, S.G. (eds.). 1998. *International Relations Theory and the Third World*. Macmillan Press LTD.

244) Buzan.B.1998. *Conclusions: System versus Units in Theorizing about the Third World*. In Stephanie G. Neuman, S.G. (eds.). 1998. *International Relations Theory and the Third World*. Macmillan Press LTD.

245) Acharya, A and Buzan, B. 2007. *Why is there no non-Western international relations theory?* Oxford University Press.

246) Wight, M.1966. *Why is There No International Theory?* In Butterfield, H. and Wight, M (eds.), *Diplomatic Investigations*. London: George Allen and Unwin, pp.17-34.

247) Vale, P. 1989. *International relations in South Afrika in the late 1980's- Problems and prospects for our institutions*. In Frost, M. et al (eds.). 1989. *International Relations, A debate on methodology*. HSRC Series in Methodology, Series Editor: Johann Mouton. Human Sciences Council, Pretoria.

248) Ambiguous, as such a racial reference may be, it refers to South *Afrikans*, whose ancestors, came from Europe (mostly from the Netherlands, Germany and Britain), as amongst others, explorers, missionaries, traders, miners and soldiers, who eventually became settlers and immigrants.

249) Engels, U. and Olsen, G.R.2006. *Afrika in International Relations Theory*. Paper presented for the panel: 'Rethinking *IR Theory: Lessons from the South*' 47th Annual ISA Convention, San Diego, CA, March 22-25, 2006.

250) Andreasson, S. 2007. *Thinking Beyond Development: The Future of Post-Development Theory In Southern Africa*. Prepared for the British International Studies Association annual conference (*BISA*). University of Cambridge, 17-19 December 2007.

- 251)** Mandaville, P. 2007. *Telling other stories about the World: Post-hegemonic scholarship and (undisciplined) International Relations*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of International Studies Association, 48th Annual Convention, Hilton Chicago, IL, USA, February 28, 2007.
- 252)** LaMonika, Christopher.2008. *Where Is African Political Thought in International Relations Theory?* International Studies Association (ISA) Conference (Theme: Bridging Multiple Divides”), San Francisco, CA USA, March 26-29, 2008.
- 253)** Alina, S. 2008. *Nativizing Discipline (s) and Disciplining Natives: Post-Structuralism and the Postcolonial in IR Theory*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the ISA’s 49th Annual Convention, Bridging Multiple Divides, Hilton San Francisco, San Francisco, CA, USA, March 26, 2008.
- 254)** Tickner, A.B. and Waever, O. 2009. *International Relations Scholarship Around the World*. Routledge.
- 255)** Lawson, S.2009. *The Cultural Politics of Postcolonial IR: A Critique*. Paper presented at the ABRI-ISA Joint International Conference, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 20-24 July 2009.
- 256)** Ake, C.1996. *The Marginalization of Afrika. Notes on a Productive Confusion*. Cass Monograph No.6.
- 257)** Blyden, W. Edward.1887. *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1887). Quoted here from Mphahlele, E. 1978. *Afrikan Identity, Nationalism- The Afrikan Personality- Negritude-1978*. As found in Mphahlele, E.2004. *ES’KiA Continued*. Johannesburg: Stainbank and Associates.
- 258)** Du Bois, W.E.B.*The Conservation of Races*. Quoted here from Eze, E.C. (ed.).1998. *Afrikan Philosophy, An Anthology*. Blackwell Philosophy Anthologies.
- 259)** Rafapa, L.J.2005. *The Representation of African Humanism in the Narrative Writings of Es’kia Mphahlele*. Dissertation presented for the Degree of Doctor of Literature at the University of Stellenbosch. South Africa.
- 260)** Wa Thiong’o, N.2002. *Moving the centre: Towards a pluralism of cultures*. In Coetzee, P.H. and Roux, A.P.J. (eds.) 2002. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 261)** Mphahlele, E. 1975. *The Afrikan Critic*. Quoted here from Mphahlele, E.2004. *ES’KiA Continued*. Johannesburg: Stainbank and Associates.

262) Kagabo, L. 2004. *Alexis Kagame (1912-1981): Life and Thought*. In Wiredu, K. (ed.). 2004. *A Companion to African Philosophy*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

263) Alexander, N. 2010. *The Truth About Education In The New South Africa, Where to position the beacons for a soft landing*. A State of the Nation Truth Conference, free the mind free the land. Hosted at Tropicana Hotel, Marine Parade, Durban, 24-25th September, 2010.

264) See Leakey, R. 2003. *African fossil man*. In Ki-Zerbo, J. (ed.). 2003. *UNESCO International Scientific Committee for the Drafting of a General History of Africa. General History of Africa, Abridged Edition: Volume 1: Methodological and African Prehistory*. New Africa Education: New Africa Books (Pty) Ltd.

265) See Cheikh, Anta Diop, “*L’Apparition de l’homo-sapiens*,” Bulletin de l’IFAN, XXXII, Series II, number 3, 1970. Quoted here from Diop, C. A. 1974. *The African Origin of Civilization: Myth or Reality*. Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books

266) Quoted from Mphahlele, E. 1975. *The Afrikan Critic*. Quoted here from Mphahlele, E. 2002. *ES’KiA*. Johannesburg: Stainbank and Associates.

267) Quoted here from the Sixteenth printing of the following text -Sertima, I.V. 2007 [1983]. (ed.). *Blacks in Science*. New Brunswick USA: Transaction Publishers.

268) Ki-Zerbo, J. 2003. *General Introduction*. In Ki-Zerbo, J. (ed.). 1989. *UNESCO International Scientific Committee for the Drafting of a General History of Africa. General History of Africa, Abridged Edition: Volume 1: Methodological and African Prehistory*. New Africa Education: New Africa Books (Pty) Ltd.

269) Murove, M.F. 2010. *Reconstruction of the University through the Pursuit of Relevance and Afrocentric Values in Education*. Unpublished speech, delivered at University of Zululand’s Graduation Ceremony on the 21st of May 2010.

270) Mazrui, A.A. 2002. *Neo-dependency and Afrika's fragmentation*. In Coetzee, P.H. and Roux, A.P.J. (eds.). 2002. *Philosophy from Africa. A Text with Readings*. Second Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

271) Prah.K.K.1997. *Beyond the Colour Line, Pan-Afrikanist Disputations*. Vivlia Publications and Booksellers (Pty) Ltd.

272) Mzamane, Mbulelo. 2010. *The Unfolding Culture of Liberation in South Africa*. Paper prepared by the Culture Focus Group led by Prof. Mbulelo Mzamane. Delivered at the *Towards a National Dialogue: State of the Nation, Truth Conference, free the mind free the land* conference hosted at the Tropicana Hotel, Marine Parade, Durban 24th-25th September 2010.

273) Diop, A.1962. *Remarks on Afrikan Personality and Negritude*. In American Society of Afrikan Culture (ed.). 1962. *Pan-Afrikanism Reconsidered*. University of California Press.

274) Teffo, J.2002. *Racism, Ethnicity, and Nation Building in Contemporary South Africa*. University of the North, South Africa. In Presbey, G.M. et al (eds.). 2002. *Thought and Practice In African Philosophy*. Occasional Papers, East Africa, Selected papers from the sixth annual conference of the International Society for African Philosophy and Studies (ISAPS). Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

275) See Mutwa, C.1964. *Indaba, My Children*. WS Bookwell, Finland.

276) Named in honour of *Harry Oppenheimer*, a baron of the multinational corporation Anglo-American. Accumulated wealth from the discovery of diamonds and gold in the *Witwatersrand* and *Kimberly* areas. *UCT* and *Wits* as universities are heavily influenced by the funds of this conglomerate. This is in the same way that Stellenbosch University, is influenced by the descendants of the Broederbond *Lauri Dippenaar*, *Johan Rupert*, *Christo Wiese* amongst others.

277) Memorial site of *John Langalibalele Dube*, the first president of the *ANC*. He had a major influence on *Pixley Ka Isaka Seme*, who was one of the earliest graduates of *Columbia (USA)* and *Oxford Universities*, in 1906 and 1909 respectively. His prize winning, oratory speech at *Columbia University* titled *The Regeneration of Africa* (see Seme, P.I.1906. *The Regeneration of Africa*. Journal of the Royal African Society, Vol. 5 (1905-1906):pp. 404-408) became the reference point, for the *Afrikan Renaissance*, as would be noted in *Thabo Mbeki's I am an Afrikan speech* (of 8 May, 1996).

278) Forgotten college, which was an extension of the *Adam's Missionary Church*. This was the place where a lot of pioneers of the ANC studied, and later taught, such as Zacharia K. Mathews (believed to have been longest serving prisoner in Robben Island, Cape Town). Past students also included *Mangosuthu Buthelezi* and *Robert Mugabe*, amongst a numerous list of model figures.

279) Former home of Nobel laureate *Albert Luthuli*. Since his tragic death by train, not far away from his home, the department of Arts and Culture has decided to renovate his house into a museum as similarly done with the former home of *JL Dube*. The author of this study was shocked how close *King Shaka's* burial site was to Luthuli's home.

280) The most popular king of the Zulu's is buried just off one of the main roads, of *KwaDukuza*, in this small town of *Stanger*. What is the significance of that? The tree, where he was stabbed to death, by his half brothers, amazingly still stands erect, after all these years. Again, browsing through the visitor's log book, only American signatures were noted. What is the meaning of all this? The price of *Western pedagogy*?

281) Senghor, L.S. 2000. *Negritude and Afrikan socialism*. In Coetzee P.H and Roux A.P.J (eds.). 2000. *Philosophy from Africa – A Text with Readings*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. A Lecture delivered at St. Anthony's College, Oxford, 26 October 1961

282) Believed to have published six books on the topic and has been mentored by the ubuntu radio and television personality Justus Tsungu.

283) Metz, T. 2007. *Toward an African Moral Theory*. The Journal of Political Philosophy: Volume 15, Number 3, 2007, pp. 321-341.

284) Metz, T. and Gaie, B.R. 2010. *The African ethic of Ubuntu/Botho: implications for research on morality*. Journal of Moral Education, Vol. 39, No.3, September 2010, pp. 273-290.

285) Broodryk, J.2006. *Ubuntu African Life Coping Skills, Theory and Practice*. Paper delivered at CCEAM Conference under the theme: Recreating Linkages between Theory and Praxis in Educational Leadership, 12-17 October, 2006: Lefkosia (Nicosia): CYPRUS.

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287) See More, Mabogo, P.1996. *African Philosophy Revisited*. Alternation 3, 1 (1996) 109-129. More, M.P.2002. *Outlawing racism in philosophy: On race and philosophy*. In Coetzee P.H and Roux A.P.J.(eds.).2000. *Philosophy from Africa – A Text with Readings*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. More, M.P.2004. *Philosophy in South Africa, Under and After Apartheid*. In Wiredu, K. (ed.). 2004. *A Companion to African Philosophy*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. More, M.P.2004. *Albert Luthuli, Steve Biko, and Nelson Mandela: The Philosophical Basis of their Thought and Practice*. In Wiredu, K. (ed.). 2004. *A Companion to African Philosophy*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

288) As paraphrased here from A.A. Mazrui. 2004. *Global Afrika requires our Focus*. City Press (July 11, 2004:17).

289) Paraphrased by Rafapa (2005, 2). See Gikandi, S.1999. *Africa and the idea of the Aesthetic: From Eurocentrism to Pan-Africanism*. Unpublished paper Witwatersrand University.

290) Mudimbe, V.Y.1994. *The Idea of Afrika*. James Currey: Indiana University Press.

291) This concept is derived from the Adinkra of the Akan people of West Afrika. Transliterated in the Akan language as “*se wo were fin a wosan kofa a yenki*.” Literally translated it means “*it is not taboo to go back and fetch what you forgot*”. This term is used today across the Pan-African world, to promote the idea that African people must return to their roots, in order to move forward. Visually and symbolically “*Sankofa*” is expressed as a mythic bird that flies forward, while looking backwards with an egg (symbolizing the future in its mouth).

292) Defined as “A branch of International Relations theory in which the centrality of territorial states to the functioning of the world order is taken as given. States are depicted as collective actors whose rationale is the promotion of self-interest. Cooperation among states is viewed as unnatural and only to be countenanced as part of a larger strategy driven by national interest. In general and by definition, the world is anarchic and hostile.” (Axford

and Browning et al, 2002:567). Another description stipulates that “a view of politics that emphasizes the importance of power and self –interest, and disregards moral or normative considerations.” (Heywood, 2007:457).

293) Defined as “An ideology based on a commitment to individualism, freedom, toleration and consent; modern liberalism differs from classical liberalism” (Heywood, 2007:452). As explained by *Kegley and Wittkopf (2006:48)* *Classical Realism* involves “collaboration; mutual aid; meeting human needs (motives of actors)...Collective security; world order; law; integration; international organization (central concepts) and Institutional reform (Policy Prescriptions)” on the other hand *Neoliberalism* relates to “Global interests (absolute gains); justice; peace and prosperity; liberty; morality (motives of actors)...Transnational relations; law; free markets; interdependence; integration; liberal republican rule; human rights; gender (central concepts)...Develop regimes and promote democracy and multilateral international institutions to coordinate collective responses to global problems (policy prescriptions)”.

294) Described as “American social theorist. He has taught at universities in the US and Canada and has been a visiting professor at universities all over the World...published widely but is best known for his three-volume *The Modern World System (1974,1980,1988)*, which gave rise to the *World Systems approach in Sociology and International Relations*. He traces the global expansion of the capitalist mode of production, and how the politics of colonialism and state formation contribute to that. Based on each country’s structural position in the global division of labour, he divides the world into core, semi-periphery and periphery” (McGowan et al, 2009:72).

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