

Afrikan Contribution to International Relations Theory: An Afrocentric Philosophical Enquiry

by

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Dedication

This study is dedicated to my parents Dr. Nombuyiselo Hilda Mvulane and Mr. Mark Anthony Lepoma Moloi. 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, Dilorot-tsa-pelo”Daddy”, Keitumetsi, Kgosi-itsile, Ntokozo, Nomathamsanqa, malumekazi Mpuseng Rosemary, Malumekazi Makie Sarah, Thandiwe, Kwandiwe Pearl, Sifiso, Mzwakhe and the entire Mvulane family (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 family.

Kuthi mandizibonge ndisho iziduko nemvelaphi yami ngoku : Mvulane, Msutu, Ngcilashe, Mvundla, Bhayi-likha-khesha, Nkonjane-emnyama-ebhabha-emaifini, 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 family (which I could never deny, have always existed in me), may also not go without mentioning: Stephen Cybutan Foster Moloi (a.k.a sepotane/Nti), (grandpa-rest-in-peace) 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 makhokokoe 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 Makhokokoe, 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 abashiyi 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.*

Abstract

The academic field of International Relations (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 to secure the sought Afrikan contribution to IR, from a local/from below (Afrikan) narrative perspective. Such an effort, may hopefully be linked to the chief aim(s) of Afrikan philosophy.

Introduction

This presentation engages the 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. Second, the study is an attempt to provide a bird's eye view of the historical background of IR wherein my hinking 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, would be helpful for background purposes. Third, an analysis of IR is done via a thorough reading of some of the Teaching, Research and International Policy survey findings in regards to influential academic centers of IR with a focus on the International Studies Association (ISA), hence its history, constitution, gender and racial factors of ISA, and finally the commentary on the British International Studies Association (BISA) and the BISA Africa Working Group. Next this exercise the securing the general views of IR Scholars is sought with a particular effort of securing views as expressed in some texts via published papers, presented from the various annual ISA and BISA conventions, as I draw from these various texts to review the findings of past IR scholars in the light of the core interest of this exercise. Continuing, I seek to unpack via a commentary style narrative the findings and personal opinion with extensive reference to the views of Afrocentrists relevant to the broad theme is sought, juxtaposing the critical multiple function(s) played by language, factor (s) that may have led to confusion on the Afrikan contribution to IR and how the role of Afrikan philosophy may also be realized. And finally, a summary is presented of research findings and recommendations are suggested.

Orientation of the Study

Background, Rationale and Motivation

In my Afrika (n¹), Pan-Afrikan² or Afrocentric³ (it should be noted right from the onset, that such concepts, will be used interchangeably throughout this dissertation, however I hold the view that contrary to popular belief, which may arguably suggest that wherein these concepts are concerned, only at their simplified/unproblematised 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 above concepts. It is hoped that any assumption(s) and ambiguity will hopefully be allocated appropriate attention.

Contribution to International Relations (IR⁴) theory, has been marginalized or at best treated, as an appendage, categorized in some of the mainstream ⁵ Eurocentric⁶ theories. I hold 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 scholars⁷, is recommended.

In pursuit of securing suitable response(s), to the following main question: 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, it may possibly be located.

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 presentation. 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 above statement, it is my view 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, thus, this is applicable to even those from the Diaspora ¹². It is my view 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 spillover 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 Mphahlele and further supported by fellow Afrocentrists below such as Mafeje¹⁴. If the rationale as mentioned above, for the existence of Pan-Afrikan structures, is credited as having been meritorious as I believe and then I fellow Afrocentric scholars, and without any shadow of doubt, I unsurprisingly, may share the above view, as expressed by Mphahlele.

This journey 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 Asante¹⁷. 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 host 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 soil¹⁸ (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 epistemological¹⁹ questions are to be posed.

In my view, the field of philosophy²⁰ 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 Science²² (namely in the social sciences²³).

Political Science is mentioned at this point because IR is regarded as one of its branches. 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 up to the period/era of Socrates²⁴ and beyond²⁵. Since Philosophy notwithstanding Mudimbe's (1994) somewhat sparse definition above, is primarily a study of thought, and may the decision of paying more attention, towards Philosophy, is 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, Plato²⁷, Aristotle²⁸ and Cicero²⁹). Thucydides³⁰ may also be added, in this early category as well.

Under the next “Modern Political Theory” (e.g. Descartes³¹, Machiavelli³², Hobbes³³, Locke³⁴ and Rousseau³⁵) and lastly ‘Contemporary Political Theory’ (e.g. Conservatism- as addressed by Burke³⁶, Classical Liberalism³⁷ as addressed by Hume³⁸, Bentham³⁹ and Adam Smith⁴⁰ etc.), Modern Liberalism (includes works of John Stuart Mill⁴¹ and T.H Green⁴²) and Marxism (works of Karl Marx⁴³, a debate with Hegel⁴⁴ etc.), and lastly, ‘The Age of Ideology’ (addresses critique of ideologies, unity of ethics and politics and contribution of Mazzini⁴⁵ etc.). However, two notable absentees from the above text include the following scholars St. Thomas Aquinas⁴⁶ and Immanuel Kant⁴⁷.

As a consequence of the previously mentioned Eurocentric philosophers, the contemporary introduction of Afrikan philosophy⁴⁸ 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 skepticism does indeed, raise epistemological and ontological⁴⁹ question(s).

In defense of the biased status-quo, prevalent within IR literature, William Brown⁵⁰ (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, at this stage I agree 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 my core concern.

As noble as the above enquiry, conducted by Brown (2006) may sound, the defense 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. I am 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 herein).

As I suggested, 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 here. It is in this vein that I view 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 Branwyn Gruffyd Jones⁵¹

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 my purposes, especially as observed within the discourse on IR, which is ambiguously defended by Brown (2006) above, should be read, for precisely what it represents. Hence, 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 my argument that this last view expressed, can only be continuously stressed.

Emphasizing the significance of the Afrocentric approach, by paying more focus on the historical approach is necessary. In support of such a view Joseph Ki-Zerbo⁵² 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, 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. And as suggested by Karen Smith⁵⁵ (2006), this may enable the possibility of bridge-building, predominantly as derived from Third World⁵⁶ 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, and for this exercise, it deserves some much needed attention. The overwhelming echo of concern should indeed be noted. It however remains my assertion that a prolonged focus 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 discussed later), in most of the eyes of IR scholars. My 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.

My 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 task. Based on the above observation, which should be noted in this effort of embarking upon the project of securing, whatever may be presented as Afrocentric contribution to IR, may be. I am 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 knowledge⁵⁷ is crucial, in achieving the desired response(s).

Given all the above concerns, fellow sceptics, may also agree that Afrocentricity (assuming it was never considered, by IR scholars in the manner proposed as I suspected), 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 similar projects 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. I suspect 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 I seek 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-liberalists⁵⁸ or Constructivists⁵⁹. Stemming from Eurocentric premises, these two examples above, as stipulated here thus continuously, spell out further signposts leading to no other direction, except 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 Afrikanists⁶⁰). 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 concern here, the grounds that Afrikans are the core subjects in question, and 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 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 discussion, 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 exercise 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 me, may also include insights, from sages such as Cheikh Anta Diop⁶¹, Sam Nolutshungu⁶² and Ibekwe Chinweizu⁶³ amongst others, from the Afrocentric family. It is my view 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 presentation, as emphasized by the school of Afrocentricity.

The opportunity of contributing to the ongoing effort, of addressing the above concern is really what sparked my interest of undertaking such a study. Inspired by scholars who seek to adhere, to the Afrocentric claim, my 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 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.

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 Afrocentric approach in this exercise. Such an approach, would have hopefully, considered elements, centered on amongst other aspects, a *sankofa*⁶⁴ premise.

Another name, which I find synonymous with the *sankofa* premise, is what has been suggested by Munyaradzi Felix Murove⁶⁵, 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 that 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.

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.

The above made remark should not be misinterpreted as meaning that the work of the mainstream *IR* scholars does not hold any value to *IR* discourse- far from it. Expressions made here should be contextualized, in line with the aim of 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.

My 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) 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, 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, I 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 I echo 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, 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 reflexive aspects 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 my view that it is predominantly such (whether labeled as forming part of the *New Voices*, specifically within the post-positivist⁷² 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. The perseverance requested, in order to secure and further present, whatever may be passed as Afrocentric contribution, should duly be noted. In addition, I suspect 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, I have observed with concern that most proposed definitions related to Afrika, which may perhaps in their own right, presumably be helpful 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 Dietrich⁷³ (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, which is equally assumed as important for progress? This may possibly be entertained at length later.

I 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 it 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, 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, Afrika and IR.

In the wake of the above observation, in addition to more hostile opinion, which really supports the chorus of Afropessimism, I am 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 my dismay, the 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 me, ignorance of implications of what precisely the above may suggest, in as far as sources of knowledge (notwithstanding questions, posed about what constitutes the globally endorsed knowledge body) is 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. 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 text 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 me, although being fully aware of Brian Schmidt's⁷⁵ criticism related to contextualism, and 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, which may be beyond my scope, but where ever possible, such effort, will be made.

The suspected hesitation, on my part 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. This may perhaps be an indication, of how significant, such studies should be taken. Given that I 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. 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 (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.

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. This should be their respective tools of their methodological trade, and may be their concern.

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). I 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.

I agree 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. 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, I have consequently observed with interest, that any provided definition of Afrika (which may be of assistance here) 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 me to explore beyond the standard denotative and etymological definitions of Afrika (spelling authors emphasis). Within this presentation, 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, scholars may have, of an Afrocentric Worldview.

I acknowledge (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 me to engage further, for the benefit of this exercise.

Instead of clarity, all the above statements make it all the more challenging, for me 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.

Thus, 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, and the removal of any obstacles, which may advisably, not be read as relevant, 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.

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 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 I promote.

In considering the above factors, I 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. Utilized within respective contexts, wherein these same broad terms, as mentioned above, have also been used. For the purpose of this exercise, the same method will be adopted. However⁷⁶, I will attempt to avoid any use of unnecessary prejudice or biased descriptions, as observed earlier recorded from the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* (1995). In my view, 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 my thinking is of the view that a considerate level of caution is to be observed throughout. 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-Afrocentric⁷⁷ scholars alike.

My thinking is of the view that by problematizing or clarifying traits, related to Afrika, perhaps the desired Afrocentric definition should be able to also assist scholars, in explaining, even important other factors, while in pursuit of the main goal(s) here. 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 (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 is dimmed as quite necessary.

It is however I contend 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 Century⁷⁸ will not be easily realized.

With all the above having been noted, amidst other exploratory projects (similar or almost similar), 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 to a kind of input which may possibly add to the clarification of the sparse progress made on the topic in question thus far.

Aims and Objectives

The main aim here is to attempt to secure a clear response to the question of has there been any Afrocentric contribution to IR (theory), and if the response to the above question is ‘no’ what may be the reasons, and if it is ‘yes’ then what examples, may be named?

The objectives here, beyond securing the desired response are closely linked to the concern of unpacking the theme of an Afrocentric identity. My 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 me, 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’o⁸⁰ in his text aptly titled *Decolonizing the Mind* (1987⁸¹), 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 my view of in 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 mentioned above 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 herein 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. It is under such circumstances, wherein I 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), has also 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 Enlightenment⁸³ inspired Modernity⁸⁴.

Practical examples of the 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 conscioutised⁸⁵ 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-Westerners⁸⁶, 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 Fanon⁸⁷ (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 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 is 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.

In keeping all the above in mind, I seek 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 previously mentioned 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 work 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 seeks to be consistent with the effort, of searching for an Afrocentric contribution to IR. With optimism a possible outcome 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 this project, and to be able to eventually present, an Afrocentric contribution to IR.

Hypothesis and Theoretical Framework

To borrow the term as coined and employed by Asante (2003) it is my 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 I read of previous IR scholars, who have attempted, to respond to the existence of Afrikan contribution to IR (it is worth noting, that the topic has eventually been termed, the 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 my argument that only through such a suggested effort, may the noted shortcoming(s) of IR, be somehow justifiably, addressed. In context, 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 my view 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 discussion, 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. I further argue 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.

In a nutshell, I have opted to undertake this 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.

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 I am based in South Afrika, and writing within its borders, details revealing data, that mirror’s this reality, should advisably be read, in context, as forming part of the centre. My observations and views is found from this basis and will hopefully be a contribution of what may be realities, worthy to be considered.

In short, this discourse opts to adhere to the methodological approaches as suggested by University of Zululand’s Indigenous Knowledge Systems Centre (IKSC⁸⁹) and University of South Afrika’s (UNISA) Centre for Afrikan Renaissance Studies (CARS⁹⁰) 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, 2008⁹¹).

Of interest to me 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 assessment. The rationale utilized by CARS of employing approach should be noted to be consistent with the aims, of this presentation. 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 relevant.

Since my 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 center as suggested by Thiong'o but actually writing back to the center, in tune with the fighting back attitude, in one's own scholarly backyard. Hopefully this should be as ushered in, via an Afrocentric premise. Hopefully, this will be featured at length.

I hold 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 critique⁹². My thinking is furthermore of the view that, the employment of the combination of the hermeneutics⁹³ methodology and the suggested postcolonialist critique, combined with the addition of insights, from selected scholars, who have embarked on related research, and all are worthy of employment.

The above proposed approach may provide the adequate assistance sought in order to achieve the set goals. It is with hope that this proposed method, may be beneficial. At best to the level that it may perhaps, ultimately guide this exercise 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, my thinking is 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. 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 I am willingly to travel, wherever the Afrocentric pathway may lead. This is regardless of the width and depth of an unknown dark hole, which may in the spirit of living, up to 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 me (within and throughout 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 my view that perhaps from some of the past scholars, certain findings may arguably be relevant, and if anything else, striking a balance from the varying perspectives should equally be upheld.

In their own unique way, I acknowledge 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 presentation, this should 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 here, and advisably, it 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 should be read as being of such an attempt and nothing else. For example, this exercise 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 presentation), 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. 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 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 presentation.

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 that while referencing from both Afrocentric and Eurocentric scholars, (noting the overwhelming level of Eurocentric premise inherent, in scholarship, broadly. 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 I read, 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 falsifiability⁹⁵ 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 project, 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 Logic⁹⁶, Methodology⁹⁷, Epistemology⁹⁸, Metaphysics⁹⁹, Existentialism¹⁰⁰, Phenomenology¹⁰¹, Critical Theory¹⁰², Ethics¹⁰³ and Aesthetics¹⁰⁴, 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 imperative 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 because it may enable me to proceed to declare what may then ultimately be read, as forms or examples of Afrocentric contribution to IR. Within this context, much effort has distinguished 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 such an event, such a discussion should be read as still being in line with the aim of this project. 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.

Implications, Limits and Value

By proposing an Afrocentric approach, 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. 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 as a deliberate attempt, of the promotion of Black Orientalism¹⁰⁶ or Black Nationalism¹⁰⁷. If any such promotion is evident, and it should be noted, that this should mainly be based on the findings. This is stipulated as so, because it was never, the primary intention from the onset 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. 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 Afrikanisation¹⁰⁸, 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. I hope that projects such as those similar to this exercise 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. I hope 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 concerned here. 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. Furthermore it is the standard limits of Non-Empirical Studies, which may seem more applicable. 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, and 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, 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, should ideally support the statement mentioned before.

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). I am 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 here 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 here. Until I had more or less satisfactorily completed the Afrocentric philosophical enquiry, such a case, expectedly should also be read as a norm. 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 of this exercise. Having stated the above, this should thus be understood to seek, a focus on Afrikan insights, which may (to the best of my knowledge), be engaged, as much as possible. This should ideally be done, courtesy of securing a respective, Afrocentric radar screen. One that may befit, 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. 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, which 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 my view 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 one of the multitude(s) of attempts, to bring to an end some of the noted gap(s), which may have been noted above.

Broad Historical Overview of International Relations

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

International relations involve 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 section will thus attempt to provide a *bird’s eye view* of the historical background of *IR*. My 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 I hope that by tracing the origins of *IR*, as a sub-discipline 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.

Defining International Relations

The opening quotes, from the above selected *IR* scholars, emphasize the significance of beginning, by posing the following question, from the onset –how may *IR* be defined? In my view, 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 exercise and throughout should be helpful in the quest of responding appropriately to the two main questions, posed above.

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) for in relationship to 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, and 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 themes. It is noteworthy to state that Rourke (1999) made direct reference to the 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, *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’s¹¹⁰ *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 a broad research interest be parked at that point?

On proceeding forward amidst the definitions found and presented here, I believe 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.

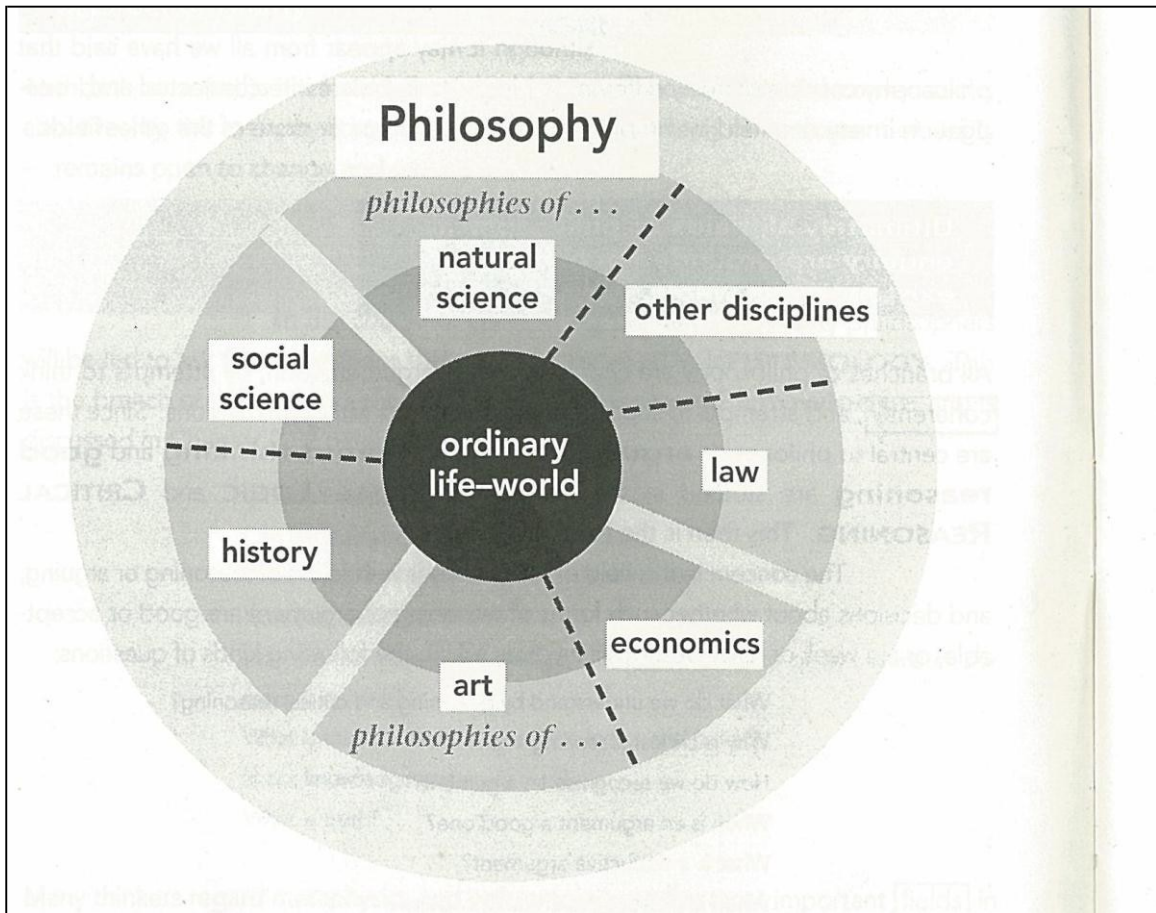
For me, the failure of distinguishing these two concepts may certainly lead to confusion. It seems as though, for them (*IR* scholars), fellow scholars (both novice(s) and established *IR* scholars) will nevertheless, not be confused by their complex choice of their preferred jargon. Failure of recalling the 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 me, 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 here. Thus, it should always be kept in mind that IR and international relations do not refer to the same thing, as specifically explained earlier by McGowan et al (2006).

International Relations: 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 my view and argument 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 I attempt to avoid at all cost so I am not guilty of being ahistorical. Hence, 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 in a 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* (1948¹¹²) 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, I 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 I take 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 all the above notwithstanding, the definitions (more than anything else) consolidated the need, for me 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 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 Crick¹¹³ has suggested that 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. Subject 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, the examples include Nazi Germany, and 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 of these definitions may be, along with the earlier definitions on the *state*, all of the above mentioned, may nevertheless be worthwhile, to keep in mind.

Evidence of the noted emphasis on power within international relations analysis, may be observed in the various Teaching, Research and International Policy (TRIP)¹¹⁶ surveys, to be discussed, in more detail later. Hence, 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 above 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 observation addressed (supported by utilising various diagrams, figures etc.).

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, and English school is/are made. I also remarked on the above statement, after noticing that when realism is erected alongside the non-paradigmatic theories.

For whether a foremost or leading IR theory or not, *realism* remains as a gigantic oak tree, within the forest of IR literature, complete with protruding Eurocentric leaves. Whatever amount of skepticism, 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 Nishimura¹¹⁸, 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*. 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 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 Teaching, Research and International Policy 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).

I am 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 Teaching, Research and International Policy (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 he/she will focus on data focused from that region. However, 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 TRIP (2009) survey, it was interesting to discover 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 may have shed some light in explaining emphasis placed on Eurocentric views, as observed in IR literature. Not a single Afrikan or Afrocentrist’s name, made it onto that list. Should this be read, as shocking? Not if scholars, have noted the growing empirical evidence.

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 me 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 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 comments made by the above scholar’s, supported thus far by the findings from the Teaching, Research and International Policy (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, I embrace Nkiwane’s (2001) earlier presented definition, as is. And if anything, the definitions below seem to build on Nkiwane’s (2001) statecentric¹²¹ definition. In 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 a 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 and with 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 Hobbe’s *Leviathan*, Immanuel Kant’s *Philosophy of Law* and to 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. Given that the core interest is located on an Afrocentric philosophical enquiry, such underlying reliance to works from mainstream philosophy is worth further discussion.

Consistent references made to state, interstate relations, governance, world system and intergovernmental organisation, such as the wide ranging political shenanigans that require, the continuous intervention of the United Nations etc, should 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, and thus, reference to politics may be located from the various works of mainstream Western philosophers 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, which may be justifiable.

To begin, 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, I argue that it is necessary to define politics elaborately. Elsewhere, another attempt at 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's¹²⁴ ...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 by Scott and Garrison (1995) the word politics etymologically stems from the word "polis (Greek, city)... which 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 have observed that works such as Plato's *The Republic*, Aristotle's *Politics* 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.

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.” And 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).

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, may adequately serve as fitting response(s) mostly performing the function, of clarity seeking purpose(s).

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 science¹²⁶ 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 Strauss¹²⁷ (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* (1958¹²⁸) 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.

The following articulation clarifies further meaning of political science. It is my intention 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, or 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 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. I observe that the 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 that it 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 like many of these related fields had earlier to free 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 (Rodee and Anderson et al, 1983:5). Hence, the political philosopher of the West was originally a man not engaged in political activity, who attempted to speak about the best regime. If we seek 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:

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 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.

Neil Johnson's¹²⁹ (1989) text titled *The Limits of Political Science* advances afore hazards, as observed by him, associated with the study, of political science. Hence, for Johnson "international relations' means the study of relations between states, chiefly in the contemporary world" (Johnson, 1989:2). So his definition does not seem to differ from other scholars mentioned above who stressed a statecentric focus. And with that definition registered, he acknowledges that after having spenting almost two decades at an institution, specializing in the Social Sciences where the discipline of politics has many followers Thus, Johnson states that: ,

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 chapter thoughts on politics within the social sciences, the emergence of politics as a university discipline, politics as 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 I also share the same sentiment. Supporting comments articulated by Johnson for me remains worthwhile as they offer intellectual food for thought, and 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 registered in the comment that:

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 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). And once again, note the continuous reference to the discourse of philosophy, particularly as informed by the ancient Greeks.

Based on the above, the link between IR and political science at least for me appears to have been addressed sufficiently. Thus, it is my hope 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. Hence, under the topic ‘subfields and recent developments in the study of politics’, scholars are further informed that:

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 a subfield of political science as illustrated at the beginning of this division and thus they are 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. Thus, specific examples include history, sociology, psychology, law, anthropology and economics as confirmed earlier amongst others like Rodee and Anderson (1983). Considering the thin line that separates these disciplines, opting to single out an eclectic approach in pursuit of securing the Afrikan contribution to IR, should be understood. And in this backdrop, Rodee and Anderson et al (1983) also mentions the particulars of political science, hence:

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 the subdisciplines of political science as articulated above, by naming a few here as noted by Rodee and Anderson et al (1983:7-14) as mindful, especially when political science has at least twelve subdisciplines, 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, I agree with Rodee and Anderson et al that to some extent, the wide-coverage or lack of specificity of the above subdisciplines may serve as testimony to the "inability of IR practitioners to agree on how to classify what they do (Rodee and Anderson et al (1983:7)" Thus, 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. And in this context, I will concentrate on political philosophy and political theory and methodology. In describing political philosophy:

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 Jefferson¹³⁰ clearly understood this principle, when he wrote in the Declaration of Independence¹³¹ 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, thus by its very nature, then, political philosophy is the least scientific subdiscipline of political science 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 may lose sight in reference to the value implications of their research and findings as they may likely 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 people, but the 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 chapter titled “What is Political Philosophy?” he intentionally begins by providing an example which he optimistically hopes scholars may relate to. In my opinion, the example was read to be just as, although equally confusing. In summary, the example made reference to related arguments, commonly raised, within the sphere of politics, via direct response made to governance and the state.

Having noted the above definition of political philosophy, a definition can also suggest that political theory and methodology is as 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”. Thus, 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 as it consist of propositions that are expressed hypothetically wherei the hypotheses 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”, hence 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 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 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, 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), securing a working definition, may be advisable in order to enable this exercise 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 may be acknowledged. For 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 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 Wilbur¹³³) 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 texts that cement the elaborate point 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 worldview¹³⁴.

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 sub-discipline of philosophy) the information above should thus be read as an effort of providing some form of solid background of IR's origins.

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

Commentary on Various Definitions of *IR*

Returning our attention to more definitions of *IR*, it appears that 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) 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 above definitions. 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 in an ambitiously scholarly discourse, constructed on the 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. I agree with such a view if *IR* may primarily not be concerned simply with politically inclined global phenomena. For me, 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 me, such a definition (its broadness notwithstanding) is consistent with the values of Afrocentricity, 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 divisions as the relevant responses to the two main questions posed at the beginning of this exercise are continuously being sought as to its progress.

Extensive emphasis centered on issues, circulating around the theme of state, should thus be noted. As in the opening quotes, Nitze (1959:1) admits to the level of broadness and complexity in which modern scholars of IR may have never assumed, existed. Admittedly I share 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 the existence of the above complication, taking into cognizance, all that has been quoted thus far in an effort to define and understand IR, may at least be read as helpful in pursuit of achieving further clarity on IR. Ambiguity encircled around the emphasis on the state, and thus, still remains an obstacle which appears to be like an albatross, chained across the bulk of IR literature. Such a burden appears to continuously need to be addressed in an effort of finally laying such a challenge to rest, amicably.

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

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 politics¹³⁵); and geographical and historical influences (Goldstein, 2002).

As important, as most of the above contributing factors have been to *IR*, the ‘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.

IR- A Misfit or a Hit in an Eclectic Informed Discipline?

Stephen Chan¹³⁶ and Cerwyn Moore¹³⁷ 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 question of what is IR? Brown and Ainley (2005) support the above definitions of IR. They respond, saying:

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 (Brown and Ainley, 2005:1).

In affirming Brown and Ainley's (2005:1) above view of different definitions employed in IR, Robert Cox (1996) 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 consistently make similar reference to data, related to themes, and a concern for the interdependent global system. The overall subject matter or focus of IR, based on the majority of the previously mentioned descriptions may thus safely be assumed to include 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, most of the articulations remain, yet, it is subject to multiple interpretations. Judging from most of them, it seems as though no simple definition of IR when presented may be accepted *en masse*, without 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 be read as a study area, mainly focused on discussing matters related to inter-state relations. Although I may agree, alongside fellow doubting Thomas's, that this above view may possibly just as well not be entirely true, it is my view 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. Hence, where IR is being read as a field solely focused on discussing inter-state relations, and then the following warning needs to be registered with caution, thus:

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). Thus, this name saga, seems to be ongoing, perhaps this may be a manifestation of the broadness of the subjects involved in IR. At this point, given the above definitions, my thinking ponders whether or not IR's ambiguity may to some extent have been clarified?

Therefore, the study attempts to include almost the "totality of human knowledge" (Reynolds, 1971:4), hence another definition (in addition to Snow and Brown's) that may be read as being in line with Afrocentric ideals. Hence, brief and overly general as it may seem, Afrocentricity also 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. However, on the flip side, it remains too broad, running the risk of widening its pool of interpretations and inherent assumptions.

Consistent with the above definition, "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 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 make 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 above descriptions may thus safely be assumed to include predominantly themes circulating around governance and states. Therefore, 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, articulations pertaining to *IR* remain subject to multiple interpretations. Judging from most of these 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.

Has IR's ambiguity been satisfactorily addressed, so far, and 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, and in recalling that the study of IR "attempts to include almost the totality of human knowledge" (Reynolds, 1971:4), perhaps this may be read as an instructive clue.

Thus, a common thread amongst the definitions seemingly sticks out like a sore thumb, and according to the 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 above final definition of IR hopefully may provide some of the much needed relief I seek. 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 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 as the definition of choice, in as far as defining IR is concerned. In taking such a decision however, I am 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 my hope 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 me, because of its inherent Afrocentric characteristic. This is particularly based on the rationale in which this investigation is concerned. Thus, 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. And 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 me.

The above opinion, in reference to the last preferred definition is based on the grounds of its direct, yet brief 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 me. However, the lifting of boundaries also creates opportunities of other arguably vital aspects 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 al, that has been stated thus far, it should be understandable that a straightforward response for me remains uncertain. IR scholars however are advised to register the following notice regarding the emphasis on state and non-state actors, hence “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, a concise reply to the opening question of this paragraph is a somewhat cautioned –yes, however at this stage, it is uncertain which other themes, should be excluded. It is my assessment that it will do IR scholars well to be mindful of the murky effect, caused by the realization of ambiguity, as noted, throughout most of the recorded definitions, thus far.

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. Thus, 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 my chosen definitions 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.

I also note 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 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, partly explain what IR as a stand-alone discipline is meant to provide to its scholars. 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 stands out as a dominant, yet misleading ‘unit of measurement’ used to analyse and somehow explain phenomena in the global village. Against the above background, it is my opinion that all this paints a rather agnostic picture, as opposed to what should be a truly straightforward and universal field of study.

Overall the above definitions may pass as representative in that they spell out the various understandings of IR, however sparse or elaborate as they may have been within the confines of this work. 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 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 and the issues of intergovernmental organizations, non-governmental organizations and multinational corporations. So if one is to go with any of the above descriptions, IR may be taken to be both an academic and public policy¹⁴⁰ 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) who 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, I view that it may also be read as having provided a form of license for a decisive decision to be taken at this stage of this 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. Thus, it remains my view 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.

Defining IR (Theory): Clarity and Distinctions

From IR scholars such as Scott and Garrison (1995), I acknowledge 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, the following question need to be posed -how may one define IR (theory)? In the attempt, this question is crucial, at least in so far as presenting an outline of what the IR (theory) study area entails. Hence, I am of the view that perhaps by initially having presented some definitions of IR, then progressing on to discuss the role of theory within the IR realm would ideally be the recommended way of initiating an exploratory enquiry; and in addressing IR (theory) as an inseparable unit, may (if possible) not be ruled out, for clarity seeking purposes. And also, 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 I work to ensure that the definitions 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.

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, I seek to avoid any form of repetition and therefore, I will move to some definitions of the concept of theory as a standalone term within this topic.

Contemplating Theory and its Purpose in International Relations

The following IR scholars 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 explores the subject of IR, in its own distinctive way (Jackson and Sorensen, 2003: xiv).

When referring back to the overview provided, scholars should note that the 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). Observation here of subsequent engagement, referred to as methodological debates, amongst IR scholars linked to the various theoretical schools 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 above 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 significant, as is suggested 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). And 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) as Peter Finn indicates that "To ask what international theory is for, requires us to understand what theory itself is (Finn, 2007:1)," and 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 I plan to employ (with all their inherent merit and shortcomings) disappointingly come across as either overly ambiguous or simply sparse. However, a more elaborate and helpful definition is the definition provided below:

In science, a way of looking at a field is that it 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 and unscientific ones (see Falsifiability¹⁴², Popper¹⁴³). In the heyday of *logical positivism¹⁴⁴, 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 *Kuhn¹⁴⁵ which 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, 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 (under the theme of The Gender Dilemma in IR, while still on the point of theory and its use, its worth being briefly discussed at this stage, particularly for explanatory 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 is because Feminist IR opted for a deconstructivist approach applied towards knowledge. This is mainly argued 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 the politics of knowledge construction.

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 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, and after having been brought forth and contextually employed (given the philosophical premise of binding), any theory in question when investigated, should be traced 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 to the numerous Westerncentric philosophers and their respective scholars. For me 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, but when investigated in depth, they may actually reveal that they stem from others, which already have been in existence. With a more advanced investigation, data which inform(s) most mainstream IR theory may even be located or traced to thought(s) as expressed by early inhabitants, residing in 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); and 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. And the Afrocentrist succinctly reminds scholars that "...every practice produces a theory" (Cabral, 1979:75).

Further Contemplation: 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 others, in in this, "international relations theory emerges and remains, embedded within a matrix of disciplines and sub-fields; and perhaps most prominently and intricately, IR is interwoven with political philosophy (see Walker, 1993, and Onuf, 1998)" (Blaney and Iniyatullah, 2002:8; 104).

Interestingly, I note how willingly the above scholars took it upon themselves to elaborate on their respective point(s) further, hence, 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).

I take the following concepts as key words (as extracted from some of the quotes thus far) with IR being a sub-field of philosophy situated in the social sciences, with 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), a reference 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. 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 distorted and misleading portrait of these concepts, and consequently, painting a rather distorted picture of IR theory as a concept.

In my view, having attempted to respond elaborately to the second question concerning IR theory, and in a renewed effort to further score by attempting to present a precise response to the two posed questions of central interest in reference to defining IR and IR (theory), because 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, and suggest at this point of the study, which may enable me to contextualize where the bulk of the data concerning IR may at least have originated from.

Origins of International Relations

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, and perhaps some attention to providing a broad overview or historical gaze of IR which may be of assistance for clarity seeking purpose(s). And in keeping the above opening remarks in mind in regard to the birth point of IR, may perhaps provide the desired fruitful reference points.

Reference to core values and theories of IR as illustrated by Jackson and Sorenson (2003) provides a summary that 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 above, I was of the view that it was crucial to take note that historically IR 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, in the *Evolution of International Relations Theory*, emphasis is placed on IR being a discourse of ideas, thus, “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). I also share 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 nothing more than an “Anglo- American discipline”. According to the observation, 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). And additionally, a more elaborate articulation, about the foundation of *IR* is best captured as:

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 confirms the suspected view I held about IR being a Eurocentric construct, and essentially a product of Western philosophy which underwent a metamorphosis into a hegemonic Anglo-American construct. And 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 the 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 hemispheres, does not appear, in the least, to have bothered William Wallace. Perhaps the reply to Wallace, as was done by Ken Booth¹⁴⁷ and Steve Smith¹⁴⁸, 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, it should be understood why British and American universities eventually masqueraded as the foremost intellectual hubs. Such misleading reality was thus informed by the overwhelmingly widely published Eurocentric pedagogy which has consequently imprinted upon scholars at large that particular institutions would 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 for contemporary scholars of IR.

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 is avidly still alive and roaming large (specifically amongst IR scholars), hence, 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 to distorted perceptions with ill fallacies embroiled around IR, a reality that should not be overlooked. Therefore, 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 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, my thinking gradually grows to agree that the field of IR clearly seems to emanate from a particular context, which has always driven its Eurocentric agenda.

In their explication of an international system of IR is because of the perception of an international system that has a central place, and an emphasis placed on the systematic¹⁴⁹ nature of international political and economic life. And 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, and 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 Teaching, Research and International Policy (TRIP) databases 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 presentation is concerned, leading up to 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 as informed by the effort to end conflict between the 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, which for me, would be somewhat simplistic and may also run the risk of being dismissed, as being ahistorical.

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

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, and thus, “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 Jackson and Sorensen’s (2003:2) remark, captured in this exercise.

As aptly expressed by LaMonica “the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) is deemed by many to be the formal start of IR (LaMonica, 2006:7)”, hence, in my view, 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 its implementation 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. Here, LaMonica’s (2006) view is further consolidated as:

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 above explication as provided by Watson (1992) is of notable interest 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). Hence, the Westphalian Treaty evidently seems to serve as an excellent case in point for the roots of IR.

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

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, include the Berlin Conference (1884-1885) and the Treaty of Versailles (1919). In reference to these two historical conventions, we note that “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)” to serve 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.

Hence, the height of imperialistic orientated and wholly Eurocentric driven modus-operandi was and still remains exhibited in such international conventions/forums, and the grave consequence of such conference(s) would spell the gruesome realization of colonialist and imperialist forces in Afrika as not a thought was spared for consultation with any of the leaders from the so called newly discovered region by the Westerners/foreigners to Afrika.

The Treaty of Versailles (1919) unlike the Berlin Conference was primarily aimed at achieving peace amongst European nations who were read as victors of WWII, with Germany having been the core loser of this war. Hosted in Paris, discussions were led by the United States (led by the scholarly democrat, President Woodrow Wilson¹⁵¹), Great Britain (led by the strong-willed President Lloyd George) and France (under President Clemenceau- the Tiger). Hence, Germany was not allowed to participate in the drafting of the treaty, so Italy though it had limited say, completed the Big Four in the leading European states. Thus, 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), although it did not assist his cause (having been a Democrat) that his cabinet was filled with a majority of Republicans which led to a refusal by the 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 to the formation of multinational or intergovernmental institutions, such as the United Nations.

For the complete points read as follows:

- Open covenants of peace were to be openly arrived at. This implied that all treaties should be negotiated, openly and not in secret.
- There was to be freedom of the navigation of the seas in *peace* and *war*.
- All economic barriers were to be removed and the equality of trading conditions, among all nations was to be established.
- Adequate guarantees that nations would disarm, to the lowest point consistent with national security.
- 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.
- The Germans must hand back, all the territory they had taken from the Russians in the *Treaty of Brest Litvosk*.
- Belgium was to be evacuated and her national integrity was to be restored.
- All French territory was to be fixed. Here, special reference was made to Alsace-Lorraine which the Germans had taken in 1871.
- Italy's frontiers were to be re-adjusted along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.
- The people of Austria-Hungary, were to be allowed to develop according to the 'fullest opportunity of autonomous development'.
- Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro were to be evacuated.
- 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'.
- An independent Polish state should be created. And lastly 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 the Berlin Conference (1884) is in the details are 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)", and manifested how insignificant continents such as Afrika were 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. Of note is 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), implemented without seeing any fault in their narcissistic and imperialistically driven decisions.

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 me 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). Thus, such a term as comprador is directed towards particular bad actors in their pronouncement of false declaration(s) of independence of their respective countries; hence 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, 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.

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. Hence, 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, I am inclined to question whatever may be meant from users of such a term and when used is it used, at whose expense is it administered? It is my 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. Thus, 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 aware that the dominant vocabulary used, such as that which makes reference to an *Africa*, 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. And hardly any consensus has been traced by me 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 Mudimbe¹⁵⁴ states as follows, in the preface of his text titled *The Idea of Afrika (1994)*, a sequel to *The Invention of Africa (1988)*:

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 *Africa* and their intellectuals used the same word, for the "teria orbis terrarium 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 *teria orbis terrarium pars* pertaining to *Africa*. What seems to be clear from almost all hypothesis or etymological theories about the origins of the concept of *Africa*, reveals no sign of locals (problematically referred to as *Africans*) 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 *African* reference. Thus, 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, 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 an Afrikan contribution to IR (and broader pedagogy) is desired a securing advice on the much needed way forward, pertaining to such a scholarly discourse, which is mired by ahistorical data that inevitably presents growing dilemma(s). Notice how the theme of obstructing characteristics, related to the theme of 'identity' continuously recurs, and thus, views of the proposed voices thus become compulsory, particularly for guidance purposes.

With the above circumstances, worthwhile past and present efforts to name African people 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 in the term which may be read as a classic example of indifference, and an 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) 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 Afrikan people 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 are guilty of the same charge, and in the present century – e.g. 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.

Hence, the propaganda that contributes to the socially constructed realities, particularly for the subaltern international community has and still remains mostly spearheaded by American forces. This is realized via its intergovernmental institutions of the United Nations (UN), the 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 they would double(s) up in the Machiavellian sense, as extended employees, of the American secret service which include the Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI) and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) that serve as prime examples of a fruition process as part of the broader project of neo-colonialism.

Thus, 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, hearty Afrocentric congratulations are due to that political organisation.

In reference to the Berlin conference (1884-1885) Asante (2007:363) commented that “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.

Recapitulating and Making Sense of It All Thus Far

So from the above references, in as far as clarifications pertaining to IR’s origins, it should be noted that as a formal discipline, IR may have begun as 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 here 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 Teaching, Research and International Policy (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) that may continuously need to be addressed in order to ensure that the desired international growth of IR is achieved.

Hence, it is my 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 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., and rver since the eighteenth century, the relations between such independent states have been labeled 'international relations'" (Jackson and Sorensen, 2003:2).

Most scholars of IR seem to concur with Jackson and Sorensen's (2003) historical account of IR's origin. I note with interest that the validity of some of these observations may be debatable, nevertheless they provide an outline of the sought of footprints, alluding to the foundations of IR. It remains my assessment 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 the formation of IR. However, 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.

Furthermore, there is no indication of any contribution from Afrika to IR. Instead, the further endorsement sought to continue employing the concept of Afrika has been proposed by Mudimbe (1994). So having adopted Afrocentricity, I am convinced of being on the desired track of self-understanding which may enable one to graduate to an enhanced grasp of self-definition. And if anything, 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. And as such, a historicist approach may 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 the 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, located in Britain, and later in 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 reason d'être for its development. This may potentially shed some light to events, and led to a biased and 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 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 here) there seems to be consensus, that as a discipline IR originated in the UK and later, it spread to America. It is from such a basis wherein IR, has been exported to the rest of the globe. In short, it is my argument 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.

Hence, 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, such contrary data may freely be taken up elsewhere, beyond this study. In as far as I am 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 factors of informing the halting point at this stage, in as far as the broad historical background of IR is concerned.

International Relations: 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, before 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. Highlighting detailed realities pertaining to IR will hopefully be presented here as proposed in the subsequent paragraph.

An analysis of IR via a reading of respective TRIP survey results (the Teaching and Research in International Politics survey(s)), will be discussed. I have 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 discussed with a focus on the International Studies Association (ISA), and amongst others, the history, constitution, gender and racial factors of ISA, and finally commentary on the British International Studies Association (BISA) and the BISA Africa Working Group.

A Review of the Teaching, Research and International Policy (TRIP) Survey Findings

In the light of what had been stated above about IR, I view that by presenting selected detailed data, thought as pertinent might be of much assistance which is 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 were thus secured and considered as crucial to this discussion. 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 the *One Discipline or Many? TRIP Survey of International Relations Faculty in Ten Countries* (2009), should be read as my attempt to indicate 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 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), and One Discipline or Many? TRIP Survey of International Relations Faculty in Ten Countries (2009¹⁶⁵).

Selected Items: 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 Teaching, Research and International Policy 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 my scope; hence it will not be discussed further.

Other explored countries 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 that South Afrika is the only Afrikan country included in the Teaching, Research and International Policy survey’s under discussion. Since I 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 my opening, 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) show that only a small proportion of class time in introductory courses was devoted to this paradigm, and thus it 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 that while American and non-U.S scholars differ significantly in their personal paradigmatic approaches, their 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 that:

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 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 my 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). And on the point of textbooks used in IR, we can see the work 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 the course outline mirrors almost the majority of authors, perceived as crucial in the discourse of IR. To date any deviation from the observed authors might run the risk of being criticized as teaching something else other than IR, although there is an 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 which consolidate 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. 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 the 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: Regarded the most influential in the field of by scholars 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 Teaching, Research and International Policy 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) with 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 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) which 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.

Influential Academic Centers of IR

I have thus far noted that from the data of the results observed from the respective tables above, the leading theories 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 in that 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, as far as an association here, there is a specific link with the higher learning sector, and by such association, non-American IR scholars have enjoyed much recognition. It is from such a realization, wherein I developed curiosity, to seek out these institutions of higher learning where IR programs have been offered. The following tables thus assist in providing the sought data. And 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 criterion 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, there is not much confidence in securing any form of Afrikan contribution to IR from scholars, based in these two institutions may realistically be expected. I am of the opinion that, the above 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 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 the Teaching, Research and International Policy (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, 1998-2002*¹⁶⁹. 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 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.

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 above 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).

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 in the second place trails behind the London School of Economics however it interestingly features ahead of Oxford University (4th spot) and Cambridge University listed at the sixth spot. Hence, all the above place an emphasis on the European centers of excellence, for IR, therefore this 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 that rate graduate studies, just like in most other academic disciplines, which 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. Hence, 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 master's programs are at American and British universities" (Maliniak et al, 2009:66). This emphasizes the observation, which was suspected by the author 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 table. 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".

I also acknowledge 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 remains clear that absence of Non-European¹⁷² 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. Thus, it is 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 the 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 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. And once the Anglo-American hegemony within IR is acknowledged, it is an ongoing struggle to live up to its '*international*' or '*universalist*' worldview which 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. Hence,

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 overall 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) by Ashu Varshney (2004). This memo interestingly spelt out how much desire to 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 African Studies Association

1957-	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	Absolom Vilakazi	The American University
1975	John Marcum	University of California-Santa Cruz
1976	Victor Uchendu	University of Illinois-Urbana
1977	Edris Makward	University of Wisconsin-Madison
1978	J Gus Liebenow	Indiana University
1979	Ali Mazrui	University of Michigan
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	Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja	Howard University
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 African 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 African Studies Association (ASA). The tabulation of information in the above table hopefully illustrates this point lucidly. When reading the above *table*, 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 African 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 Kaba (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.

This further begs the questions of ‘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 section. However, they may serve as examples of the highly sought food for thought, as and when they are addressed, and consequently, this “consolidates beyond any doubt, the dominance of Westerncentric scholars (particularly American) within the IR discipline” (Maliniak et al, 2009:44).

International Studies Association (ISA)

Turning some attention towards the International Studies Association (ISA), as will be revealed, did not inspire any confidence in explaining (or even justifying) reasons for the dominance of Westerncentric scholars found within IR. Having perused through the past presidents of ISA (picture 1.3, ISA Executive Committee 2009-10) one can see that the overwhelming Eurocentricity of IR becomes obvious.

It may be worth noting that when I 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), chaired by Ashu Varshney of the Michigan University, until 2004 wherein the memo was initially authored via one of the most recognized organisations to do with political science in America, the similarities with ISA as captured ahead were striking, and ironically ISA would only switch on to transformation issues raised concerning calls for the 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	Fiji	Lebanon	Lithuania	Scotland	Serbia
Australia	Islands		Malaysia	Malta	Singapore	Slovakia
Austria	Finland		Mexico		Slovenia	
Azerbaijan	France		Morocco		South Africa	
Bangladesh	Germany					
Barbados	Ghana					
Belgium	Greece		Netherlands		South Korea	
Bosnia & Herz.	Guam		New Zealand		Spain	
Brazil	Brunei	Hong Kong	Nigeria		Sudan	
		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	Cyprus	Italy	Portugal	Qatar	UK	
		Jamaica			Ukraine	
Czech Rep.	Japan		Rep. of Korea		USA	
Denmark	Kenya		Rep. of Kosovo	Russia	Venezuela	
Egypt	Kyrgyzstan					

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

Note that the highlighted countries are the only Afrikan states featured. What may this mean in the context of IR? This question along with other earlier raised concerns, relate 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.

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 me 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) states that as part of efforts to write the organizational history which seeks to mark its first quarter of a century in 1984 as he writes: ...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. 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 the 1970's 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: 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. 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.

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

The above selected points from Teune’s (1983:1-12) paper eliminate without any doubt that the chosen reference of the International Studies Association (ISA) is a grossly misleading tag. The historical narrative 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, I am 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 had America wrapped all over their agenda, hence a society wherein global phenomena would be addressed in a scholarly fashion.

The 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 here. What makes this even more significant is acknowledgement 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, I 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 a 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 be supported by the data 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 the filing of this report, 1983-2010 appears on the ISA leadership radar screen? Hence, their conspicuous absence runs the risk of implying that from the active cohort of IR scholars emanating from or playing in the scholarly trade of IR in these Afrikan countries, the question 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 above countries be a form of Afropessimistic renewal or just downright neo-colonialism? Both of these condescending and negative attitudes stand as primary suspect in any justified response to such an anomaly.

The closest reference made towards Afrika is when in Teune's 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, I could not help but read the commentary on the continuation of that anomaly (post 1983 till post 2010) as nothing else but an indictment indicating (from inception- 1958 to the eve of its quarter of a century-1983) the condescending attitude paid towards places other than the West, and more specifically, America. Hence, this grossly denialist thought is prevalent amongst ISA's intellectual faithfuls, could not be captured better than expressed via: "...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, 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 discussed above is worrisome in as far as international representivity within IR scholarship is concerned, and 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?'

Constitution of ISA: Questions and Comments

Important guiding documents such as the constitution of ISA were found to be silent on global representivity, with specific reference to gender and racial profile (s) of ISA's eligible members. Members who may all be assumed to be 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, I pondered about the following clauses as found in the ISA Constitution (which to my knowledge was formally amended, by vote of its members, on the 30th of March, 2009):

- 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 as there was no realization to introduce and reserve a portfolio of colour as a means of genuinely addressing criticism associated with its overly white racial and predominantly male profile?
- In *Article VI. The Governing Council* (in specific reference to clause 5 B.) stipulates the 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.
- 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 the racial concerns of *ISA*.
- *Article XIII. The Annual Meeting of Members*. ... shall have the authority to (in specific reference to clause 2): alter the agenda prepared for it; receive and consider reports; discuss any matter relevant to the purposes of the organization; 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; act upon constitutional amendments initiated in accordance with Article XV, Section 3.

The above clauses along with clause 3 states that: 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. And in the event (given that the suggested attempt is implemented) that all else fails, their Article xvii (amendments) state that amendments to this constitution may be proposed by the Governing Council or by the membership; 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; 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, and that amendments supported by a majority of those voting in a mail ballot shall be declared adopted.

In regards to the above clauses, they provide 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), and at best that it is pursued under the due process of a ballot. The critical point made here is that ample room is provided to attempt to introduce dialogue from amongst its affiliated members in good standing. Failure of such efforts, may lead to the matter of ISA's racial bias, proceeding indefinitely.

The Gender Dilemma in the Leadership of ISA

The universities or institutions which are linked to the IR scholars, who have served (1959-2010) 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, I read as a mini version of what the Teaching, Research and International Policy surveys were addressing, on a much detailed and larger scale, this is from judging 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 until the end of the 2010 ISA's presidential tenure with 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 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 the worrisome ISA gender profile is present which cause one to wonder how is it possible that since its 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 Teaching, Research and International Policy (TRIP) survey (2009). If such a status quo as observed in the grid of 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 patriarchal backdrop in IR, as provided in this discussion thus far, the concerned IR scholars note that I 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 they are different or dismissed as belonging in the category of the other, when compared to their male counterparts in the IR profession in their long lasting participation who have successfully ensured that feminist views within the context of IR theory are featured.

One reason provided in 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 reference to gender equality come across as key. 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 are, various verbal abuse via male emphasised vocabulary was observed in IR (and even beyond the Social Sciences realm), and thus, 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 scholars as they are the main user(s) of texts, and of the discipline in question.

Although women may not necessarily be exempted from social 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. However, Tickner’s other work (below) focus on her thoughts, pertaining to gender bias/sexism as a feminist IR scholar, should ideally be paid.

The theme of gender/sexism 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, and 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, and 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) that 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).

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 above. Tickner (1997) has hit the nail on the head, and even though a male, hr believes that the dominance of the male perspective in IR (such views only serve patriachically 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 ageing white male dominance. What is even more disturbing concerning the above data is that it predominantly makes reference to the leading practioners of IR.

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 me, 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. Hence, 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 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 Tickner¹⁷⁹ 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 expressed by its male IR scholars, thus far.

With the above clarity being stipulated at such length, it is my 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, 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), 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 my view 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 the theme of gender is concerned is the argument raised regarding the subscription and emphasis to equality, and 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 counterparts.

Acknowledgement of the above 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 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) assumes that delivery is 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.

The Broader Gender Question in IR: Registering Feminist Views as led by J.Anne Tickner and bell hooks

In support of the views of previously mentioned feminist scholars in IR, beyond ISA, the following scholars and their views are worth being noted. As earlier suspected 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 in 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 essentialist ¹⁸⁰ 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 white¹⁸¹ female scholars have been recorded some effort to include the views of Black¹⁸² feminist scholars (bell hooks et al) is also registered. Since reference was made earlier to bell hooks, I find it only fitting to include some of her key comments. As an African 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 the 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 on 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, 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 statement that “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 me 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 argues that “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, 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 onto something as well, when she was labeled a lightweight by one of the journalists of the *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 Pan Afrikan Congress, the Black Consciousness Movement and the Afrikan National Congress, Oshadi Mangena 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 that marginalized voices, as those of both the vocal Black female professionals and non-professionals is a reality. Hence, this presentation maintains the belief that both groups possess yet to be explored insight from their respective positions. In the case of South Afrika, this needs to go beyond Mamphela Ramphele¹⁸³, to the rest of the othered feminist voices, such as Makhosi Khoza and Oshadi Mangena (both PhD holders) 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 feminist discourse of the broader South Afrikan public domain. This statement is mentioned with particular reference to a realization of a local feminist movement with women as members. Pinned against such a backdrop, 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. I hold 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 and that racism appears ...not as an incidental detail, but as a consubstantial part of colonialism, hence, the highest expression of the colonial system and one of the most significant features of the colonialist which 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 is uncertain of what precisely that may mean. I read such hesitation as a signature that hooks is highly conscientised 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 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 be understood why in the 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. Given the philosophical interest of this exercise, related articulations by Plato and Aristotle were particularly of interest, to me 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 he ridiculed slaves, beasts, and children which he typically ridiculed 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 about 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. First, 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 as 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 as 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 noted that 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 the system 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 above. It should go without saying that the biased views noted here, compel for scientific rationality to be reviewed anew and stereotypes based on male chauvinism, requires a much needed (long overdue) correction.

Second, 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 gross assumption and condescending of male driven thought pattern towards feminist identity (as read in the definition of somatophobia above) is disgraceful, coming from such highly regarded philosophers 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 post-Socrates philosophers brutally relegate females to a demeaning level, wherein they were compared 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 to live to noted troublesome traits. Hence, 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. I agree, 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 this should be understandable, because such behavior may be erroneously read as equivalent to subscribing to submission or conformity. For me, 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 the 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, 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 I reviewed, she expresses her thoughts on the theme of postmodernism, in her opening sentence, she arguably sets the appropriate tone astonishingly for the rest of the article, stating that “postmodernist discourses are often exclusionary, even as they call attention to 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 pertaining to IR, it should not be surprising then that I (who subscribes to Afrocentricity) relate to the distance felt by hooks as expressed from the above context. The same feeling has been and continues to be felt by me when reading mainstream IR theories and the bulk of mainstream philosophy. 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 West¹⁸⁷, 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 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 articles supporting earlier points that were raised by hooks et al.

Leading up to the third article by hooks, I found her train of thought quite consistent when considering her expressed views 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 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, and approached with intellectual seriousness (hooks, 1990:389).

In proceeding forward, hooks also 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 a real connection between postmodernism and the Black experience, I enter a discourse and 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 what *Eurocentrists* do not believe exists (an Afrikan contribution to IR), has made me relate to the feelings as expressed in the above quote by hooks. I (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. Hence, 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, 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 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 when an Afrikan scholar becomes aware that the task placed before them requires a Goliath to intervene, and 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, and thus, 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 me, 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. Thus, 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 me, 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, I am 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 Jr. The struggle for identity-conscioutisation amongst many other is equally vital factors that appear 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, 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 about heterogeneity, the decentered subject, declaring breakthroughs that allows 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 that passively absorb white supremacist thinking, and therefore never notice or look at Black people on the streets or at their jobs who are rendered invisible, with their gaze in all areas of daily life that 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 in ways of constructing aesthetic theory and practice (hooks, 1990:390).

From the above, I take that the point there is a responsibility to attain freedom (whether of speech, theory or other) may not be surrendered to the supremacist or capitalist class, consisting of the same class of exploiters, being elite white folks. Black people need to prolong their various struggles 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 that themes such as identity need to be reviewed. Hence, “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).

And likewise, 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). Here, 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 words of Cornel West are due, hence:

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 nihilism¹⁸⁹ 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 of West, hooks later quotes Lawrence Grossberg from his essay titled 'Putting the Pop Back into Postmodernism'¹⁹¹. Thus, "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 other sources, the oppressed remain at the crossroads. No equally powerful religious text(s) which may be comparable to those 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 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.

The above sentiment should just be another feature 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 a socially constructed existence. Thus, addressing such norms remains a goal which should be elevated from its imaginary; especially towards achieving the aim of a better society, beyond the current capitalistic dictatorial modes imposed from the contemporary systems found almost upon the entire scholarly domain; in certain quarters, a response may be advanced that is precisely the space that Afrikan philosophy has sought to occupy.

With the above in mind, the emphasis on nihilism as emphasized by West (1988) and Grossberg (1998) should not be taken lightly, thus, from 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 with IR theory in the face.

Once it is realized en masse 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). Hence, I share the same sentiments as expressed by hooks above as she has revealed distinctive qualities (as observed throughout her writing thus far) related to Afrocentric thought.

Given the core academic fields of concern that bell hooks has dedicated towards in promoting a liberatory theory to be realised, as a counter from the master-narratives, she truly lives up to being an exemplary role-model for budding Afrocentrist scholars of IR (theory) and beyond; so feminist IR scholars such as J.A Tickners should be registered with their respective limits as expressed at length by Afrocentrists under the demonstrated guidance of hooks, ranging from Spelman, Mangena, and West, from among those quoted above.

IRA and the Lack of Gender Representivity

A return to ISA is due at this point. Keeping in mind, what was observed and discussed earlier under the subheading of The Gender Dilemma in the Leadership of ISA, hence, further commentary on the lack of gender representivity is renewed. It is almost a case of standard expectation that men are bound to deliver, and when this is not the case, gender is highly unlikely to be the cause. Instead in most cases, some form of another 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; as such a view could only consolidate the present status quo of a society of patriarchy.

Such socially constructed attitudes as those that seem to take their cue from their respective patriarchal realities as captured by Mangena earlier on, and also from such pioneering philosophers ranging from Plato, Aristotle, Kant and Locke. In light of my earlier reference to these highly esteemed Westerncentric philosophers, the 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, hence, they should be read as nothing more than mere prophets of propaganda as their misleading observations should be discouraged, and where-ever possible, they should be halted and discouraged from being preached any further.

The theme of gender is central to feminist IR scholars as captured in the article by Jean Bethke Elshtain’s titled “*Feminist Themes and International Relations*” (1991) as she 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 that she was not particularly concerned with the ‘man’ portion of the title of Waltz’s splendidly lucid volume. Instead, she was taken with his conceptual schema, which I found enormously helpful in sorting out the world of feminist theory. Thus, she returned to her work, thinking of the influence of Waltz on her theoretical work and discovered an utterly Waltzian formulation in her introduction of her thesis (Elshtain, 1991:118).

Hence, Elshtain (1991) would further comment: “That was then; this is now, and as a feminist IR theorist, the above quote reveals how, Elshtain came to realize the influence of not just Waltz as her past lecturer, but 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. Hopefully the irony of an IR feminist arguing from a male influenced (patriarchal) premise should be starkly noticed as was later realised by Elshtain, as 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 me, the above may serve as a typical example of the core message from *The Erasure of Black Women* (1998) 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.

In returning 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). 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 mentioned, when returning back to the previously mentioned most influential IR scholars, interestingly “James Fearon Professor at Stanford University ascended the most, as 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 is that Susan Strange (interestingly received 22%, of votes from South Africa respondents) equals Barry Buzan also at 22% by South Africa responders. Martha Finnemore’s major votes at 11% came from New Zealand and Cynthia Enloe’s major votes at 6% were secured from Israel, Australia, and the UK. His finding further demonstrates the depth of Westerncentric control over the discipline of IR as specific reference is made towards America, courtesy of its own homegrown IR scholars and those that it has trained (becoming its exports) that have 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, and worryingly the status quo seems to be perpetuated which could only spell 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).

Hence, the frequent use of quantitative methods in Ireland may also be explained by the high percentage of respondents. Their international political economy 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 used mix methods or at least are inclined to use more than one approach in their work (Maliniak et al (2009).

Of significance to me, 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. I noted the following percentages of American authors used in the U.S. (78%), UK (45%), in Canada (47%), Australia (42%), New Zealand (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, 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 are 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. than their homegrown material. The Teaching, Research and International Policy (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 forth 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 U.S. scholars who dominate this list. It is also interesting that scholars who rank highly worldwide are relatively ignored in the United 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 I found as vital from the above quote as Maliniak et al (2009) emphasised the grey areas that are in grave need of attention.

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 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 me 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, captured on *Question 57* (Maliniak et al 2009:70) indicates the choice of *Epistemology*¹⁹³ utilized, which 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 New Zealand do not use paradigmatic analysis. Interestingly, the four countries in which scholars care least about ontology U.S.A. Ireland, Hong Kong and Israel, and interestingly, these are also the four countries with the greatest percentages of Positivists (also see post-positivists¹⁹⁴).

Respondents from Singapore at 80% are largely alone in believing that the 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. In pondering whether or not such a response may possibly also serve as an indictment of IR, it remains as 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 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 to 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, such thought seemingly has a lengthy history of existence within ISA and yet apparently, it still seems to be laboriously promoted further, albeit under subtle denialism by Westerncentric perpetrators.

In as far as I am concerned; ISA bluntly 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 that "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.

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, and gave it the highest rating. Reasons for this are disappointedly not provided, but it would have been interesting to have been able to take note of them.

If peer reviewed journals define the state of knowledge in a field, and then IR is not a single discipline. American based political science journals such as *American Political Science Review*, *American Journal of Political Science* and *Journal of Politics* 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 South Africa 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).

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 *Journal of Conflict Resolution* may be driven by the relative popularity of quantitative methods in the USA, Israel and Ireland, as compared to the UK, Australia, South Africa 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. *American Political Science Review* 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 does publishes) 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.

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 Afrikanist's IR scholar's work feature in this particular journal, perhaps such a question may assist in explaining such a high percentage. 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 of 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 we progress.

In stemming from the above, the following remark as paraphrased by Maliniak et al (2007:15) and stipulates that there is no hegemonic paradigm within the discipline of IR, 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, 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), I thought it was important to record some comment towards the findings regarding epistemology of IR scholars, hence the “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). And 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 I had to reserve a word regarding epistemology, because of what its possible implications for the future of IR entailed.

Although juxtaposingly 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), hence, 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 in 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).

And additionally, 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 a 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), within specific percentages at 58% in 1980 to 90% in 2006.

British International Studies Association

Having dedicated so much space to ISA, some effort can also to be reserved for the British International Studies Association. Amongst other worrying characteristics, the boys choir¹⁹⁶ 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 narrative 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 multi disciplinary forum, for the study of international affairs. In January 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 the British International Studies Association 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 above, 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, as an overwhelming group of elite white male hegemony is once again, registered here (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; 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 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 this exercise 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, hence again, the boys choir syndrome, and thus, a justifiable concern raised by feminist IR theorists (e.g. J.A Tickner and hooks et al, as earlier captured), disappointingly continued to haunt BISA, as it grew.

One of the other important resolutions taken from the above meeting was the date and theme of the first annual general meeting of the British International Studies Association. Under the theme “New Dimensions of Foreign Policy” hosted at Lincoln College, Oxford, in January 1975 the official formation of BISA was realized, and it was from this opening conference that the *British Journal of International Studies* was established with J.E Spence as the first editor. Furthermore BISA’s interim Constitution was amended and adopted; and the same leadership committee was elected to serve until the forthcoming conference. And with the second hosted at Birmingham University in 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 to one-hundred and seventy members. To date, BISA is believed to have an international membership stretching across forty countries. And in addition to the journal, a newsletter was proposed to run for a year on trial purposes with Trevor Taylor as the editor. Now, BISA publications include the *Review of International Studies*, *International Studies Today* which is a biannual bulletin, and collaboration with *Cambridge University Press* on the book series referred to as the *Cambridge Studies in International Relations*.

From the current tenure (2011-2012), the president of the British International Studies Association is Stuart Croft, author of *International Relations and Africa* (1996). BISA’s national office is currently based at the Aberystwyth University hosted by the Department of International Politics. I recall that Scott Burchill (1996:4) and William Wallace (1996:80) were quoted by fellow IR scholars from their respective texts that it was at Aberystwyth University is 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. Thus, critics may correctly raise the Anglo-American flag, being renewed in contemporary fashion in the form of such scholarly organisations. And the criticism may be given because its own meritorious argument may be read as a mirror of contemporary IR. From their respective list of members and modus operandi, both of these organisations should be read as being nothing else but two sides of the same coin.

A Glimpse of the BISA Africa Working Group

According to its home page on its website, BISA Africa and International Studies Working Group stipulate that:

The Africa 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 Africa and 'the international'; theoretical and conceptual debates, about the relationship between generalities of the discipline of International Studies and African historically-based specificities; and ideas about the relationship of issues and theory in the pedagogy of International Studies in and of Africa.

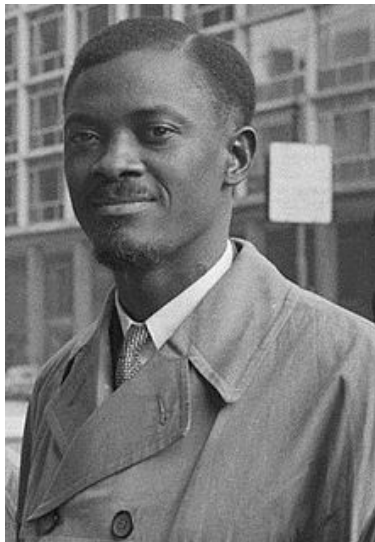
Since inception, membership of this group has been steadily growing, with an estimated figure of just over one hundred and forty members, from around the world. Members of this group have been very active participants at the respective annual BISA and ISA colloquia. The closest one to me has been at Stellenbosch University (Western Cape, South Africa¹⁹⁸). The detour to Lumumba confronting the ghost of King Leopold II¹⁹⁹ however may be more appropriate in as far as the goals of this exercise. 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 *Africa's 100 Best Books of the 20th Century*²⁰⁰ need to be highly recommended.

After having secured funds from the Economic and Social Research Council (the UK's leading research and training agency addressing economic and social concerns) 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 of the series was concluded to have been satisfactory. Hence, the planned five seminars under the title 'African Agency Seminar Series' ran successfully throughout 2011 with the initial host being 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 Africa), and Chatham House (UK). However, the question one may pose at this stage may be 'if satisfactory, to who/m?', because within the mix, William Brown's infamous article titled 'Africa and International Relations: A Comment on IR Theory, Anarchy and Statehood' (2006), despite his positive role played, I takes issue with his mounting something of a qualified defence of current IR theory as he argues that "in order to explore the relevance of IR theory to Africa, 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 in an alleged absence or lack of acknowledgement of any possible Afrikan contribution to IR as his views in his article down play this role by rationalizing down and limiting discussion to the level of a defence of Neorealism that explores the concepts of state and anarchy, which merely consolidate and renew the hegemonic grip of Westerncentric discourse in IR. Thus, the status of the hegemonic Westercentric voice is the core challenge which needs to be overcome for a generic scholarship of IR.

Given the responsibility entrusted upon him as the convenor of the BISA Africa Working since its inception in 2007, it is highly doubtful that from such a condescending and short-sighted view(s) observed in the article with the task entrusted upon him and his colleagues that there appears to be a satisfactory outcome in so far as administration is concerned. Hence, 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, and in this situation, I am disappointed.

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 convenors of such initiatives, to do with Afrika, but spearheaded by Westerners/Afrikanists) of this working group take 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 Africa, 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... And in fact, the Vatican after losing its temporal power in Europe, still wished to expand Catholicism elsewhere and in Afrika, as it relied on Leopold (Mudimbe,1994:106).

From the above, it may also be pointed out that from the amount of damage achieved, both physically and metaphysically upon the Congolese, the main colonialist architect Leopold II was behind the scheme, who never even once, set foot in the contentious Congo. Although Leopold II, never saw the repercussions upon the psyches of the overpowered Congolese folk, who 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), however, one of his descendants would come face to face with the Afrocentric voice of Patrice Lumumba (1925-1961). The embarrassment and panic the colonizer would later lead to the assassination of Lumumba, a prolific Pan-Africanist activist.

Thus, the idea of the amount of suffering felt by the Congolese people is captured in his June 30, 1960 independence day speech, hence:

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 was to 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 and echo of the message of a Pan-Africanist voice to cut right across the murky and distorted filled suburbia of Eurocentric driven falsehood and claim its rightful place in the home of the Pan-African family, and be able to *speak truth to power* in a living tribute to 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 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 me, 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. And it is from such a vantage point that Afrocentrists could continuously reconnect with their forebearers, to recall what had transpired in the guise of colonisation and imperialism. And 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, Asante and Ngugi Wa Thiong’o and others, 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 are now heard and read from the colonially driven Westerncentric canon(s), the aspiring Afrocentrists in turn, have created an impressive Pan-Afrikan/ postcolonial library.

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, thus, Mpalive-Hangson Msiska²⁰¹ 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, saying: 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. With the plight of the pioneering Afrocentrists in the diaspora, such as Du Bois, CLR James, Frederick Douglas, Walter Rodney, and Van Sertima are also included as we note the dehumanizing acts like the the massive enforced exodus of the enslavement process 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 in 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 mold of Lumumba et al.

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 Afrikanists, 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 my argument that Afrocentricity, which is the driving doctrine sought to be upheld, needs to be advanced in such well meaning pedagogically presumed conventions. 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, particularly in the case of the inclusion of Afrocentric insight (s), from such convention(s), was concerned as the same pattern and trends noticed since 2007 when the BISA Afrika group was launched. And given the background of ISA and the British International Studies Association, 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, however, in hindsight this was unfortunately not the case wherein not much difference was done from the past BISA nor ISA conventions. Thus, 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, in July 2012 at Queen Mary University of London (UK) was also in 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 above working group(s) (BISA and BISA-ISA), I find the rationale as raised in the previous paragraph to be typical of Eurocentric influenced pedagogic arrogance and ignorance; a classic case of the Eurocentric driven status-quo, being perpetuated and promoted even further as such Eurocentric views informing the discourse of IR, disturbingly consolidates a parochial analysis (master- narratives-from master’s own back yard). The concerns raised by hooks earlier, seem to echo here: elitism, classism, sexism, racism, exploratory systematic capitalism and supremacist ideology.

It is my contention that for as long as the 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 the Africanist views, and it should be equally problematic.

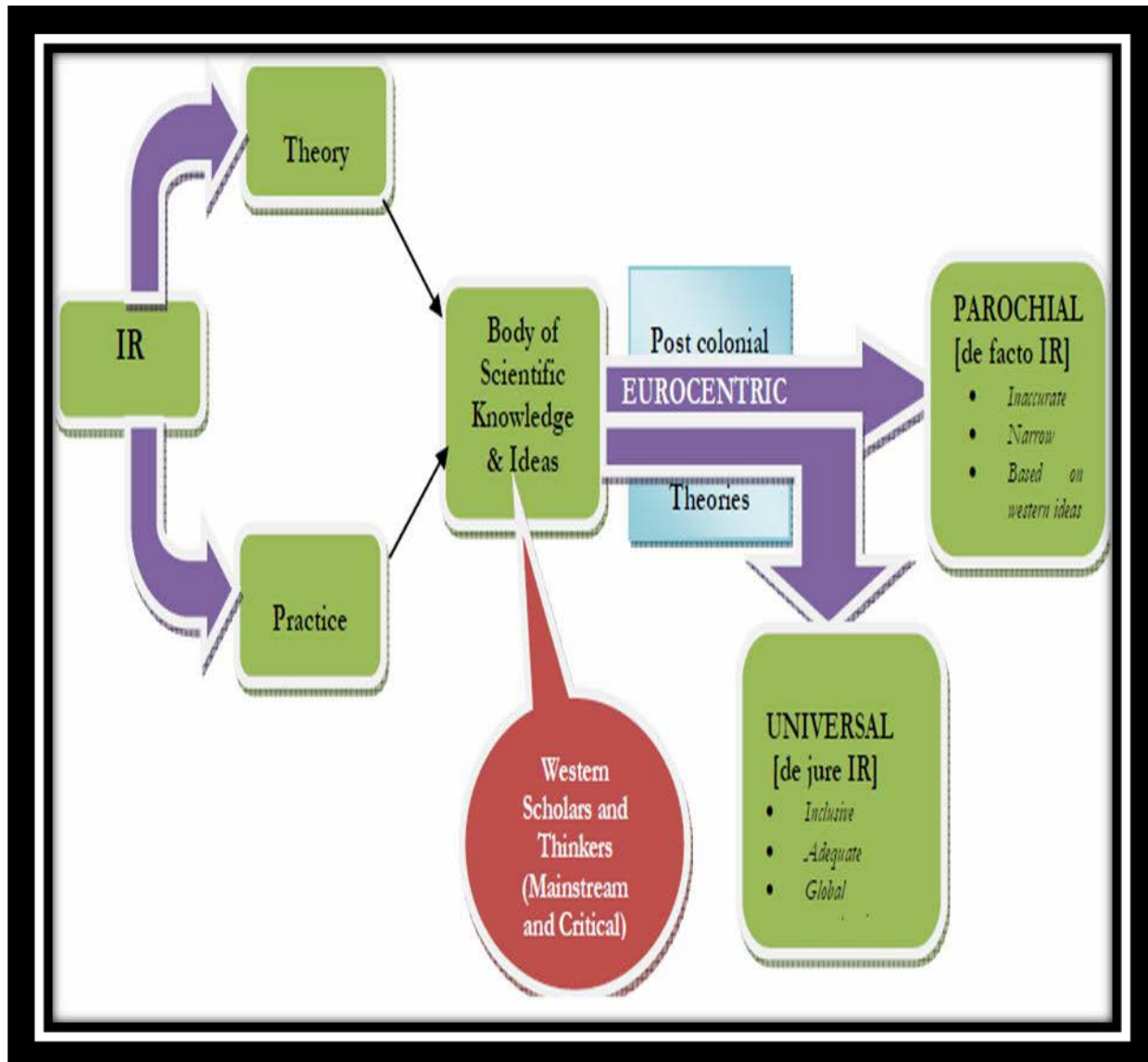
The modus-operandi of the BISA Africa Working Group appears to be a typical case of being interested in Africans and Afrika, yet ironically limiting engagement amongst fellow Africanists (who as hooks (1988) reminded readers, may be no different from the college educated white Females, who formed the Feminist movement in America). From such supremacist thought, Eurocentrically driven and endorsed via the systematic might of capitalism through a falsehood of the dual spirits of modernity and postmodernity projects, it remains 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 me, 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 in order for the international growth of IR. Thus, Es'kia Mphahlele's message, expressed in the text titled *Afrika My Music* (1984) suggests how to Africanise our education. Hence, 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 African government under the presidency of Nelson Mandela on the theme of Africanising education, thus "I tell them something about African 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 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 person tries to unite the two... and thinks deeply about the combination so that he/she can understand self better, where he/she comes from, where he/she is today and what has happened and where he/she is going (Mphahlele,1975).

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, and 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. And factors concerning 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* (freedom).

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 section seeks to record and preview what past scholars of *IR* have demonstrated interest in the central question(s) of: does an Afrikan contribution to *IR* (theory) exist; if an African theory exists that what may be its contribution(s) – (namely doctrines or characteristics, which may inform such theories, would highly be recommended). The style adopted by me for this particular section 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. Hence, a suggested literature review can provide an adequate opportunity to arrive at a more informed conclusion of whether or not there is/has been an Afrikan contribution to *IR* as proposed insight is of particular interest because it should ideally capture the contemporary views of *IR* scholars found relevant, and secondly with *IR* scholars belonging to the earlier mentioned Africanist(s) or Afrocentrist(s) camps.

General IR Scholars Speak Out: Mini Literature Reviews and General Comments

The following somewhat pessimistic/choking voices capture the overall worrisome tone in reference to *IR* scholar’s general comments on the theme of Afrika and *IR*. The first scholars stipulate that “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, hence “In a word, I gave up Afrikan studies because I found it depressing (Kitching, 2000:2²⁰⁵). And last 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 worth being repeated at this point is has there been any Afrocentric contribution towards IR, and if so, what examples may be named? This division seeks to respond to 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 work is conducted in South Afrika, focus will thus shift to articles that were predominantly drawn from IR practioners, plying their trade within South Afrika, as other equally significant scholars from elsewhere found to be relevant, will be considered.

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 that there is some evidence of the existence of an inter-states system (Smith, 1973:599).

Prior to the claim made from above, I am struck by the topic of "Customary law as International law" (Smith, 1973:599). Hence, he acknowledges and observes the following, key points, from the outset that in 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 they have hardly touched upon by students of the indigenous institutions of pre-colonial Afrika, and of their histories (Smith, 1973:599). Hence, Smith sets out to support his argument of the existence of 'international relations' activity, which has taken place in pre-colonial West Afrika; and by drawing on concrete examples which form part of the current professional practice of diplomacy. Thus, throughout the article, he presents some examples to support his claim and then he 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 Smith's article raises sceptism associated with the use of the noted terms such as Afrikan law or Afrikan customary law and considerations about some external influences on the practice of international relations in West Afrika. Direct reference is made here to the Islamic influence and then the 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 as 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 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, his core argument is that adequate evidence is available to prove that international relations in pre-colonial West Afrika indeed existed. So for 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 IR.

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 I was optimistic with in 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) it 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 today. The approach and language thus remains linked to mainstream IR lingua franca, although Chan's was a lecturer at the University of Zambia, however, he acknowledges that in 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 above concern, after beginning with the contemporary approaches to IR, the Communist view of the international system, and recent Western approach to the international system (which touches on Kissinger and geopolitical equilibrium). For me, the Chinese theory of three worlds 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 world 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...and by 1974 ...Mao's thought had coalesced into the three world 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 weak that it 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 it being viewed a such, in an attempt of securing a noteworthy response to such a hypothetically raised question. Hence, "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 me indeed may be read as romantic, given that communist China under Mao Zedong, was a China of another era compared 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 to 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. 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:

- The Chinese view of a tripolar world.
- The adroit manipulation of superpowers e.g. Israel and Syria.
- The assumption of status and role of regional power e.g. South Afrika and Nigeria.
- The construction of deliberate maverick roles e.g., Libya.
- Attempts to accumulate moral authority e.g. the case of Zambia.
- 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.
- Attempts to forge a Third World unity eg. Group of 77, NAM, OPEC, OAU, SADC and discussion of a Third World Secretariat.
- The campaign for a new international economic order, or major concessions within the existing one.
- The search for independent economic growth e.g. South Korea and South East Asian States.
- The Third World search for independent nuclear power (Chan, 1987:175-176).

Emphasis and continued reference to China by Chan impresses upon me 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 dedicates 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 him? 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 or 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 that the book is 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 such exploratory investigations are concerned. Hence:

... 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, or 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.

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 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.

J.D.B. 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), and later in Miller's *The World of States* (1981²¹⁴), the theme of inequality was 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 (via an applied empiric method in most of these themes).

For me, all the authors mentioned, delivered typical Afrikanist 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 Afrika.

With regards to Miller's definition of politics (as expressed above) which is a train of thought, that in the admission Miller and the other author's of under discussion can 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. Hence, 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 Afrikan contribution to IR could be derived from this text.

Ojo, Orwa and Utete's: Afrikan International Relations (1990)

A collaborative effort of O.Ojo²¹⁵, D.K.Orwa²¹⁶ and C.M.B Utete's²¹⁷ expressions on the theme at hand. Given the title of this book, I 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 here), background of IR is provided. Already from that point, one may deduce that the usual names of IR scholars were mentioned. Throughout this division, views of those introduced as mainstream IR theorists before ranging from Quincy Wright (1955), T.R.W. Fox (1959), Stanley Hoffman (1960), J.K. 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 I read as almost similar to Murphy and Augelli's *International Institutions, Decolonization and Development* (1993), Orwa's tone in this particular article, reminded me 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 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 I 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 I noticed, was not much different to that captured from the earlier Afrikanists. The following remark 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 remark may seem, it is my view 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 above 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).

I find the above expression(s) of Orwa (1990) thoroughly problematic on the grounds of Orwa's (1990), because for him the study of Afrikan international relations is still in its infant stage, and it 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 Afrikanist worldview.

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 oversight, as noted from their respective works) remains meritorious to date. The classic case of Ngugi Wa Thiong'o is provided further on.

Amongst other factors, this last point 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/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.

I noted for example from highly acclaimed texts such as 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. For such an acclaimed book in the Afrikan postcolonial library, such Eurocentric inspired influence was unexpected; thus, 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 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 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 in their process of re-awakening, at least much to the realization of their followers and critics alike. An example has already been provided when reference to the case of Chinua Achebe (Achebe, 1990:7).

And lastly as pointed out with authoritative guidance of Valentin Mudimbe, the very reference to the complex concept of Afrika, clearly appears not to have been problematised. 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 their position as the international actors in Afrika and the global economy which involve regional co-operation and integration (all by Olatunde Ojo) and foreign policy and the developing state in Afrika and the former colonial powers with 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 Afrikanists from amongst those referred to as Afrikans by others and themselves.

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. For the selected methodology as read in the above account, it 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. Thus, Mazrui's employment of a Marxist analysis coupled with his use of selected vocabulary, common in the literature of the litany of Afrikanists 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 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, and as explained above, such an approach is labeled as statecentric an a distinct standard mainstream IR signatory concept.

It is only when an in-depth reading of Mazrui may scholars realize that his points provide an oversimplified depiction. Given the prolific profile of Ali Mazrui (especially as one of the most recognizable African scholars), 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, indeed an anti-climax situation.

Without getting into too much detail, a passing reference from Mazari's other works, may at least be noted. From the other works I read, 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 (all 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 presentation, the proposed investigation should be able to provide the desired relevant data that may assist in the securing of examples of the Afrikan contribution to IR. And 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.

Christopher Clapham: Afrika and the International System (1996²¹⁹)

At this stage, I shift attention to another IR scholar, Christopher Clapham in his 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, I found it important to be included for analysis. The book as far as I am 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? I am not 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. And even after he commented about possible experiment of “... de-stating of external relations with Afrika” for me, all the above factors with all their methodology, Clapham (1996:256), it was simply found to be found to be at best ambiguous, in as far as response to the key questions of interest.

Having discussed 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 me, 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, hence, he belongs to the Afrikanist club of IR scholars. Perhaps that is where the gist of the problem of his worldview analysis may have been located, however 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. And that the international relations of Afrikan states, since most became independent in the early 1960’s provide no more than one aspect of that encounter (Clapham: 1996:267).

I remain unconvinced of any Afrikan insight to IR as located in this text as Stuart Croft authored the article (mentioned below prior) to gain presidency of the British International Studies Association and Africa Working group.

Stuart Croft: On Clapham’s International Relations and Afrika (1996²²⁰)

Interestingly, in a review article of Clapham’s (1996) text it was also of some helpful insight on Afrikan contribution to IR theory which 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. I agree 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 Afrikanists on the subject of Afrika in IR. The emphasis of a leading Afrikanist as opposed to an Afrocentrist, should be noted.

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, these texts are only relevant, as they were 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:

...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 be usefully 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 severly 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, I agree that the points raised in this article deserve some serious consideration. For me, the closing point below drives the essential point home basic argument 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 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 how the theme of IR and Afrika, may have already been shaped by mainstream IR literature.

Tom Young's Review: The State and Politics in Afrika²²¹

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 in 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 that we live in an age when the story of *Western* domination of the world, past and present is almost too painful to tell, and 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 reorganized 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) are linked (Young, 1999:154).

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).

Thus, 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.

Other Recommended IR Voices

From the above scholars so far, it seems as though presenting any Afrikan contribution to IR is a mammoth task. From their narratives, it seems to have interpreted their attempts as struggles or claims of various forms of Afrikan contribution (s) to IR. Nevertheless, we can include the work of Rothchild and Keller, Shaw and Heard, Dunn and Shaw, Neuman, Vale in this discussion.

Rothchild and Keller et al: *Afrika in the New International Order* (1996²²²)

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), 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. Thus, growing from a realist theoretical school of thought, such engagement may also be traced back to a past debate in IR.

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.

Thus, 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. Although Shaw argues that the Afrikan political system has been in existence for centuries, a narrative provided, which focuses on regionalism, Afrikan political organisations, religious reference and on serving a scholarly orientated dish, which did not leave out IPE, as part of his analysis.

So at best, the book 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). But 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).

Dunn and Shaw et al: *Afrika's Challenge to International Relations* (2001²²⁵)

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 my view that some of the contributors of this text, arguably deserve the amount of attention, that they have received, from the array of Afrikanists, captured so far.

The congratulations however begin and end only in as far as the Africanist attempt, read by me as leading towards (however not arriving) at the sought point of Afrocentricity. The above point is illustrated so well, by the following words, captured from the introduction of the text in question, hence:

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 disrupt existing ways of reading IR, by exposing the limitations and fissures of these denotative interpretations (Dunn, 2001:4).

Judging from the acknowledgement that it was never the interest of the contributing authors of the text 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 me, 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*, 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 the 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 seem to have been of nothing else, but echoes of redundancy.

Assis Malaquias's attempt 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. Overall I found Malaquias's offering of an alternative approach, by focusing on the nation and nationalist movements not convincing.

Siba Grovogui²²⁶ 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. 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 rigourously 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 me, 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.

As a past student of IR at Stellenbosch University (SU), a familiar name to me from the list of contributors was lecturer Janis van der Westhuizen (whose contribution of marketing power, was really questionable to me as an article), 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, it does not seem to contribute anything tangible towards IR.

In *Part II* under the title of *Theoretical Interventions* was 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 me.

Next, 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, I expected much more, especially when it concerns readings in the light of bell hooks's earlier raised feminist and liberatory theory. In a nutshell, in search for an Afrikan contribution to IR, this text disappointingly spells itself out, as simply disappointing.

Part III of this book aim to examine implications and policy ramifications from the past chapters which 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). In chapter 13, Timothy Shaw 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), this book simply manifests the eclectic nature of IR. In closure I agree 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 me collectively agree that this text marks an excellent meeting place of Afrikanists. With all its flaws, this text "lays a good foundation for further investigation and research into the relevance of Afrikan issues to IR theory. Thus, a valuable text, both for the scholars of Afrikan Studies and for those in the wider IR field" (Adem, 2001).

Commentary on the above text should be made in consideration of the other projects that have been conducted by Shaw and Dunn elsewhere. For example, in an interview²³⁰ with Dunn, I was thoroughly impressed an 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 book under discussion, she said:

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 here.

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, course director Roger Coate (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.

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, he continues on the same line, of concern as expressed in the main book above, on the focus on Afrika which appears to always have been a challenge of International Relations theory. Hence Shaw argues that 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. And 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 Shaw²³³ left me 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 paraphrase the following scholars in order to stress their point that IR as a discipline, has overlaps, and 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.

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), 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 the Afrikan contribution to IR. Notable points raised included attempts at responding to questions, such as from Neuman's²⁴⁰ 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). Hence, Neuman's response sets the tone for the rest of other contributors the 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 an 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 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).

Peter Vale: International relations in South Afrika in the late 1980's (1989²⁴⁷)

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-intergration 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* that:

...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 African 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 he made the above remark, we need to remember that South Africa was still under the cloud of apartheid, which may justify his comment. Having been a resident scholar at the university, mentioned below and specifically, the department concerned (as an undergraduate student), the commentary 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, University of Zululand. The syllabus outlines the sub-topics: "Nationalism, National Power, Foreign Policy, Diplomacy, War, Peace and Neutrality", perfectly respectable, although somewhat timebound, 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 none could contest the above comment, as they themselves were white South Africans²⁴⁸, (including their guest scholar (s) whom were mostly Westerners in attendance were their descendants were predominantly emanating from UK and America), completing an entirely white IR scholarly contingent.

Peter Vale himself in observing local IR analyst who authored the article in question is also a white, male IR scholar. Recall that this was identified as standard characteristics of the majority of most authoritative IR scholars. From Vale's opening quote above, I am 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 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 I am 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 the Afrikan contribution to IR, 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, without pursuing such a mission with the suggested vehicle of Afrocentric knowledge, 'mainstream' academic curricula in Afrika would 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 implicating that there are 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.

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). And 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 that seeks to unpack (via a commentary style narrative) my findings and personal opinion(s). Extensive reference to views of Afrocentrists would be relevant to this broad IR theme. And in this, the critical multiple function(s) played by others, and the dynamics of language are 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. This is with the view, that the intended role of linking it to concerns raised in discourse on Afrikan philosophy may also be realised.

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 Afrikan person opposed to Afrikan/Afrocentric 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 Afrikan, as discussed in my opening, seeking to achieve the desired clarity in its current form, if left as is, has the potential to inevitably spiral onwards into further hurdles of whatever may then possibly be presented as an 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 an overarching amount of Eurocentric abstractness. This is predominantly owed to its great ancestor, the discipline of Philosophy (as located within the Social Sciences). 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 statement that “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 concerning the contested reference premises pertaining to Afrikan(s), as noted in the numerous definitions of IR also just added more salt to the ever-widening exploratory wound. This is because it left me 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 me 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 before, the decision to pose the same questions, as done in the above, was thus adopted. Has there been any Afrocentric contribution to IR (theory)? If not, what may be the reasons? And if so, what examples may be named? Judging from the data presented above, alongside vintage beliefs, by 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 response appears to be an expectedly fit reply to the questions.

To such a response, both Afrikanists and Afrocentrists may collectively be expected to refute such a response. Given the definitions of Afrocentricity, as provided in the opening by Mafeje (2000:66-67) and Asante (2003:2), the later 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 Eurocentric worldview(s).

As discussed earlier, repercussions of Westerncentric notions of knowledge, serve no other purpose, beyond consolidating a parochial lens, as informed predominantly to undermine sources of Afrikan philosophy. And with Indigenous Knowledge (IK) or Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS) being one of its latest, yet increasingly growing scholarly round(s) of ammunition (as far as I am concerned, the existence of IKS should be read within Afrikan philosophy's ever-growing scholarly domain).

Identity: Realising the Relevance of Afrocentricity

Based on what past IR scholars, the overwhelming response compels me to simply echo a 'dismissive no', as a response to whether or no, 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 my view that an in depth interrogation of the relevant literature concerning the theme in question, hopefully has exposed the complexity of varying views. 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 me, contrary to widely held belief, as suggested throughout all the texts captured there has been an Afrikan contribution to IR (theory), however to date, such a response has been ambiguous. It is my view that the high level of ambiguity has been as a result of Afrikanists as opposed to Afrocentrists being at the forefront of such an expedition.

I arguably hold 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 literature on IR, begins to be carefully acknowledged and registered. Until such a time, 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 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 it 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 (e.g., Weltanschauung worldview vs Afrocentric worldview, interestingly if they do indeed differ, what may be the reasons and note their respective characteristics).

It is my argument that both the groups more or less both possess critical insight that may be worthwhile in so far as directing interested scholars regarding the IR 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, 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. After all “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 but Afropessimism.

Afrocentrists Emphasis on Language Significance

Lesibana Jacobus Rafapa below in his doctoral study 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 spoken in Kenya) after having authored *A Grain of Wheat* (1967), he confessed:

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 above marks a realization of the employment of *English* as a language of choice, as noted in Wa Thiong'o's novels. In retrospect, I am 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 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, is 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).

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).

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 a continuation or renewal of the worldview of the primary human beings Black people. While still on the theme of consciousness, the following reminder, which was quoted in the opening stanza’s of this work 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 notion of *double consciousness*, which later influenced Angela Davis’s interest in 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 Kathryn Gines, Lewis Gordon and Desiree Melton amongst others, are all worth some mention (Black Nihilism by Cornel West and Postcolonialism by E.C. 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 book *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 African people in other fields, such as architecture and art, and those 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 that an African centered perspective was 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, ²⁷²). Elsewhere, another less noted Afrocentrist, yet highly respected amongst the Pan-Afrikan family, as the founding editor of *Presence Africaine* explaining 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 W.J. Ndaba of Zululand University pioneered the contemporary South Afrikan black scholar contingent, 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 Mutwa²⁷⁵ 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).

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 which 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 (told under oath never to alter it). Hence, anyone who so much as thought of changing any of the stories of his ethnic group that he had been told, fell immediately under a High curse, which covered him, his children and his children’s children. Thus, these Zulu story-tellers were called guardians of the Umlando (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, he openly risked being labeled an outcast from the members of his community. Mutwa’s intention, to share some of the stories, in the very words of the Guardians who told them to him and all (global community) folks, that may have reflected some interest in them, amidst all the personal risks involved, may reflect the urgency some Afrocentrists seek for respective Afrikan knowledge, to be brought afore.

The above last point is especially mentioned, on the basis that I 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 above mentioned park, because the village, in question is overshadowed by the imposing Oppenheimer Tower²⁷⁶. 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 me 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*, is *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, 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 above sites, it dawned upon me 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 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), and interestingly, mostly Americans.

The same realization, was noticed at the *Ohlange Institute* (Inanda²⁷⁷), *Adams College* (Amanzimtoti²⁷⁸), *Luthuli Museum* (Groutville, Greytown²⁷⁹), *King Shaka kaDinuzulu kaMangcinza's* burial site (KwaDukuza, Stanger²⁸⁰), 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.

Hence, 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.

It is my view that in so far as Mutwa's 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 Afrikans to be read as perceived through Eurocentric mindsets. Through more projects of Afrocentricity, it is expected that hope can only grow, from such a renewed research effort.

Having acknowledged the early South Afrikan philosophical scholars thus far, I am 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 like: 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 stemming from other contexts (duvenage, 2002:107).

The project of Modernity has indeed arrived, with its baggage, and this should not be ignored. Having already discussed that IR theory was a grandchild of (Western) philosophy, should thus not be surprising, at this stag. However, in contrast, 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 as Senghor informs us that:

“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 Afrikanist stance, end up confusing what should precisely be the philosophy of ubuntu. A classical example of such a scholar is Johan Broodryk²⁸², 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 me, 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 methan Broodryk’s expressed views, in his article titled *Ubuntu African Life Coping Skills, Theory and Practice*²⁸⁵. In hindsight both scholars however manifest the ambiguous voice, which scholars have come to associate with typical Afrikanists.

Although they both qualify to belong to the Afrikanist club, Broodryk is identified as being an Afrikaner and Metz an American. For in reading the work of both scholars, whatever their differences and similarities, reveals, just how much Afrikanists remain without doubt, rigid in their Afrikanist campsite, in so far as expressing their worldview(s).

The above traits sets scholars poles apart For Ubuntu as expressed by Afrocentrists such as Mphahlele, as articulated under his theme of Afrikan Humanism, to doctoral study conducted by Rafapa (2005). Hence, Ubuntu scholars, such as those of Mogobe Ramose²⁸⁶ and Mabogo More²⁸⁷ focus their views on Ubuntu, which subscribe to Afrocentricity. Such articulation sets these scholars, quite apart from the Afrikanists mentioned above.

An Afrocentric Disclaimer as Informed From the Narrative

Having provided examples of various views 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 Afrikanist scholars, not all may necessarily share the same perspectives, towards the rebuttal point. Within the context of this presentation, in order to strike a balance in pursuit of the question posed, affirmation or rejection of the views expressed, both the Afrikanists and Afrocentrists will ideally be explored. Hopefully this will be executed mainly from the insigh, provided from IR scholars, dimmed as relevant.

In reference to definitions of Afrocentricity as provided by Mafeje (2000) and Asante (2003) in my initial division, we can also add Mazrui’s definition that:

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,2004:17²⁸⁸).

From all the above definition and others previously presented, I am convinced that the apparent case of *dissenting voices*, amidst the Afrocentrists may hardly apply, in the way that it has been, noticed in the Afrikanist camp thus far. In the event that no paradigm shift takes place amongst the scholars in that Afrikanist campsite, the status quo is suspected to continue to be so. In noting that where the thesis is Eurocentricism and the antithesis is ‘Afrocentricism’ (a term popularized in *Newsweek* magazine in the U.S. via its September 23, 1991 edition), some clarification around the implications related to racism is provided here.

Rafapa states that the ... 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. Thus, in addition to revision of topics in history, texts as authored by committed Pan-Afrikanist 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 here deserves a reviewal and renewal of precisely which data may have been derived 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, and 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 the historical denial of any acknowledgement by Afrikans to projects displaying various forms of intellectualism (e.g., .Afrocentricity).

Hence, from Eurocentric philosophical discourse, a realization that the deafeningly silent, yet ironically grotesquely violent strokes from the pens of such Westerncentric philosophical pioneers with gleeful inheritance, passed on to their descendants brutally resulted in the realization of colonialism and imperialism and its infinite renewal. Thus, this renewal exists both at the physical and metaphysical levels of both the oppressor and the oppressed. All this phenomena consolidated the visibly condescending attitudes, which have come to exist towards Afrikan people, as later realized by Afrocentrists, and was executed in Berlin in 1884 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. And the physical violence of the battlefield was followed by the psychological violence in the classroom (Wa Thiong'o, 2002:9).

It is with such a background in mind wherein the consistent activism by an Afrocentrists cadre is taken, and is further recognized, as a way, in which active members may fervently; still seek to renew their subscription towards Afrocentricity. And against the might of an Eurocentrically authored and exported pedagogical system, one can understand a suspicion about an African contribution to IR. Especially as findings of the respective TRIP Surveys (especially that of 2009), consolidating that IR is without any shadow of doubt, an American discourse, which question like "What kinds of stories should I tell my two "Americanised" children about Afrika?" (Mudimbe, 1994: xi²⁹⁰). In the light of the data presented 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.

Summary

After investigating the theme of Afrika and IR theory, most of the findings expose problem areas, which may possibly inform recommendations as a bird's eye view of the historical background of IR was undertaken. Though overly revisionist in tone, perhaps due to this structure, the intention to introduce IR and furthermore seek to comprehend the basis of its original make-up, formed the core. And in still remaining within the confines an effort of defining IR, I 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 that the primary conflict under discussion referred to conflict taking place amongst predominantly 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, having opted to embark on such an exploratory expedition, enabled me 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.

The data secured and presented 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 concerning IR was made. Also, by drawing from detailed TRIP Survey data findings, which were 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 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. And the displayed data on the past presidents of ISA and American Political Science Association (APSA) and Afrikan Studies Association (ASA), consolidates the above observation as well.

Even the top universities for IR study, were outrightly identified to be predominantly located in the West, (the U.S., predominantly). Harvard, Princeton, Yale lead the undergraduate degrees list; Georgetown, John Hopskins, Harvard, Columbia and Princeton lead the masters (MA) list; Harvard, Princeton, Stanford, Columbia and Yale lead at the doctoral level, and the only highly ranked university beyond America was the 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 include Hans Morgenthau, Karl Deutsch and Stanley Hoffman.

From the elaborate diagrams and tables on display, the 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". 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 prominent Black female feminist scholar, bell hooks. Local South African 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 or 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, I 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. Yet, 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 e.g. qualitative analysis. On the contrary, initiatives of the BISA Africa Working Group may have been greeted with much relief, 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 those 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.

The highlighted general voices of IR, captured from texts aligned to such a theme 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.

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 Afrika. For almost all the past participants captured appear to have sealed the view held by me 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 Afrikanist IR scholars.

The above 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 a possible existence of an Afrikan contribution to IR theory. Paulo Freire's text titled *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* in this regard should be highly recommended, for singling out the selfish absurdities expressed in the name of imparting knowledge.

It is my contention 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, and 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. They have not 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 overtime developed, into mainstream IR scholarship.

Recommendations

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 Nzuza, 24 June 2012).

So after having examined, determined and investigated the theme in question with interest mainly upon Africa and IR, the following recommendations are advised. Arriving at this point has compelled me to what may have come across as necessary problems which consequently led to connotations associated with the Afrikan contribution to IR (theory). Providing suggestion (s) which may serve as a guide for a way forward.

The African contribution to IR theory is a very broad topic. So scholars may assist themselves immensely by looking at such a topic (as advised to me by the academic and ambassador Manelisi Genge, the former Chief Director of Policy Research and Analysis Unit 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, I identified that the term Africa called for more effort to be placed on the theme of identity which led to a focus on the etymology of the concept-Africa. From such a position, progressing onwards to what then may be Afrikan (such spelling remains the author's emphasis) contribution to IR theory may thus be addressed.

I acknowledge that much more could have been addressed pertaining to themes related to Afrocentrists from views from Mudimbe, Ramose, Serequeberhan, Duvenage (Afrikan philosophers), Cheikh Anta Diop, Joseph Ki-Zerbo (Afrocentric historians), Es'kia Mphahlele etc. could have been sought. The decision to be Afrocentric demanded that I practicalize or set into operation the clarion call of approaching this work 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. And 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 then be enabled to arrive at their own definitions of who may thus be Africans or as utilised and discussed here. This may inform the basis of what then may be read as the Afrikan contribution to IR. As hopefully reflected 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 premise where 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 are encouraged, which 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 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.

Particular scholars should be read closer regardless of whether they may be Africanists or Afrocentrists. After reading their views 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. Without taking away any merit of insight from the above scholars, it is my view that the 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, I specifically refer to the authoritative voices of this field, such as those located in the seven volume of the *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 are captured, 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 illustrated in the summary point to 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, who read themselves as Africans and Africanists, 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, and 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 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 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 being produced, under the theme of Afrika and IR being frowned upon and interrogated, and read as being something else, besides what it truly is. Hence, it 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, if it remains the hegemonic Eurocentric scholars (such as those predominantly quoted above) or American scholars (both by identity and by association with American institutions, as depicted in the third unit), then the writing is on the wall as to a 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, because it is articulated on the basis that there are genuine efforts of securing a response to the various issues raised that are taken seriously and actively explored further. *Aluta Continua.*

Addendum

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To my supervisor: Professor Mojalefa Lehlohonolo Johannes Koenane

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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 exercise 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 here through an Afrocentric means.

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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.

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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, 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 family 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 Mbah 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 my writing), 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, 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. Idolu lami 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 Igbo) ndewo, imela, (in the Hausa) nagode and (in Yoruba) *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?

Rest in Peace (R.I.P.)

To the following Afrocentrists this work 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 African 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 Africa.

Robert Sobukwe (1978) Avid political activist and intellectual. As a descendant of the African National Congress (ANC), became a founding member of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC). The consistency of his activism for his people (specifically black Africans) 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 Africa.

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 Africa. 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 African culture. The University of Senegal was renamed in his honour. Those in the know, consider him as one of the greatest African 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 African National Congress). Roballa kakgosto Lekholokoe.

Bessie Head (1986) South African 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, he 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 African 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 African 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 Kakgosto 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 African Political Scientists, honoured by the South African Political Science Association (SAPSA), at its annual conference, hosted at University of Western Cape (UWC) in 2006, for his ongoing work on South African politics.

Professor Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze (2007) - African 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 Africa, 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 African child. What a pity.

Siphon Sepamla (2007) - prominent South African activist, teacher and poet.

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

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 me, 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. 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, I salute 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, 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), should be contextualized problematised further.

Ednotes

1) I am convinced that such individuals may also be similarly referred to as Afrocentrists, thus these two concepts in the context of this work may 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 exercise in 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 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, and Kwesi Kwaa Prah of Ghana. Diasporic voices include Guyanese Walter Rodney and Trinidadian-American activist Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Ture). 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.

2) 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 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.

3) “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.

4) This term refers to the core/western/mainstream *IR* theories. These terms may thus be used interchangeably. 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.

5) In context of this presentation, 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). Here, 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.

6) 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.

7) 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 I 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 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 Afrikans, on the continent and in the Diaspora.” This particular quote, has been derived from the Epilogue of ‘Down 2nd Avenue’ (Mphahlele, 2004: 207).

8) 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.

9) 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 me, 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 will be related to themes, associated with Pan-Afrikan literature.

10) An intentionally renewed emphasis from endnote 3. Based on sparse definitions found to be uncomfortably narrow or flawed, regarding Afrika, for the purpose here, 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. 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 Afrikanists. This distinction arguably, needs to be made, in pursuit of securing appropriate responses, for the benefit of this engagement.

11) 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.

12) 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.

13) 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 exercise. 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.

14) As mentioned in endnote 7.

15) 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 (Afrikanists), 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's *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.

16) 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.

17) 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).

18) 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).

19) 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).

20) Mudimbe, V.Y.1994. *The Idea of Africa*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

21) Defined and discussed at length.

22) See *Figure 1.1*.

23) “...(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).

24) Refer back to endnote 6.

25) See *Picture 1.1*.

26) (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).

27) (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).

28) “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).

29) “... (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).

30) “*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).

31) “*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).

32) *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).

33) *John Locke (1632-1704) 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).

34) *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).

35) *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).

36) "...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).

37) *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).

38) 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).

39) “(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).

40) “(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* (182) 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).

41) “*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).*

42) *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).*

43) *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 Phanomenologie 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).*

44) “*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).

45) “(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 *Aquina’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).

46) “(1724-1804) German philosopher and founder of critical philosophy. The son of a saddler, Kant was born and educated in Konigsberg (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 *Allegemeine 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 Konigsberg. He never left Konigsberg 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).

47) 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 herein, *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).

48) “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).

49) 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 Africa 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*.

50) 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 *Economic and Social Research Council (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 Africa Working group* and worked as an engineer for *Rwenzori Highlands Tea Company in Uganda*. Her research interests, make her highly relevant, 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 me 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, *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.

51) (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 here, 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.

52) 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.*

53) 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'.

54) 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 here 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.

55) 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 from *Stellenbosch University’s Political Science department during 2008* include - *Rickus Oswald, Audun Solli and Nicole Sarmiento*.

56) 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 here, 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).

57) See the *Third Major debate in IR*. Specifically selected here because it is within, this debate wherein *Third World* problems in *IR* literature, are believed to have been introduced.

58) 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).

59) As described in *endnote 3* and *endnote 11*.

60) *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.

61) (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.

62) 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.

63) 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).

64) Contemporary *Afrocentric* Philosopher currently based at the Philosophy department at University of KwaZulu- Natal, South *Afrika*.

65) Although paraphrasing (Bujo, 2001:34-35), I quote 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*.

66) Prominent *English School* theorist. See his text *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics* (1977).

67) American *Realist* theorist. See his text *Structural Realism after the Cold War*.

68) German *Realist* theorist who made his mark in the United States of America. See *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for power and peace* (1948).

69) Leading American *Liberalist* theorist and past president of the International Studies Association.

- 70) See *The Development of IR* in the addendum.
- 71) See *Fourth Major Debate in IR*.
- 72) 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.
- 73) 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.
- 74) See Brian Schmidt.1994. *The Historiography of Academic International Relations*. Review of International Studies 20 (October, 1994).
- 75) 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.
- 76) 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*.
- 77) To be politically correct, the term employed is the *Afrikan Century* employed by Afrocentrists such as Mbeki and Nabudere to expresses 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.

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.

78) (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*.

79) 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.*

80) 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.

81) "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).

82) "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).

83) The clarion call made by *Seme, Diop, Fanon, Freire, Biko, Lumumba, Prah, Mphahlele* and *Asante* amongst many other *Afrocentrists*.

- 84) Used here however with respect, to what has been noted in endnotes 2, 3 and 11.
- 85) (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.
- 86) 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).
- 87) 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.
- 88) 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)*.
- 89) See *International Journal of Afrikan Renaissance Studies, Multi-, Inter- and Transdisciplinarity*. 2008. Volume 3, Number 1, July 2008.

90) For the purposes here, this concept should be understood to be referring to the combination of the symbolism, behind the re-reading by me of the various texts by various Afrocentrists, which may be dimmed as relevant. 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 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.

91) "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 here, 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*.

92) See K.A. Appiah's *African Philosophy and African Literature* (2004). And E.C. Eze's *Introduction: Philosophy and the (Post) colonial* (1997).

93) "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).

94) "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).

95) 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).

96) Refer back to *endnote 19*.

97) "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).

98) “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).

99) “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*.

100) “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).

101) “(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).

102) “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).

103) 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. 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.

104) A form of ethnic nationalism, advocating a racial definition or the redefinition of national identity as opposed to multiculturalism.

105) The modification of place names and personal names to reflect an *Afrocentric identity*.

106) 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.

107) 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).

108) *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 here 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 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).

109) 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.

110) 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.

111) *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).

112) “(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).

113) *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.

114) Discussed in detail, further below, in support of this view.

115) 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.

116) 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*.

117) As listed above.

118) 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*.

119) 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.

120) 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*.

121) 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).

122) See Nevil Johnson's chapter, titled *The Emergence of Politics as a University Discipline* from his text titled *The Limits of Political Science* (1989).

123) 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*'.

124) "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)'.

125) 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.

126) Nuffield Reader in the *Comparative Study of Institutions* in the University of Oxford, and Professorial Fellow of Nuffield College.

127) “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). 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).

128) “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).

129) 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.

130) For visual examples of these Western Philosophers, see Picture 1.4.

131) German term, for a general worldview, referring to an overarching philosophy. Commonly preferred to used, by philosophers.

132) 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*.

133) 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).

134) 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).

135) 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*.

136) For more definitions, see the following texts: Reynolds, P.A.1994. *Introduction to international relations*. Third edition, Longman.

137) 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 Beschoff, P. (ed.).1994. *Two Worlds of International Relations, academic practitioners and the trade in ideas*. Routledge: London.

138) 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)*).

139) 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*”.

140) “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).

141) “*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).

142) “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.

143) 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).

144) “*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).

145) 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.

146) Booth.K. *Discussion: a reply to Wallace*. In Linklater.A.2000. *International Relations, Critical Concepts In Political Science*. Routledge.

147) Smith.S. *Power and truth: a reply to William Wallace*. In Linklater.A.2000. *International Relations, Critical Concepts In Political Science*. Routledge.

148) 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”.

149) 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*.

150) “(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).

151) Quoted from Kallaway, P. et al.1997 [1987]. *History Alive Standard 10*. Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter.

152) 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.

153) *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).

154) 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 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.

155) Quoted here from the preface of Adebajo, A. 2010. *The Curse of Berlin, Afrika after the Cold War*. University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.

- 156) 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, Hawaii.
- 157) 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.
- 158) 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.
- 159) 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.
- 160) 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.
- 161) Maliniak, D. et al. 2008. *Women in International Relations*. College of William and Mary. Critical Perspectives, Politics & Gender 4 (1) 2008.
- 162) Maliniak, D. et al. 2009. *The American School of IPE*. Review of International Political Economy, Volume 16, Issue 1 February 2009, pages 6 – 33.
- 163) Maliniak, D. et al. 2009. *Inside The Ivory Tower*. Foreign Policy. Washington Post Newsweek, Interactive, LLC.
- 164) 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.
- 165) As reflected further on in *Table 1.11*.

166) 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*).

167) As captured in *Daedalus*, 106 (3) (Summer), pp. 41-60. Specifically derived here from Derian, J.D. (ed.). 1995. *International Theory: Critical Investigations*. MacMillan.

168) See Hix, S. 2004. *Top 200 Political Science Departments, 1998-2002*. London School of Economics. *Political Studies Review*: 2004 Vol. 2, 293-313.

169) 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*.

170) 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).

171) Recall that this term is used with all its associated problems.

172) 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).

173) Quoted here from Maliniak et al.2008. *Women in International Relations*. *Politics and Gender* 4(1) 2008.

174) 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.

175) 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.

176) Also see Tickner, J. Ann. 2001. *Gendering World Politics: Issues and Approaches in the Post-Cold War Era*. New York: Columbia University Press.

177) 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).

178) 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 Wæver titled *International Relations*

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.

179) “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).

180) This term is used, with all the problems that it carries. It is a grossly oversimplified term, which builds on naïve historical social constructs.

181) Same concern is registered, as in previous endnote.

182) 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.

183) 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)*.

184) 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.

185) Reference is specifically made to America here, but 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.

186) 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”.

187) A collaboration between *hooks* and *West* was later produced, titled *Black Women and Men: Partnership in the 1990's* (1998).

188) “Negative doctrines, total rejection of current beliefs, in religion or morals...skepticism that denies all existence” (Fowler and Fowler, 1974:815).

189) See West, C. 1988. *Prophetic Fragments*. Trenton: Afrika World Press.

190) See Grossberg, L. and Ross, A. (ed.). 1988. *Putting the pop back in Postmodernism*. Universal Abandon, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988.

191) “Concerned with affairs of this world, worldly, not sacred, not monastic, not ecclesiastical” (Fowler and Fowler, 1974:1143).

192) For a philosophical definition of this term, see *endnote 19*.

193) For examples, including list of methodologies and context of this term.

194) For an in depth historical narrative see the *BISA* website –click on the ‘*About BISA*’ icon. What is read here is my attempt at a summary.

195) Referring to strictly males.

196) From the Website click on the *Events* icon, for further details. Reference to the some of the papers. 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*.

197) An in-depth discussion, concerning my experience and views while a student at that university, may be of interest in the event that this study is upgraded to doctoral level.

- 198) 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.
- 199) An initiative organized by the Zimbabwe International Book Fair.
- 200) a senior lecturer in English and Humanities at Birbeck College, University of London.
- 201) Quoted here from Taylor, I.2010. *The International Relations of Sub-Saharan Afrika*. Continuum.
- 202) Quoted here from Adebajo, A. 2010. *The Curse of Berlin, Afrika After the Cold War*. University of KwaZulu- Natal Press.
- 203) Keller, J. and Rothchild, D. (eds.).1996. *Africa in the new International Order, Rethinking State Sovereignty and Regional Security*. Boulder, London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- 204) 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.
- 205) Shaw, T. 2008. *Afrika and Global Relations: Lessons from/for the continent*. BISA, Exeter, December 2008.
- 206) 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.
- 207) Chan, S.1987. *Issues In International Relations, A View From Africa*. London: MacMillan Publishers.
- 208) 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.
- 209) 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).

210) 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).

211) 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)*.

212) J.D.B Miller.1965. *The Nature of Politics*. Harmondsworth. Was first published by *Gerald Duckworth*.

213) J.D.B Miller.1981. *The World of States*. London.

214) Taught in the *School of Social Sciences*, University of Port Harcourt.

215) Taught in the Department of Government, University of Nairobi.

216) Taught in the department of Political Science in the Universities of Dar es Salaam and Zimbabwe.

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274) 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.

275) 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).

276) 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.

277) 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*. I was shocked how close *King Shaka's* burial site was to Luthuli's home.

278) 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*?

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286) As paraphrased here from A.A. Mazrui. 2004. *Global Afrika requires our Focus*. City Press (July 11, 2004:17).

287) Paraphrased by Rafapa (2005, 2). See Gikandi, S.1999. *Africa and the idea of the Aesthetic: From Eurocentrism to Pan-fricanism*. Unpublished paper Witwatersrand University.

288) Mudimbe, V.Y.1994. *The Idea of Afrika*. James Currey: Indiana University Press.

289) 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).

290) 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).

291) 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)”.

292) 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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