When You Think of a Global IR Theory, Think Uhuru Na Ujamaa?

Shadrack Bentil[1*]

[1]*Institute for Intercultural and International Studies, University of Bremen, Germany.*

Author's contribution

The sole author designed, analysed, interpreted and prepared the manuscript.

Review Article

ABSTRACT

"A nation which refuses to learn from foreign cultures is nothing but a nation of idiots and lunatics. Mankind could not progress at all if we all refused to learn from each other. But [this] …does not mean we should abandon our own [to embrace others.] The sort of learning from which we can benefit is the kind which can help us to perfect and broaden our own culture" [43]. The question, "Is there a Global International Relations (IR) theory?" remains an important discourse in the world today especially, when ideas have no boundaries and societies are not static. Several scholars, Acharya and Buzan in contemporary literature have argued for the broadening and departure from western centric construction of the world to give the discipline of IR a global perspective. Thus, the paper argued that Nyerere's Ujamaa holds in it, insights that can better the theorising process in the IR discipline. These insights exude the principles and values of African Communitarianism, African re-conceptualization of sovereignty, the concept of developmental state model, national unity and cohesion, and the contribution to pedagogical discourse of liberation which are often shallowly constructed by dominant western ideas. On this account, the paper relies predominantly on secondary data in a semblance of systematic literature review present what is out there, and to

---

*Corresponding author: Email: sbentil@uni-bremen.de, s.bentil@jacobs-university.de;

situate the discussion in ongoing debate. The paper concludes that there should be a multiple but overlapping discussions on global IR theorising, such that various theoretical and epistemological strands of knowledge and inquiry are appreciated (Ujamaa in this case).

1. INTRODUCTION

The question, "Is there a Global IR theory?" remains an important discourse in the world today especially, when ideas have no boundaries and societies are not static. Factually, the world is characterized by ideas and innovations. The differences in these ideas, often are shaped by the level of legitimacy and conformity with societal reasoning and constructs. For example, realism and liberalism have remained dominant in international relations discourse, even though critical theory and other related theories have become important to the understanding and functioning of the world. The search for global IR theories often takes the constructivists and post-structuralist perspective to understanding global politics. These approaches stress on structure and agencies (constructivism) and challenge the dominant discourse and structure on which reality is established by knowledge and power (post-structuralism).

In the seminal work of Robert Cox, he noted that human affairs often are structured and ordered within a given epoch and space by contending perspectives [1]. For this reason, the likelihood of bestowing on an existing order high levels of arbitrariness that is hostile to change may become inevitable. For instance, Cox observed that "a theory is always for someone and for some purpose" [1]. That is, the aim of a theory is to bring to consciousness problems of the world to enable us to explain, modify, alter and reshape existing order to understand present realities (purpose of a theory). However, a theory that is self-edifying and perpetuating is at best ideology-oriented theory (a theory for someone). The discipline of International Relations is not immune to the description made by Cox. Thus, the discipline is frequently characterized by theoretical confusion which necessitates and prompts the need for further research.

A debate that seems to be dominating contemporary IR discussions borders on the issue of Global IR theories. Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan are notable among the ardent proponents of Global IR theory. Their stimulating arguments aim at drawing attention to the nature of the IR discipline which is oriented towards western political theory and history [2,3]. Sinking their expedition into the argument espoused by Cox in the earlier paragraph, Acharya and Buzan portrays that existing IR theories are dominated by western perspectives and designed to serve the core countries. By dint of this, these Western-centric assumptions IR knowledge have succeeded in creating hegemonic status within the global context of theorising [2]. Therefore, the need to displace the hegemonic status of western ideas in IR, without discrediting its potential power to explain phenomena requires the search for Global IR theory.

The literature suggests that the IR discipline has stagnated and taken a slow pace in adapting to the changes in the global order [4]. Since the early 1900s, the world has gone through multi-polarity (prior to WW1), bipolarity (after WW2), and unipolarity (early 1990s). Yet, the discipline lacks dynamism as scholars are confined to reproducing and reconstructing western theories without paying attention to equally important ideas of non-western origin [2,4,5]. Given the rise of the emerging powers and economies in the last decade, exploring other non-western ideas to provide a holistic picture of the global order is imperative. Though, scholars aim at achieving Global IR theory, priority has been given to Asia (China, India, Indonesia, Japan and Southern Asia) just to mention the prominent ones. Perhaps, the reason for concentrating in these areas could be due to their rising power, wealth, and contributions to global politics. Be it as it may, African countries like Ethiopia, Rwanda, South Africa and Botswana have made economic strides in recent times with their versions of the developmental state model. This presents a perfect opportunity for scholars to extend the Global IR theory debate to Africa.

Consequently, insights from Acharya and Buzan's scholarly books and articles resonate an idea of African origin: Uhuru na Ujamaa, an idea I consider as one of the non-western ideas that harbours important features which can contribute to the discussion and understanding of global IR theory. The idea of Ujamaa exudes the self-reliance and development model which was

developed in Tanzania to facilitate a holistic development from agriculture to industrialization. The main reason for choosing this idea is that it embodies political, economic, social and ideological intricacies, which largely characterise the nature and scope of both domestic and international politics. Moreover, the ideology recognizes the importance of learning from others, while hewing a working model that serves the unique needs of society. To contribute to ongoing discussions on Global IR theory, this paper seeks to answer the question: *"What insights does Nyerere's Ujamaa bring to the discussions on global IR theory?"*

To answer this question, the paper is divided into five (5) main parts. The first part constitutes the introduction and research question, the structure of the paper and definition of key concepts. The second focuses on exploring the debate on Global IR theory; the third part concentrates on conceptualization of Ujamaa and its main argument. This was presented under five themes (Ujamaa and People Centeredness; Ujamaa and Land; Ujamaa and Education; Ujamaa and Self-reliance; and Ujamaa and leadership Lifestyle); the fourth part looks at the potential contribution of Uhuru na Ujamaa to the discussions of global IR theory and the final part is dedicated to a summary and conclusion of the paper.

2. METHODOLOGY

With reference to the methodology, the paper draws mainly from ongoing debates in the field of IR especially, Global IR theorising: influential works of dominant authors were therefore, interrogated in a semblance of systematic literature review. This method is often associated with the medical sciences but its usage and application according to Petticrew & Roberts [6], is neither new nor limited to the biomedical studies. The term simply refers to a procedural evaluation of literature through a synthesis of what is out there guided by a question the researcher seeks to answer. In other words, systematic review starts with a well-defined question in which the researcher tries to make a summary assessment of the information and reports available evidence in the area of the study. Accordingly, the Cochrane Collaboration [7] conceive the idea of "systematic review" as an overview of high-level primary research on a particular research question that it tries to answer by identifying high-quality research results relevant for the research question by summary and evaluation [8,9].

Although some scholars express the likelihood of bias by researchers (value judgments, interpretations, and research goals), analysis of multiple academic positions in terms of scope and perspectives is expected to reduce researchers' prejudices [10]. Likewise, the rigor and deeper analytic attribute of systematic review puts it above subjective commentaries on the state of art which facilitate reasonable predictions and effective generalization of divergent and convergent contexts [11, 12]. Moreover, Hansen and Trifkovic [10] contend that the relevance of a systematic review lies in the objective inference and conclusions based on the evidence available and not a description of all aspects of the topic being studied.

Thus, for this paper, relevant studies on Global IR discussions are selected and reviewed to pave way for the discussion on Ujamaa and why it has to be considered in the Global IR debate. In this regard, secondary data sources such as books, journal articles, academic websites (Google Scholar, University Online library sources), and encyclopaedia of social sciences were used to provide an overview of the Global IR contentions. The overreliance on secondary sources for this paper is necessary due to the following reasons: (a) it serves as a starting point and allows the researcher to benefit from the wealth of data, in an attempt to validate, elaborate or interrogate inconsistencies inherent in the line of thought of IR scholars, by comparing and contrasting seminal work in the field of study; (b) secondary data as an analytical source also brings clarity to conclusions and interpretations that might otherwise not be understood in their original context; and (c) limited time and resources to gather primary data.

Accordingly, it is important to note these key concepts that form the core of this paper: (a) Uhuru (b) Ujamaa (c) Global IR theory. *Uhuru* is conceptualized as independence from imperialism, colonialism and neo capitalism as well as breaking away from the unequal relationship between the Africans and the capitalist West to maximize one's own potentials for the benefit of society [13]. *Ujamaa* should be understood as a version of African socialism that rests on the principle of organizing "men's inequalities to serve their equality" [13] through the idea of family-hood (villagization) to create an egalitarian society where everyone contributes to the nation building with the exception of the weak and the aged. *Global IR theory* on the other

hand, encapsulates the appreciation and application of both western and non-western ideations, principles, norms and culture through a thorough and rigorous merging and splitting of these ideas to provide a better understanding, explanations and predictability of global politics. Particularly, the paper only considers "Uhuru" as a precursor to "Ujamaa". Therefore, Ujamaa and Global IR theory are given more space and emphasis.

3. EXPLORING THE GLOBAL IR THEORY DEBATES

Generally, a theory embodies systematised ideas and principles that purport to explain, understand, and predict the course of an action or a phenomenon under study. According to scholars in the discipline, IR theory falls into two major stands: the rationalist or positivist and post-positivist or reflectivists [3,14,15]. In the rationalists' school (pursuit of establishing causal relations), the literature has dominated the US theory-base while the reflectivists school (interpretive agenda of finding meaning and understanding) is argued to have dominated European scholarship [3,16]. Though, this shall not be the focus of this paper, it is crucial to give them a mention because of the implicit and explicit linkage these have to Global IR Theory debate. As I have already acknowledged, there are unrecognized and shredded voices in IR knowledge. And this requires interrogation especially, when IR has become very influential in shaping social and political actions and behaviour in transnational firms and agencies. The following attempts have been made by scholars to articulate the state of the art in the discipline of IR.

To begin with, Acharya and Buzan contend that, the intellectual scholarship of IR is marked by underrepresented voices of those outside the umbrella of the West. Factually, the British era and the United States (post World War 2) imposed on the world western ideas which have led to a representation deficit [2,3,4,5]. For example, the US (having a strong economy and stable political system through the Bretton Woods System) and Britain through their imperial domination (hegemonic status) extended western ideas which have overshadowed other ideas. In this sense, even when the local voices are brought to light, they are denied agency. The lack of agency propels then, the continuous legitimization of western knowledge as the standard and rubric for measuring and analysing

actions and inactions of international actors and their interactions. The result is the recycling of western concepts, norms, and values to create the impression that "western history is the world" [3,17,18].

Relatedly, Acharya and Buzan suggests that levels of scholarly ethnocentrism exist which place Western cultural models higher than ideas coming from the global south or even some western countries like France, Germany and Russia. A key contributing factor to this ethnocentric tendency and the persistence of Anglo-American ideation domination in IR is partly a language barrier. For instance, it is difficult to translate key local words into the English language without losing its merit. Thus, non-western ideas that fail to conform to the structure of the English language either attract only a limited audience or is rejected, marginalized, and silenced directly or indirectly by mainstream IR journals [3]. This means that, the chances of getting a global attention is low, increasing the perpetuity of English language as the lingua franca in IR discourse [3].

Moreover, Acharya [4] argued that the reliance and locus given to the 1648 Westphalian treaty as constituting the birth of modern states is a parochial western construct. That is, several other important treaties, and diplomatic regulations existed centuries before the treaty of Westphalia (examples East Asia, the Middle East, China-India relationships; Ancient-Prussia-Persia relationship) [2,3,17,18]. In the same vein, the political systems in history did not only consist of states, but empires as well. For instance, most African countries gained independence centuries after Westphalian treaty, but the role of empires still plays a critical role in the global politics. Hence, the denial of colonialism as part of international history and just limiting the Westphalian treaty to existence of state is at best inaccurate and must be interrogated [4].

Contributing to this debate, Deepshikha Shahi [15] argues in conformity with the earlier assertion that the current IR discipline is narrow and lacks global spirit leading to hegemonic Eurocentric theories [15]. According to him, the epistemological duality of IR theoretical traditions (rationalist and/or reflectivity) makes it difficult to bridge the gap between "theorizing subject and theorized object" and the winner of such failure is the Gramscian hegemonic domination of western interests [15]. Drawing from the Advaitic monism

of East Asia, Shahi contended that, Advaitic operates in the consciousness of man and for this reason provides a link between the traditional epistemological dualism [15]. He thus, develops a methodological, ontological and reconciliatory theory argument for Advaitic Global IR) and therefore suggests the need to move IR debates beyond the dualistic school of perceiving (rationalists and reflectivity) to embrace monism Advaitic IR philosophy [15]. This in his view shall aid in the reconciliation and expansion of not only Western and Eastern ideations but the rest of the globe.

QIN [16], argued that although IR theory in China has gained considerable grounds, there is seemingly no evidence of "incommensurable theory", an observation which is confirmed by Zi [19]. This notwithstanding, critical analysis of original theories, testing and application of theoretical assumptions prominently feature in the IR discipline of China. Decoding this theoretical deficit, QIN considers limited consciousness of 'international-ness', the preponderance of Western IR theory discourse and the non-existence of theoretical hard-core absence of a theoretical hard core [16]. Irrespective of these weaknesses, the Chinese IR brings to the fore a metaphysical element of approaching IR through the traditional Chinese philosophy, which western scholarship neglects [16]. But what QIN failed to realise is that the non- consciousness of "International-ness" could be a good thing since it would reduce the chances of reproducing western ideas in a different way. Lack of consciousness of western ideas therefore provides a pinch to discovering new ideas of theorising world order. But could there be, remains an interesting puzzle to resolve due to colonialism and imperial experiences?

It is therefore not for nothing that, Bilgin [20] practiced cautions to the fact (that attempts to look beyond western IR discipline may end up with the same concept being applied in a different way. This is because, the historical antecedent and experiences of the West may have occupied the subconscious mind of non-western IR scholars through the mimicry of what is already in existence [20]. Inquiring the silences between western and non-western ideas in Bilgin's opinion is very important to produce what is missing without reproducing existing order— such that even when they are similar, they may differ on some grounds [20].

Again, Behera [21] attributed the pitfall of Indian IR theory to the suppression of its core local ideas by the Gramscian hegemony of Western IR conceptualisation. To him, a neglect and shift from Indian ontological, historical and philosophical foundations to rely heavily on Western IR theory ends up swallowing the ideation of Indian origin [21]. Behera elucidated the necessity of developing and creating a new alternative to the dominating western tools of inquiry [21]. In this way, the one-sided contemporary IR theories problem could be averted. What is striking about this argument is that, it emphasizes on redefining and creating a post-western IR rather than theorising within the dominated theories directly or indirectly and expects different results.

The arguments presented by Acharya and Buzan and related argument presented here redirects the focus of IR discussion on Non-Western and Western other than American and European IR theory. Though, this is a commendable move to expand IR debates, it is subject to definitional confusion as the connotations of what is "Western" and "Non-western" is often interpreted as vague. This is to say, some of the ideas tagged as western have a close relation to what is non-western. As valid as this critic may be, it does not erase the argument that the global IR history and theory are inevitably biased towards European and American experiences and sentiments which results in a fallacious if not too a narrow way of looking at the world. In effect, global history is not western history nor is western sentiment and constructions the same as world sentiments. However utopian it may seem to scholars; it should not force a stagnation of the IR.

More so, it is difficult to generalize across time and space because the observers are inevitably shaped by what they observe, and so true reality cannot be achieved neither is, a neutral point of view. On that note, the global IR theory debate is not aimed at generalizing IR across the globe but rather aiming at recognizing different construction of world ideas and identities without putting a cap on one as the all-encompassing knowledge by which the world can be understood. Another critique is that, the approach employed by global IR proponents are likely to produce a clash of intellectual disagreement where scholars seek to project their perspective through the establishment of some kind of school of thought (Asian School, African School, Copenhagen School, European or American School) to register their points without providing an actual solutions to the problem.

However, I contend that these basic theoretical and methodological disagreement creates competition which will eventually force a complementary analysis of global politics. Global IR theory attempts as I see it, *encapsulates the appreciation and application of both western and non-western ideations, principles, norms and culture through a thorough and rigorous merging and splitting of these ideas to provide a better understanding, explanations and predictability of global politics*. Of course, the debate on global IR theory is extensive and cannot be fully presented in this limited space. However, the basic guiding light for the debate is what I have provided from key authorities in this area and the likely limitations. The attempted conceptualization of global IR italicised shows the direction of the paper in subsequent sections: drawing attention to the fact that Ujamaa, as African Socialism, represents values that can broaden global IR debates. The next section focuses on the highlights and explanations of the core argument of Ujamaa.

4. CONCEPTUALIZATION OF UJAMAA AND MAIN ARGUMENTS

4.1 Ujamaa Conceptualized

Julius Mwalimu Nyerere like many Pan-Africanist, in the life of Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana), Haile Selassie (Ethiopia), Leopold Seder Senghor (Senegal), Jomo Kenyatta (Kenya), Marcus Moziah Garvey (Jamaica), among many others sought to politically, socially, philosophically, and culturally restore the dignity of Africa. Though, these leaders were shaped differently by the pan-Africanist school (adopting which approach inspires them the most), the goals were similar or very much the same. Julius Mwalimu Nyerere (1922-1999) became the president on the ticket of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) party in 1961 and following the unification of Tanganyika and Zanzibar in 1964, the ball was set rolling towards the agenda of Ujamaa and self-reliance.

The time after independence presented an opportunity for Tanzania to manage its own affairs. In this period, Tanzania was fragmented and disjointed by colonialism and imperialism and salted with glaring class division and uneven resource distribution. As pointed out by Makulilo [22], the economy of Tanzania was dominated by both German and Britain East African companies which led to the creation and sustenance of capitalist structure and principles. Recognizing

class divisions as a danger to the unity, equality, and stability on which Uhuru (freedom) was sought, Julius Nyerere had to act as a leader of his country to correct the existing order. The solution to this growing canker was the idea of Ujamaa. Hence, on the 5th day of February 1967 an official declaration of Ujamaa was made at Arusha to redefine socialism. This declaration became the code book and a guiding light to the realization of Ujamaa.

Ujamaa (socialism) was defined as theory of African extended family system or familyhood. It emphasized the purpose of man in society and democratic principles such as freedom, justice, equality, participation, and unity in order to harness the peoples' potentials for development. However, socialism was distinguished from Marxists or capitalist conception which focuses on class struggles, and exploitation and individual wealth accumulation respectively. As clearly stated by Nyerere [13, 23], "Ujamaa… is opposed to capitalism, which seeks to build a society on the basis of the exploitation of man by man…; [and Marxism] which seeks to build happy society on a philosophy of inevitable conflict between man and man."

In fact, the principles of Ujamaa outlined in the Arusha Declaration highlighted that all men are equal and must therefore have equal rights to all forms of justices (economic, political, and social-cultural), respect, dignity, freedom (of association, speech and religion), and access to education and resources [13]. In all these, the state and the governing TANU party must be strong and actively engaged in these areas, to ensure that all forms or abuse are addressed, and implementation of relevant policies assured. The ultimate goal of Ujamaa was to sustain independence, creation of equality at all levels, effective villagization of production (through agriculture), self-reliance, enhance material welfare, African unity, and contribution to peace and security of the global world [13, 24]. The subsequent paragraphs discuss selected themes from the theory of Ujamaa, since limited space will not allow for detailed elucidation of all the core arguments. These include; Ujamaa and People Centeredness; Ujamaa and Land; Ujamaa and Education; Ujamaa and Self-reliance; and Ujamaa and leadership Lifestyle.

4.2 Ujamaa and People Centeredness

Ujamaa placed men in the centre of development. According to Nyerere, man is the

purpose of society and there is nothing greater than that because diversities of men can be tapped to the common benefit of all men [13]. The need for the people of Tanzania to develop themselves in the "new road" provided by Ujamaa will lead to development [25]. In this vein, the people must work hard to attain the level of development being preached to them. Nyerere categorically, emphasized that "Everyone is a worker in Traditional African Society" [13,23] and so, the attitude of hard work must be imprinted on the minds of the people.

4.3 Ujamaa and Land (Agriculture)

The land as conceived by Nyerere is a gift from God. Men are therefore required to utilize it to the benefit of all. More so, Tanzania was blessed with arable and fertile land with a good rainfall pattern which will facilitate the agricultural agenda [26]. Nyerere underscored that, the agricultural organization of Tanzania will principally be one of "co- operative living and working… [And] farming would be done by groups of people who live as a community and work as a community. A nation of such village communities would be a socialist nation" [26,27]. Hence, the policy of villagization was adopted to ensure this happens. Villagization used here, was a policy under Ujamaa that required the movement of people from the urban centres to settle in communes and work together through farming to develop the villages that Ujamaa represented [26]. The rationale for this is to enhance equity in distribution so that none is left out in the development process [24]. An important feature this villagization was the *recognition of gendered roles as societal malfunction*. On this account, Mann [28] and Lal [29] observed that, Ujamaa solidified to an extent a binary model of gender role — stressing the importance of women in all areas of communal life and promoting the equality and participation of women towards the realization of the national common good [27].

4.4 Ujamaa and Education

One thing Nyerere held in high esteem was education. To him, socialism "is the attitude of the mind" and hence, the necessity to educate and "re-educate ourselves to regain our former minds" is the one best way out of the shackles created by colonialism [23]. The compulsory education introduced aimed at training and restructuring the ideological bankruptcy created by the capitalists West. This was also to prepare

the people, especially the youth to think critically and be innovative to intelligibly contribute to the industrialization process as well as key production sectors for villagization. For the educational system the country ought to "encourage the growth of the socialist values we aspire to [as well as]… the development of a proud, independent and free citizenry which relies upon itself for its own development, and which knows the advantages and the problems of co-operation" [26]. This will enhance the self-reliance agenda.

4.5 Ujamaa and Self-reliance

Ujamaa provided a blueprint for attaining self-reliance. Unarguably, Tanzania at the time of independence was highly dependent on colonial masters for support. This support mostly forces them conform to the whims and caprices of their colonial masters—symbolizing incomplete independence. Recognizing this, Nyerere sought to break this chain through self- reliance policies. He however, rejected the potential argument of critics by admonishing against the conception of money as a means for development. The quality of being self-sufficient or independently providing for one's nation without relying on aid. "For every problem facing our nation, the solution in everyone's mind is MONEY" The danger of assistance from outside is that it will bring industries and a chain of capitalism that will distort socialism [27]. He opined that the ability to "THINK" is more necessary than money because the problem of Tanzania was not about money but more of the mind [13]. Thus, when the people are able to think, the creations and innovations of their minds can translate into money which will bring development and benefit the entire society. The chart below is a pictorial view of the steps to self-reliance explained by Nyerere [27].

From Fig. 1, Nyerere anticipated that when individuals begin to work hard at the very basic level, it extends onto household, communal and to the national level. Moreover, the interconnectedness created by the villagization, will ensure that every community is self- reliant.

4.6 Ujamaa and Leadership Lifestyle

An attempt to achieve the above requires a strong state. This also meant that leaders must be strong. Thus, Ujamaa emphasized a state-centred approach to development. To ensure the effectiveness of leaders however, a leadership code was adopted to regulate the actions and
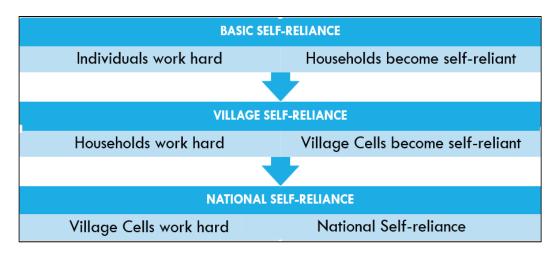
Fig. 1. The roadmap to self-reliance (Author interpretations)

inactions of leaders to ensure that they do not amass wealth to distort the classlessness being sought. For this reason, leaders were expected to adhere to the following: (a) must become peasants or workers without engaging in capitalist and feudal practices; (b) cannot hold company shares; (c) cannot hold management positions in privately owned firms; and (d) could neither own houses for rent nor receive double salaries [26]. This largely was aimed at ensuring efficiency, enhancing equality and reducing corruption.

From the core ideas of Ujamaa presented above, it is obvious that Ujamaa has some insights from which deductions could be made and applied to IR theorizing. This is discussed in the next section.

5. INSIGHTFUL TENETS UJAMAA BRINGS TO THE GLOBAL IR THEORY DISCOURSE

Proceeding on the African liberation trajectory and colonial reversals' movement, I argue that Nyerere's Ujamaa holds in its insights that can better the theorising process in the IR discipline. One striking element about Nyerere's ideas is the emphasis on the ability to THINK [13]. Undoubtedly, no one can come out with a theory without thinking. And so far as men think, ideas are bound to change and be challenged. As such, when men stop thinking, the status quo remains the same. But, can Africans, Asians, Westerners, Americans, among others perceive things in the same way, given the cultural and environmental differences? If the answer is in the affirmative, then we are not thinking enough and

if the answer is negative, then we cannot use one or two criteria (dominant theories) to generalize about the world order without lacking in content.

First, Ujamaa is linked to African Communitarianism. This idea positions the *self* at the centre of human affairs which determines the image of the world. For instance, Coetzee and Roux [30], contends that the state of personhood is attained but not given. And so, the self is person only as a socially embedded individual. The idea of Ujamaa conforms to this line of reasoning. It advocates for the return to the core traditional principles that embodies the true self. The idea's contention is that, when the true self in not attained, those who have found themselves (westerners implied) will dominate those who are yet to find themselves. Thus, by exploring Ujamaa, scholars will gain insights into the African way of theorising in order to explain the complexities that characterize the world in full. In fact, it has been argued that Ujamaa woefully failed due to Tanzania's link to their colonial masters. This point is not far from right, because they were still in the process of finding the "Tanganyika self". For example, Ujamaa emphasized self- reliance: but how can one rely on a *self* that is yet to be found? The philosophy that established Ujamaa can help scholars to interrogate how states arrive at their true self, and why other states fail in such an attempt. For instance, an attempt to discover how (e.g. Rwanda today) found itself may most probably lead IR scholars to Ujamaa.

Second, Nyerere's ideas and philosophy were not traditional innuendos but ones that were

rooted in African values, principles, classless, communal and equitable distribution of resources as well as authentic "historical memories and realities" outside the scope of European capitalist societies [31]. Relatedly, the literature shows that cultural philosophies of "nationalism, sovereignty, morality and political economy of leadership" make the idea of Ujamaa worthy of exploration [32]. Though the concept of western sovereignty is tilted toward states equality and ability to command internal and external independence, Nyerere's idea assumes sovereignty as the ability to return to one's root which is dabbed in Ghanaian parlance as *Sankofa.*

To illustrate, the concept of developmental state has become a major drive to the success of emerging economy of African countries such as Kenya, South Africa, Rwanda and Botswana. These countries modelled their development on their traditions and how their self-regulating values attain the heights they have attained. Not forgetting the Asian tigers (Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, and South Korea) must return to their roots in order to create a working system different from the colonial legacies. Interestingly, major tenets of the diverse strategies employed by these countries are captured in the concept of Ujamaa and the Arusha Declaration of 1967. These include, but are not limited to state-centred development, participatory democracy, focus on agriculture (Rwanda) and strong leadership.

Third, the idea of Ujamaa presents a critical gradation for theorizing in IR. Nyerere realized that, to attain self- reliance a step by step approach was needed to arrive at the general goal: from individual to family circles, then to village units, then to national, and finally to international. I argue that Nyerere's approach to Ujamaa and self-reliance, is important for the Global IR discussion because it upholds the commencement of theorising from the core of communes and gradually evolves to meet the external world (international). That is, when theories emerge from the organic characteristics of diverse societies the chances of arriving at globally reflective theory are high. Moreover, the crust of this argument is to elevate Ujamaa from the national discourse into international discourse to connect the world to pre-historical times.

Fourth, communes and villagization has contributed to high levels of unity of Tanzania even till today. Ujamaa, as I perceive it conceptualize conflict as *the loss of self.* When

men begin to lose that which give them stability, hope, history, and sense of belonging, conflict is invoked but in a subtle manner. In that, when men who see the future through the past are in constant struggle to restore values, believes and culture that are missing, they do not stop waring until that target is achieved through whatever means and years it will take. Moreover, when one is lost in the midst of inequality and poverty, survival becomes the game and doubt becomes a safety route. Currently, Africa is plagued with developmental deficit and increasing conflicts, instability and the spread of militant groups particularly in the Sahel and West African region. The dynamics of the situation therefore calls for rigorous academic ventures into local cultures and value systems, and their underlying ideological drives to provide meaningful explanations to the happenings in these regions beyond the perspective or realism and liberalism.

More so, an important feature worth mentioning is the idea of education embedded in Ujamaa. In fact, the philosophical underpinning of education forms a major contribution to pedagogical discourse of liberation, as it sought to contest the pedigree of educational legacy left by colonialism [31]. Education under Ujamaa took two forms: self-reliance led education and adult education. Tanzania, having been fragmented by both the British and German colonial system, required a robust shift from the educational system that conform to colonial demands [33], to one that aims at confronting the challenges and needs of their society. This therefore becomes a call for IR scholars and Publication houses to diffuse and reorient their western centric minds and allow silent voices to emerge.

The above notwithstanding, some criticisms have been levelled against the idea of Ujamaa**.** Scholars like Coulson [34] opined that the colonial legacy of bureaucracy distorted the classless society of Tanzania. In this regard, the return to a classless society (as Ujamaa implies) was rendered difficult. More so, agricultural officers and facilitators were overly elitist and as such, the status quo was maintained even after independence whilst exhibiting low levels of indigenous knowledge and its application [35]. Relatedly, Hashim [36] explained that the exhibition of bad faith and adverse reactions which included direct suspicion or the rejection of the program as well as the philosophy that stimulates it caused Ujamaa to crumble. Also,

the Global Oil crisis affected the balance of payments deficit of Tanzania [37] due to exchange shortage which made importation difficult. According to Msami & Wangwe [38], low levels of productivity led to a reduction in consumer goods to about 30% in 1973 compared to 1963 with an all-time record of 43%. This affected and deteriorated the potential success story of Ujamaa. Moreover, the continuous relationship and dependence of Tanganyika on their colonial masters further deprived their chances of success in returning to the traditional society of classlessness, especially when calls for modernization was on the spree [39].

Finally, Nyerere has been criticized for copying from the supposed "Western" socialism, making it difficult to distil what is truly an African element from what is not. But, this critique does not affect the relevance and usefulness of the ideology. It must be emphasized that, it is the idea that matters not who may have first mentioned or popularized it. Besides, the fact ideas have similarity does not make the connotations and the implicit constructions the same. Milton Friedman's conception of a theory noted that, a theory depicts a way of perceiving, interpreting or organizing the evidence "that will reveal superficially disconnected and diverse phenomena to be manifestations of a more fundamental and relatively simple structure" [40]. Nyerere's Ujamaa, therefore, highlights and draws attention to the fact that there is deficit so far as western oriented theories are concerned to better understand the African system. As such, thinking Ujamaa in the contemporary discussion of a global IR theory, can unleash the missing element of western dominated theories.

6. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDA-TION

Ideas are generally socially constructed. As such, social theory emerges from social problems and everyday life [14]. Therefore, the idea of Antoine Gramsci that "everyone is a philosopher" [41,42] suggests that ideas and knowledge abound in all spheres of life and should not be restricted by dominating ones because of the likelihood of stifling critical thinking. I will, however, uphold the claim that IR theory is essentially based on social theories decorated by the caption "international". The crust of this claim flows from the thought that, social theory forms the core of every society and

the attempts made to generalize beyond one society takes the name international which is just a *name or caption.* The idea of Ujamaa as I have argued bring to the fore the concept of village-hood and self-reliance and stresses the importance of communes that have existed prior to colonialism. The true international IR theory is therefore the one takes the core of every society (such as Ujamaa) and fusing them without missing essential characters and tenets in the Global IR discourse. When IR scholars refuse to think deeper, the result can at best be plagiarism of ideas and skilful dabbing of dominating ideas.

Again, traditional value systems often give structure to the human life. When these systems are disregarded, it makes it difficult to understand the core of society. Let's consider this illustration on oceanic waves: Waves are the noisiest, most visible, active and energetic characteristics of the ocean, but they are short-lived as these waves are in continuous conflict with each other in a rise and fall motion. This wave clashes as well as its features make men lose sight of the stillness in the depths of the ocean. It takes those who are forced by these waves to sink deep into the ocean to discover the level of stillness. This illustration represents the current state of the art in IR theory. An IR theorist focuses on the most dominating western theories and ignores the rest. The core or the tradition that gives the discipline structure is missing therefore requires sinking beneath dominant waves of ideas. Exploring other ideologies like Ujamaa could reveal traditions that hold the truth and original understanding of society and global politics.

Additionally, there is a possibility of hidden non-western ideas due to language barriers and cultural diversities. This presupposes that, IR theories may lack local perspectives even in Europe. In the light of this, language occupies an important position in making and unmaking Global IR theory agenda. Notably, it is difficult to translate certain concepts into English and the reverse, without losing the value of some concepts. Obviously, depending on the values, culture, ideology and orientation of the translator, biases become difficult to avoid. For example, China has succeeded in building Confucius Centres in most parts of African countries where they teach Chinese Mandarin. If they should become a hegemon following the relative decline of the USA, their ideas are more likely to spread and pose a threat to non-Chinese ideation, due

to the shift of hegemon. Therefore, until scholars begin to explore non-western theories like Ujamaa to understand the organic features of contending state in the so-called international stage, strong powers will perpetually suppress and stifle local ideation and the purpose of building a global IR theory will elude scholars. An IR scholar must therefore go beyond dominant IR western centric theories to explore others such as Ujamaa to make the Global IR goal a reality. So, we can think of UJAMAA when Global IR theory is thought of.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

COMPETING INTERESTS

Author has declared that no competing interests exist.

REFERENCES

1. Cox RW. Social forces, states and world orders: Beyond international relations theory. Millennium 1981;10(2):126–55.
    DOI: 10.1177/03058298810100020501
2. Acharya, Amitav, Barry Buzan. Towards global international relations. Chapter. In the making of global international relations: Origins and evolution of IR at its centenary Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2019;285–320.
    DOI: 10.1017/9781108647670.011
3. Acharya A, Buzan B. Why is there no non-Western international relations theory? An introduction. International Relations of the Asia-Pacific. Oxford University Press. 2007;7(3): 287-312.
4. Acharya A. Global International Relations (IR) and regional worlds: A new agenda for International Studies. International Studies Quarterly. 2014;58(4):647-659.
5. Amitav Acharya, Developing Global International Relations: What, Who, and How?, in: TRAFO – Blog for Transregional Research; 2016.
    (Retrieved November 3, 2019)
    Available:https://trafo.hypotheses.org/4873
6. Petticrew M, Roberts H. Systematic reviews in the social sciences: A practical guide. John Wiley & Sons; 2008.
7. Cochrane Collaboration. Cochrane reviews. The cochrane collaboration; 2012.
    (Retrieved November 18, 2019)
    Available:http://www.cochrane.org/cochrane-reviews
8. Higgins JP, Green S. Cochrane handbook for systematic reviews of interventions; 2008.
    (Retrieved November 16, 2019)
    Available:https://www.radioterapiaitalia.it/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/cochrane-handbook-for-systematic-reviews-of-interventions.pdf
9. Chandler J, Higgins JPT, Deeks JJ, Davenport C, Clarke MJ. Chapter 1: Introduction. In: Higgins JPT, Churchill R, Chandler J, Cumpston MS (editors), Cochrane Handbook for Systematic Reviews of Interventions (version 5.2.0) (Updated June 2017); 2017.
    (Retrieved November 16, 2019)
    Available:www.training.cochrane.org/handbook
10. Hansen H, Trifkovic, N. Systematic reviews: Questions, methods and usage. Danida, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark; 2013.
    (Retrieved November 13, 2019)
    Available:https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/47993/1/MPRA_paper_47993.pdf
11. Weed DL. The quality of nutrition and cancer reviews: A systematic assessment. Critical Reviews in Food Science and Nutrition. 2013;53(3):276–286.
12. Briner RB, Denyer D. Systematic review and evidence synthesis as a practice and scholarship Tool, in Rousseau, D. M. (Ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Evidence Based Management. Oxford: Oxford University Press; 2012.
13. Nyerere KJ. Uhuru na Ujamaa: A selection from writings and speeches, 1965-1967, Oxford: Oxford University Press; 1968.
14. Harrington A. Modern social theory. Oxford: Oxford University Press; 2005.
15. Shahi D. Advaita as a global international relation: Rethinking Asia and international relations. New York, Routledge; 2019.
16. QIN Y. Why is there no Chinese international relations theory? International Relations of the Asia-Pacific. 2007;7(3): 313–340.
    Available:https://doi.org/10.1093/irap/lcm013
17. Acharya A. Dialogue and discovery: In search of international relations

theories beyond the West. Millennium: Journal of International Studies. 2011;39 (3):619-637.

18.   Acharya A. An IR for the Global South or a Global IR? Indonesian Journal of International Studies (IJIS). 2015;2(2):175-178.
(Retrieved November 2, 2019)
Available:http://www.eir.info/2015/10/21/an -ir-for-the-Global-south-or-a-Global-ir/

19.   Zi Z. 'Xuyan (Foreword)', in Zi Zhongyun, ed., Guoji Guanxi Lilun Tansuo'zai Zhongguo (Exploration of International Relations Theory in China), Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House; 1998.

20.   Bilgin P. Thinking past 'Western' IR? Third World Quarterly. 2008;29(1):5-23.
DOI: 10.1080/01436590701726392

21.   Behera C. Re-imagining IR in India. International Relations of the Asia-Pacific: Oxford University Press. 2007;7(3):341–368.
DOI: 10.1093/irap/lcm014

22.   Makulilo BV. Where is Socialism in Tanzania? Elisir Social Science. 2012;46: 8170-8180.

23.   Nyerere KJ. Ujamaa: The basis of African socialism. The Journal of Pan African Studies. 1987;1(1):4-11.

24.   Okoko ABK. Socialism and Self-Reliance in Tanzania, London and New York: KPI Limited; 1987.

25.   Nyerere KJ. After the Arusha declaration, presidential address to the National Conference of TAWIZ-Mwanza, Dar- es-salaam; 1967.

26.   Nyerere KJ. Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism, Dar-es-salaam, Oxford University Press; 1977.

27.   Nyerere JK. Socialism and rural development. In: Nyerere JK (Ed.): Ujamaa. Essays on Socialism. Dar es Salaam. 1968;106-144.

28.   Mann D. The smell of Ujamaa is still there: Tanzania's path of development between grassroots socialism and Central State Control in Ruvuma. Würzburg University Press; 2017.

29.   Lal P. African socialism in postcolonial Tanzania: Between the village and the World. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2015;78-128.
DOI: 10.1017/CBO9781316221679

30.   Coetzee PH, Roux APJ. The African philosophy reader. Routledge:

Oxford University Press of Southern Africa Second Edition. 2003;321-401.

31.   Otunnu O. Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere's philosophy, contribution, and legacies, African Identities. 2015;13(1):18-33.
DOI: 10.1080/14725843.2014.961278

32.   Mazrui AA, Mhando LL. Julius K. Nyerere, Africa's Titan on a Global Stage: Perspective from Arusha to Obama. Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press; 2013.

33.   Fanon F. Black skin, white mask. London: Grove Press; 1967.

34.   Coulson A. Peasants and bureaucrats. Review of African Political Economy. 1975; 3:53-58.
(Retrieved November 8, 2019)
Available:http://www.jstor.org/stable/39978 23

35.   Freyhold MV. Ujamaa Villages in Tanzania. New York Publisher; 1979.

36.   Hashim N. How knowledge, policy planning and implementation succeed or fail: The Jatropha Projects in Tanzania, Journal of African Business. 2014;15(3): 169-183.
DOI: 10.1080/15228916.2014.956640

37.   Skarstein R, Samuel MW. Industrial development in Tanzania some critical issues. Nordiska Afrikainstitutet; Tanzania Publishing House; 1986.

38.   Msami J, Wangwe S. Industrial development in Tanzania. Oxford University Press. 2016;1-24.
DOI:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198776987.0 03.0008

39.   Rodney W, Botchwery K. Why the first development decade failed in Tanzania. The African Development Experience of the Sixties. In: Karl M. (Ed.): Ujamaa and self-reliance: Building socialism in Tanzania (The future of the missionary enterprise, 19); 1976.

40.   Friedman M, Friedman M. Essays in positive economics. University of Chicago Press; 1953.

41.   Wainwright J. On Gramsci's 'conceptions of the world'. Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers. 2010;35(4):507-521.
Available:http://www.jstor.org/stable/40891 005

42. Harman C. Gramsci, the Prison Notebooks and philosophy. International Socialism. 2007;114:1-17.
(Retrieved November 11, 2019)
Available:https://www.marxists.org/archive/harman/2007/xx/prisnbooks.htm#top

43. Nyerere JK. Freedom and unity/Uhuru na Umoja: A selection from writings and speeches 1952-1965, Dar-es-Salaam, Oxford University Press; 1966.