





**AKPOSEE KEMEBAGHA  
(ZOZOBAGHA)  
BRA IBE DA TOLUMO EYI**

Nonkilling Global Political Science

Glenn D. Paige

Foreword by A.M. Wokocha JP  
Introduction by Fidelis Allen

Arranged by Fidelis Allen  
and translated to Ijaw (Izon) by  
Prince Ebiowei Kainga and Eric Avi



Center for Global Nonviolence  
**Nigeria**

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## About this edition

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**Fidelis Allen** teaches Political Science in the Department of Political and Administrative Studies, University of Port Harcourt, Choba, Rivers State, Nigeria. He founded the Centre for Global Nonviolence Nigeria. He is actively working towards a nonkilling Nigeria through research, education and training. Fidelis is a recipient of University for Peace and Canadian International Development Research Centre's Doctoral Research Award 2008. He arranged the publication of an economical English edition of this book in 2005. He also arranged the translation and publication of the Ijaw and Ogoni translations of the book with the permission of the author and support of the Centre for Global Nonkilling Hawaii.

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*Translation to Ijaw (Izon or Ijo) Language (Amassoma Dialect). Amassoma is an Ijaw (Izon) community which hosts the Niger Delta University (NDU) Wilberforce Island. It is a member of Ogboin clan and is located in the Wilberforce Island. Though the Amassoma dialect is unique, the Island is a central place of dispersal of the Ijaw (Izon) people. And the Island is the most central in central Niger Delta and indeed the core of the Niger Delta. There are about 24 dialects among the Ijaw people of the Niger Delta. However, the thread line of all these dialects remain very significant. The choice of the Amassoma dialect is based on its unifying elements.*

# Acknowledgements

*Fidelis Allen*

**F**irst, I would like to thank God for this project for the opportunity of personally knowing Professor Glenn D. Paige and some of his academic writings for a killing free world. I am profoundly grateful to Glenn and Glenda (his dear wife) and the Centre for Global Nonkilling for the support and permission to translate the Nonkilling Global Political Science into one of Nigeria's key languages, Ijaw (Izon), spoken widely in the oil rich Niger Delta. Unmistakably, this publication provides scholars, nongovernmental, governmental and business leaders, perhaps for the first time, with a material that can aid their work for peace in the Niger Delta. It is also outstanding contribution to the development of indigenous languages in Nigeria, especially for Peace and Conflict Studies.

I thank the Centre for Global Nonviolence CGNV-Nigeria team- Grace Isodiki Allen, Celestine Akpobari, Professor Addison Wokocha, Inyeme Mafred Odoya, Pastor Lysias Dodd Gilbert and Onisodianikume Odoya and Peaceman Odu- for their dedication to the work of achieving a nonkilling world.

The technical aspect of this translation project was handled by Mr. Prince Ebiowei Kainga and Mr. Eric Avi. I am grateful to these translators for their commitment. The work took nearly a year to complete. Even so, I know now, that the value of this work will outlive current generations of those who will read it and apply the wisdom of the book in real life situations at many levels of our society. It is some kind of generation-skipping transfer of a body of knowledge to the good people of all Ijaw-speaking groups of the world. In fact, telling the story of nonkilling, as clearly explained by Glenn, in the local language of origin for Nigerians is a step towards achieving much desired nonkilling Nigeria. And for this, again, I am grateful to all who assisted the process in various ways, including those who made comments on the draft submitted by the translators. I am grateful to Professor Joám Evans Pim for his immense contribution towards this publication. I met him first in Hawaii, and ever since, has been very helpful in the development of literature on nonkilling, as well as in advancing the work of the Centre for Global Nonkilling in Hawaii. In fact, Joám created a website for CGNV-Nigeria and offered his design and editorial skills, on a casual request for it.

August 30, 2009.

Richard C. Snyder  
1916 - 1997  
H. Hubert Wilson  
1909 -1977  
Political scientists, Teachers, Friends.

A science which hesitates to  
forget its founders is lost.  
Alfred North Whitehead

# Fun bolou egberi (Egberi tebe me)

## Kemebagha (Zozobagha) Nigeeria ibe pa mo bra me

Fidelis Allen

**K**eme bagha (Zozobagha) akpo numu pa mene yan?

Onumu kemebagha akpo eyerin mene yan?

Me bi bebe ke Professor Glenn D. Paige me fun ma ere werimi. Omene kemeowei Nehru di bibebe bimo, "ibe akoromo ake ibe la see bolou amu diyamo yi me, ibe biwerimi bi bebe ama. Ibe tubuo me di yamo a mene, ibe me na keree bibebebo na bi ake anglo pere ya". Geleku geleku ese bo Nigeria eyerin buo ma fe suwo dei bra didaba, me Nigeria poum ma gee werimi fun me Nonkilling global political science, keree efie kabu emi. A niuke doni, James Robinson (2002) gba amene yan, me fun me ebibara goo fini mo daa ba baa ake kuro bara ake daabaa, numu akpo maa geleku geleku eyerin buo ama mo baa kemebo mo baa ogbo bo mo ama bomo nee boo eyerin buobo duo bo mene yoo bo see dei mene. Mee eyerin buo bo mo, di yamo yibomo, ekiyemo yibomo, paa mene yibo ne kurgo-ake (power) daa ake baa kuro-ake miyen mo yi bo kpo suwo emi. Mee ke kaaghaba bolou efiyene "nonkilling" kemebagha beke poum me fun bulu a pa dei. Keme agelekku kpo pa emi. A negha bekpo omene kemeowei paige tuu pei mene. Ogbade yoo nonkilling tuu me, keme bayi seefa, kemeba esi simoyi seefa, yi amane kemeba gbolomo baa keme tobou akpo bayi sefa. Mimi me kemeawou ke gbolomo emi, kaan sei ya, nama mo ondo nana werimi yi see kpo lamene Paige (2005) gba bra me.

"Nonkilling" Izon poum me keme bagha. Kemebagha gbolomo emi yi bo, ddo-akpo (soo fa akpo baa yi amane soo mie pamogha), esefa (Ikioseimo, yi sei mo) baa (seiton, sei fie bebe baa seiyi mie).

Kemeba me boo tebe ogidi mo alagba gha. Moun ake keme tuwa, keme otu nana werimi yi (resources) ake zene yi mie. Nonkilling me kemeba gbolomo yibo see kon siin. Nonkilling me kiri mo agono mo baa ondo gbolomo yi bo see esismo yi bo see kon siin. Viridi kemeba yi boso kon siin. A yaa mie pamgweri mi yi (Technological Condition) ama ne gbi eyerin mie pamgwo yi amara.

Zuwa otu ake mo werimi brame akpo see kemebagha me ake esefa akpo ka ake werimi. Tuu me akpo see ese ke mi, anii ke anii abe kpo, yoo see paa pa ke mi, keni bragha. Alagba kpo ake zozo tein baa esisi mo. Keni ekpudu mo zene ekpudu mo ese mie pa mo.

Howard Dee (2004) Philippine otubo agee brame, kemeba me betebe alagba mo ogidi mo aweri ku mo. Ibe ma ton baa kori weni yi bo ne zo zo ponimo, keme mie biyeforomo baa fee mie pa mo yibo see ke gbolo mo emi. Glenn's me kemebagha mo esefa akpo egberi tebeme numu akpo kori wenimo, baa ebe daa bolou amu, baa me sei kemeba akpo eyerin buobo see dei mene. Jose Abueva (2004:27) Ke gbamo, philipine ma numu pa mene, baa numu akpo see yi ekiye bra bo see dei mene. Nigeria kpo numu dei mene, me fun ne Paige gee werimi fun ma mie pa mo weri mi yi pa a daba.

Glenn ake "nonkilling" kemebagha gba werimi brame, akpo ne, baa keme awou di bra ne, Zozo esisi mogha, kemeba yi miegha kiyou diri guogha, kurotoru keme yi kon akegha. Amherst H. Wilder Foundation (1992:13) ake Paige gee werimi "violence" di brame, "violence" me, keme keme isisimo, keme mie don mo baa keme ayilamo, baa

keme mie biye foromo ake yi mie. Agba brame, violence me ere poun baa kuro ne keme don mo yi. Nonkilling keme bagha me ake tolumo yi mie me Paige mo gbadei.

Kala awou, aya sou pa mene awou, pesii ama mo erekou bo mo, tolumo yi ne a gbolomo emi ye see kemebagha me ake atolumo (Natalia Morales 2004:79). Pe sii bo ke numu esedou sara mene. Ibe gometi (government) pesii bo dei mo, ane eyerin buo bo mie ebi mo yi bo see, kemebagha ake tuamo.

Nigeria kemebo, ese fa bra ake biyegbo yi ama telemo. Me tun mene yi bo see baa ongbai, Abuja, Port Harcourt, Lagos ka ba mu dei. Sukulu wari bo kpo amu tolumo.

Keme tolumo (Teaching) mene bra me baa Nigeria bratebe nana duo bo bra di daba, embigede (Army) oda bra me keme ake politiki ifie bo dein mo. Biafra mo Nigeria sooo me 1967 duo mu 1970 kurai me keme keni: egbuwa ama (Thousands) ke femo, apere ba mo. A nee duo bo see, Nigeria ikoki bo see kemeba timi mo ladei. Mee ifie me Niger Delta kpo ese ese ke pa mene. Pesii bo efie bo see mie kuro mene. Ese kumo ke mie pamoo mene. Furu, turu tikpi owou owou ke owou mene. 1999 duo bo see kemesele yi bo kpo keme ama ba mene. Bi bebe me, Nigeria me, numu kemebagha akpo eyerin mene yan?

Nigeria keme ekpangue bo see (government) gometi keme, sooo dou yi sibe keme ama, politiki ane keme otu da bra tu dou keme ama, yi teme yi mie pamoo keme ama, a see yi a tudou baa keme yi numu mie pamoo mene. Ake mie mene paboo, kemeba baa kemeba mo esisimo pa ke mie mene, baa kemeawou (civil society) bo serimo ese mie (James Robinson, 2002), baa politiki tudou kemebo ne kemeba ka ke akpo eyerin buo bo mo baa bolou buo mo bra me keregha bra mie yan me, a mene kpo suo emi. Paige mene kemebagha eyerin buo ake biyegbo yi bo see mie mene.

Nigeria elekeshone, ane keme sele yi bo see ese dou mene, kemeba mene. 1999 mo 2003 Kemesele yi bo Nigeria see, opu ese ke koromo. Kemeotu zozo ba mo Onumu ese fa demokarasi kemesele yi miyein afaa ha?

Nigeria mimi me kuro mo eyoin mo nana werimi baa kemebagha me ake tolumo yi miyein mene, me ifiye me. Kesi egberi ke gbaa ma ba me fun me Nigeria miyein kemebagha akpo eyerin me ne, baa mee 21<sup>st</sup> Century, ane sii keni foni karamo sonron a sii kurai ama akpo miyein ebimo mene.

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## Kekesoo fun egberi me (Preface)

**M**e fun me mie ake akposee ibe da tolumo werimi otu ke pere da kori ekiye da ba ake mie yi suwo ke doni pamo werimi fun. Mie ake aya duba dein fun tolumo wari buomene awou duwo mu kunomo kunumo fun akuran tuwa dei otu bo kpo pere werimi. Akpo badei kurai bomo ba akpo sei mu ladei bra me diyamo amene kemetobou ekiye werimi bra see kemeba mo zozoba me kemetobou eyerin buo ke emi yi ne teitei yo see fa, ake mie da buwo mo bra see fa yine ibeda tolumo mo ba ibeda kori mie bra kpo bibirin ake werimi. Ekiye werimi bra me, me fun goo mene otubo numu bibebe ake zozoba buomo werimi bibirin ake werimi yo bimene bawai mie deiya me boloume akpo see zozoba yi ba pakumo ee ekiye yi miepamomene.

Me ke kanba bolou fun ne beke pou ma “nonkilling” ane “kemebagha” “zozobagha” ten yi ake fun ten mene. Me kemega ten yi me kemete otu ake ey eyi ten ten bra fa. Keni geleku yo emi dei deiya me zozobagha gten yi me ake diyamo werimi yo me, kemeawou eyi ekiye yo me duba ake babaa danmo ake doo mo esefa mo dein werimi. Ake diwerimi bra me kemetobou ondo see kemete mu kon ake kumo ee. Bolou bolou me binotu me fun me ake eyi asuogha ke akemomene. Amene numu kemeowei Gandhi ereworimi angaanga ma suwo mene. O O mene kemebagha (nonkilling) me ake ahimsa ke ten mo. Kemebagha me doladolo ebi ake ese dein worimi Ahimsa (tume esefa ane esedougha: sei ekihyouekiyo tuwagha, seiere bebe mo sei yimie mo bra mo fa).

Kemeowei Gandhi kpo me fun goo daba, numu dou erimene, zozobagha bra me ebi ake esedou bulu apamene yibo dein mene. Aneme esefa bra ibeda tolumo eyime bolou amumene. Ba kemeondo akemene politiki duwo mu ondo peremene politiki lamene.

Me fun me ekiye werimi bra me akpo ne zozobagha akpo numu pamene ye numuatimi deijoama ne ibeda tolumo pamo ba omene akpo eyerin buwob mo mie daba numu zozobagha akpo mie pamomene ye. Bibebe amanekoroake ho kemetobou ekiye wrimi bra see zozobame kemetobou ango mo kemetobou eyerin buwo ke emiye doni ibeda bra tolumo me bibirin ake ee abe brame. Bolou bolou yime, bibirin werimi bra me kemetobou emibra mo miemene bra mo di daba, numu kemekpo bamene ba numu kemekpo baghafa. Mamu karamo yime, dou eriwerimi brame kemetobou nanaworimi kemeba kuro buomo kpo bin kemeawou kemebagha ba na kemekpo bagha. Taru karamo yime, bin ogboama zozobagha kuroama mie pamo de anidoni anake keni benemo akedaba numu zozobagha ogboama mie pamomene. Nein karamo yime, me tiyekiri geleku tudou tolumo yibo (scientific advances) mo bolou abomen yibone ake kemebamene mie pamomene, baa ake kemebagha/zozobagha mei pamomene yibo mo baa dei ake zozobamene duwo mu zozobagha lamo mie pamomene yibo, asee kemetobou ango mo eyerinbuwo gbolom yibo didaba, zozobamene mie pamomene yibo numu zozobagha kpo mie pamomene. Sonron karamo yime, me gbabuomdei egberibo didaba, kemetoboume kemeba meneye ke akeweri esemie pamomene ibeda bra tolumo eyi mo ibeda pamo ka worimenese keni biyegboyo koroake operemene. Sondiye karamo yime, mieda ama mo akposee

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zozobagha pamoyome zozobagha ibeda bra tolumo eyi atudou otubomo ese kpo abibirin werimi yaibokpo keni suweimoda karakara bra miemo fiyaemi.

Me fun me gee ake ibeda bra tolumomene otubo mo baa korimiemene otubo ke perewerimi abekpo, zene ekpange tolumomene otubokpo suwogha ba, zozobagha ogboama mo akpomo paghafa. Keni ake tonmomo yime ane Harvard Kemetobou eyerinbuwo tolumo owei (Harvard sociologist) Pitirim A. Sorokin boloudaweri betebe angokumo numu werimi tari tolumoyi (applied science of altruistic love) gee brame wo fun ma (The Ways and Power of Love, 1954). Mieda pamoe brame, ondo nanawerimi yi tudou tolumo eyi (nonkilling natural and biological sciences), zozobagha eyerinbuwo tolumo eyi (nonkilling social science), kemebagha kemetobou tolumo eyi (nonkilling humanities), zozobagha koriweni fereama (nonkilling profession), baa kemetobou eyerinmo yobosee zozobagha kemeama (nonkilling people in every walk of life). Ke doumen. Mieda pamene brame, kemese see baa akposee ke keni suweimo karakara bra kemetobou miminefiye mo buodei efiyema nanawerimi kuro mo eyoun numumu brame.

## **Me Fun yilaemi brame (Foreword)**

**D**oo teme ibe bomo akposee mo apadou me kemeawou ekiyouma alafadei, kurai sonron asii egbuwa kurai s̄onron asii egbuwa ane oi isefonii karamo yeme (19th Century) ake gbameneaba bise efifi kpo dein kpo paemi, kemeawou ane ibe bone atimimu yaibomo ibeama ne ane kirikou atimimu yaibo mie pamo timi me ba zozoba paa ake miekumo ee abene Berlin ma mu beni lekuwe lekuwe ere zozonamu bra miemo. Anike aniyambekpo fun akuran bosee tuwadei owei (Professor) Paige ke kara kara bra me fun ma “zozobagha akpo” pamo bra mie werimi. Omene Korean sooo ma embigede bra mu soo doumo ane olemo me kemebakumo ee abeyoma bibirinmo.

Emene fun akuran tuwadei kpo Nigeria ibeme sukulu bo apamene esebo doni doo mie pamo ee doudye ye. Me fun me aya ekiye yi akubo dei, ake mie da Nigeria ibeme esefa ogboama pa ee. Bise yoo pameneme me fun gee owei me gbadei eyi tolomo ekpange bosee, eyi dawaibra (arts), eyi miebra (technology), eyerinbra cultura (culture) mo oyeinkari bra (religion) bosee ke suwo mene. Kemeowei Paige dou pamo ogbome ane Centre for Global Nonviolence Suoyo kpo miegha ogbomiegbamo ee “kemetobou akoromu kemetobou see numu esemie pamogha ogbo apamene ee”. Edou ere brame ane ake esefa akpo mie pamomo brame. Aneme kemesee suwoda kurobra eyoun tuwamene, ibeda doumene otubo kpo (politicians) gbooloimi, tume amene ake eyi nana peredoumene brame ba kuro ake mie mene brabo esemie pamomene. Emene nuwa nuwa ka ake me fun gee owei kulemene, omene kemeowei Fidelis Allen buomo weri me fun me ake Nigeria yema gee brame bawai Nigeria ekpange ma Centre for Global Nonkilling, Honolulu, Hawaii ma emiye da brame. Emene ekiyewerimi brame Nigeria otubosee ba Africa ibe otubosee me fun goo mene. Fun tolomo ogbo bosee ba ibema eyi tolomo bra tonmene otubosee me fun mieake fun tolumomene awou bosee pere goo, aneke esedou kaake biyegbomene yibo mie buomomene ekiye yi kon taingbemene. Eyi tolomo ekpange bosee me funma ake doo mie pamomo eyi tolomo pabosee atuwa laemi, aneke doo akpo eyerinbra kemeawoubo asuwomene.

Me kunumo fun akuran tuwa owei (Professor) Paige gee werimi fun me numu bise doo akpo mie pamomene keme otu bise pamoyo diiseimo werimi abekpo.

**A.M Wokocha, JP.**

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Former provost, Rivers State College of Education, Rumuolumeni, Port Harcourt, Nigeria



# Chapter 1

Bolou koro go yo

## Keme ondo taingbe kumo ogbo(akpo) numu pamene yan?

Keme gbolo emi bibebe ke fagha-fagha  
eyinumu kon bomene.

Bertrand and Russel

Ebe otu bose bibebe ke bisé ebe kpo mie  
ake bolou buo kpo pamene. Bise ebe  
otu bo ba gidé bibebe ake ane angó bo bigha  
abekpo ebe ba teikorodei.

Jawaharlal Nehru

**Z**ozobagha ogbo numu pamene yan? Numu paghaba teike tu wa?  
Ba numu pamene aba teike tu wa? Tei ke zozobakumo keme ekpudu tu me yan?  
Ane keme otu emi ebe ne zozoba kpo fa, ake zozo bamene eyi kpo fa, keme tein  
ba mene, ba eyo seimo mene eyi amakpo buomo aghan fa ebe, ane gbené yo, kala  
ama, opuama, beke yo ama emi duba ama bo abekpo, kemeba mo ba egburuku mo  
kon ake dei miepamo ebe.

Kemeba mo bamene ake keme esinmo mo timi angaghafa. Zuwa otu numu zené  
ondo emi weni mene eyi bo kpo tua mene, anideiya egberi se keme zené keme ba  
kumo ke gba wérimi.

Orubeni efiye apaso ama mo sei eyi ama ne keme otu ekiye weri ake aya keme ba  
orodo ton pamo yo bose buomo pakumo ke bemene.

Alagba mo zené tein keme ba mene eyi bo buomo dei se, gbolu ba buwo ake dan  
kpo numu keme ba mene, bobo kpe kpe ke pamene. Keme ba abe eyi me gometi (ebe  
di otu), Oyein kari buo kpo ba gomu eyi miemene keme ekpudu se bomughan. Fun  
numuotu bo mo, egberigbaotu, eyi fari otu ba zené otu ne gomu eyi a suo tu numu  
werimi keme bose keme ba me ake sei eyi ke ake mo wérimi. Ani done orubeni efiye  
mo ba me emi efiye mo keme ba ake sei eyi ke akemu wérimi.

Pere oya, zau, duba ba timi toru bose, ba keme otu koro emi yo bo se kpo, ba wai  
gometi (ebe da buwo) ne emiye se keme ba sei eyi brake numu wéri mi. Anike doni me  
keme ba kumo ogbo me emi yo se kemeba ba wai fe kon keme ama esimo eyi se buomo  
pagha. Eyo me emi otu timi bra bose bisé esin kon sin deiya bolou ke weni mo mene.

### Zozobagha Ebe numu pamene yan?

Omene betebé ekiye eyi bo ke bisé yo mie pa mo mene, e funumu keme, duwo  
gboro keme, eyi kara keme, ba gometi (ebe da otu). Betebé keme kpo numu ekiye sin  
gha fa.

### **Beng ekiye kpo pagha, orodo a seimi**

Me keni sii keme politic (ebe da tolumo ogbo) otu ake me bibebe para bra me 1979 kurai me ebe da tolu mo me ne otu bose beni owurau pa anga me keni egberi kori ere efiye me. Bisé eyo ma bibebe ne boye me “keme zozo ba mo ba egburuku mo fa akpo numu pa mene anh?”

America ebe ma nein ya ebe da tolumo ogbo ama ne pabo me egberi kori ere yai bo politic (ebe da ekiye eyime), America ebe di duwo mo, ebe di buwo ake zozo tonmu bramo ba wai akpo se eyerin gholo mene bra bomo. Me bo beni keme bo se keni bo kumo ere arau.

Tara kuro dongo bebe bisé beni yo ma koro apere kori kpèdi bo kung momo. Bolou ye gba brame “Keme tobou se kemeba toru numu weri mi ba wai keme esinmo fa kemi”. Maamo karamo ye ba gbadei, keme otu akpo me emi binghan kpo efiye bose zuwei mene ba zozo na ghan mo, kemeba mo kpo. Taru kara mo ye ba gba brame zuwa owei ama ane ere bo buomo weri zené owei ama pere kori bomo ghanfa bisé yo do ne so zozoba kpo pamene.

Keni America ere ere egberi ne eyo me agba pam ghan yemé gbadéi “Keme numu gha timi ane tobou ba dou daba, amene kpo obi bamene”. Ba zené bibebe ama ne gbapam agha yai bo kpo gbabrame zozo baghafa ere poum me numu paghafá e me ebe da zuwei bolou pagha fa.

Tobra ke ake Hitler miye oyounmo ba keme etu zuo buomo timi mo gha?

Ekiye pam yome, eyiamma tubo kuro, ba ere koribono sei bo di sindei aba, keme zozobakumo abe egberi me ekiyedei ya pam brakpo fa, ake ebe da zuwei mene bulu me, ani owurau vin anga kiri ebe da tolumo bulu ke duo di kpo (western political thought).

China otu seiayi mie otu oyamumene mo ba India ma kautilyan otu eyerin buo keduo disin kpo kenibra boke mi.

Gan mo gan ghan mo ke duo disin kpo seiayi mie kemeba me, ebe mie bo ebimo mene ba etekpo tua ebe yoro mene.

Plato (427 – 347 B.C.E) ma ge fun me gomu ebe me (Ideal Republic) omomene tebebiye eyi ekiyemene eyinumu otubo ne kuro otu bulu duo sele ake werimi otubo ane kuro mo kelekele mo ake fere woni otubomo omoni otubo mo da o. Leon Harold Craig bolou gbamoyo mene “Gomu eyi ekiyemene keme numu gbamene bra me Plato ebebolor fun gbabrame gide gba egberi ke disin kpo gide bra kon ake ebe di mene me so bulu kpo duo bo mene ye”.

Aristotle (384 – 322 B.C.E) omene fun politics (Ebe di buwo me) gba mene “Keni keme makeme ba binkeme ama ke ebe dakpo amene sodou eyi amamo sodou otu nana weri ane omonibo mo ba anana weri mi eyi bo di mene ye”.

Plato mo Aristotle mo kpo “sodou otu ebe atimi me sei mo gbagha e”. Machiavelli (1469 – 1527) fun The Prince (Amanaoewi Tobou me) gba mene “Ebe di otubo kemeba dei aba kere ane kuro, anana weri mi eyibokpo, pere kpo, orou pakpo ba keme otu pere esin mo ase timi aladei ye.

Ebe di otu “bou obiri” mo ba “adaka”(konowej) mo bra ka kelekele ba kuro mo agbe mi. Omene kpo so dou ake weri ebe di mene, pamu agbe gha eyi bo done.

Thomas Hobbes (1588 – 1679) kpo omene fun Leviathan (Ebenana owei) ma gbaghamene “Ebe da otu bo kpo ebe ma do mie pam mo done ba so abolou bo doumene done. Keme tobou se keme bakeme done. Oloko fa akpo me zozoba ke pere

mię bo zozoba ba kidi kidi akpo apa mo e. Kemetobou do akpo kpo dise emi done kemekeba dei bise do pamene abekpo keme ba me nę.

John Locke (1633 – 1704) omeng fun – Two Treatises Ma Zozonaere Poum bo Plato, Aristotlle, Machiavelli mo Hobbes gba egberi ka suo mo “Ebe da bulu ke duo weni mene kemese kemekpo ba mene”. John Locke wai gbagha mene ebe bolou weni mo menese keme otu femene. Ebe da otu numu ghatimi kemeba ba seiyai seiyai mie menese pakeme bo kpo kenisuomo bise ebediotu kon taingbe mene. Biseyo kombo mene eyi me **babo mo babomo**. Sei ebe daotu bo adawerimi otu bra bo kę afemene.

Hobbes mo Locke mo gbadę ebedi keme bo di abe oloko me danmu etu mo etu mo ondo so ne Karl Marx (1818 – 1883) mo Frederick Engels (1820 – 1895) Communist Manifesto - Keniwenimo Eyerin buwo tolumo buwo ka kunomo emi. Numu atimi ebedi otu ane nana werimi eyi bo zuo deyiya keme gbolokumo dou kuro dej, kę eyi nanaghya otubo bęni pere otu bo pele koromognę ye. Bingha ebe ama ke gide keme sele (Democracy) weni buwo kpo pamene. Keme numughatimi zenebo laemyi ponimo akeghaba, zozo ponimo ba zozo bakpo eyo duo famene. Bise deiyobo pamene ke kemeotu kpo zozo bamene.

Locke mo Marx mo ge eyiboke Hobbes, Jean Jacque Rousseau (1712 – 1778) social contract – Eyerinbuo zozona ekiye yi mię bo gbasi ebeda Eyerin buo mie pamomene. Keme awou bo ke ebe di otubo kpo miepamo ba aperędi worimi otubokpo miepamo werimi. Amęne ani angó bo mie ake oloko pei ba kemese se dou bra “general will” mie bo ane angó ma pamo mene. Bise tønpelę weri mi zozona avo me ke ebe da otu bo kpo mu duwo ake kuro nana weri zene ebe ama kori so ba wai akori akemene. Ake gbasin mu yome Rousseau ebediotu sele egberi ke kuro dein ba taingbe ne emiye.

Si ande bo dei efiye zi German fun numuowei – Marx Weber (1864 – 1920) ge fun “Ebe da kpo fere ke fere” Munich University (1918) me omene ma gbaghamene keme ebe da bulu keme bagha abe egberime ekpe e, ani me bise bulu ke egburuku bose ma emi ye. Ebe da bulu me emi ogbo bose esebo ke duo pa bo emi, tumę keme owou deinyo ka timi dou mene. Anę ke Marx Weber gbadę ebe di buwo ke eyo ne betebe kuro ake eyibose mię me. Ani done keme ne temę zuobomo dou mene ba zeneotu kpo zuodou mene kemese ebedabolou ke duo dou we ani bise bolouke duwo la ake mene eyi se egburuku ke duwodou mene ani ogba bra.

Ane done ebedabuwo ma tunumu werimi otu bose Weber gba bra dideiya numu ebeda bulu ne kemeba fa ye se ekiye kpo pagha e. America school (tolumo wari) emi owei kpo ebe da bulu me atu numu dou me, omęne ekidibo bou dei ya gbamo “fe mo ebe da mo omene mu tolumodei ye” ke omo gbamo.

Ake ba bolou gbamę dei aba, karibuwo tolumo anga mo ebeda anga ke dikpo kemeba kumo egberi me America kpo afa. America otubo Weber gba bra ke di weri Lexington tén ama egburuku kon ake ane bratebe nana so dou mo ani ake New Hampshire ma giya da gbaghamene “Live Free or Die” – “Foki akpo eyeringha ba fe me ebidein emi” ani amęne ake ane so dumę me atun werimi brame ba amię ake foki ebe bo pa brame ba Dixie tén owei Toru you dumę kpo atun werimi brame (Ala abadi mo ogbomo dumę me).

Amęnani sii oi keni alagbabra foni tein ake ebedaowei (president) pere mene me , ani ake diya ghamęne orubeni efiyemę amęne kpo egburuku keme ama ba wai ane bekeso kuro kpo diya werimi ye. Bawai efiye bose angę ebe tokoni dumę me (anthem), ebe me abala kpo kemeba kpo ase mię diya aghamene keme otu ebe duo mietimi fe kpo ane binye ne fe ake America ebe perewerimi, anę tune 1970 kurai ma Twain abe owei lemu gbaghamene “Oyein America tarı” mo gbamo e.

America boloupa duwobo ake ome duba<sup>em</sup> bramo kpita keni bolou emibramo bawai kuro akpo me adeinemi bra se kpo keme ba kuro ke duwo bo mo. Fedei kemebo mo ba kuro eno laemi otubo, ebeotu bo mo egoni otubomo, sodou fere woni otubo mo pabide tuwa otubo mo pamene eyi kpo atunumugha ba kenghaba kelekele bra kpo atudougha brake koroemi. Anidei ya America abe ebe me keme otu zozo bamene ebebrame pi piyo dolokpofa zen Ebeda tolumo otubo (political scientists) amube do amene kpo weri ane ebebo mekeni ebe da bolou me atimi zozoba mene bra gbapamo we ani bingha o ba bin mo abekpo.

Bolou pame bratebe nana dou mene otubo (Republicans) boké bolou orubeni amanabuwo akubo ponimo adidou otubomo somo ane keme otu ake omonimie weri yeri ba fetimi bradone. America otubo ane didubamo werimi bratebe nana abalame (flag of Liberty) ake angu ke gban wori zeneotu ogbo bomo ba bolou eyoma bo koro otubo kpo dugo ba wai abasinwori torukuro bra owou anga mo eyeri anga (north and south) ma emi ebi eyibose kpo koriakemo, abawai yeri aghamene do timi tubo kon me ebi ake so mo egburuku mo dein worimi ye. Ebe ba me keni suo kpita emi kpo zozoba so bone (civil war) dou yai bo ne (74,542) tarasii oi nein egbuwa foni keni onde mo sonron asii mo maasii maamo kemebiri ba taingbe ba (140,414) sonron asii mo maasii foni egbuwa mo keni onde mo oi nein sodou otu (soldiers) ani so boloumfe suo mo.

Emi eyo koriaké dou bolou done America Hawai'i (1898) Puerto Rico, Guam ba Philippines (1998) Easter Samoa (1899) Pacific Islands territories (1945) temeyo emi tuwo bomo kalama bo se torukurobra danbile mo ba koriak, ani eyo ne keme ama angu serimo pabo America mo so yai mie deiyo se. Philippine me America otu eyome a bratebe nana dou otubo se ba kiri atuwa sin (1898 – 1902) ba wai moro ma uwurau diwieri tebe ake kori famu oyein kori otubo ne bo ake America pere gha otubose bakiri atuwa ba ogbo kpo kori ake Slaughter and assimilated – 1901 – 13. Bawai torikuro bra Japan ne bebe ke emiotu bo kpo mie bo zene ebe otu mo tubo tuwa gbolo, ani adise mo adise ghamo. So dou keme ba mo ba ogbokoriakemo ke America mo ake angu kuro mo timi meingbai laemi. Akori sodei ebebo Britain (1812-14).

Mexico (1846 – 48), Spain (1898), Germany- Austria – Hungary, Turkey ba Bulgaria (1916 – 18) Japan, Germany and Italy (1941 – 45), North Korea mo China mo (1950 – 53), North Vietnam (1961 – 75) ba Iraq (1991). Ba wai tein eyiama kuro toru akon suo mudei yobo ba Peking – Bejing (1900), Panama (1903), Russia (1918 – 19) Nicaragua (1912 – 25), Haiti (1915 – 34) Lebanon (1958), Dominican Republic (1965 – 66) ba Somalia (1992). Ba kurotoru zene otu ebe a suwo koro ba ebe da otu dedemo gbein dei yobo ba Grenada (1983) bawai Panama (1989) ba kori wori Koru Haiti be (1992), Cambodia (1970) ba Laws (1971) ba Libya tein tuwa ake (1986), Afghanistan (1998), Sudan (1998) ba torutuwa ake Iraq (1993), Bosnia (1995) ba Yugoslavia (1999).

Kurai masi oi foni efiye ani mamu karamo akpose Hitler mo dou so duwo bo se America timi ebe bo ne anomu keni bra eyerin ba tubo dou gha, ba wai adou mene brake eyeringha ebese amene so mo kemeba mo kon ake bisu ebeme amumene ba akpo abiyebo timi ake memein laemi. Amenani bolou me sodou fere woni otu bo keme keni egbuwa (1,000) kpo lagha timi mo ani dei ya 1990 kurai duobo ake memein me owou bo gbameneaba keni igbidi mo ekibe bra ladei (1.5 million) ere mo owei mo. Bawai maasii tara egbuwa foni keme ama (23,000) timi so ororo kumo, ton mene pentagon (America otu sokuro wari me). Me akpose kuro dein so eyi koko wari done America gometi me kien kpo tu erigha (1 trillion dollars) okobo biri ke ake kurai bose taingbene. Ba toru adidei

ya gbamene aba (1940-96) efiye me America ba zene okobo etu (5.821 trillion dollars) ke aké so dou eyi ama eyo ama poumo deiya akpo ma lada yo se keme ba mo sodou eyi ama teme pamo dei (nuclear programme) ani Schwartz gbabrame (1998) America ke ba akpose zene ebe a aneso eyi ama weri zene ebe ama ponimo dein emi, ba keni anga suwo keni anga gbein mene, amene ba ekiye mo egiren mo kpo fa bra ke ake akpome eyerin mene, ba omene bo bo kemebo kpo tuwamo beimene.

America ke ba wai akpo alagba mo keme tein ba mene eyi tubo kpo tebe, eyo ne so padeiyo se amene mu aneteme worimi tein eyi bo yeri mene ogbo abadi, agnotoru amene nane atolomo werimi keme kuro bo timi yeri akpose pere zozobamene.

President William Jefferson Clinton February 19, 1993 kurai me agbaghamene 1990 duwo koro bolou amuse America 1776 me abratebe nana weri mimi efiye lasé amene akpo me akuro nana dein emiye ani America boladei kiri me omene mu gba ake akpose diya timi efiye me bise bra gbake akpo diyamo. John Shalikashvili, America sodou te be yo di weri mi owei mene America mimi me akpo se bra tobou ke apadeiye "akpose ebe" ne eyo bo se ka nanamo fiya emi yiama nana worimi ye. President Clinton ba 1995 kurai me keme ba kuromo dein tein kemebe eyi me (atomic bomb) ake Japan otu ba bo braserimo soron karamo oge tei timi efiye me agbaghamene America ke sodou dein kuro akpo me anana werimi ye, Hawai'i tenmene ebe me owagba bra me America sodou otu ke akpose ebi dein emi ba sodou dekpo dein emi ye. Omene so dou de dein emi ba so dou eyi kpo nan adgin mi ba wai akpose akurodein miye ba wai sei bolou duwo bo emi kuoro se America mo dein mo mene ye" America ebe so dou ogbose da werimi owei (Chief -of -Staff). General Ronald Fogelman 1996 kurai ma bise bra miye pamo dei ya gbaghame.

Owoakuro dein emi eyi se kuro bra dou, miye tie mo, miye bo ake owou atiye mo ba diya dei ya gbolomubra ke kon ake akpome emi eyibose weri dou mene ye. Qba bise bra gbapamo ghanmene "Omene mimei memei bo bise yo miye pamo mene ye anideiya gbesi efiye ke gbaghafa e", Omene kurai ma tukunumo agoniye me oi tara adeinfoni karamobai (Decembner 13, 1996) me America duopabra gbatimi efiye ke Washington, America tebe ama ke agbapamumo.

America ebe daotubo kpo gbaghame me alagha me abomene kurai soron a sibo America ke munanamo e. Ba wai me suwo mudei kurai a soron asibo kpo amene ke akpo se adein mene ye. Ane gbamene bra disindei aba zozoba gha fa akpo United States of America me apaghfa fa e. ba disindei aba bratebe nana, omonife tubo (slavery) peleme, so ake Germany mo Italy otu bo mo gbo koromo, keme gbaranba (Holocust) akpose ba mu fene tein eyi me ake Japan me atein efiye me azuwobomo ondo bo kpo, keme gbasikemi erebebe bomu akpose bein gha yo kpo.

Soviet Union, ani Russia kpo tuwa sibe gbein, ba wai mimei kurai soron asi efiye me keme we ni dei afe ba doubo doubo fe eyerin buo tebe atumi mie kuromo ase kon kenosuomo sin dei abadisin kpo egberise zozobamo fe kon keme otu esinmomo ke duwo bo emi. Kala funumuotu, ba opu funumuotu (Professors) bone America me a ebe ditolu mo otubose numu doupamo deiya gbaghame omenanekeme otu zozoba buwo miye pamo dei done keme wai keme ba me bo ereinbosé mie eyi ke apadeiye ani anese ekiyou me numuwerimi brame.

Kurai bo se oyi sonron egbuwa foni mo keni onde mo sonron asii mo tara oyi taru dein keme ama America bolou me awai America otu pere bamene (15,533 in 1999) ba wai (5.7 per 100,000 people) 1900 duwobo mimein lasé keni ande mo zuwa keme ama mo layai apere ba mene. Akpose dou (Hitler ww II) so duwo bo mimein lasé keme diye ande laemi yai alagba so bolou afe suwo dei ame ebe amane alagba so dou dei yaibo

(650,053). America ba ten aghatimi musuwo so bolou afe keme bo ba (916,383 in 1999; 336.1 per 100,000) Kuro alagba mo ba zen tein eyi ama duwo fedei keme bo ba 2000 kurai me tiye yo me gbadie (13, 23, 32) America me dituwa mo zen bra angoba otu (31, 284 in 1995; 11.9 per 100,000). Keme amene bobo ango badou keme bo kumo sisoron efiye foni ake mise gba keme biri dein werim kiyen mu brakpo fa ereama ba America ma biri bou korammo mene kurai bose (1,000,000 women).

1999 kurai kumo bin ake 64.5% laemi keme biri ake bebe toru bebe toru bamo, ane tebepele, binkeme tein bamene sodou eyi amatein, yammo ba, beni taingbe ba, tekele ba, dedemogbenba, ba boumo ba kpo; zuwa yai ba temi ba, biyou beni boumba, agogo ba, anideiya bindein yai ba alagba ake tein ba. Bo bakeme ekpuduse numu weri ba biye pele weri ba brake dei emi. Ba gbamene aba viridi, ba keme ba tolumo weri ba bra mo ba ekiye ghatimi payebra me gbamene keme etu ma femo. Zuwa feama ba duwo bo braba ere tuduwobo, kala dobou diseimo bra, Sokosi keme diseimo, dono bebe, etuso, ekiyate tein, ditoru don, keme kori sowgi amafe bolou, ere kori bono, torukuro furu bolou sei sowi bolou ba wai "oyeinbou duwo" ba "seiteme" gbabrade duwo pamo. Me America bolou ke do emi yo kpo fa, fun tolumo wari ama, owoubiri, ogbo aruyou owou ama, fere woni yo ama mo oyenikari wari ama mo, ekoli wari ama, bolouama, beke yo ama, fon bouama, beke yo ama, fon bou kni bo kpo amobamene, keme ekpudu kpo ba mene kennifa kni kpo ba mene ba wai etu suwo mo mo efiye bose kpo keme ba gbolomo eyi ama pamene, bindineyai owieiama (76%) 1999 kurai bete kumo me. Anideiya ta amamo yei ama mo ne apere bayaibo 1976 – 1985 me 9,480 kemeotu ta ama keme otu yei boba 7,15 ang Mercy mo saltzman 1989 kurai me gbabrame. Keme bamene otu bo zuwa betebe tamo yeimo ama kpo suwo, sei ogba ama suwo, kari bu wa ama, seikeme ama, ba kon keme otu esimo mene keme ama, numu ghatimi bo sei keme bo ama ebe me a fere ake wori kpo bise otu bo kpo suwo bise sei bo miye mene. Me kemebaseibo miye mene otubo, bin deinyai owiei ama ane adou pamo brame (owiei bo 9,140, ere bo ba 1,046 an 1999 kurai ma pabrame) bawai kalapesi bo ke memicme bin dein emi. 1980 kurai me adou eribrame oyi masifoni (240) pina America otu emiyose kennibpa apere bamene ba dirimo America otu bo lou me keme amesi sognmo toni emi yo se kni bo pa apere bamene (Rosenberg mo Mercy mo ke 1986 kurai me a bise bragbamo). America otu owoudin oloko miye wari (Senate) me Republican Party (Ogbo me) keme binagha dein ogbo tebe owiei trent Lott Bolu agoniye me (January 27) 1998 ma America ebe da owiei Bill Clinton ebe boladei bragbapamotimi efiye me gbaghame "kemeba mo seiyai miye mo keme zozo kigi gha America ebe miye bo ake mala mo mala mo ebe ke deiye".

Egberi gbapamo wari bokpo efiye bose me egberi me ake gbolomene ani America bo padei brame. Keni ere abobo yein tebe pele ake ba you mu keme kori otu timi mene yo ma owou aka ma gbenkoro mo weri weni seri fa. zenere kpo ange ma owiei awou kon mu beni singbi bataingbe. Zenma owiei awou kpo ange dau mo yein mo ba taingbe. Keni keme ba owiei ba amafe ere kumo le batimi mo, kni binye bono owiei ba keme otu miye yebe ba wai pei ake owu eyi tuwa deiya borogha bolou atuwa weri dise efiye tuwo fe kni owei ba kni opu fun wari (University) bolou a oyi soron akeme toni. Ma owiei awou ange funtolumo wari (middle school) nein ere wou tein ba, kni tolumo owiei mo ese na awou.

Columbine High School ne Littleton, temene ama Colorado State me ma alagba sibe weri owiei awou oyi ma awou fani tein ba keme si nigine toni engla, bise ma awou

bo waiba ane ango bo tein ba tuwa 1996 duwo mu 1999 oyи keni foni duwo mu ake oyi nigine foni ladei kala pesi ama sisongo mogoni sukulu awou (student) ba taingbedei, ba ma tolumo otu mo ba tara dua mo yein amamo ba dei, zeze tarasi soron akeme foni ba kuro engama la mo. Keni ka dei owei keme ba omene kala alagba kon keni sukulu awou tei kiri mu bin awou tein ba. Keni efiye Vietnam amu sodou timi bodei okosi keme omene yeri mene alagba kon weri baun keni fiyai tuwo yeri mene wari duwo suwo dei ya si keme tein ba, oyitara keme foni ene lamo. Zene owei ba omene sodou alagba me ake oyein kari wari bolou duwo suwo deiya bin otu tein ba dei ya owei pi gbatha mene "Keme ande emo badei mo kpo ebawai zene keme ande ba mene ye".

Thomas Hobbes, John Locke mo Marx Weber mo di ake esin bra me agba brame keni keme ama alagba ma tansi be weri mi, gbamene aba

Tyofgins	Quantity
1. Dan alagba ma	- sonoma igbidi foni (7 million)
2. Birasibeye	- tarasii sonron igbidi foni (65 million)
3. Ekibe sibeye	- Masi sonron igbidi foni (45 million)

Bo bose Cook mo Ludwig mo ke 1997 kurai ma dou eri ba gbapamo mo. A lagba teme pamo, alagba tubo tuwa, zene ebe duwo fe zene ebe amu me opu tubo tuwa eyi ne apkome emiyе, ane bin keme amake gometri bra kuro ake zuwa ba kuro kpo akegha bra timi tein eyi amafe yeri mene.

America ebe konake taru diye mo dei aba keni angaliri emi wari bose masi nein foni laemi keme ladei otu sibeye nana ke wari aweri apkо eyerin mene. Kala awou bokpo me sibeye bo emi yo bo numu weri mi ani adou bo mo yein bo mo bo sibeye bo sowei weri emi abekpo. Keni efiye America ebe daweri owei ta Hillary Clinton ani awou koko mu sele koko ogbo bulu (Children's Defense Fund) duwo dou pamo deiya Nashua, New Hampshire, Kurai me mamu karamo agoniye (February 22, 1996) gbadeli awou asondiyе asi oyи soron asi alagba sibe ake fun tolumo wari bo atuwa mumene ye. Keme otu ake ango di ke gbamo weri sibe ye sibe wenimene, bou tein kpo gbamene bawai ake keme ponimo mene gometri mo kpo so mene ane America kenisuwо mo beni ogbo (United State's) 1791 kurai me awaige ebe oloko fun ke agbawerimi "Gomu baamiye werimi alagba sibe ogbo me ebe me a eyilabrabо kala alagbasibe kpo seigha".

Zene esin ne ba emiye me keme ba eyerin ne America keme kori otu bolou me emiyemе Ani duba dein tebe gometri (federal government) me 641, 208 keme ama 1999 nanawerimi ane oyimasi fonimo oyimo keme sonron sii egbuwa bulu emi ye (250 per 100, 000 people). 1999 kurai bete be me America eyi tudou ogbo (F.B.I) gba brame keme amasi mamufoni alagbasibe out pere ba mo. Anе ebe keme kori ogbo otu bone ama bo mo kala gometri bo emi olumea keme bo keke re bolou ke a bise brapamo. Keme oi nigine igbidi foni (18. million) la emi keme ama America me ekoli wari ama emi ba wai biri bise bralaghа out (3,527) 1999 kurai betebe me a kuro sei ama duone ba pele pere weri ekoli me bamu efiye korumene. Babo mo babo mo miye pamо kuro me America me sa si oyи nighini diye mo werimi ebe amake bise kurokpo nana werimi. 1977 duwomu 1999 me keme ande mo keme a nein asi mo ese nakeme ama ekoliwaribolou me tekele bamо. Ese nakuai bodei efiye duwo bo memein lame zozgba bo kwo bo deine keme otu giya pammo dei ya gbagbamene keme ba dei keme se obo kpo batnwa oloko wai miye pamо ane dei ya ba miye kuro mo we, bin keme koru otu kpo owou bo abinmodein ye, ba bin kurai ama kon keme ba keme se kai ye. Keme ba me eyerin buwo ne America ke emiye.

Oyi a opuama lawerimi keme ama ne sodou ogbo me atimi korg dei kemeama memein me America me akeme ba fere ke memein tolumowerime (24,800, 000 in 1999).

Nein a keme bolou se keni bo me keme ekpu ma emi. Kalai duwo mu opu sukulu bo ne America me emi bose beke so doubra tolumo mene ba wai eba yo abokeme ba ake bra tolumo mene. Zuwa ogbo ama ake sodou zuwa bake keme bamuke done sodou brabo tolumo mene. Zuwa fun ama keme ba to lumo mene zuwa ba miyo ake keme ba tein eyi ama ke yerimene ba zozo gbeweri keme otu ba fere ke woni mene. Zuwa galaba galaba tein tei mene di eyi ama keme bara ke ake kalapesi bo tolumo mene amene ba ake bra me “enumu keme baghaba timi keme pere ba”. America me sukulu a keme ba mo ba keme fe mo bo ake kala awou tei ke dei, dei ang kala mo okosi keme bo mo se sibeye sibe a tei eyi ke a padei.

Keme ba me ebi gha bra me beke otu egberigha pamo wari bose ka gba pamo mene. Sukulu tolumo otu bo eyi kpo gedei emi, geleku geleku eyi ama kpo miye mene ane done amene mumu zozoba sei miye pele mo mene; Kala ohmoo nu okosi otuse eri amene keme ba, eyi seimo, sibe nama ama bataingbe mo ba wai esomo taingbe miye efiye bose keme otu pere dimene. America bomodeiya zen ebe na kemeba eyi ama kon ake fun ama miyepamo weri akpotu pere digha. Watson 1978 kurai me agbabrame, keme ba sei mo gbamubgadiya America otu waimo sodou mo kemabamog ake wai tolumoyi brake miye weri wai keme otu tolumo mene. Disindei aba keme ond me ana eyi kpo asuwogha. Kala pesi bo ba bise anga me asei ake okosi otu bo dein wori emi. Me pa eyibo America otu boli gbolu gba keme dis mo eyibo kpo diya weri mi, bise yo bo ama bin dollar amakpo taringbemene. Bin America ootu osubeni efiye ogidiso kien boditimi waibo ake memei efiye so bo moke leiemi ane United States Marine so otu ogbo otu eni brame.

Ere pamo egberime ani ekiyou me a tonwerimi eyi me. America ebe kpo bra na manasele ake tubo tuwa ke atiye kuro emi (capitalism in America).

America otu ba wai “keme ba eyerin kpo ake ang tubo tuwa fere bra woniye kpo gbamog” (Wall street) America otu sele tubo tuwa yo me agbagba mene “Esomo owou biri me atin dei se kere fe” ba tubo tuwa kpo” Zen so ne eniye. America ebeda buwo Kpo finimo weri keme sele ka beberin werimi ba keme aman keme sele bolou ka fere weni mene otubokpo “buwo awenimene sodou otu ke ten mene “Oloko miye wari kpo oloko bo wai ba mene”, ebe kpo ba oya mo kuro so dou mene”, seyi miye mo kpo boumo fiyaghe diri bou mo ba wai zen sei eyi ama mo se kpo so dou mene. America ebe se embel ba wai apere tari werimi tei me ane gben dei ya ba ogbolo kon famu mene boli (Base ball). America otu tei alaotu bokpo (umpires) badou mene mumughatimi tei me adoubra paghaba. Me tein tei ma kuro emi bo “kemeba otu” kpo amu kon ake aten mene ba de ebimo weri mi otubo “tein embi ama” Kpo amu ke atenmene.

Alayo duwo gben mu alayo gbenmene me ake” dan teinba okirizi ama” kpo ten mene. Ba mumugbatimi apere gbo mene otu bo ba so kemeba kuro fa brakpo amukon atenmene. Oyein mumu yai kpo amu miye mene anedeiya dg amana owei dgbo me. (The prince of peace) ke amu karimene ba dumo ne atun ake owo eboriyo mene ye be “Oyeintobou kari mene ogbo so dou otu wa” ake diya gbamene efiye mumene brabo akpo keme ba ere mene.

Amene keme ba mene brabomiye gan pamomene bra me ake sei beke pon fiye mene brabo America otubo kpo keme ba egberike kumo efiye bo se ere mene. America otu ake ang bekebebemiy werimi pame, mumughatimi otu miye ake ene miye mene sei yai bo se atunumu gah. Toun akeme wai koromo kpo keme ba, miye dou

mènè eyi ama gekoromo kpo opu tein alagba ama kon keme ba mo kenibra. Keme amiye mènè eyi suwo miye gha kpo ese. Oloko numuotu bo amènè ba "gbe werimi alagbeme kien tuwa dè ere arau kpo anebra me so dou tein okirizi.

Ba zènè anga duwo dideji se America otu ane beke beli ere koromodéjé bebe se keme ba ke atiyé emi, ani aké keme ba kuro mo deùn tein so dou eyi ne akon ake Hiroshima (Japan) B-29 agono fin aro duwo koromo ye kpo America otu ake "little boy" ke ten mo , tume kalatobou ,Ba wai bise keme otu ba mènè fin aro ne aké bise eyi tein ye me aké fin aro you owei yein "Enola Gay" ke ten mo. Ba waimo teme so dou tein eyi (Plutonium bomb) me aké kporu keme\_(fat man) ke ten mo. Bise ye ba kon ake Nagasaki (Japan) ka koromomo. Nimi akpo me a keni efiye a bin keme ba sin mènè tein embi bokpo America otu ake "Do dou otu" (peace makers) ke ten mènè ane ane keme ondo aké miye eyi fa brake diya worimi. Keme ba kabutuwa me America otu ake tei tei eyi ke aké mo werimi ane "Ba" me "tei" ye America otu mènè.

So, bolou egiren keme ke ba, ba wai bobo keme ke bakpo ane "kiyen apagho sei ne padei ye" (Collateral damage) ane keni efiye America da weri owei Ronald Reagan gababra. "America ke akpose do deùn ba sokpo dou gba ebe ne emiye". (PBS 1993).

Ane ke ane abe kpo amènè amènè bin efiye wai zozo kpo bafa kemi. 1992 kuraimé keme amasi oyi manufoni apere ba, ma odozo (maa egbuwa)(2,000) ba kuro gno lamo keme a ninghine odozo Los Angeles ten ama, America bolou me sibeye tein, furu, kemeba, warituwa yuummo, ba diri mo otu ba timi apere korimo ma agoniye efiye kumo sibeye atarasi oyi foni amu sei otu bra kri ake mo. Watts 1965 Kurai gbabratoru me, Newark (1967) ba Detroit 1967 kurai bo a keme ama tan fe bra done Detroit ten ama me do miye pamò mu done (1976) soron odozo sodou otu (4,700 army paratroopers) bawai ma odozo laemì eyo laotu mo (National Guardsmen) ba ma ande mo tarasi mo (360 Michigan state troopers) Locke 1969).

Hobbes, Weber ba Lock mo gbabradisin me fe bone Waco, Texas, 1993, Oklahoma, City, 1995 bo apa so bobra moke leimo e. Nein a sodou otufesuwo, nein asi eseforu sei ogbo otu kpo apereba, oyi makeme foni ba enola owei ama mo ba ere ama mo. Me sei egburu pa oge wai tei kurai me, keme ba terin eyi ama saiwerimi aru ne kon bo Oklahoma keme kori otu tebe yo tein Younmò yo abotimi ye fiye pa weri keme Niginasi esefoni bataingbè ere ama mo kala awou ama suwo.

America edin ebe bo disindejì aba keme ba eyerin buwo me ana fagbafa, Mimein buwo ma emi otu bo ane kemeba mo sei yai miye bulu done, ba yai, keme ba otu pere ba yai mun pere bayai, so bolou hayai ba wai keme brake duwo bayai bo se aké keni kienmo deýia kiri anga me amiye pamò werimi

#### Amakubu mo soboloumo a badejì kemebirì me 1987 kurai lame

	1900 LAGHA EFIYEME	1900 DUWOMU 1987	KENIKIENMO
Amakubu abakeme bo	133, 147, 000	169, 198, 000	302, 345, 000
Sobolou abu kemebo	40, 457, 000	34, 021, 000	74, 478, 000
Ase keni kienmo	173, 604, 000	203, 219, 000	376, 823, 000

Keanba aladei efiye duwo bo mimein lame Nigeria kon tara efiye miye mene keme ama keme otu pere badei. Rummuel gbabra me sei gometi ama bogbo sele dou buwo dou gha yai bo ke me kebiri se bam.

Mimein kpo America bragbafa eyime Hitler tan bakemebiri mo ba stalin Russia me a bakeme bo mo, Japan so efiye mo ba mao china me abakeme bo mo.

William J. Eckhardt mo tuduwo otubo dou pamo brame 1900 duwobo 1995 me soké a fe otubo odozo a soron asi mo ba soron asi oyin nein foni mo (106, 114, 000) so doufere kpo asuwogha keme bo kpo odozo tarasi manufoni mo sondiyefa keme asoron asi ande mo (62, 194,000) ba sodou otu amesi tarufoni mo ma ande mo (43,920,000) America mo Russia mo egiren (cold war) bolou me a fedei keme bo kpo (1945 – 1992) Keme odozo simamufoni mo ande a masi sonomofoni mo (22, 057, 000) fe suwo dei ane so ese rasi ese fonimo (149 wars) so bone pabo dei yai bo oyin nein odozo foni mo ande a sisorofoni mo soron kemefoni mo (14, 505, 000) so ogbo kpo afa keme ama ba sonomo odozo mo soron ande masi oyin ma keme foni sodou ogbo emi keme ama se suwo femo, ani (Sward 1993) kurai me agbabrame. Oba gba brame so a si oyin (1996 kurai me apamo. Beke out miye weri akpo ma pamene eyi bo dimene eyi (Television) kpo efiyebose akpome afemene keme bo aké odiya mene. Zuwa orubeni efiye egiren ama zuwaba memein efiye zozonagha eyi ama keduwo pamene.

Keni sei eyi paghaba zene sei eyi pamene efiye bose akpo egberi gbapamo mene waribo kpo keni fa zene mo ke gbamene. Me esomo ne efiyebose akpo me a tein mene ye me bebe bra bebe brake duwo pamene ani bose kemeba mu brake a tiye kuro emi: akpo se so, ebebolou so, bolou wenimo, ba bebe bebe so ama, ogbo dong bebe ama, gometi koriake bolou pa efiye kpo miyegba keme ama ba bolou ama ke duwo pabomene, 1993 me keme otu America otu fou tubokiri (World Trade centre) ne New York me emiye tein younmo dei ya bin America otu suwo fefa brame, ane America otu Israel angakira a suwo timi so dou mene tebe done, Sondiye a keme afe keni bo ba kuro eyi lamo.

Ane me abodei me America ebe tebe tiye mo wari ne Nairobi (Kenya) mo Dar Es Salam (Tanzania) mo emiyaibo 1998 kurai me atein younmo wéri oyima America otu foni (12) fe ba diri mo otu bo ba diye asi femo ba keme asron ande (5,000) kuro eyilamo.

Mise bomene akpomé bawai memein yemo disindei aba America otu bo Thomas Hobbes gba bou otu akpo ke eyerin mene, ba Roman otu gba brame “do akpo doumene bose so dou mu bra aké ango tolomo”.

Akpo bolou pa efiye disin ba memein efiye mo disin dei aba America ebe da tolumo otu bomo ane sukulu awou bo mo keme zozo bakumo eyerin akpo metimidou gha.

Opu sukulu (University) bulou me owou dein eyi tolumo mene otu bo mo eyeridein otu bo mo keme tobou emi bra kori kpe di timi dei aba akpo me keme awou doumene eyibo lagha bra mo ere kori bono mo zene sei eyi bo ebigha abe bragbo pamo mene. Ane abekpo keme otu se bebebra bebebra ke aké me domo bebe kori ere mene. Me bi bebe koro dei efiye se aya parabebe ama kpo pabo mene.

Keme tobou se tebe asuwogu disé fa kemi, ebe tebe puwej, zene keme di toru don, bolousei ba kele kele kemi ane done keme ke ba dei ke omene akpo me atimi eyerin mene kpo odise emi. Keme tobou mene motu kpo tuwa fakemi ba zene otu mo tebe ton, ekumo bebe bra pa dou done miye timi zozo ba eyerin buwog miye bo ake akpome amiye miye apadei. Sei aké keme ba dein emi eyi bo ba sei ekiyou mo ba zenebo laemi ebi koriake. Keme zozo bakumo akpo me ane gbatadei akpo ne fontimi weni kpo fa akpo bisé akpo zene ebe otu nimi bo keme otu koro emi yo gben korí aké kpo paremi.

Kemé ba kumo akpo me sei akpo. Sei ya miyé ba mumugha timi kemé ba kemé, lakori deine bisé bø batuwa me oméne sei akpogha Babo mo babo mo akpo ke ebidein emi. So dou agada bo mo sibeye bo mo temé kumo gbamutu kpo ane brabo kemé bakumó akpo ba eyo apamubrakpo fa.

Mémé betebé sukulu wari bolou agbagha egberi. Zuwa America otu ane ka gbadéi tolumo eyi bolou ke duwo zozobagha numu Paméne ye. Zéne otu ba gbadéi kala ebe bo bomu dei ya zozobakumo numu duba ebe ama pagha fa, ba numu akpo se kpo apaghafa. Mè kòri kpèdi mene erepon me be ghaméne America opufun tolumo otu (Professors) bo mo ane sukulu awou bo ke sei yai miyé disé dein emi ye. Memein dou éri yo gabramé zozoba seime akpo me a faméne ekiye mo eyi sefa.

Memein kpo "zozoba kumo akpo nimipaméne yan" bibébé korodei efiye se bin ebe ama bebe bra bebebra ke ake para mène.

### **Ena me bibe be me ekiye pamogha weri mo...**

Me 1980 Stockholm – Sweden ebe me a beni me zozoba kumo ere pon ebe dabuwó tolumo méné otu bo se beni ere efiye me akorobrámé. Ena me bi bebe me ekiye pamo gha werímo, éba efiye dolo ake ekiye dei ke". Zo disindei se me bibebe kón akón akoro mo ba kón akón akoro mo kumo abi kuro dongo bebe kpo fa. Ere pon se ake kuro bra bra ekiye ke eyi ladein emi. Bi se keni bra bo 1997 kurai me akpo fun numu otu bo se mu Seol – Korea beni efiye me keni akpo se fun numu tun teri dei owei (Nobel Laureate) ne diri kóbú oweri (Chemist) me akpo se bi koromo weri mi bibe be para mo "Eméne numu gha" ogba dei ane ake suwo tu numugha bibebe para méné bra me ye. Mè diri numu owei ba gba kemé me bibebe kuro emi bramé ake tuwa ekiye kuro mo ane gofun mo toru kan mo me bibebe numu para ghafa done.

### **Ekiye apaemi, ane dei ya...**

Ebe da bra tolumo otu bo se (XIIth World Congress of the International Political Science Association 1979) mu Moscow – Russia beni efiye me ma Russia fun numu otu me zozoba kumo egberi kori kpèdi mo. Agbadéi ebe da mo ebe da tolumo eyi zozobagha fa bolou ke numu duwo paméne ye. Ane dei ya zéne bi be be ne ba bo ye me "Toba kemíye timi zozobagha ebe da buwo ba zozobagha tolumo buwo akpo me apaméne yan?" Zéne bibe be ne bo ye ba "Tobra ke miyé timi chile teméne ebe me kemé otu séle tuwa weri gometi so dou otu bo mu dugo taingbé bolou me fe otu bo mo ba sei eyi mumu téle mo miniya?" Nicaragua, ba Kampuchea mo ane eyo ma ne kemé otu zéne otu ondo di duba mugha bra kón kemé ama ba bramé. Ane tebra séle dou buwo (economy) ne kemé zozoba mo zozobakumo kpo tuwa weni gha me d'oubó d'oubó oméne akpa (capitalism) ba kemése d'oubá keni bolou a tuwa to ye ke omasuwo méné yan"? To owou ama zozoba kumo egberi mo ake kemé ba kón bo méné eyi bo péle mo méné yan? Bisé bolou me bin bibebe ama me ere pon miyé bo akpono apamo méné.

### **Oyein Kemé Tobou Témé se Kemé tobou Ese dougha Ane deiya...**

Arab ebe me ebe da tolumo otu bo mo gometi fere tebe otu 1981 kurai Jordan University, Amman me zozoba kumo ere pon kori kpèdi efiye me, keni fungo kunomo dei owei (Professor) gbadéi kemése kemése ere pon me ekiye deiya donogha bra keni bebe ke ere. "Ke me tobou pase ese dou gha anedeiya brawai méné kemé obayo

abodei se” Nimigha timi orukumo gabrane keme tobou miye brabo se ese dou mene abe egberime ekpe apadei se keme otu zozoba ghafa egberi me koko pamo agbe mi.

### **Onumu paghafa, Ane dei ya...**

1985 Hiroshima University, Japan ebe me institute of Peace Science ten mene sukulu yo me otu ma anga diye mo weri me zozobakumo egberi kori kpedi timi efiye me, keni fun tolumo owei (professor) para dei a gbamo “zozobakumo numu paghafa, ane dei ya ba numu miye dei ya pakpo agbe emi. Kiri kiri ke numu pagha kpo timi yo dei aba numu pamene. “Te pa tolumo eyi ke numu kemeotu zozo bagha akpo miye bo pa agbe emi yan bidei aba” Gbeneyi ekiye pamoo biye gbo eyi tei mo teme ke numu bi ye yo miye pa mo mene.

### **Keme to bou miye dei a pamene....**

Korean Association of Social Scientists ten ogbo tebe owei tukunomo agoniye (December) 1987 kurai Pyongyang, Korea me kemekpo ekiye agba efiye gbapamo ghamene. “zozoba kumo akpo me numu pa mene ye”. Tei ke tuwa be dei aba (why)? Keme gbadeli zozo bame miye miye eyi gbagha, tume omene ekiyou nana weri eyi ekiye mene ba sei mo ebimo kpo numu weri mi. Ane done ese miye pamoo me ebi gha branumu werimi mamu karamo ye me keme tobou akpo kuro emi bradiweri omoni suwo akpo ebi eyi bo pere gha. Akpo kuro dei se keme otu ke miye eyi atu dou ba fere weni kuromo dein mene ba ghasi kpo eyi diye mene.

Taru kara mo ye me. Zozo ba kumo gbadeli done ere kori bono gbagha. Ere kori bono me numu famene numugha timi do miye pamoo, tolumo eyi mo ke duwo pamene.

Kurai me a mamu karamu agoniye me (February) 2000 kurai bin ebe ama mu Manizales, Colombia ebe a beni dei ya bighamene “zozoba ghafa ebe mumu pamene yan”? Keme zozo pigha bra tiye dei ya gba dei pamene ye (yes) Korea mo Colombia otu mo pan beberin dei ya gha bra me eyi labomo ane bo ma ebe bose egburuku ebe ama ne emiyai. Democratic Republic of Korea, ba Colombia mo emi ese bo so America mo gbasii kemi ye. Bolou bo so ama, waribolou so ama, zene ebe ama so suwo bo timi dugo waibo zozo nagha ama ne pamene yai. Bin kurai ama bodei efiye sodo otu ponmo bra keme ama gbali ghali eyi ama me ten ebe bo a pa bo dei.

### **Bebe bebe Eyerin Buwo Duwo Gba Egberi Ama**

Bin ebe ama bo eyo beni donotimi bo pan beberin dei aba zozoba kumo erepon me numu miye a pamene. Ane akpose erepon me.

Sorон Kara mo agoniye (May) 1998 kurai Open Society Institute ten ogbotu (New Political Science) ebe da tolumo otu bo se Vilnius, Lithuania ten ebe beni di ya nighine ebe gbadeli zozobagha akpo numu pamene, keni ebe ba gbadeli numupaghafa e. Taru karamo agoniye (March) 1999 kurai, ebe da tolumo timi padeli sukulu awou ama Seol National University me abeni efiye me oyimamu fomi (12) pagha fa gba, soron ba pamene gbamo. Mamu karamo agoniye (February) 1998 Honolulu, Hawai'i me Foundation for Support of United Nations ten ogbo Japan duwo bo America beni weri soron akeme (5) paghafa (no) makeme ba pamene gbamo. Keni Japan duwobo ere ama otu ogbo ba oyi makeme foni (12) paghafa (no) oyi keni kemefoni (11) pamene (yes) gbamo.

Oyi keni agoniye fom (November) 1998 kurai me Medellin, Colombia ten yo "Future of Education" abe ogbo keme ama ten benimo me keni zozobagba ebe pamene ya egberi kori ere mo: keme oyi nein asi foni pan beberin gbagha mene (275) pamene ye (Yes) si soron foni (25) ba paghafa gbamo. Medellin fere woni ogbo otu, keme si oyi (30) pamene (yes) gba, oyi sondiye foni (16) paghafa (no) gbamo. Keni keme ba ogbo otu (Sicarios) kala adein ama ten otu mo zene ogbo otu mo suwei dejiya oyi sonduye foni (16) paghafa (no), sondiye (6) ba pamene ghamo. Tei ke tune paghafa?

Keni owei mene "Emene keme ba ake ene ma erewou bo ke zuwo mene ye". Zene owei ba gabrame fere fa ke done ye". ...

Zene owei ba gbadei pere mo oya mo okolo gban dei se oba keme ba ghafa".

Oyi kara mo agoniye (October) 1997 kurai me Edmonton, Canada bin okolobiri sukulu awou mu beni menei akpo me a miye mo agbe eyi bo (Values and the 21<sup>st</sup> Century) Mahatma Gandhi Canadian Foundation for World Peace ten ogbo ke bo pe si bo ten bo beni mo me keni zozobakumo egberi Kpedimo bolou me masi nighine foni (48) paghafa (no) gba, sisorон foni (25) pamene (yes) gbamo. Nein kara mo agoninye (April) 1999 kurai me International Conference on Nonviolence ane Martin Luther King jr.

Centre for Nonviolence Social Change beniyo me keme amasi (40) hin (yes) taru (3) ba en en (no) gbamo. 2000 kurai me mamu karamu agoniye (February) Dogba funnumu otu Omsk, Russia ebe a beni me keme a sondiasi keni foni en en (no) gba, si oyi nein foni ba hin (yes) gba mo.

\*

Keme otu zozobagha ebe numu pamene yan? Akpo me mimein kemeba mo fe ake keme otu esin momu mene bra disindei aba ebe da buwo tolumo mene otu bo bise bra akpo numu paghafa gba mene! Kuro bra ake me bibebe kori kpedi dou mene otukpo ami ye – Ekiye kpo pagha ba ekiye kpo paemyie. Ane keni brabo keme otu ondotimi akpo eyerin mo yo me abiye gbo mene otukpo akpo me teme ama suwo, tolumo eyama suwo ba eyi mo wari ama suwo dei ya zozobagha akpo pamo agbe emiye.



## Chapter 2

Mamu karamo koro goyo

### Kemebagha akpo miye pamo mu eyibo

O pan bibirin wərimi aba, eyiamangə miye  
dei ya zozobaghfa akpo pamənə eyibo  
omənə munumu wərimi

Anę David N. Daniels mg Marshal F. Gilula  
Department of Psychiatry, Stanford University,  
1970 Kurai mę agbabrame.

**T**ei ke done keme otu zozobaghfa akpo pamu bra ekiye mənə yan? Keme awou gndo didubamo wəri mi ye abe egberi tei ke done keme otu brame ekiye asei emi yan?

#### Keme bagha eyerin buwo me

Owo ake təmə anga ke duwo dime nę abekpo akpo otu bo dibuwę me a gankemi. Binden otu keme bagha. Kiri kiri me owo emi otu bo mo ba bo efiye akpo me atimi otu ake keni kpo keme do laikə keme ba fe eni mənə. Akpo me a keme awou duwo tolu fe keme ekpudu disin dei ekpo. So bolou mo bawai pakemę etu ke disin kpo bingha ere ama ke keme ba gbolomę egberi asuwę emi, ere ama kokobai keme ke bamənə abe kpo. Tume zuwa ere ama kpo sədou fere keweni mənə. Zuwa ebe ama kala awou kpo ake ekiyan kon aneke so kuro nana mubra done. Ere ama apere gbe weri keme bafere kpo weni mənə, ani deiya bin ere ama sodou fere kpo afə bawai kemekpo ba disetimi bagha. Kesi egberike gbamənə abekpo binagha keme ama ke zədou ogbo kpo atimi sədou keme ama bamənə, ba bisę bolou kpo bingha yai ke numu wəri keme kpo bamənə. Ke me bafere ke weni mənə otu bokpo zuwa keme ba me ane abra ango asuwę mənə keme a soron asi emi aba mamu ke numu bari bari keme ba mənə. Lt Col. Dave Grossman gbrame "so bolou me ani eyo ne nein asi oyi nighine fonı (98%) sei kon bisę yo me emi otu bo se miye apa emi ye". Ko manya kiri keme ekpudu me ne so təmə tebe asuwę gha otu bo kpo so bolou me a pamənə eyibo eribø akpo suwę nomudei. Ani tu ne Grossman 1995 kurai me agbadəi, "ebe da tolumę buwo me emi otu gbadəi keme ke pere ziwerimi keme se keme batoru nimi werimi ye abe egberi mo sədou ogbo asuwę mənə me ake keme ba ekiyə kə miye kuro mo mənə abe egberime owou amugha".

Keme awou zozobaghfa pa emi bra dəu ərimo. Keme tobou se keme ba toru numuweri mi aba bebe bebe wari ama akpmę atimi gha timimo. Anę dau tobou ba, yein kpo dau ba, tobou dau mo yein mo ba wai bin a otu ba akpo ke timi mo agbe timimo. Anę brapagha tume oyein bisę bra ake keme awou bo təmə gha. Bisę bra be wəriya akpo bolou me emi keme bo bəde bəde fesindei. Bisę yo miye pamo yo me, keme awou memein kpo timi eyerimnənə akpo sei mu labrabose. Ake ba oloko anga

duwo didei aba, endena keme ke akpo me abolou pa efiye me atimi, bame mein me endena keme ke ba ko emiya bo mo agbemi ye. Ende ke ba keme ba otu wa? Keni kurai endagbudu (91,100,000,000) bo dei efiye duwobo me efiye lame keme soron asi endagbudu timi mo 1966 mo 1996 mo kurai bo Rambey ten owei gbabrame. Numugha timi me keme endagbudu bo, keni endagbudu zene otu ke pere ba mo aba, bo keni endagbudu me ake tara oru miye dei aba, pamene yome tara endagbudu (tara orogodo) (3,000,000,000) bisé efiye duwo bo me apamene ye (since 1,000 B.C.E. to 1 million B.C.E) Ane ke ane abe kpo keme asoron abi bolou se nein abi oyi soron foni mokpo ko emi ye (95% not killed). Numu ghatimi oyiake keme soron asi bolou apere bamene aba (10% homicide) Keni kpe kpei bo ke soron asi bolou me apere kurai bolou me bame ne.

Numughatimi keme a odozosi bolou me (100,000) siasi soron foni (500) apere bamog abekpo, America ebe me ake mamu diye dei aba keni anga ke keme baotu apamene (51% killers). Akpo me emi otu bo se disin kpo bingha keme amake kemeba otu apa emi. (Recky 1996) Kurai me agbabrame keme ba otu bo ebe duwo mu ebe lase dei yo emi, ane done zozo ba a kpo bolou me eyeri ake zozo ke kere yo dein werimi ye.

### **Temeanga bulume (Spiritual Roots)**

Zozobagha fa akpo pamubrare efiyebose teme angakiri me aganke mi, keme ama ane karobu wo ba ake gbamog zene otu bamene abekpo ane (Thompson 1988 kurai me a gbabrame). Kuro dein esomu ne Oyein Akpo se teme owei duwo bo ye gbabrame keme mu zene keme ba gbagha, anedei ya "Ondo didubamo, ba kembakumo".

Akpo me emi karibuwo bo se keme ba me sei dein eyi. Ane ke done Max Weber gbadeli oyein Kari buwo mo politik mo kenise paghafa.

Jainism mo Judaism karibuwo bo gbadeli zozobakumo oloko ke Oyein toruyo me akuro dein emi. Buddhism karibuwo bolou oloko kpo gbadeli "keme ba me sei eyerim buwo" Judaism, Christianity mo Islam karibuwo bo se gba wrimi "Keme zozo ba kumo (Ex. 20:13), Jew otu aladein tolumog buwo gbadeli" keni keme ondo zuwo tei mo keme me dide keme etu kezuwo bo mo dei ye". "Keme ne keni ondo bataingbe mo bo me akpo se ke bataingbe dei ye". Islam kari ogbokpo me keni brake gbamog, Seimiyegha keme bamene kemese akpo se ke bamene, ba keni ondo zuwo keme me akpose ke zuwo meneg" (Al-Quran 5:32). Bahai Judaism, Christianity ba Islam mo tolumog buwo ake keni gbolomog dei ya gbaodei "Oyein esin dei ya keme ondo ake ba kumo". (Baha'u'llah 1983:277). Gomu amabiye eyerinbuwo kpo keme zozoba ebighabragbawerimi. Confucianism ten ogbo kpo gbadeli "Kelekele keme ama ebedaweri misé seiyai miye" keme batuwa oloko me timighafa (Fung 1952:60). Taoism ogbo meneg "Keme otu zozotari werimi aba ake so zozoba alagba ama ke beni emi abekpo. Keni bo kpo bisé keme ba temi eyibo gbolo ake so dou ghafa e" (Fung 1952: 190). Socialist (nana dein bo fa) eyerin buwo gbabrame "keme otu zozobagha se etu mo etu mo so ama kpo ba timi ghafa". Akpose bolou so (WWI) fun me age pumo brame

Akpo me afere wonimene otu bose keme esomo taingbe ba keme ba eyerin me ebigha Quarker otu ogbo me ake karibuwo miye oru padou done keme otu batimi brame. Fere woni meneg otu bose keni brakemi done. Germany ebe me doubo doubo fe ba keme bame ebigha yo done fere woni otubo bisé sei gbamog. (True 1995:49 Baxter 2000).

Ebe bo se kemé ba ebigha eyi me ebighabra gwérími ane ke done kemé otu karibuwo bose di dubamo wéri mi.

Zozoba kumo oloko ba te ebiké akpo ma miye dei ya? Ondo didubamo, sei ake zozo bo mo mo. Oyein ke kemé ba kon kemé tobou tolumo weri ya keméteme me tufa. Kemé otu miye sei ke done ba sei miye otu sei soweí dou kedone zozoba mene abe kpo amene sei mo ebimo numu wéri ebi anga me atu duwo mene.

Akpo korose zozobame ebigha brame kemé awou mo numuwerimi. Kemé baotu bo kumó bisé ekiyu bête tuwa wérími abekpo a fa. Ba wai amene kuro kaké done timi me efiye laemi abe kpo afa ane oyein kari buwo duwo mu Germany otu Jew otu bo younmo ba efiye lase, ba bin Oyein kari buwo bo duwo bo pina otu apkose kori ake diwéri bo memein efiye lase. Akpo pasé misé bo mene kurai soron asi ke zozoba me ebigha erepon kurodein mo, ane Christ tu duwo otu, Martin Luther King Jnr., Hindu ebe me Gandhi, Muslem ogbo me Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Jew owei Joseph. Abileah, Buddhist owei Dalai Lama, Green Petra Kelly mo zene kiyen mu brakpo fa bin kemé ama mo.

Zozobame ebigha brame akpome emi bin karibuwo bose keni suwo mo pan beberin dei, ba bisé sei dei mo yo kpo kuro fa keni.

Zozoba me akpo bolou kemé abekpo bin dein kemé ama zozoba sei bra numu wéri mi, kemese ondo atimi ke doumene.

Gomu egberi gbamuyo me zozobame Oyein kari buwo bolou mo akpo bolou me ke dumo pabomo abekpo kemese zozobagha akpo pamene keasuwo beberin wéri mi.

### **Geleku tolumo bulu me (scientific roots)**

“Kari buwo bête numu zozobagha akpo ake opere gha fa”. Acharya Mahapragya, keni Oyein karibuwo tebe owei ne India emiwei gbabrame – Orubeni efiye Jain amakiribiye ahimsa (zozobagha) ogbo tolumo brame. Akpo me kuro dein eyi me ane zozobagha akpo, okere akpo tolumo eyi bose okere eyikpo la dein emi (Jain mo Varnni mo 1993:139) me agbabrame. Achenya Mahapragya agbabramé zozobagha timimene, kemé otu dou eyinana, ba wai akpo me atimi mo agbebratimi ba esin kpo fabra don oya gbapamo dei aba kere bise akpo pamene. Omene ba gbabrame, Keme otu zozo bamene ti me gomufe eyifa mo, ekiye mo eyi famo bulo embele gha mo ke duwo pamene ye. Me kiyen werimi eyibo miye kere deise zozobagha akpo kere pa menye ye (1987 mo 1994, ba kumar 1992 Kurai ba gbabra me).

Te tolumo eyi ke numu zozobagha akpo kon bo mene yan? Bi bebe, parabebe, tolumo eyi ase kon ake keni suwo mo dei aba. Bo ere pon pamene kelekele keme ama bebe done bra ake bi bebe ama bi dei se.

Richard Konrad (1974) bidei tei ke done ekisa tuwa kemé ba ke kemese miye kemeba otu mo ere kori bono otu apamo wan. Konrad mene zozobagha akpo me tara owouke duwo bo pamene ye. Bolou ye me bisé owou bo se miye gan pamo, ase ba dadi dei ya ase ebigha bra dou pamo. Bisé bra miye kpo tebe erikorigha ba gan eyo kpo afa konrad gbabrame. Ogbadei efiye mo ba zene eyiama bo ekiye eyibo miye gan pamo yobogban wérími. Ane done me tolumo eyibo keni kpo gomu kemé pere erigba. Ane kedone konrad gbadéi saradein owou me zozobagha tolumo eyi mo zozobagha zozobagha mo ke gandein yai bo e. Akere ba wai olobu bra tubone keme otu zozobamene tu bo kpo miye gan pamo mene (Yoder Kpo 1983) me agbabrame.

Keme lobou pere ziweri mi kemese kemeba mo gbe emi abedono bebe zozonaghá kon bodeye. Tulane University Tolumo owei Loh Isen Isari (1963) gbadéi oke kori femene

ologbo mo numu keni agba fiyai fe apaemiye ebibra ke atolomo dei se. Ka la opoloama mu zozo apaemi temediye me oke mo ologbomo weri ba fiyai ama aké okolome akoromo weri ane ma nama bo zozo gbologhabra aké me fiyai bo fetimi efiye oyi asi amene mo azozo eri dei se amene tu kunomo me amene bo zozobagha ekiye otu ke apamene ye. Ane bra bo temedi ye ke konsin kpo oke mo ologbomo ba zozo kori feghafa e.

### **Tsai gba kunomo yo me (tsai's conclusion):**

Mé bologbo efiye ne omene tolumo eyi konake oke mo ologbo mo miye ekiye otu apamo. Ané miye diyahga mene akpo pase tarigha keme ama kpo mumu bo ekiye otu apamene ye. Me tolumo eyi done zozo tein so mo ba zozo bamoo keme awou mo saghen brasin apaemi ye (1963:4).

Keme me tolumo eyi me asuwu eriyo done befiye befiye do akpo numu pamene.

Tsai gbadeli timi so dou alagha mo ogidiammo nana zozo brake akpo eyerin mo bradi dei aba, bo keni yo agbolo bebe were me zozone kon akpome abo mene ye. Keni opu bra fun godei owei Antonio Drago Newton mo Carnot mo tolumo eyi bo a zozonaghagh bologbo me gbabram (Drago 1994) omene kpo zozone miye pamo bolou me a bo makeme bo dou pamo yo mo lei yo ekiye pamo deiye. Omene babidei tebegbase gha don zuwo owei Jerome D. Frank gba bede bede gbolo zozo na ke numu kuro akpotu miye pamo weri mi ere pon kon seri mene yan? (Frank 1560:261-2; 1993: 204-5).

Akpo bolou me atimi yoro mene egberibone keme tobou pase ese dou mo keme ba bolou ke duwo bomo e abe tolumo eyi me kemese ane ekiye owou duwo bo emi egberiye, kon aké (Kano1990) bonobo keme bo ekiye pamo yo ton mogha fa e, Mangandu mo Bonobo otu bo keni bou ke eyerin bo gbolemi, Congo ten ebeme, ane done Mangandu otu Bonobo otu aké bina otu ke miye weremi akpo korose, ane tu ne Mangandu keme Bonobo keme bagha timi mimein laemi (Kano 1990:62) ele, apou ba zene nama bo bomo dei ya (Wrangham Peterson, 1990; Waal 1997) gbabram (Waal 1989; 1996) Akpo bolou me a do miye dou mene keme bo kpo bebe bidei ye, tei ke done keme awou zozoba kumo dise ne keni suwo mo akpo se disegha tume?

Kropotkin (1914), Sorokin (1954), Alfie Kohn (1990) ase gbadeli nama amakpo zuwa efiye ama do eyi ekiye teme emiye ane bra bo keme tobou kpo ebi eyo ama emiye.

Irenaus Eibl-Eibesfeldt (1979:240-1) Opu fun godei owei gbabram zozobame sei eyerin bra me keme tobou teme mo ango mo ke mi ye. Zozonagba ke mi

"Nama ebe kpo emi olokobo done sei aké zozo miye gha", Amene kpo, efiye bose Owou ama miye pamo weri esomo koro muyo bomomene. Nama bokpo kemes zozobakum abe oloko kokomene, ane deiya keme awou boke ane ekiyemene duonge keme ba eyerin buwo me akemiye miye eyi akemo weri miye mene tonke tonmene eyi abekpo. Ané ke done keme otu sobolou eyiren keme korideiaba kirikiri obo ondo taingbe muyo me bo aké kuro eyi suwo mene. Bise tu kedone sobou duwobo otu, ba kemebadeli otubo agbu (orou ten mene) ane ke kiriduwe bi bo mo ba amakiri biye eyibokpo aké abomodei.

Eibl Eibesfeldts mo Grossman mo dou eri brame (1995) gbadeli sobolou emi otubo kemebe embele kedone ba ane ango beteké zuwo mo done so amugha e.

Obagbadeli tebebiri sei timi kemebe mene out bo bin aké gantoru a kemebamene otu dein wéri mi otu bo dein emi ye. Sodon owei mo oloko miye owei mo ekiye eyibo bebe kebe kemi. So dou owei ese suwo bo ogbolo kumo tolumo mene me, oloko miye owei ba miye dei ya keme ba me sei eyibrake tolumo mene. Keme otu akpo me a do dou mene tumé keme se ane amakiri eyerin buwo bo miye bo zozo namuyó ke dou mene.

Ose ekiye eyi ke ose ake bolou dimo werimi eyime. Bisé bolou ke doo kpo numu pabome ne done. So kon miye mene eyipko numu do miye pamogha (1979:241)

Tebebiye ekiye eyi o gbabrame zozobagha numu paagbe emi. Nomu don tolumo owei Bruce E. Morton (2000) gbadai zozoba mo baghamo kemete tobou ekiye eyike duwo bo mene ake nein anga kiri duwo didei aba. Kon mo ama anga kiri bo duwo didei (ekiye eyi mo kelekele mo), ba tebebiye akpodo mo. Morton mene owou eyi ekiye me teme anga mo ba angonumu mo ke duwo pamene ye. Ané karakara eyi, ekiye eyi, angó numu, ekirikeke, zozona, elaeysi ekpoladai ba zozobagha mo. Gomu ekiye eyi ke zozobagha kpo miye pamogha mene. Ekiyu bolou emi eyi miye ganpamo me tara oru kemi ane-femo pin, kemete tebe seimo diri ama mo ba sei kori buwo ama mo. Teme anga ekiye eyi ba gbabrame kemete awou akpo me ekiye mene eyi me zozogha akpo mo do mo. "Tebebiye don tolumo otu bo kpo dou pamogha degi gbadai keketobou teme mo ondo mene eyise do zozobagha akpo. Hindu tolumo eyi numu owei Vivekananda gbadai angó bolou diye Oyein pere me eyila ake Oyein zené ke duwo ba kemete asuwo mene dein werimi ye. Tolstoy ba Christi tuduwo tolumo bolou duwo gbadai "Oyein amayana bo kiri me eni angó ke emi", ane ma koribuwo bo miye bo keni pa emiye. (Tolstoy 1974). Kurai odozo ama bodei efiye me India otu kabir tolumo eyi gbabrame: "Keme tobou ma toru bo okolo me ane Oyein esomu owei me. Ené Oyein me ene angó ke emi dei ke emene afen a torufini ake odou mene yan? (Sethi1984:56-7)".

Sei tebebiri ba kemete miye bo ake kemete bakeme a padai aba tei aya? Bisé brake kapko obuo kpirain eyi kori ekiye ebimodeise obobo ke birangemete pere tolumo ghatimi kemeba ebigha bra minimene. Keme awou tebebiye tolumo otu binbra bose, seiya miye kemete bené bené dei mo efiye fa bra na dou pamogha.

Bolou bolou tebe biye don tolumo tu James W. Prescott mo Robert G. Heath (Restak 1979:118-133) me a gbabrame kemete ba me zuwo otu brama embale ake bebe otu tukpa (electric) keme tein bamene bra kpo dein emi. Ané me tukpa kemete tein dei ya angó se zige timi pere fen mene brame ané Ele ama ke kon me tolumo tudou eyi miye diyamo. Kon ake eyo akai wéri mi Elebo solo ake tiri pa wéri weni mene yai bo dein mo me eyi tolumo otu dou eribrame. Amene ba beke tukpa duwo miye werimi eyi kon kemete tobou tebe akpodo me atuwa efiye me a dou eri amene kemeba teme wa seribomo, ané deiya keme tobou nimir kemeba seiya miye ondo kon sin mene. Zuwa sei miye otu kon ekoli kai wéri aldei aba amene wai deibo ebi otu apamene. Zuwa ba bedebede kpo bobo dei timi bise sei tuwo serimene. Bo eyibo tolumo mene me zuwa efiye ama miye gba yo ama pamene. Kení owei keni efiye bisé tolou mo bolou duwo kpabu ake kenidon zuwo ere temibamo. Me tolumo buwo me kemetobou miyebo ake zozobagha akpo me asuwo mene.

Ebeda tolumo buwo duwo didei aba zozoba faghafa ye brakemi. America ebe me ama Martin Luther King Jnr. mo Senator Robert F. Kennedy mo tein ba efiye ke Stanford University me a keni si tara kemefoni tebebiye don tolumo ogba otu me zozoba eyerin buwo me atu dou mo (Daniels, Gilula, ba Ochberg mo 1970) ma gbabrame. Ané ese dou, ba kwro otu suotu dein mo akpo me ake kemete ondo, kemete otu emiyo, gepamo egberi ama, sodou tein eyiamama, nomudo emibra ba bou kori mene eyibo mo se tolumo efiye ke bo eyibose dou erimo. Daniel mo Gilula mo dou eridei "kemete tobou ebibra miye mo agbe eyimiye dei se ba zozoba ghafa e.

Geoge F. Solomon kpo dou eridei (1970) "zozoba me angó ke duwo pa emi abekpo mimu bras in apa emiye ané eyiamane kemete otu leimo seimiye mene eyi bose kon sin dei aba". Zené di agbe mo fiya eyiamama kpo emi, bobo nanaere badei owei, oya, ekiate

tein mènè dau, amafemènè yein, alagba sibemènè dau mo yein mo ba zozo famu mènè dòu mo yein mo ba zènè ama kiri biye sei ama nè emiyai bose disin kè Solomon gbapamo dei:

Kèmè tobou dei apaemi Osei bra bose kpo. Sei ama nè kòn sin mo agbè emiyai bo zuwa efiyè numu lamo gha kè duwo bomenè, ba tolumo deisè numumènè. Eyi ake bolou tolumo gha, eyitolumo disè gha mo ba efrifè mo sei miyè akpo miyè bo ake faghà faghà eyibra emi. Bisè bolou duwo zuwo tei mo akubo gide akpo eyerin mo yo mè paranparan kè emi (387).

Eyerin buwo tolumo bolou mè egburuku egburuku fa mo kè ake bebebradimènè anè miyè dei kè zozoba mini pamènè mo pagha fa mo dimènè (Sponsel and Gregor 1994b); sponsel 1996). Leshe .E. Sponsell gbadeli “zozobagha akpo pake numu paghafa bra emi, bisè tume fun tolumo otu bo kuro bra zozobagha tolumo buwo mè ake eyimimiye gha kèdone” Oba gbadeli “Mè tolumo buwo kpo dò mo ba ese miyè pamokumo tolumo emi brakè emi “(sponsel 1994a:18-9).

Thomas Hobbes bolou pa otu bo akpo mè a oloko fabra kòn zozoba timi bra kpo tolumon dei Piero Giorgi (1999) mo J.M.G. van der Dennon (1990; 1995). Bokèmè bo dòu pamo yo me kèmè a si ayi andè foni akpo bolou pa efiye mè a zozoba mo, tume zozoba sei eyi bramè gba kuromò lagha kè done bisè bra pamo. Anè ka Vander Dennon gbadeli kèmè tobou bolou mè ebi kpo emi botebe sei gha (1990:257,259, 264-9). Oba gbadeli kèmè oyi andè bra kèmè ama nè ese dòu ba kèmè bagha otu bolou pa akpomè emi ye (1995:595-619).

Bruce D. Bonta (1993) dòu eri ba gbadeli masi sonomo foni ebe ama miye pamogha mènè “dò me ebi eyiye”. “Dò me anè eyo nè so mo zozonaghà mo duba dei o kosii otupèrè benni ogula suwo sei mo ebi numu weri gbakeme otu diya. Ba kòri mofiya yo a kori pele mènè ese miyè bòmò mènè yo. Gan gbamènè aba, dò emi ebe bose ake ma anga diye dei se, keni anga kiri numu gba mènè amènè pase na ese mo zozoba mo korogha e. kèmè ladei bò numughatimi kuro sei miyè kpo ama kè duwo gbo dugo seri mènè obamu bradidei aba. Bisè Kení brakè ake ama mo ama mo so Kpo Kòri Pele mènè, anè done so, ba dòno bebe efiye bose pagha (403).

Orubeni efiye tolumo otubo gbabramè ama mo ekpudu mo eyerin buwo bo kè amiye owou ba amiye eyerinmo mènè ese miye pamò bolou mè (fabro 1978). Douglas P.Fry (1994) mo ma Mexico Zapotee kala ama otu dòu pamò yo gbabramè ma ama numu keni bratimi mènè anè deiya eyerin buwo bo bebe bra pamènè. La paz ten ama mè zozoba dolokpò bingha, kèmèse biye embele mo zozotari bolou kè awèni mènè (140). Omomo pin emi seiyaimiye ama San Andres mè seiyamiye mè kèmè otu bomokè pa emi eyi (141). Kèmè bo ere amaotu kpo di dubamogha, nanawèri mi ere kpo famumènè, kalaawòu kpo oyamu mènè, wurubou kòri, ere done zozoba, egiren mo efiri fè mo kè ane eyerin buwo mè. San Andres mè keme si asi bolou se oyi migine foni apere bamènè ake la paz ton modei aba. Bo ma amaboke kèmè otu lemo gbagha mènè zozoba mè madei ya famene pabodei egberi tolumo otu gbadeli zozoba famènè ye. Seville May 16, 1986 mè agbadei akpo mè nama tolumo ogbo mè gbadeli zozobagha akpo numupa agbè emiye.

Kèmè tobou nama ekiyu tuwa werimi kèdone egburuku kpon bawai sokpo donmènè abe ekiye eyi mè gbasigha. Anè ekiye eyi kpo ese mè kèmè dò bùu nama mo

lei eyerin ké duwo pamo gba yo mé gbasigha. Sei yai miye ondo ké kémé akpo mé abin dein emi yo mé gasigha ekiye eyi.

Stanford University no mu dón tolumo owej servile ekiye pamo yo gbabramé duwo di dei aba:

kémé tobogu Oyein otémé ake seiké péré weri mi né dei mo brasg fa egberi kpo ekpé. Akpo se dó kwari béní gba bramé kémé otu nimi bisé bra di ake eyerin kpo paemí ase se kéni gbolo déjé. Nimi miye gha abé eyi ama kpo numu miye méné kémé béníi deiaba. Kémé otu só tón méné bra bó ene dó akpo kpo ekiye pamo méné. So ekiye bra bó dó kpo ekiye apa emi. Oyein bólú témé owej duwobo mé efiyé laṣé (Adams 1989:120-1:1997).

Awaran agoniye mé (August) 21, 1939 Albert Einstein fun gé ake America ebe da owej Franklin D. Roosevelt yáre déjya gbamó kémé endagbudu tein ba méné tein eyi (atomic bomb) ne otémé dei ye mé numu zéné otu lémo aya kuro kémé otu baméné só dou eyi ama témé méné ye (Nathan mo Nardenma 1968:295). Ané ké eyinumu otu America ebe daowei tolumo aghaméne ókón Manhattan só eyibo done taingbé mó sele ake weri dei ké, ané ké done uraniun (bomb) mo plutoium (bomb) ten méné tein eyi ama témé mó sondiye a kurai bó mé. Orubeni eyi tolumo otu gbadéi amakiri biye eyi tolumo otu gbadéi amakiri biye eyerin buwo mó kelé kelé eyerinn ake awou tolumo mé eyila emi ye, améné ebe miye owou mó méné dóné (Fabro 1978). Douglas P. Fry ké (1994) kurai mé a bísé bragbamó Mexico ma ama eyerin buwo omó tolumo timi efiyé ké oma bísé bra gbamó. La paz dó bóné zozoba eyerin dólo kpo dubaghá ba keme bokpo dó, ango di dubamó ba zozotari fa kémi. Ané dei ya San Andes né La Paz mo pin emi ama mé efiyé bose zozoba oge ké koro emi. Ere ama kpo didinba mó nanaghá, nana ere famu, kala awou oyamu, kala awou okosi otu diseimó, binyé ten, bou kori, etu só dou zozoba, ere kori bóno, sei ake zozobomó gha eyerin buwo ke amase ake sinwéri emi. Ané dóné San Andres mé kémé siandé bolou sé (100,000:18.1), oyi mighine foni apere baméné. La Paz (1000, 000:3.4) tarakéméke bísé bolou mé aperebaméné. Akpo mé a paméné eyibo disin dei aba, zozobaghá akpo numupaghafá kémé otu mó gbaméné. Kémé ondó mo eyerin buwo mó tolu mó otu gbabramé ané abo ake servile ten ama béní pan béberin bra mé; “kémé tobou namaké duwo só dou bra mó ese dou eyerin buwo tohimó an go péré mó abé egberin mé ekpé mó e. Servile tolumo otu bo ba a wai gbamó “kémé otu só ménéye, ané dejya bísé yo bódei aba waizozona mó agbé mi”. Só mé kémé to bou ondó duwo bo méné brabó dó kpo bísé brake duwo boméné (Adams) méné osese ké bise yo miye bo gan pamo mó agbé mi”.

### Zozobaghá miye bo pamo kuro me

Emile Dukheim (1858-1917) bólú bolou zozo tari gbolomo eyi tolumo ere gbabra mé zozotari bolou mé ebi ké emiye. Ané kéni bra ké Donald T. Campbell mo gbawérimi, North Western University oma (Political Science) ebe da tolumgtimi efiyé mé. Ogba ololuméne awubo diya dei ya “Machiavelli, Cesare Borgia The Prince mé agbadéi fin tolumo awou bo mumu wé, sei ebe da kémé mé oru kumó osei emi brake dipaméné onéné paremi yo mé omu disindej aba. Zozoba kumó paméné kpo ebé eyerin buwo mó, eyiamá né ebé mé ake tuwa eyerin méné bra kédi paméné. Zozoba timi dou gha ebebo ake ané ebé bo di méné olokobo kédi bise eyerin buwo bo kpo miye pamo méné ané ké done babó mó babó mó oloko mé bise ebé bo afa.

**Babomø babomø oloko faebe bone akpome emi yaibo**

Albania	Germany	Panama
Andorra	Greece	Paraguay
Angola	Guinea-Bissau	Philippines
Argentina	Haiti	Poland
Armenia	Honduras	Portugal
Australia	Hungary	Romania
Austria	Iceland	Rwanda
Azerbaijan	Ireland	Samoa
Belgium	Italy	San Marino
Bhutan	Kiribati	Sao Tome and Principe
Bosnia-Herzegovina	Liechtenstein	Senegal
Bulgaria	Lithuania	Serbia
Cambodia	Luxembourg	Seychelles
Canada	Macedonia (FYR)	Slovak Republic
Cape Verde	Malta	Slovenia
Chile	Marshall Islands	Solomon Islands
Colombia	Mauritius	South Africa
Cook Islands	Mexico	Spain
Costa Rica	Micronesia	Sweden
Cote d'Ivoire	Moldova	Switzerland
Croatia	Monaco	Timor-Lorosae
Cyprus	Montenegro	Turkey
Czech Republic	Mozambique	Turkmenistan
Denmark	Namibia	Tuvalu
Djibouti	Nepal	Ukraine
Dominican Republic	Netherlands	United Kingdom
Ecuador	New Zealand	Uruguay
Estonia	Nicaragua	Uzbekistan
Finland	Niue	Vanuatu
France	Norway	Vatican City State
Georgia	Palau	Venezuela

Amnesty International, april, 2009 gbaabramø

Me babo mo babo mo oloko seimo ebebo tudou eridei ke sei mo werimi, tei ke done, tei ke tu, ba wai tei ebi ke kon ebebo miye me ne ya se tudou dei ke me oloko me amo sei mo weri mi. Sei, mo ebi mo ne bise bolou duwo bo ebe bo a zozoba kon sin mene eyibo se disindei ke me oloko kon sin werimi.

Bise yo bo mo kpo oyi nein ebe foni ba keme ba ake sei atuwa gha ane ebebo Argentina, Bosina-Herzegovena, Brazil, Israel, Mexico, South Africa mo United Kingdom mo. Si Sondiye foni memein kpo babo mo babo mo oloko memein kpo kokomene-Albenia, Brunei, Darussa Lam, Congo, Papua New Guinea, Senegal, Sri Lanka, Turkey mo Western Samoa. Ebe a nein asi oyi keni foni memein kpo babo mo babo mo oloko koko mene-China, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Japan, Nigeria, Pakistan, Russia and United States of America (oyi mamu state foni bise oloko kon sindei) –Alaska, Hawa'i, Iowa, Maine, Massachussetts, Michigan, Minnesota. North Dakota Rhode Island, Vermont, West Vermont. West Virginian and Wisconsin. Zozoba eyerin me bo ebe bo seri dei ke done me oloko me amo kon seri mene. Keme otu zene keme ba me Rousean tuwa oloko bolou me a suwo gha (social contract) Max Weber kpo mo gbagha.

Zuwo ebe ama ba so dou otu ogbo kpo fa. Bo bin ebe bo se United Nations Organization me a suwo emi Crok Island Niue mo Vatican mo bo mo dei ya.

No Army (19) So dou otu ogbo fa ebebo (oi isefoni)

Costa Rica	Mauritius	San Marino
Dominica	Nauru	Solomon Islands
Grenada	Panama	Tuvalu
Haiti	San Kitts y Nevis	Vanuatu
Kiribati	Saint Lucia	Vatican City State
Liechtenstein	S. Vincent and Grenadines	
Maldives	Samoa	

No Army (Defense Treaty) (8) (Nigine)

Andorra (France, Spain)	Micronesia (USA)
Cook Islands (New Zeland)	Monaco (France)
Iceland (NATO, USA)	Niue (New Zeland)
Marshall Islands (USA)	Palau (USA)

Source: Barbey 2001.

Oyinighine na bratebe nanugha ebe ama zene bra tebe nanadei ebeamma mo gbapele weri beke so dou ogbo ama ane ebebo alimi kumo bra fun age koromo werimi Aland Island ne finland emi ebe kpo suwo mo, Antarctica mo Moon (Barbey 2001).

Ebe ama ne sodou ogbo ama fa yaibo anango bo adi aseimi ba wai ake sei ayi bra ke akemo werimi. Bo ebe bo sauemi abekpo amene duba ebebo mo zozona weri do miye ake akpo eyerin mene zozobagha akpo pamo bradone. Sodou ogbobo emi ebe bokpo miye deiya do mo zozobagha timi ke dou mene. Ebe amasi sonomo foni 1998 kurai ma panbe berin amene so dou otu ogbo ke a suwo emi keme kpo kemeba kumo.

Ebeamma ne sodou ogbo amatimi kum doumene yai bo (47) (Maasii sonomo foni)

Albania	Finland	Poland
Argentina	France	Portugal
Armenia	Germany	Romania
Australia	Greece	Russia
Austria	Guyana	Serbia
Azerbaijan	Hungary	Slovakia
Belarus	Israel	Slovenia
Belgium	Italy	South Africa
Bermuda	Kyrgyzstan	Spain
Bosnia-Herzegovina	Latvia	Suriname
Brazil	Lithuania	Sweden
Bulgaria	Macedonia	Switzerland
Canada	Malta	Ukraine
Croatia	Moldova	United Kingdom
Cyprus (Greek-Cyprus)	Montenegro	United States
Czech Republic	Netherlands	Uzbekistan
Denmark	Norway	Yugoslavia
Estonia	Paraguay	Zimbabwe

Source: Horeman and Stolwijk (1998) and War Resisters' International (2005).

Ebe bo mo ane kari buwo ama mo kedone bisé sodou otu ogbo bo timi mo yo me amu dougha. Ane ekiye eyi ama, eyerin buwo amam mo ebedibuwo kere kere bra boke done bisé brapamo. Zené tuné emiye me kemé kemé amene dise fere woni mo bolou kpo done.

(Moskos mo Chambers mo gbabrame 1993) Memein Kirimo Kirimome duwo deike zozoba me sei eyi brame Germany eber oloko fun me nein kara mo yo me: Article 4 of Basic Law 1949) "Memein duwo koro bolou amu me kemé ba zené kemé ponimo sibeye sibe sodou yo amu ghafa". (Kuthimann mo. Lippert 1993:98) Babo mo babo mo oloko mo so dou ogbo timi kumо abe eyo pa brame kemé awon bo dongo bebe ke duwo bo mo.

### **Kemé awou miye wérimi ogbo ama (social institutions)**

Zozobame ebigha bramiye gan pamo dei akpo mea bin eyo ma koro modei. Kemé otu zozobame sei eyi abe done. Bo ogbobo se kenyo ke abeni timi wériya, zozoba akpo afa kpo kemé otu mu gbatimi mo, ane me kemé eyi numu wéri mi bra ke miye diya wéri mi. Me kéni egberibolou me kemese ane numu yo ama kegba wéri mi.

### **Teme anga ogboama**

Zozoba kumo gbamene kari buwo bo akpome a bein ke bein emi. Jains ogbone owurau pa anga (East) me emiye kpo, Quakers-Owwrail vin anga (West) me emiye kpo, Universal Peace Brotherhood Association-Japan Emiye kpo, Buddhist Plum Village ama ne France emiye kpo, Simon Kimbangu Church ne Africa (Dirimo ebeme emiye kpo, Doukhobor (Teme anda olotu) Kpo Russia mo Canada emi do dou mene otu bo kpo, Jewish Peace Fellowship ne United States of America emiye kpo. International Fellowship of Reconciliation 1919 Kurai me akpo otu bo ton pamo ye me akpo me emi owei bomo, erebomo me tari mo ba karakara dise emi otu bose beniton gbamene zozoba me sei eyi ye gbamo, ba kemeawou ake akpo bolou me eyerin mo agbebrabose gba gan pamo dei.

### **Ebeda gbolomo ogbo ama**

Me ogbolou me a kemebagha ekpuду me ane Fellowship Party of Britain ane Ronald Mallone, John Loverseed, oyein koriotu ba Ww II sodou otu dou pamo wéri mi ye me (1955). Amene gbadei eyi ne so ke kon bo mene eyise kon akpo me aseriye. Petra K. Kelly mo zené kemé sioyi mo 1979 Germany me amiye wonimi ogbo-Die Grinen (Green Party) mene ebidein akpo me sofa ye meye.

Akori tekele yo me Ghandi mo Martin Luther King Jr. (Kelly 1983) mo gbaegberi bo. Ane keni bra bo zozoba ghatimi ebe tebe asuwo me ebi kon akpose pere mene. United States Pacifist Party, Bradford Lyttle 1983 me adoupamo ye me kemé awou eyerin se disindei ke 1996 mo 2000 mo me a. Bradford Lyttle ake bolou da owei miye mo. Me ogbo otobu mene kemé America ebe me azozoba kumo ba wai ake akpo zené ebe bo mo eyerin mene buwo bo dei ye. India me Sarvodaya Party T.K.N.

Unnithan mo zené otu mo dou pamo ye me Ghandi ake kemese ebi eyerin dou miye bolou bomo ke apabomo.

Me Sarvodaya Party me Ghandi so sei eyi weni buwo ke kori bolou amuyo ke abomo ba gba dei "ebe di kuro me ake sei otu bra atuwa deise amene me kuro kon sei yai miye mene".

Akpose ba numuyo me Transactional Radical Party Ghandi keme bakumo tolumo bolou duwo wai 1987 Italy Parti to Radicale bolou kpo amu suwo dei ane ke zozoba me ebigha bra gba ake United Nations ogbo kpo pere mudone. Ba wai babo mo babo mo oloko kpo seimomu done, ebe mo ebe mo so konsin. Me ogbo me ebe kpo damo done sologha, kemebo kpo dise dei ogbo se a suwo ba otuwo mo sele kpo dolo dolo bra ke gbapele mo. Ake Ghandi teme di gababrame “zozobagha ke numu akpo se kori keni atuwa mene”.

### Eyerin miye bolou wenimo ogbo ama

Keme otu bolou bo donmene ogbo bo zozo ba ake ebi eyi ake mogha (Pax World Fund): me Ghandi mo King mo tu duwo otu ke miye weri mi zozo ebigha gbaweni mene ogbo (United Farm Workers of America) duwo gboro otu ogbo ne.

Caesar Chaves, Dolore Hentra mo zene otu mo ke beni miye weri mi ogbo waiba zene bolou bo weni buwo ne Sri Lanka Sarvodaya Shramadana Sangamaya mo Budha Kari buwo mo miye werimi zozoba Kummo gbaweni mene ogbo ne A.T. Ayi yarat ne ke da weri mi ogbo kpo kemese pan beberin amene kemese zene bo ondo taingbe kum e. Ghandi wni buwo, India bhoodan (land gift) ne Vinoba Bhave (1994) mo Javaprakash Narayan (1978) – zozobagha timi ogbo mo zene bratuwa pere eyi ama diye me numu pa agbe emiye. Bratua keme otu pere mene ogbo se zozoba eyerin kpo dise ghafa. Ghandi found ne London emi ye me, Savodaya International Trust (Bangalore), mo A. J. Muste Institute (New York) ase se keni zozoba sei ke gbamo.

### Fun tolumo ogbo ama

Ghandi weni buwo tolumo owei Dr G Ramachandran (1903-1995) ne Ghandigram Rural Institute (Deemed University) Tami Nadu, India emi owei gababra me fun tolumo mene eyo bose zozoba seimi brame ake bolou weni mo mo agbemi. Me fun tolumo wari me ake bolou aweri emi erepon bo.

1. Ango numu eyerin tolumo, ama mo ebe mo dibuwo, ama ogbo oloko miye, beke otu miye weri egberi gbapam o ekpedi (radio) telemo mo ba ondo emi eyama tolumo, awon tolumo ake eyi gede.
2. Fun tolumo dei kemese miye bebe kori pede tolu kpo numu.
3. Tara belina weri fiye ane Tamil gababrame. Hindi bebi me ake ebe me a keme otu kori beni mo, English ba toun ogugo bamiye ake akpo pere.
4. Opu sukulu bomene bose eyo bose miye feren feren ake tolumo ba opu ogugo mo fiyai tuwo yo bo mo se suwo emi brame.

Ramachantran ba doumene bra me sukulu bo se egburuku sei eyi bra tolumo ane Shanty Sena (Peace Corps) me a geweri mi brame. Bis e weni buwo keni Radhakrishnan (1992-1997) miye bo ake professor apodei. 1958 duwo mu 1988 kurai las Sharnti Sena keme soron ebain (5,000) ake zozoba kum ba akpo miye do toluomo dei. Zuwa owei ma mo ere awou ereama mo do pamuyo done amene fesuwo muyo kpo atiye emiye; Izon kiri, teme anga mo ba fun anga ke kon miye mene abe kpo amene tiye emiye. Sena donobebe, so ba zozona gha kori pele brakpo ake atolumo mo. Omomene amene efiye bose keni bolou atimi bo ferebo kori weriye.

1970 duwo bo me bin otu ama India apere younmo dei seiyai miye done. Shanti Sena ogbo me opu sukulu bolou bose a do miye pamo fere kori weni mene ba

Ghandigram ogbo otu bo kpo eyo ama beni weri zozobakumo oge bo tei mene. Keme kori otu (Police) kpo bo opu sukulu bolou bo abomo suwo gha, India ebe da owei Nahru, India Ghandi mo zene opu otu ke bo kpo bise keni bra bo.

### **Zene eyi tolumo ogbo ama**

Bin keme zozoba kumo tolumo mene ogbo ama ke minein ma akpo me apabomene. Bin tolumo otu kpa ane kenibrabo pa bo mene. Bo ogbo bo zozoba me ebigha brake gba wenimene ba wai beke ke kon zozonagha nagha kori pele dou mene zozobamubradidei aba. (Beer 1994) gabram bin ogbo ama minein pabodei G. Rama dandra School of Nonviolence (N.Radhakrishnan). Peace Brigade International (Narayan Dasai). Florid Martin Luther King Jnr. Institute for Nonviolence, Lafayette & Associates (Bernard Lafayette Jnr., Charles L. Alphin Snr., mo David Jehsen, International Fellowship of Reconciliation (Hildegard Gross-Mayr mo Richard Deatrs mo). Training Centre workshops (George Lakey), War Resisters International (Howard Clerk), Palestinian Centre for the Study of Nonviolence (Mubarak Awad), Nonviolence International (Michael Beer), Servicio Pazy Justicia (Adolfo Peres Esquivel) the INTrenational Network of Engaged Buddhists (Yeshua Moser-Phangsuwan) mo TRANSCEND (Johan Galtung).

Kemeba kumo tolumo eyi me akuro dein eyi mo ekiyou eyi ekiy me Japan ebe me a so dou eyi sibegha bra ak tolumo buwo (Aikido) ogbo kpo bise tolumo eyi numu werimi. Bise ogbo dou pa mo yo dou pam owei Mori hei lesiba miye dei ya zozoba eyerin buwo kon sin mo yo tolumo fere kori ak kuro bra weni mene. Omomene eyi seimo, eno keme atuwa mo bo keme tacobou miye mene sei bose kuro dein emiye. Aikido doubra me Oyein akpo teme bra kon ak kopo weri ye ane done Aikido bo ke zozotari me a tebe tiye mo weri mi.

### **Ese pakumo eyo le otu**

Ese pagha yo done bin ebe ama bo ogbo bo miye weri angodimene, so dou eyi ama kpo sibe ghabra me gba mene aba Japan, Britain, Finland, Philippines me a sitio Cantomanyog ten yo bo, Germany-Bund Fura Soziale Verteidigung, Minden, zozoba ebighabra weni mene ogbo bo egberi gba mu so koro emi eyo ama (Moser Puang suwan mo Weber mo 2000) gabram, Mahony mo Eguren mo 1997) ase gbadei zozoba kumo tolumo buwo me ak ebe di buwo ma tuwa weni mo agbe emiye ane ke keme awu bo kpo do akpo eyerin mene. Agbadei so dou tein eyi ama ne keme bamene eyi bose akpo me a konsinye. Akpo mea bise bradou mene ogbobo Centre for Peace and Reconciliation Costa Rica ebe daowei ke dou pam owerimi ye mo ba 1987 kurai me Noble Peace Prize ten opu kule fe werimi owei Oscar Arias Sanchez dou pam oweri mi so dou tein alagba bo mo zene so dou eyi bose konsin dou mene ogbo; The movement to Abolish the Arms Trade, omoni tubo sei mo dou ogbo ke di weni mene ye mo Gunless Society ne Reynaldo Pacheco mo Hakydee Y. Yorac mo Philippines ebe ke a dou pam oweri ak keme awu ondoama zuwo bo mo ogbone (Villavinsio – paurom 1995) me a miye weri mi ogbo.

### **Eyi atudou ogboama**

Owurau vin anga me Albert Einstein tolumo weri me (Cambridge, Massachusetts) Gene Sharp ke dou eri weri mi ogbo kpo egburu ak timi ebeda dou kumo, ondo kekere ba

akpo me gerede yi miye. Owurau pa anga ba Ghandhian Institute of Studies (Varanasi, India) Jaya Prakash (JP) Narayan ke dou pamo weri mi ogbo keme otu eyerin buwo ama tudou weri egburu kon sin bra done. Ebemo ebemg bolou me, Nonviolence Commission of International Peace Research Association Theodore L. Heaman akpo me eyi atu dou zozo tolomo, fin totumo mo ba gan eyi miye eyerin buwo miye pamo ogbo kpo suwo emi.

### **Biye gbo tei mo ogbo ama**

Me ogbo bo ne zozoba timi kumo dou mene yai bo, Amnesty International (sei ake bo mo mo babo mo babo mo konsin dou mene) Green Peace International (so se kon sin mo dou mene ogbo) ba Medicines sans Frontieres-Doctors Without Borders (so bolou duwo eno laotu zuwo ogbo).

### **Egberi gba pamo ogbo ama**

Bo amakubu mo beke kiri bo apayi ama ke kori kpedimene Coleman Mc Cathy (1994) mo zene egberige otu mo gbabrame. Ane Day by Day agoniye bose egberi ge funme, eyi teme pamo, bebe toru tei ama mo Britiain Pacifist Fellowship Party (London), Bangkok's Budhist Seed of Peace, International Peace News, for Nonviolence Actualite (Montargis); Italy me a Azione Nonviolenta (Verona). Germany Graswurtzel revoluiton (Oldenburg) ba American magazines fellowship (Nyack, N.Y.) ba Nonviolent Activist (New York) mo zene bin yai mo Social Aternative (Brisbane, Austratia). Gandhi Marg (New Delhi) International Journals of Nonviolence (Washington D.C.) ase zozoba ebighabra kon bolou gbamo mo. Keme ba sei eyi bra ge pamo egbarige waribo Navajivan (Ahmedabad, India), New Society Publishers (Blaime, Washington), Nonviolence Actualite (Montargis, France, mo Orbis Books, Mary Knoll New York).

### **Amakiri biye miye eyiama**

Tolumo eyi mo ekiye pamog eyi mo ke keme awou onolo mea zozobagha kon.

Bomeneg ba wai amakuba tun dumog kpo ake ton momene aba ("we shall overcome") dumog mo opeaa (Philip Glass "Satyagraha") go fun (novels) (Bertha von kabutua poetry Suthuner, Lay Down Your Arms) (steve Mason, Johnny's Son) teme pamo eyiama (arts) (Kathe Kollwitz Seed for the planting must not be ground); ba kien tuwa mo (films) (Richard Attenborough, Gardhi). The Centre for Nonviolence ne ekiye (Arts) eyi miye pamo yo ke donpamo eyo me ne Mallika Swabhai ke Ahamenadad, India 1995 kurai ke a dou pemig tolumo miye ake keme otu eyitolumo ekpangibose peremog anedejiyaake akpo dei abimo mu bradone.

### **Akpotu suwogha bratebe dou**

Bin kurai ama (since 19<sup>th</sup> century) bodei efiye duwobo menein lase keme ama akpotu suwoghabra ake bratebe dou la ake mene, Gene sharp kpo 1980 kwai me a ghabrame. Kemeotu kpo numu so kpo fabra numu bratebe dou nara ake me neya me akpo boloum (Sharp 1989.4) sharp ba bolou werimo weri gba ghamene 1970 duwo mu 1980 lameneme Africa (Algeria, Morocco, South Africa mo Sudan mo) Asia (Buamna, China, India, Japan, South Korea, Pakistan, Philippines mo Tibet mo) America(s) Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Haiti, Mexico Nicaraguan, Panama, France, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Latvia, Yugoslavia Middle East (Israel, Latvia, Yugoslavia)

Middle (Israel-Palestine) Pacific (Australia mo New Caledonia). 1989 duwo bose Soviet Union me atiniri Communist ebe di buwø me sokpo fabrake a kumomomo ebigha done. Owuran panga kpo, Baltic ebebokpo Mongohia mo wai Germany miye bo keni suwomo, bawai South Africa diarimo otu disseimio gomet miye bo kuoromo lamo.

Aneke ane abekpo esepame sei eyi abe oaobose bisé bra paghae. Boisé bra dou mène bolou me keme ama kpo wai fesuwo mène (Biomra 1988) China 1989) Kuoba pabiame.zene ebe ama kpo bo sei zozoba eyibo pamø ane America, French, Russian, Chinese mo zene bin ebeamakpo. Gandhi aké India me a sofibratebedou bra dideisé zeneotu mu zene otu ebe dibuwø kpo bratebe dou mo. Philippines kpo aké so dou keme mène sei eyibose kon taingbe sin mo. Ane done zozobaghafa akpo pa kein atagha fiye akpo me, tarimo, gomu mo ba ponimo mo kpo timigha fa. Dei mo kokombai zozobaghfa akpo mo pamene zene ebi oloko ama ke babomø babo mo oloko kpo deimene biribou koromo mo keme otu kori sodou fere atuwa mo zene keme ba eyerin buwø bose suwo famene powimo, engarafe, keme aké omonituwa, zozotikpo mo zene bose kon sin mène ane deise deikpo akpome apamene. Gene Sharp (1973) Johan Gathury (1992; 1996) Jacques Semelin (19930 Michael Randdle (1994) me sin kara mo kwai asorong asi bo kunomo me dou eibaemene akpose kemi suwo dou bolou me keme otu keni bra eyikori ekiye done esedou mo zozoba eyerin buwø me eyeaifa dei (Powers mo Vogeles mo 1997; zunes kutz mo Ashea 1999; Ackerman mo Duvall 2000 me gbabrame.

### **Pabodei egberibø konume**

Bobo ke pabodei diwéri aké zozoba ebighabra miye bo akpo me a ganpamo mo. Bo agbeaibose Koriekiye dei se zozobaghfa akpo pamuyo me bo gan dein dei. Jew otu bo mo Christian otu ozubeni duwo dibo memein lame, zozobaghfa akpo kokø-bai pa agbe emi. Oyein sondiye Karamo oloko me Exodus 20:13 "Thou shalt not kill" "Kemeba Kumø Mathew 5:7 "Sermon on the mountain" –Egu agonø me a tolumo bebe me, ba wai Jesus Christ enghese ten me akai brame-keme hoau, ekiyø mo bebe mo efiye bose numuwerimi. Kemeba otu disé mo disegha. Mo mezozoba, kumo egbearime esinfa braké aké ghawemi mene esinmo eyine me bolou duwo boye se ane (Brunck 1968; 1970; 1990; 1991a; 1991b; 1992). Me Daukhobor Kiri gborø otubo kpo timi yo me June 29, 1895 me aké so dou meng kemeba eyi bose beni mo younmø bra me Russia me. Ane keni bra ke 1899 Kurai me ama Doukhobor tu duwo otu bo sonomo odozo mo ekibe mo (7,500) dugo seri aké Canada mu mo Tolstoy (Tarasoff 1995; 8-9). Kpo biatuwa brame. Zozobaghfa me mye miye eyi brame gan ke emi: Budhism gbabrame (Horigan 1996); Eas waran 1999; Kisth tainy 1990 paige and Gilliatt 1991; Islam Banerjee 2000; Gow 1990; Paige, Satha-Anand and Gilliatt 1993a, Satha-Anand 1992; Tayyebulla 1959 and Judaism (Schwazze hild n.d; Pohner and Goodman 1994; Wilcock 1991 Moskos mo Chambers mo kpo keme otu me tié Kubu akpo me a sodou ogbo bolou asuwo timi keme ondo taingbe me ebigha bragba werimi Amomene keme ba me gan toru mo teme anga mo a sei eyibrugba weri mi ye, ane tuké done keme otu zozoba aké sei eyi akemo weri ba wai ton ton eyi kpo aké mo weri mi.

Memein kpo zuwa ebe da otu kemeba me ebigha bra me a suwo erigha. King Frederick I 1713 efiye mea Prussia ebe daweri owei mo bisé yo me a Mennonites do dou ogbo otu bo mo ebe da owei mo daghaimo. Russia me emi Mennonites bokpo sodou ogbo suwo gha brame aké bomø werimi ane Catherine II (1763) mo Alexander II (1875), (Brock 1972, 230 234, 436) se me zozoba ebigha bragba mo. V.G. Chertkov mo Russia

Bolshevik ogbo otu bokpo 1919 kurai me a bisé bragba ake Lenin Pere mo Tolstoy mo V.C. Bonch-Bruevich ase agba sofere weni dou gha otu bose bomo mo ane ke done amene Russia Red Army ten ogbo kpo asuwo gha (Josephson 1985; 162; Coppieters mo Zreaev 1995). Ase mo miye kere pamo mo. Bolshevik otu bo babo mo babo mo oloko kpo kon sin mo ane so dou ogbo bolou me. Bobose zozoba ebigha brake miye gan pamo wearimi. Jerome D. Frank gbadei bin bo kuro ama ake ebe di otu brabo akonsin me zozoba eyerin kpo kon sin mene ba wai do kpo ake ebe mabomene. Ebe da otu bo numu weri eyi bo pakeme bo efiye bose numugha. Zimiring mo Hawkins Kemeba tuwa oloko me Hawkins Kemeba tuwa oloko me ebigha bratha ake beke ebe gometi bo diyamo.

Sei yai miye keme oyamu seigbe me ebigha bra me keme otu bindigin efiye ama sei oloko ama bra gha mene beke ebeme. Anedei ya kemeba kemeba tuwa kon sin dei ya zené oloko ake odee egberi se gometi bo namu kori eregha, America kpo kon tuwa mo. 1986 duwo bose me batuwa oloko me ebigha bra gbamene. Ang ke ane abekpo zozoba kumo oloko me kemeotu beni ane don oya kon egburuku miye mo bo kon sin gha. (Paige 1977; Burns 1978).

Taru Karamu bodei efiye egbesi tolumoyo duwo didei aba zene pa keme enenimo eyi ama ne keme otu abiye gbo mene kpo numu suwo famene zozoba akpo me a fase. Zozobagha me oya oya mo bou mo pere bo tebe kpo duwo bo gha e. Jain alimsa ten owei zozobakum ekiye eyi bomu fin mene ofoni ama, nama bo mo ba ondo nana weri mi eyi bo se kpo la emi (Tobias 1991). Zozo ba gha weni buwo me India me Gandhi ogbo otu bo mo miye ake gan pamo weri mi. Bisé weni buwo me tebete ebe dibuwo kumo gbolo muga, keme awoukekere tolumo anga kpo, keni suwo mo eyerin buwo kpo ba amakiri biye eyerin buwo bo ne oyaotu bo gbolo emi yai bo kpo, ereama otu, keme bingha otu ekpudu, bebe toru keme etu kpo mo ba ebe mo ebe mo eyerin gbolo mene ekpudu mo ase keni suwo mo. Martin Luther King ogbone America me emiye kpo kuro bra ake miye deiya zozo ba, oya mo so mo konsin dou mo. Zozoba ebigha brame akpo pase so so dou timi ebe bokpo sei eyi bra me ake gbapamo dei American toru toru yaibo mo ba oru kumo se so kumo doumene yai bo mo. Ebe da bra tolumo mene pesi bo kpo America me zozoba eyerin me ebigha bra emi bra numugha ani dei ya bolou kori weni otubo bisé yo me atunumu weri mi (Brock 1968; Cooney mo Michalowski 1987; Hawkley mo Juhnke 1993; Kapur 1992; Kohn 1984; Lynd mo Lynd mo 1992; Kohn 1984; Association of American Historians 1994 Sahlisel 1968; Tane 1995; Zinn 1990).

### **America zozobagha me**

Zozobagha eyerin me America ebe mo bolou keme bo mo ba zene ebe duwo bo akpotu dougha keme etu mo ke duwo pa bo mo. Kurai atarasi oyи foni efiye Kumо (1682-1756) ese dougha Quaker otubo Puro Delowage India otu bo mo Pennsylvania ten eyo me ama nana otu bo mo do akpo ke eyerin timimo, zozona fun bone ageweri yai bo tebe done. (Brock 1990; 87-91). So oloko zozbakumo oloko ama ne tuwa zozopere weri yai ebe me ake oyи taru foni diyemo oyimanga foni bo loloko bo kori ake akpo eyerin timi mo. Rhodes Island ten yo ba so gbolomo eyi se brakon tuwa kumo ke pou weri mo (1673; bisé yo duwo tolume ekoli, selegbе pa eyi se ake amomо miye kumo (Kohn 1987 10; 13). America otu olokom fun (Bill of Rights 1789 ba wai Continental Congress, 1775 mea gba weri zozo kpo kumo ba kari miye kumo. Article 2 (mamu karamo tebe yo gbawerimi brame zozo kpo bakumo, keme zozo ponimo kumo ba keme kpo zene bo ponimo so dou ogbo kpo asuwo kumo ba disé gha fere kpo weni

kumo ane James Madison, America oloko miye owei ghabrame (Kohn 1987; II) America ebe mamu karamu (House of Representatives) oloko miye wari ke a bise oloko tuwa mo ane dejiya bolou oloko miye wari (senate) oloko bogomgha.

American bolou pa efiye me ogbo nana otu bo mo ba ogbo ma ake yo abo otu mo zozobagha (American Revolution 1775) Keni Bible gomene British owei Thomas Watson ke me ba sei emibra gbamoghe ane dei ke metuko omene wai bo massachiotts Quaker owei pamoghe (Brock 1968; 280-81). British otu Boston mo ba America se tuwa yoro weri efiye kpo (1774-76) me kenikpe kpei Quaker do dou otu bo ke General Washington mo Howe mo teke dei ya fe fiyai ama mo ba zene bra tuwa pere eyi ama mo kon suwo bo America otu bo pere mo (Brock 1968; 193-94). Ane kpo keni zozoba fa brake miye diyamo.

So fa se bratebe nana kpo paghafa ekiye eyime gbasigha. (con sea et al 1986). Charles R. Wright omene fum Evils of the Revolutionary War (1839) gba dei omene so zozokpa baghakpo do ke zozonabratebe nana timi mo. Bolou miye timi brame so mo dono mo fabra ake bebegban weri kpo bratebe numu patimimo, mamu kara mo yeme don oyabogba bawai miye sei eyi bo gba, tari karamo ye ba a doutimi so bo se di torusin (2) Whipple mene Ghandi mo Gene Sharp mo (1973) weni buwo bo di koro mudet abia egburuku mo zozoba mo konsinmene ye . whipple ba gbadie bise bradi weni dejaba binaghah keme biri ke fesuwo miniye. (ekenghabo 1,000 bolou du otu mo 10,000 owei, ere ama mo ba awuama duwo mu 100,000) nighing a kurai bolou ne me bratebe nana so dou timi bolou me. Ake me so dou sele biri me (135 million dollars) Ebi kpo do ke bopatimi mo me sele biri taingbe gha timi weri kpo. Ake bolou dimo dei bolou bolou America otu omini fe tubo kpo seimo timi mo ba oweri bo ebe dou pamoghe bolou 'bolou otu bo kpo seimo ghatimi mo, babomo babomo oloko mo ba gometi kpo tuwa mo.

America ebe bolou so na pagha kumo zozoba eyi fatimi mo. Ane ke done eyi numu otu bomo bolou da otu bo mo so efiye kpo do ke dou timi mo England (1812) ba Mexico (1845) ere ama otu zuwo ba omomi tubo sei mo muyo mo done. Ere, owei, fun numu otu, fun numughaitu, oyein numu otu, oyein numughaitu otu (Cooney mo Michalowski 1987; 20-33; Lynd mo Lynd mo 1995; 13-41).

Zozobakumo me ane ke done oloko miye wari bo kpo a pan beberin mo ane eyeri anga efin bo America me. Zuwo omoni nana otu apere oyein ereme ake teke dei ya ane omonibo a brasim mo. Quaker John Woolman (1720-k72) duwo totu me. Bisig efiye me zozoba kumo egberi me ekiye kpo bogha bra fa timi mo British otu bo ane ebe mea 1777 Kurai me miye pamoghe, 1807 omoni tubo mo British ebe se omoni koko (1833) bose fatimi mo ake Canada otu zozona weri eyo bose a kemeama sele bra miye weri ya.

Wari bolou so efiye me (1861-65) America oloko miye otu so bolou apamene sei bo se ake ge koromo mo ba kemeso amene ebe a timi dei ya o zozokena keni bolou ere bebe ne kemeso gbo emiye padei aba okere keni suwo mo e. (1862) ba keni suwo ogbo me (Union) 1864, ane dei ya oloko bo kpo gomubra gbolomo fiya a bra kemeso gbologha, zuwa otu di owoumo ba zuwa otu di eyeri mo ane Abraham Lincoln America ebe di owei a timi efiye me ba so tebeowei Edwin Stanton ba keni suwo ogbo mamu Kara mo fungo owei John A. Campbell (Moskos mo Chambers 1993; 30-1. Tennessee Disciples of Christ ogbo ge ebe bo se Keni suwo mo ebedi owei Jefferson Davies pere amene.

Gba ake ebe govina owei Andrew Johnson diya dei ya toru kuro ake keme poni mo sodou ogbo (so za) suwo kumo e (Brock 1968; 842-3). So ama keme otu bamene abe

kpo akpo méméin aya eyiama témé pamo méné zozobagha eyerin buwo numu pa méné manga kiri boke duwo di kpo.

Tara orubeni efiye ma pa opu so bo mo akpo me a témé pamo méné eyibose ke disin kpo zozobagha akpo méméin kpo kuro tiye emi. Zuwo efiye ama fere weni otu, polosi otu ba wai gometi mo kpo emi bolou ke fere weni otu bo mo duwo zozoba mo ese mo miye pamo méné. America fere weni otu bo ebibra digha dorobebe bo kpo kuro mu ake kémé otu fe yo lagha, fere weni otu bo amene so dou otu gha done. Me egburuku korokumo abe weni buwo ke miye timi America bolou ere arau Jeannette Rankin kpo bolou apere sele mu ake (1916) Congress me (House of Representatives) kala oloko miye wari me a mumo ba Republican owei (Josephson 1974) Montana ten yo duwo bisé keni kpe kpei wari me a mumo. 1917 kurai me (49) masi esenakurai foni olokomiye wari (House of Reps) emi owei ama mo sondiye a owei mo ne (senate) owou oloko miye wari emi otu me keni kpe kpei ere suwo mo dei ya America bolou so (World War II) me a suwo yo me gbasi gha e. Awai 1940 kurai me akon tuwa efiye me abetebe 1941 kurai me seritiye bira serimo dei a America akpo se mamu karamu so (World War II) me suwo dou yo me gbase gha bra gbamo. Abo ake kurai nein asi mighinefoni badei efiye me ama ere ama etu (5,000 women) amu kon bo Jeannette Rankin Brigade ten ogbo miye weri Washington gbiri gbiri weni America kémé ekpudu kon mu Vietnam so me a ba méné yo me ebigha braghiamo.

Akpo se bolou so kpo (World War I) bin (4,000) America otu ne kori ake so bolou me amu otu bo kémé bagha kémé asi asi oyи tarakemé foni (1,300) pan beberin gha méné so dou ogbo ke ane emi kpo kémé bagha fere ke ake apere weni ye gbaméné aba kémé otu zuwo fere ama. Zene ekpudu (1,500) ba duwo gboro fere bimo, zene ekpudu (940) ba so dou bra ke tolomo doumo kémé si ma si foni oyи foni (450) ba kemeba dou gbane ekoli a kai weri oyи sonomo a keme foni femo a kai weri seibra done (Moskos and Chambers 1993: 34-5; Kohn 1987; 42; Lynd and Lynd 1995; 91-117 schlissel 1968; 128-175).

Mamu karamu so (World War II 1940-1947), 72, 354 – kémé etu gbadéi amene keme bagha fa e. 25,000 kémé etu ba kemebagha fa fere ama ke dou mo, 11,996 owei ama ne oyи asi oyи tura kari ogbo foni duwo bo otu gbadéi amene obratuwa ake ogbo a sonomo asi oyи keni ogbo foni pere menye. Aya 6,086 owei ama ba gbadéi so eyi se amene mu miye ghafa e gba otu bo amu kori ekoli kai mo. Ake nein oru diye mo tara anga Jehovah's Witnesses (oyein Eseri Egberi Igba otu ama) Anderson 1994; 1-2 Moskos mo Chambers 1993; 37-8; Cooney mo Michalowski 1987; 94-5 Gara mo Gara 1999).

1945 duwo mu ake 1991 lame zozobagha fa mumu paméne ye brame America ebe me a gan pamo ane amomo Russia ebe mo gonu bolou so (cold war) dou timi efiye me. Fe otu bo mo eno la otu bo mo bolou mo mamu kara mo akpo se opu so bo (world war I & II) America (1964-75) wari bolou so mo bawai America otu Vietnam me a dou ne bin otu tan fe so bo mo Korea (1950-53) ke duwo disin kpo zozobagha akpo numu paméne bra gan timi mo. Me konu bolou so ne America U.S.S.R. mo ba ane ekiye otu bomo dou timi ye me Nigeria ebe me ake sono a kiri diye mo dei aba keni anga (20 million) la emi kémé etu fe suwo mo dou eriyomé Korea so betebe me (22,500) America otu amu kori mu so dou mo, ba wai America dou dei so bose kémé otu ne kori mu tuwa otu bose kémé ba bogha. (Moskos mo Chambers mo 1993:39-43) gbabrame Vietnam so me a ma otu bindein yai bebe toru tu ama done kemeba bogha. 1972 betebe me bindein otu bise yo beberin gha, ane brabo bin yai Vietnam so me sei so ne mu bo gha, ane ke done bin yai amu kon ekoli a kori, Mohamme Ali akpo se gbolu olotu kpo) zuwg otu ba bamin tei

zene ebe ama mufa. Ané ke done keme ba dou gha otu bomo do akpo dou mene otu mo Vietnam so mo zene so mo pa efiye duwo bo memein lame zene ebe ama duwo bo America ebe me a bindéin emi. (Gioglio 1989) gbabrame bisé efiye duwobo ke keme babogha otu ne so bolou me a timi eno la otu zuwo ekpudu kpo pamo.

America mo Russia mo Russia mo konu bolou egiren so bo fadei efiye ke a keme otu Persian Gulf America Iraq kori so timi so kpo ere sei mo mo 1991 kurai me. Bisé efiye me so fere weni gha otu keme bagha gba egberigha ané deiya so dou fere weni otu ke bisé egburu ku kpon mo. (Moskos mo Chambers mo 1994; 44) gha brame masi oyi a so dou otu foni keme ba ebigha bra gbané Ameria so dou ogbo me a kori mo. Ané ke done zozoba ebi abe egberi me America pa duwo bo me bo kuro eyi a pa weri babo mo babomo oloko kpo sei mo mo, British otu America kori ake di weri se, keme ama ne ebe sei mo kiri a tuwa dou otu bo kumé bisé oloko pere kori weri mo Michigan (1846). Ané ke done America masi oyi foni diye mo weri mi ekpangi bone emi yan bo oyi mamufoni zozoba tonmene. (Zim ying mo Hawkins mo gba brame 1986) ané tuke done America tebe koti (ogula suwo warri me) keme ba sei eyi bra gbam.

America me bin ogbo ama memein me zozobamene kuro tein alagba ama teme mene eyi me ebigha bra gba pamo mene (swords into plow showers movement) tén ogbo kpo keni, oyamo kpo du kon sin ogbo ne (Catholic Workers Movement) ogbo miye weri mi ye kpo. Ere ama ogbo ne owei ama kumé ere bo ponimo mene me ebigha gbamene ye kpo pabodei pina mo dirimo otu bone America me emi otu mo zene pa keme bose zozodein gha e, Martin Luther King Jr. ogbo gbabrame keme bone America emi otu bo mo beni timi efiye me. Me America dirimo otu bo gbadei Gandhi ese fa akpo dou weni buwo me amene mo seri kuro mo mo e, ané done Gandhi bisé akpo toru kon ake ayari amo gba mo. Gandhi gba wai mo dei ya gbadei "zozoba kumo esomu me America diri mo otu bo ke duwo mu kemese lamene ye" (kapur 1992:89-90) Ané ke done Gandhi mo king mo tuduwo otu bo mo ere tei timi oyo me a gbapamo ba zene toru kere kere ogbo otu mo pan beberin dei ya gbadei zozoba kumo weni buwo me akpo bolou ke duwo bo America kpo la emiye.

Zozoba me America ebe me akuro emi abe kpo, bo bin ere pon bo done bisé sei eyerin buwo kpo fiye kiri me eyerin fa dei, so bolou kpo a ba kemeba dou gha. Babo mo babo mo, so akemeba, bin so eyiamma teme weri, so miye ake eyo a pamé eyerin buwo bose ebi gha done keme otu ba adou gha; ba wai akpo kpo miye bo do mo pin fadei; eyi dou fe, keme ekpudu ama, ere ama otu ogbo ama, bebe eyerin buwo ama, koribuwó ama, bira weni fere ama, dobolou egberi ama (Teme 1995) gba bra me dei yo ama bo gban pa ake kemese pere eri dei. So dou gha timi dou eyi la ake eyerin kpo padéi Gwynfor Evans, Welsh do miye pamé dou owei, plaid Cymru mo me be be dño ake Wales otu pere mo (Evans 1972) me a gbabrame. Ané kemese tolu mo weri tun mene du mo me gba gha me "Ebi America" bawai ake egboró tiné dumo ba "Omene déin mo mene". kari pon ba "Oyein sisei ese fa America mo esefa akpo mo tarí".

### **Zozobagha ondobo**

Keni keme ama numu miye me eyi se zene otu kpo mimi miye mene ané ke done keme zozobagha akpo me Oyein keme teme duwo bose ke emi. Musee d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris mo Raoul Dufy mo gha ghamene beke otu miye weri mi de tukpa kpo oru beni otu ton pamé ekiye eyi ke duwo miye mo e. Ané ke done keme otu tolumo ey, teme ba ekiye pamé eyi mo duwo to lu mo duwo zozobagha akpo me

ebibra me ekiye pamo mo. Bise ekiye buwo me keme otu pa bra tolu mo bolou me agba wari mi (Biographical Dictionary of Modern Peace Leaders – Josephson 1985) ma ande mo zuwo keme foni mo (717) ake ebe a si oyi sono mo foni bolou duwo tolumo deiya gba brame (1800-1980) fun ande dein bolou duwo go eri a mene akpo pasé keme tobou miye deike zozobagha akpo pamene bra kori tolumo mene zuwo e fiye ama zozobakpo wai zozoba sei bra miye pamo mene, ane done ala ka kpo zozobagha a kpo keni bai pamene ane keme otu doubrame. Me akpo toru me kemese ke dise emi.

Orubeni efiye ebe daotu bo:

Egypt me a Nubia ebe duwo bo ebe nana owei pharaoh Shabaka (c 760 - c 695 B.C.E) me a babomo babomo oloko sei mo mo (Bennett 1988:11) gbabrame. India Buddha ebe da owei Ashoka so mo keme ba mo sei eyi ama done kon sin ye gbamo ane Kalinga otu bo amo so dein mo dei efiye me (100,000) dein yai amo ba dei ba oyi ande mo mo ekibe mo dein (150,000) keme ama kon ake oya bolou a tuwadei efiye me (chowdhury 1997:52) me gbabrame. Ane keni bra bo toru eyo eriweri mi ebeda otu bo Buddha; Mahavira, Jesus, Mohammed, George Fox, Guru Namak, Bah a' u' llah mo zene otu mo suwo panbe berin mo. Ane duwo bo me zozoba duwo bo zozobagha akpo gandei. Soza otu kpo do ke dou dei (crowzier 1938; Tendulkar 1967; Khan 1997; Bonbalt, Ganchard, mo Muller mo 1986, Roussel 1997). Bolou bo dou mene keme bo se keme ba akpo taingbe mo (Narayan 1975; Bendana 1998). Keme otu kori soza fere weni kpo amo sei mo mo (Moskos mo Chambers mo 1993). New Zealand keme ondo tari owei Archibald Baxter mene akpo se opu so me (World War I) me a keme otu kori soza tuwa me sei eyi ye (Baxter 2000). Australia Bibolo (Bible) gomene duwo gboro owei Franz Jagerstatter Hilter mo so gha ke done onene tebe me amu pele mo (Zhan 1964) me gbabrame. Gesi otu bo ne kemeba me ebi gha mumu otu bo Hitler youn mo ba timi Jew otubo zuwo tei mo mo. (Fogelman 1994; Hallie 1979). Everett 1989 me agba brame. Kemese bra bo bomo eyise ake so dou kemebamene otu se pere kumo, zuwo otu ba so tein alagba bo se kon taingbe ke dou mene (Norman 1989; Polner mo O'Grady 1997).

Bin keme ama akpo me a Mohandas K. Gandhi India ebe me Muslem tebe owei Abdul Ghanfar Khan (Banerjee 2000; Easwara 1999). Zozoba sei braggamo. Gandhi eyerin buwo tolu mo owei Raman Chandra mene "zozoba kumo weni buwo me emi otu bo keme otu pere numugha yai bo ke eyi ladain emi ye. Me keni eyerin buwo ke America diri mo otu bokpo mo kori weni timi bo Oyein numu, ower Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Kpo miye bo bo lou da owei apa weri fe mo (Hatberstam 1998). Zene America otu ne me bolou me a suwo emi otu bo Adin Balo Ballan, Henry David Thoreau, Tolstoy (Christian 1978:588); duwo mu Gandhi duwo mu King ase ba Gorrman Green Party nana owei Petra Kelly (1989) mo zene bin otu mo.

1997 mo 1998 pesi asi ne ebe ama da weri mi otu ne ebe a tarasi ke duwo bo United Nations University's International Leadership Academy bebe biye eyo ne Amman, Jordan me akoro ke ye me a gbaghamene Gandhi ke akpo se keme otu pere tari dein ebe diwei ye. Agbadei akpo me a bratebe dou otu 1945 duwo bo se pina otu dibuwo kpo koromodei. So dou gha bolou da otu bo akpo me a bin fadei ane a zuwa yai ne onumu weri mi yai Maha Ghosananda Cambodia owei, Korea Hain Suk Hon. Nigeria Ken Saro-Wiwa, Sri Lanka Ariyangtne, Thailand Sulk Swaraksa, France Lanzo del Vasto mo General Jacques de Borttar diere England Ronald Malhone Italy Aldo Capitimi, India N. Radhakrishnan, Brazil Don Helder Camara, United State A. J. Muste Gandhi ke amu kon eyi miye gha kpo mene kpo so kon ake eyidou a otu ama memein kpo bein gbamene aba south Africa Albert J. Luthuli mo Desmond Tutu mo, Northern

Ireland Mairead Corrigan Maguire, Argentina Adolfo Perez Esquivel, Burma Aung San Smu Kyi, Tibet Dalai Lama.

Zuwo ere ama ne so ebigha bra gbapamo yai boba Austria Bertha von Shuttner; Bah Gedong Bagoes Oka; India Medha Patkar; United States Dorothy Day, Barbara Dening mo Jean Toomer (Standfield 1993:49). Ere ama etu (1,704) gbapamo ghamene keme oyi asi oyi nei foni ne soza suwo bogha ba so bolou kpo bra tuwa bogha otu bo se Hitler so e fiye me (world war II) apere kori kai mo (Harriers –Jenkins 1993:77). Ere ama mo kpo so bolou duwo keme ba sei bra kpo gbapamo mo (Mothers of the plaza de Mayo, Buenos Aues) ebe mo ebemo zozoba (Dirimo Seabia Erebo gbabrame) kuro tein alagba bo benimo yo kpo (Green ham Common Women's Peace Camp, Britain), bou a soumene eyi ama bamene sei kpo (Chipko hugthe-tree movementm, India) mo zene sei eyi ama mo (Mc Athister 1982,1988, Morgan 1984; Foster 1989). Fun numu otu ne me egberi bo gha otubo Joan V. Bondurant (1969), Elise Bouldng (1980;1992), mo Bearemice A. Carroll (1998) ase zozoba ebigha bra tolu mo otu ne bise sei akpo dei dou otu.

Kasturba mo Mohandas Gandhi mo zene bin ere ama mo owei ama se zozoba sei gba pamo mo, swuo gba otu bo Corretta Scot, Martin Luther King, Jr.; Dolores Huerta, mo Cesar Chavez, Dorothy Day mo Peter Maurine mo, Frances May Witherspoon mo Charles Recht, Elizabeth Mc Allister mo Phillip Berrigan. Philippines otu ebedi kuro me zozobagha bolou ke emi ere kpo owei kpo pan beberin brame. Ange done 1986 me ebedito bo dei eyi kpo ebe me apamo, ba wai bin esomo ne koroye kpo bise eyo ke duwo bomo (Santiago, A. S. 1995). Disindei aba akpo me emiotu bose zozoba seibra gba dei.

### **Zozobagha akpo pamene brame**

Me akpo me keme awou bolou ke emi bin dein otu me akpo me a keme bagha done, numu keme ke ba mene a be kpo. Keme tobou timi turu timi turu Oyein mo teme mo ghadei keme bakumo ane kemeso pei werimi brame. Keme otu zozo bamene abe kpo kemeso beni dei ya bise ondo konsin mo yo ke eyi la dein emi.

Kemebagha akpo orubeni mo memei akpo se ke emi. Ake dono ghafa eyome keme o, teme o, gofun o, sele dou bolou wo, gometi bolou wo ase zozobagha fa eyo ke ake weri mi, bolou abomene otu bo mo ba wai bolou abomene otu bo se ke pere weri mi. kemeba sei brame oloko ne ose mo ke emi ane tun ose okori kuro mo mo agbemi. Kemeso bise bra miye deise akpo me do pamene.

## Chapter 3

Taru karamo koro go yo

### Ebeda tolumo eyi bulu doni bo eyibo

Esefa akpo me oyein egberi bętebegha  
Esefa akpo me ebe otubokpo bętebegha  
Esefa me geleku kuro tolumo eyi kę emi

G. Ramachandran.

**T**ebra kę a zozobagha akpo numu abeda tolumo bolou duwo pabo ake ike me ama miye angó numu akpo eyerin mene yan? Numughatimi kęme otu gbadęi zozobagha akpo pamu eyo me kuro emi ake erepon me kęme otu mu pei deiaba. Bise ere bebe ba teike ake ebeda eyerin buwo me akpo diya menyan? Bo ere pon bose tei ama kę ake akpo me a emi bebe toru ogbobo tolumo mene yan?

Zozobagha akpo me keme badisegha ke duwo pamene ye. Ane kedone Marx Weber gbadęi ebeda eyerin bolou me kęme miye brabose timi mene eyere pon miye ake ekpe gberi apadęi ye.

#### Zozobagha Ekiye eyi ne Ebeda tolumo eyi Duwo Boyeme.

Me bolou duwo bo ogberime nein ya kiri kę a emi. Omene kemeba, kemebagha, keme ba mo kemebagha mo kon bo mene eyibomo bawai alei mo alei ghabrabo mo numumo agbe emi ba miye ake ebese basin dou mene tubokpo.

Zozobagha me numu a sara ake ebeda tolumo bolou me a gbawerimi bra dein emi, miye deike zozobagha kon bomene eyibose miye bog an pamö mene me. Efiye bose zozoba timi ekiye mene brake okonsin owoubuo kpo gan diya werimi ma keme numu gbatimi manga boduwo di deı aba keme zuwoyo kpo emi ane deiya zuwo otu lème "emene/omene ebamene" numugha timi bobose kon sin deı aba zozobagha akpo mimi pamene.

Okolo duwo dideise zozobagha pamö eyo me gan dein deı.

Eyone zozoba amiyo se toyo ke duwo bo magha bibebe koromene. Omene bimene tuboke tuboko bamö, tebra te eyo, te efiye, teike done ba teike done yan, kenibø tebe ke done ba keme se tebeke done yan, ba wai bisé bolou duwo bo keme otu lamene akpotubo mo se tuwa tonmene. Omene memein kpo miye deı ke patubose dou pamö mene.

Anebrabo zozoba paghafa tubose kpo a tudou mene. Keme awou teike done kemebagha a? Teike done zozobakumo oloko ama kpo keme awou mo miye weri mi yan? Sei kemebamene owou bose bebetori bebetori emi abekpo zuwa otu gerein ke zozobagha oloko be kori kuromo werimi yan? Teike bisé tumeyan?

Ake bolou dimodei aba zozoba duwo mu zozobaghamo toké dei yo ama nē emi yai bo wa? Tei kē done soza otu kpo bo ake sokori otu kē apadei ya deidou otu kēmē ba sei ake mo, ba kēmē ba otu kpo zozoba seibra pan beberim mo ghan? Teike done akpo mi ekiye eyibomo, ogbo ama, eyerin buwo ama mo kēmē otu bose zozoba ebigha bra gbamō ghan? Teike done zuwo ebe ama mo kēmē awou ama mo ne zozoba sei eyi gbaweri otu waibo kēmēba otu apa, kēmēba timi otu waibo kēmēbagha otu apamo ghan? Uwo ebe ama babomabobo mo oloko seimo, zuwo ba kēmē bagha akpo duwobo kēmēba otu apa dei tu me?

Zozobakumo gbamēnē otu bo mo zozoba gbamēnē otu bo mo kpo zuwo efiye ama wai bebe deimēnē. Anē mē menein bēte be erepon duwo dei bo kēmē se se erepon kē apadei.

Nein karamo ye mē ebe da tolumo buwo duwo didei se tolumo otubo kpo dou eri amēnē zozobakumo abe ere bebe mē numupamēnē ye. Kēmē awou eyi tolu mo mu do dei eyo disin kpo akpo me keni brakē timi fa mēnē ekiye yo me numu bisē bra paghafa. Me nein kuramo ekiye eyi ke bisē eyo kpo miyē gan pamo werimi. Bolou tarubo kpo gan bisē eyo miyē pamo dein emi. Nein kara mo ye me tolumo numu eyi miyē okumo dein emi kēmē awou ondo gbolomo yo me. Ne biye gbo ekiye eyi ke beke kabu tuwa owei walt Whitman le mo gbaghamēnē “Edesi bra bose emēnē waibo kirike a tiye mē nē” (Whitman 1977 (1855): 71).

Babomo babomo oloko me emi ebe se zozoba eyerin buwo fagba. Anē dei ya orubeni efiye mē kēmēba me ake sei eyi ake mo weri bo memein akpo labra diwēni dei abe ke zozoba gba akpo numu pamēnē orubeni efiyemē kēmē otu eyikien (mathematics), gan miyē pamo eyi ama (physics) mo nana eyi kere eyerin (Economics) boke kēmē otu mu ake anē biye gbo fere ama weni timimo dei ya memein akpo ebedabuwō tolu mo bumō bo ake ekiye yi duwo biye gbo eyi miyē kērē tolumo eyerin kon ake akpōmē a bodei. Anē kedone kiri akpo mē a zozobagha numu pam ere bra miyē pamo dei.

Ebe da tolumo buwo (political science) miyē pamo dei a gbadei kēmē awou mē tolumo bolou kē duwo zozobagha akpo miyē bo gan pa kēmēse pēre mēnē ye, anē tune zozō kumo numu paghafa kēmē mu ekiye kumo.

Zozoba kumo abe ekiye eyi mē ake numu soron eyo a kori ekiye mēnē.

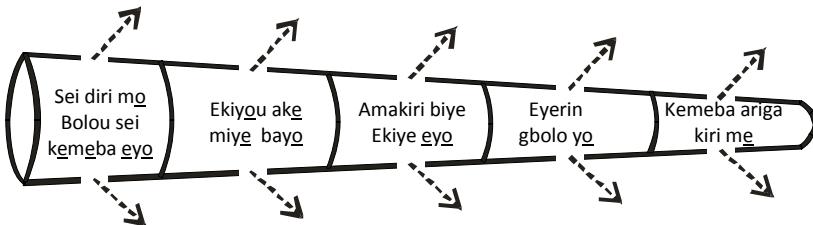
**Bolou ye mē. Kēmē ba sara mē** (Funnel of killing).



Kēmēba anga kiri me anē esomotein mēnē eyo. Eyeri gbolo yo me anē kēmē otu binowou madawo zozoba lolumo mēnē eyome, oloko, karibuwo, ebemo ebemo, waribololou mo ase suwo mo ekiye mo dei aba. Amakiri biye ekiye yo me anē zozoba ake ebiyi akēmō werimi yōmē. Ekiyou ake miyē eyo ba kēmēba ake ebiyi brakori ake werimi eyo me. Sei diri mo bolou sei kēmē ba eyo ba zozoba me akpo pase zozoba me omēnē mo emi ye (Lopes –Reyes 1998; Morton 2000).

Mē agonō mē emi sara mē omu wai tou dei aba kē omēnē zozobagha akpo miyē bo pamu mēnē. Mē sara bolou mē emi sei eyibō kēmē awou mi dei dese kēmē ba ebigha bra miyē pamo mēnē.

**Mamukara mo yeme.** Bin zozobaghafa owouama (Unfolding fan of Nonkilling alternatives).



Kemetobou miye timi ebi eyibose ekiye pamo mene braba numu ake zozobagha akpo ebi emi bra kpo ekiye pamo mene. Bo ekiye eyibose ake kuro bra ekiye deise pamene. Wo ake Gandhi mo king Jr. mo eyife duwo dibodeise omene zozobagha akpo numu miye pamo mene. Ané bisé ekiye eyibo kirime a gewetimi.

- Ondo di dubamo werimi kuro ke dou karibuwo duwo mu kemetobou lase.
- Ene ondo di dubamo brame ake zene otu ondo kpo didubamo.
- Bratuwa zozopere obe ebe ke diye mene do ba ebe kori beni mumene.
- Zozo na eyi la emi somu labramose zene otu mo gbolo dei ye oyakon keme yari mu eyibose konsi.
- Eyi ekiye kuro mo, sei bo pabrabo ekiye eyi numu ebi mi ye pamo mene.
- Sei mo obimo duwo didei ya zozobaakpo kon sin.
- Kemesé eyo abenitimi gbapele werimi bebe se didubamo ane ke zozoba ba pagha fa.
- Zige ghabra ake eyi esin kumo. Ese duwo seri dei ya do miye pamo. Bede bede kiri ogbo dan wéri. Keme bamengé keme bra duwo eyi bikumo.
- Ese dou gha keme ke mumu zozobagha akpo miye pamo mene. Ebe da tolumo bulou me emibra me zozobafake keme otu kpo miye angó kpo numumene me kemi bolou ke duwo di wéri do ese fa akpo numu pamene ye.

Nein oruboke duwo dikpo zozobagha akpo mumu pamene keme otu sei brabose ane done zozobagha akpo numu pamene ye ebe da tolumo buwo gbabrame. Me ebe datolomo otu bo (political science lecturers) zuwo efifiye uma tolu mo otu gba ake pesi diya dei ya “ba! Ba!! Ba!!!” moké gbemene abe kpo ikemese memein kpo zozoba seibra numu warí zozoba kumo angaké a suwo emi keme se do zozo abuwó don kumo ba kenibebe ake bowé ri eyi miye zozo pere akpo eyerin laye se fa bra gbadéi.

### Esefa tolumo eyi akpome a pabomene brame

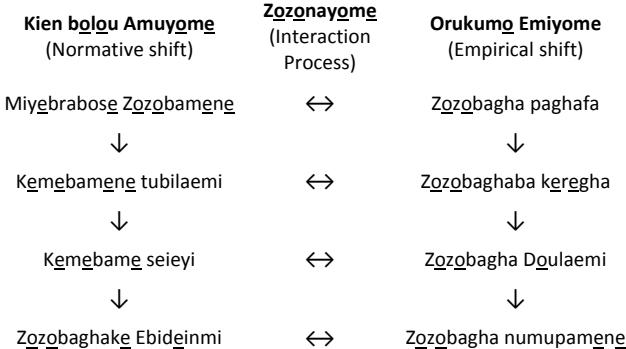
Keme otu dibe mo dise gha mo akpo me a timi sei miye mo kemeba otu bose kpo wai bo ekiye amene keme otu do akpome atimi mo yo me zozoba gha akpo me miye brabose pamene. Ané ke akpo miye dei kpo deimene.

### Ekpudu bo duwo kiendeiaba

Me kemeba duwo mu kemebagha pame. Kemesé kemeba ebigha bra dinumu dei se zozobagha akpo gomu bo pa mene. Keme otu mene zozobagha akpo eyo a fa abe

egberin mé ekpe mó, ané kémé otu zozoba ebigha bra kón sei eyi akmó déi brakedí bise yó bo gandei (Almond 1996:89) Akposee ke mé tolumo eyi gbapamo wéri mi.

### **Zozobagha miye pamo kien ekpu du bo**



### **Gomu Bolou weni mó tuyome (Factual Revolution)**

Kémé otu maa anga kiribo duwo disin déiya gbedei zozoba mé sei eyi ye konu boloutolu mó eyibosedu duwo didei aba. Bawai oru beni ke duwo dibo memein lakpo (kurai Sonoma si ko Jesu Chrisi zidei kumo) Athen otu bo kpo gba weri ake Socrates babrame (Stone 1989:187). Buddhist Heianefiye Japan (174 – 1192) mé babo mó babomó oloko mé amu kon sin wéri kurai oyisognome asifoni bamó (Nakanra 1967:145). April 4 mo 6 mó 1917 mé sonoliye owou oloko miye otu mó ba mesi oyi a oloko miye otu foni ne eyeri oloki miye wari (Senator and Representatives) me emi otu bra serimo ake America bolou bolou akpo se Germany mó so me a suwo bra seimo mó. October agoniye me 23 1917 kurai kpo sondiye la emi bolshevik otu ne Russia owou dein oloko miye ogbo (Central Committee) mé emi otu kpo V. I. Lenin alagba mó ogidimó ba kuro mó ke ake Russia gometi kon ake bra sei mó mó (Shub 1976: 271). July 1945 mé Manhattan squomó abi oyi foni geleku geleku eyi miye pamo mene weni buwo disgha ogbo otu bo bolou me, oyisorón a kémé foni America otu (atomic bomb) kéméba otuwo sou mó mene tein eyi kon mu Hiroshima mó Nagasaki mó a koromo bra seimo mó (Geivannitti and Freed 1965: 168; Alperovitz 1995).

1996 kurai duwo bome United State Marine Corps beni sodoú ogbo Ke America me a sodou, sodoú eyi temé, ba wai so dou ogbo miye bo lou bomuyo ferebose a tebe eyo apamu (Lewer mó schofield mó 1997:45). Amene kémé bamene sodoú eyibose miye bo kémébafga yai kpo a pa dou mó ane deija memein kpo ake me ke bamene.

Ebe bo duwo ake kéméba duwokémé bagha dou mene owoubu.

### **Ge koromo wérimi Bolou bo dou yomé (Theoretical revolution)**

Mé ke wérimi tolumo eyibose ase eyeri mu ake zozobagha akpo ke miye pamo wérimi. Bisé tolumo eyibo tara oru ke mi. Oloko, gide eyimiye mó bagwóama duwo eyimiye mó. Ase duwo didei aba ase owou mu ake gometi kuro ke a gbama emi. Bolou yeme ane Gandhi kelekele ondo di dubamu wéri miye agbèbra kon eyi miye, teme anga mó gan toru mó ne Gandhi ge fim -The Science of satyagraha (1970) omene

gbadei oyein a béberim dei pé gesi, tari ba sofa akpo padeiye karibuwo bomo gometi kori aké dou (power) bose aka ké boménaye ese dou mé sei eyidone.

Mamu karamo ye me ne Gene sharp ge ye ba – The politics of Non-violent Action (1973). Akpo out gometi kwrg aké dou yo duwo didei aba, sharp akpo mé a pamene eyerinbuwo boke duwo eriwéri gbadéi kémé awou gesi miye mó fiya eyi ama miye deise ese fa akpo bo paménaye. Ogbadei ebeda kuro suwoghasé esebagha akpo miye bo kuro tiye meye, témé ama mó zéné kuro ama mo suwo gha bra.

Taru karamo ye ba gbadéi: John Buaton méné kemelamo fiya emi eyi kón kémé se pere gha sé zozoba faghá fa e, ba numu ghatimi pere mó fiya yo aké kemese pere dei se dó akpo ba padei ye. Burton méné tebekuro mó biyegbomo ké só mó zozobamo kón boméné ye – oméné fun – “Deviance, Terrorism and wag” ba “the process of solving unresolved social and political problems” (1984, 1996, 19997). Ogbadei zozoba pabose kéméotu zozodi dubamó ghan mó zozo miye fe bulofor ké duwo boméné ye. Kémé numu wéri éne nanawéri mi eyi kón aké dou timi obo emo ori dei se miye brabose eyi nanabó mó nanagha bo mó so zozoba kpo paenu. Ane keni braho eyinana otu bo oya o oya gbadéi se kere abo kéni eyo abení zozona padei bamiye timi esefa akpo kpo bo paméné.

Akpo paduwo bo me efeye lasé se kémé témé anga, gantorú, fun anga, ere, owéi, kala awou, okosi otu, dirimo otu, pina otu, ase mé gbawéri mi tolumo eyibo kón kéni gbolomo deise zozobagha akpo padei. Zozobagha mó kénibulu a timi eyi kori ekiye mó kémé otu mó ebe mó kori bolou amuméné, Robert J. Burrowes (1996), Bernices A. Currall (1998), Johan Galtung (1996), Brian Moatín (1989), mok kate McGuiness (1993).

### **Ganbolou wénimo buwo (Applied Revolution)**

Me wenibuwo kpo miye pamó ghaméné ebe da tolu mó bolou kpo zozobagha ebibra miye pamó dei kéméba mé sei eyidone sharp gabramé akpo seibrabose kémé bo pan bererin dei se deiyo miye brabose psaméné. Burton ba gabramé ebe da tolumoyomé (political Science) biye aké tuwa wéri mise améné numu zozobagha akpo miye pamó méné. Gandhi méné eyinanagha otubo mana otubo bomo ané nanawgrimi eyibo duwo paméné ebibô fe deise dongo mó zozoba mó akpo mé a snwo fa méné. Gandhi mó king Jr. Mó toru bolou da otu boke témé anga mó gantorú mó numu zozobagha akpo miye. Pamó bo opuyó lamó.

Aké bolou sarabo a diya werimi bra mé ebeda tolumo buwo mé numu eyi ama né zozoba kori peleme eyibose nana wéri zozobagha miye pamoméné.

Memen akpo mé emi kémé ebeda otu sélé méné gometi pamo doubô doubô fe foutuwa kpo akpo miye bolou amugha. Bo eyi bose ké sei gomet mó engarafé eyerin buwo mó kón akpo mé a bomené ané brabo zozoba kpo kónboméné.

### **Funtolumo boloubô wénibuwo mé (Educational Revolution)**

Me bolou duwo ebe datolu mó otu miye bo zozoba seibra toluno mé ebiaké akpo miye méné. Akpo sei mulabra bose ebeda tohumo otu bo ané mumu eyibo aké zozobagha akpo miye pamo mó agbé emiye.

Aneké numu ebi bolou da otumo zozobagha akpo kón bomené ye. Mé tolumo eyibo emisé tolumo otu mó nomudon zuwo otu mó kpo dou gha timi kéméba akpo deibo dóméné bawai bise numu eyi kpo kón bolou amuméné. Ebi tolumo buwo bose numu kémébaakpo kón sin méné ba zozokpo kribolou wéni mó méné, ané bo zozo ekiye eyi bomo ba kémé ondo kpo di dubamodei. Bobo kó otu wéni buwo bobe bra pa kumo.

Akpo me a zene gesi buwo bose ke disin kpo ebe ditolu mo buwo ke numu zozobamene akpo kon sin mene. Ane ekiye eyibo eyila ake keme zuwo otu (medical doctors) mo zenefere weni otu bo mo dein emi. Tume anese femo on do mo eyila emi bra numu weri mi. Ane keni bra bo zozobaghafa pamene me kemese ke pan beberin mene. Ebe da tolu mo otu bo kpo miye dei ya kemese zozo tolumo ba zozobra tolumo eyi ake.

Tolumo eyi ama se kpo ekpangi ekpangi miye pamo dei ke koro tolu mo mene ba bolou eyo bo duwo didei ke koro tolumo mene. Ane ke done kemese bratuwa dei ke zozoba akpo me a famene. Mamu koramo ye ba tolu mo eyi ama ke duwo zozobakpo konsinmen. Taru kara moye ba bin ololu eyiamma ake kemem awou bo tolumo ke duwo pamene. Nein kara mu yemem kemem out dou pamu mene eyi bo a sei yai bo kon sin dei abe kpo o dou mene akpo bo o lamene. Ebe bomo amabomo kpo bo tolumo eyi bo a suwo tumumene ane ke zozobaghfa akpo pa mene. Aya sukulu bomene awou bokpo bo eyibose disindei ke kemeba ebigha bra gbamo. Ba bise eyo pamene me kemem ama ne akpo me emi kemem bose bidei ke miye mo agbe mi eyibose korimiye.

#### **Toru kere kere bra bolou weni mo (methodological revolution)**

Didei aba zozobakumo abe ekiyeyi kpo bebe owou bebe owou ke duwo ekiye mo agbe emi. Ane ke fim tolumo ekpangi bose ane tolomo eyo duwo zozobagha akpo miye bo gan pamo mene tudou mo ba seimene eyi kori Eye tye mo duwo miye deisse seiyai miye mo kemem ba mo kori pele mene.

Ebe da tolumo buwo (Political Science) me bin be be bebe owou amake duwo tudou mu zozobakumo akpo me a tu eri kori mene ye. Fungo bomomo dei a bekpo eyi tohumo numu me bin owou ama ke duwo bede bede mu gan erimene. Ebeda tolumo buwo kpo oloko fun, so kori, eyia tibi, kemem sele tolumo buwo, egberigba wasamo, esepakumo tolumo bebe ama, ba wai tebe out bo mo tuduwo otubomo ande mo ande mo eyi kori ere ke zozone kpo bo okolome a pamene.

Tolumo bibebe miyanma emiyeme "Tebrake miye deike mimein efiye tolumo eyibomo orubeni yaibomo numu ake keni tuwa mo dei ya bo zozobagha akpo miye mene yan?"

#### **Tolomo ogbo ama duwo bolou mu buwo (Institutional revolution)**

Bin tolumo ogboama emiyai bose ebedatolomo buwo beghamene amene numughatimi ame tolumo eyibose ake keni tuwa ekiye deise zozobagha akpone wo ekiyemene ye me kere pamene ye. Bawai bin bibebe ama ne me zozobagha akpo bolou duwobo emiyai bose ba para seighafa.

Memein me a emibrame ebeda tolu mo out ogbo kpo akpo me emi ebebose beni miye ogbo (International Political Science Association) ke ane se a kuro nana we ri mi. Me ogbo 1949 kurai me a bolou pame ebe amasi mamufoni (42 nations) mo kemem siyon soron foni mo ekibe mo (35, 689) derim yai mo ke ogbome a suwo ba ogbo ere me a pa eyibose korimiye mo (Appendix A). Oyi nighine foni bebe bebe erepon ama kpo koromo, oyi ma ogbafoni mo si oyi nighine foni tudou gbolomo eyi ama ba tudou mo (Appendix B) anek ebeama ne me ogbomea suwo gha yaibo kpo ebe dabuwu me a tunumo yo done.

A New Hand Book on Political Science (Goodin and Klinge mam, eds, 1996) ne kemem amasi mamufoni mo ke me ogbo bolou duwo ge fun me IPSA bolou ke duwo ge bo ake ebeda tolumo buwo ke muye bolou wenimo dou mo. Ane ke done si a krai diwobo se nighine a kala ogbo ama bise ogbo duwai sounadei, ase ake bin kemem ama

miye bo ake bin out tolumo eyimama numu mo done (akr Downs) tolumo bra duwo didei aba. IPSA ogbo tebe owei (president) gbabrame "Zen kuro ebi ama ne ba memein ebeda tolumo buwo dein yaime kurai soron asi efiye me paghafa.

Anke ane abekpo me New Handbook me age werimi egberibo koriweni dei aba bebe toru bebe toru kemeba toru bone bamene yai bose famene. Bolou me Hitter mo Lenin mo ten werimi ane deiyai Gandhi mo king moketen gha abe kpo bin fungo otu gbamene otubo ne seipakumo efiyebose gbatapamo akpo peremene bo Gene Sharp mo the politics of Nonviolent Action (1973) kpo ten gha. Ba me zozobagha erebebe me a korobra eremene otu John Burton (1979, 1984) – mo Johan Galtung (1996) ane ne kemene otu niye dei dei kemene ba tuwa tonmo agbemi.

IPSA mo omene (13,300 member) kemene etu mo America Political science Association (APSA) ne 1903 ke doupa mo ye kpo IPSA mo ba zene bin ogbo ama mo keni bolou a timi me keni zozobakumo egbonu gbolomene (Appendix C). IPSA mo APSA mo keni eyerin buwo ke nana werimi. America otu ebeda tolumo buwo me gometi, zene ebe ama, zene ebe eyerin buwo ama, mo ba oloko mo ke tolumo mene ane dei ya so kori awou ama kpo tolumo mene. Ase ke suwo kpo zozoba ake na sekpeni tolumo gha ba ese kori buwo se kpo na tolumo gha ake zene ebebo miye mene bra duwo didei aba.

Ebe da tolu mo yo bo mu kpo zene eyi tolumo ekpanghi bokpo bawai America mo zene ebeama kpo zozobakumo abe erepon me ake bebebra bebebrake akemo werimi, ane ke done me bibebe bo emi: "Te brake miye dei ke zozobagha akpo pamene ya, ba to eyo ke bisi akpo miye pamu mene eyi bo bo pamene ya? Me ma bibebe bo ke aya eyi ama mo kiri me ekiye apamene eyi ama miye bo gan pamo mene ye. Me ba wai olemu nein a bibebe bimene ye America ebe bolou me ebeda tolumo ogbo mea emi bebe weni buwo bo. Bo nein bo ebeda tolumo ekiye eyi mo go eyi mo, America ebe gometi mo eda damo, keni gometi kon zene gometi tonmo mo akpo me emi ebe bo keni weni mo mu eyo mo.

### **Ebeda ekiye eyi mo ge tolumo eyimo (political philosophy and theory)**

Me tolumo eyi kori ake deise egburuku mo zozobamo ekiye eyi akpo me kurobra owou mene. Plato gewerimi fun "Republic" ten ye me ne so, babomg babomg ba soza otu eyerin buwo timi mo agbe mi abe ye kpo eno ake kemene tuwa ebigha braghaweri mi Dennis Dalton go pamo brame. Plutarch kpo bi se bra gba pamo weri mi "Ogi di sibe mo zene kemeba eyama ake foro bulo diya mene kemene me mumu gide ebe dikeme a paghafa, ane tu me bo ma eyi bo se sei yai ama ne kemene otu miye mene yai. (Plutarch 10:249). China ebe eyerin buwo ake Mencus (c.371-c289 B.C.E): kuro toru akeme miye dises gha bramenye bose kemene tobou ondo didubamo gha kemene e ba kemene ekiyou kon kemene otu bulo bo umomene kemene me amana owei ye "(wang)" (fung 1952:112). China otu eyerin buwo mo Mo Tzu (mo Ti c.468-c.376 B.C.E.) ne kemeba, kemene poni mo ba sei eyi gbatimi owei ne zozo tari ke ebi mo gha owei ke akpo waidou pamowei (fung 1952:76-105).

Eyi ama ne sei ake kemene otu miye mene yai mumu dei bo zozobagha yai kpo a pamene ane Chaiwat Satha-Anand ake Machiavelli ge fun Prince (1981) me a so ebigha bra gbawerimi bawai Burrowe ake (Lewsewitz (1969) me a ge fun On war owou ama ne miye ake ese pagha yai bo gbawerimi. Ase Gandhi ake Krishna ese me sei eyibra gbaweri mi ba Arjuna ake Hindu teme tolumo buwo duwo Bhagavad Gita (Gandhi 1971) me a zozoba sei bra miye pamo akpo me bo memein akpo me a opu biye gbo eyi ke suwo emi. Plato omene fun Republic me a gbadel ebi dimene otu bo kuro nana weri kemebaa mene abe kpo memein efiye akpo ebedi otu bo zozobagha akpo ke ake ane ebe bo dimene. Aristotle ke ba ba gbadel ebe oloko fun bolou me kemene ba ebi bra

gbamø abø kpo mimein efiye otu bo zozobagha akpo miye pamø weri ebe boda mènø ba zozobagha akpo miye pamø mènø. Machiavelli zozoba ebi emi gba kpo zozobagha akpo mo kpo pamènø. Thomas Hobbes gbadøi gometi kemeba kuro nan aweari mi abø kpo, aya mè a pamènø ebe bo miye dei ya zozobagha pake dou mènø John Locke gbadøi keme otu kuro toru sei gometi dugo seri ye ke gbakpo keme otu mokpo ekiou bra ake sei gometi dugo mènø ye. Karl Marx mo Engels mo gbadøi bo se bogha ba akpo tu ke numu sei gometi dugo seri mènø ane dei ya keme otu ane kpo di ebimo mènø eyi kpo numu duwo so fa akpo miye pamø mènø. Numughatimi Rousseau gbaegberi ne keme otu bo mo gometi mo avuwø me bo dei bose ba abø egberi numu ake memein akpo me tuwa weni gha fa. Kant (1795/1959) gbadøi so sei eyi abø eyime omènø mo didei aba zozobagha akpo numu pa mènø. America otu so mo esomo mo ke duwo bratebe nana mo abø kpo memein me so mo eso mo mo fa bra ke ake oloko miye mènø. Max Weber ba gbadøi ebeda bolou me so so ke emi a abø kpo, ebe da tolumo buwo tolu me do bo mènø ba keme zuwo bo mo eyi kpo bo keme otu bo tamènø. Arendt 1970; Muller and Semelin, 1995; Steger and Lind, 1999).

Gandhi zozobakumo tolumo buwo me opu brake ake gometi bolou miye gomu dei dei, akpo bisé do Nobel (Prize) diye pere eyi mènø Gandhi laye me a suwo tumugha bra ke done kemesé disé bra bra ake me keme zozobakumo egberidimènø. Bin India ogbo otu kpo bebebra bebetoru ake me zozoba ebighabra me ake gbolo wènímo mènø (Dhawan 1957; Dange mo zene otumo 1977; 1 year 1973; Parekh 1989a, 1989b; Bon Durant 1969; Dalton 1993; Galtung 1992; Sharp 1979; Steger 2000).

Bin otu zozoba sei bra me bebe eyo bebe eyo duwo gbapamodei memein mo bødei efiye mo. 550 B.C.E. duwo bo me efiye lame bin keme ama me egberi kori ere mo Arthur mo Lila Weinberg mo (1963). Bin karibuwo ama kpo T.K.N. Umnitha mo yogendra singh (1973) mo kpo suwo emi.

Will Morrisey (1996) Greek mo Roman mo America mo zene pina otu mo zozobagha bolou me a gba eyi bo bein akpo bolou pa duwo bo me. Me keni ere pon duwo pa dei egberi bo bein ba dou pamø eyibokpo bein. Ané Hwang, Jang Yop Korea ebeda tolumo owei December 3, 1987 kurai Pyong Yan me omènø ekiye pamø yo gba pamø "Politics-Ebe da buwo me keme se zozo tari, zozo gba eyi pei dei se kere son dei". Bibebe bi otu bomo omènø mo zene otu ake me egberi kori ere bra gbamo ane Sorokin (1949;1954) kurai me a "tari" mo "eyi ekiye teme mo ake Arendt (1970) me a gba egberi tuwa mo dei ya gba dei Bwiton (1979) gbesi ere yo me keme otu dou eyi bo miye pamø muyo done. Ase se zozobagha ten bein yai ke kon gboro mènø.

### **Ebe gbolomø tolumo eyiama (polity studies)**

Ake kemtu a gbamènø aba keni suo mo eyerin mènø gbènø ama, ama ma, ebe ama ne America bra emi yai bose eyi ama ake bolou ekiye mo mènø owei Harold Linstone gbaghamènø zozobagha egberi kori ake kuro bra ekiye mènø. miye dei ebeda gbolomø bolou me zozo bakumo abø ere pon me sei mo ebi mo emi yan bibe be me ebeda tolu mo mènø otu bo ke numu bise bibebe bo paramènø.

Bo bibebe bo kpo bin owoama ke duwo paramø agbèmi. Bolou ye me zozobaba te pa ebi ke ake ebe bolou me a miye pamø dei ya? Keme otu ba wai topa ke ake bisé keme eyerin buwo bo emi ebe bo diwèri miya? Gometi ba mènø otu bo mo ba pa otu bamènø keme bo mo te pa bratuwa eyi ama ke ake ebe bo pere mènø ya? Tubø ke ane ke ba bo ebe bo a timi me keme ba weni bo a suwo weni mènø yan? Ebe me emi

eyerin buwo bose te pa ke ake me zozo bamé a bra pou weri eyerin méné yan? Zozoba ba te pa ebi ke keme otu miye zozone weri akpo eyerin méné ba keme otu miye gomu eyerin buwo ama ake akpo kori weni méné ya?

Toké ama gan mimein mo deinbaimo a pa emi yan? Ebe da bolou emi otu bo se zozoba kumo abe weni buwo ba endena keme ke emi yan? Toke bise kuro ekiyou mo eyi numu ekiyou tuwa weri zozoba weni buwo sei bra weni méné yan?

Taru karamo eyo ba ende na keme ke kemeba sei bra mo gba ebi mu do bramo gbadei ya, ba endena ogbo ama ke bise bolou me emi yan? Soza otu kpo so kori otu ke a padéi ya? Kemeba otu kpo ondo di duba modej a? Keme dei akpo miye bolou bo mo otubo kpo zozobagha owou ke duwo dei ya? Oyein kari buwo bokpo tokoni ake kemeba méné buwo tiyemo dei a? Amakubu eyerin buwo kpo kemeba eyerin tiye mo dei a? Babo mo babo mo oloko bolou ba teba ebi dei eyi ma ke miye pamø dei ya? So dou ogbo otu bo amukon sin ba ebi owou a kon bo tiye mo dei ya? So za otu se amukon sin dei ya? Polosi mo pa bide tuwa otubo ba alagba sibe gha mo zene tein eyi ama mo sibe gha fa a? Keme ba timi sei gbo otu bo se memein bo zozo gbemo ekiye dei ya? Keme ke kon ebe e kori weni mo méné otu kpo kemeba me a brasin dei ya? Nein karamo ye ba te eyiama ke kon bo keni suwo mo dei ke akpo miye ebo ake do zozobagha eyerin miye pamø méné yan? Tepa karibuwo ama, eyerin buwo ama, oloko ama, toluwo eyiama mo ba toru kon eriméne eyiama numu me akpo kori bo zozobagha paméné yan? Te bra ke miye timi bo bin eyibone zozoba akubo méné eyi bose kon ake akpo duwo seri weri do keme zozobagha akpo miye pamø méné yan?

### Ebe da buwo ama ake zozo ton mo (comparative politics)

Zozobagha bibebe me bin eyiama ke ake keni beni mo dei ke numu paraméne. Tepa bibebe ama ke omiye bo ake gan pamø méné ba zozoba eyerin kpo dugo sinméné? Bobose disindéi aba zozobagha akpo keni owou numu duwo bo gha fa.

Orukumo akpo me embira didei aba bin ebe ama toru kere kere eyerin buwo bo ake numu zozoton mo méné, ere owei, kala awou okosi otu didubamo werimi otu bo mo ase suwo mo dei aba. Ebeda otu, ogboma, seiya miye otu, dituwa, ebe mo ebemo so, ama mo amamo so bose zozoba méné owou ama. Bawai keni kene ekpudu kpo numu zozoba méné. Keme méné ba keme bagha ebe bo kpo ake zozoton mo ba efiye bose a miye méné bra bo duwo didei zozoba duwo zozobagha numu paméné. Ake akpo fon tubo mo, tei ama miye méné bra mo didei se keme otu ekiyou dei bo kemebagha ebi otu a pamo agbemi. Bo ekiye eyi bose ake tuwa didei aba miye dei ya dei pagahafa eyi se fa, ake kemeba, toluwo eyi, toru ake eri eyi, ebe da dou méné ogbo ama, keme otu, ebeama, ama ama, seledou ogbo ama, opu fungo warri ama ase ake keni beni mo dei se. Me zozokumo tolu mo buwo ba doupamo yo me do keme sele méné ebe bo mo ba poni mo bra ke ebe diméne eyo ru bokpo numu so zozobagha. Ba bise bra ke ake zozoba méné ebe amakpo zozoba seibra numu ekiye pamu gha ke done zozoba efiye bose emi. Ake diodei me fun me a mamu kara mo tebe eyo (Chapter 2) me ake Mexico ebe ebe mo ebe mo, ama mo ama mo zozo méné bra bo duwo didei se meinmein gbaméné bra kemi. Ese dou méné gbene, ba ama kpo eyo me eyerin méné otu bo ese dou me ebi bra ke ake ango bo ake weri mi ba esedougha otu bo kpo bise bra ke ane ango bo ake weri mi (Fry 1994) gbrame Indonesia abe kpo bise bra ma ama timi mo, kala awou bone esedou ama duwo bo yai bo tei kpo so dou tei pa ama tei méné. Ko ama awou bo ne ese dougha ama duwo bo yai bo ten owou tei bo mo ba zene ba keme esinmo gha tei ama ke tei méné

(Roycee 1980). Bo eyerin buwo bo duwo didei se zozo gbotu tei (boxing), ten famu boli (Hockey), anda tei (wrestling) mo ba American football).

### **Akpose ebeda buwo me (international politics)**

Zozobagha eyerin ke numu me akpo se ebe dabuwo kpo miye gomu pamo mene duba anga mo kalanga mo duwo didei se eyi tolumo eyo bo se gbolomo emi. Ba gometi a suwo emi yai bo mo suwo gha yai bo se tuwa mo di w<sup>er</sup>imi ake keme otu akpo me a koro eyerin efiye duwo bose. Bawai biratebe nana kpo akpo mo kala ebe bo mo ke di miye pamo mene.

Ba ko anga duwo didei aba keme otu zozo ondo didubamo, kala awou mo okosi otu mo zozo di dubamo dei se me zozobagha akpo kere ebibra pamene. Me egberi me keme tobou ango mene ke duwo bomene. Ane brabo ogbo ama emiyai bo kpo kemebo miye bra ke duwo bo gide pamene; ba wai akpo kpo keme otu bo ke duwo bo emi, ane ke done keme d<sup>ou</sup>dei se zozobagha akpo numu pamene. Bise bra done keme zene bo ba zenebo keba kobo ba kpo sei dei ane done keme ba eyerin me pele mo agbe mi ba wai eyi ke laemi. Akpo se zozobagha eyi la emi bra kori weni mo agbe emi.

Kiri akpo ke emi keme se ba ebeda buwo tolumo mene ogbo bo kpo se keni keni suwo mo deise zozoba, so ama, ese mo ba zene sei eyi bo se ba pagha fa. Omuyen pamo mu yo me ekpe kpe gbolo ake kemeba mene keme ama, ededa dou mene otu ba keme bo ne akpo me emi otu bo se suwo dei aba ebi ake kemese pere mene. Obawai zozo na kpo ake akpo me abomene keme otu bo ba kuro brake me zozoba eyerin kon ekiye eyi miye dei se akpo dei bo do o akpo pamene, ane me keme am bose bobo angu ake zozoba sei emi bra numu dei se keme ba eyerin kpo pele me.

### **Zozobagha ebeda tolumo buwo me (nonkilling political science)**

Bolou duwo dib o memein lame ose bo dou eri amene keme otu ekiyou dei deise zozoba numu dei bo zozobagha pamene. Ane bra bo keme otu kpo miye bo pamo mene; ba wai akpotu ama kpo kori pele ba akpo miye zozobagha akpo miye bise aya kpo gbemo mene. Bise dei me ebeda tolumo buwo kpo, so dou (soza otu) kpo, tubo tuwa otu, tei ogbo otu ba amakiri biye eyerin buwo bose a suwo mene.

Keme otu numu zozobagha akpo teme pamo mene egberi me bin bibebe ama kon bo akpo se bawai ebeda tolumo buwo (political science) kpo la dei ya gba mo, "zozobagha buwo kpo numu bo omene sekpeni tolumo buwo a pamene yan? "Me zozobagha tolumo buwo me numu zozoba akpo kon sin meneyan? Zozobagha keme sele buwo numu kala gometi emi orubo a pamene yan? Zozoba bolou numu zozobakumo a be akpo miye pamo mene yan? Zozoba mene tubo tuwa bolou zozobagha tubo tuwa eyo nimi pamene yan? Ere, owei, ebe ama, keme toru kere kere ama, beli ama, ba kari buwo bo mo numu zozobagha akpo miye pamo mene yan?

Tepa tolumo eyi ke numu akpo mo toru kere kere eyerin bo mo kemebo miye zoz tari mene yan? Me me ebeda buwo tolumo otu bo kpo suwo emi ane ke done akpo ten bo miye dei ke me zozobagha akpo pamene yan? Omiyen bo pamene me me ebeda tolumo buwo me kuro bra ake ane ekiye eyi bo mo ba zene owou amane zozobagha miye pamo mene owou bose gbapamo ake zozobagha miye pamo.

## Chapter 4

Nein karamo koro go yo

### Biyegbo miebuomomene bulu apamene yiama

Keme amane gbaamene, me (tens of millions of death from malnutrition and economic deprivation) keme endagbudu ne fiyai anga lagha baa bira lamo fiyai mi yibo bira lagha done femene me, asee bibirin amene, politiki ke me sei se mie pamo wrimi

Manifesto of fifty-three Nobel Laureates 1981.

**T**ei ama ke me Biyegbo miebuo mo mene bulu a pamene yiama ne, kemebagha akpo toluo eyi (Non-killing political Science) eyerin buo duo bo mene yan?

Kokoro yime, kemee kemeba akpo pelemo ke doo ni. A ni me, keme awou ebi ondo, ebi akpo eyerin ke gbolomgemi. Politiki ne keme awou ebi ondo, keme tobou dei ebimo ke gbolomo emi keni anga bra. Koo anga me, biyegbo miebuomomene yiama ne dii owou mo ake teme anga, keme tobou (ere), kemebadei kurai, duwo boyo (ibe), keme laemi yo, kori - mi yein yi mo toluo wori mi yii baa duwo pa emi ibe ke gbolomo emi, esefa mo kemeba ake keme awou biyegbo yiama mie buo mo ke gbolo mo emi. (Guetzkow 1955) Omene kuro bulu ake biyegbo mie buo momene yiama ne keme isisimogha baa keme ba kuro ake mie yi ama ke gbamu.

Kemebagha politiki me bede bede yiama ne kemee eyerimomene baa yiama ne esef aforo mie pa mo yia ma ke gbolomo emi. (To solve problems within and across all five zones of the convergent funnel of lethality (fig 1) and fan of nonkilling alternatives (fig 2).

Emi bra me, politiki atudou toluo yi bo se ake kemeawou biyegbo yibo se miebuomomene. Gometi mo pa otu mo biye gbo yibose mie buo momene. Kemeawou, gometi, ba ekpudu ne yidou mene ekiyemo yi nana werimise.

Biyegbo miebuomo kemebagha politiki ma weni mene fereme, keme tobou ma enkpage bo se ke gbolomo emi – teme anga, anga, nana weri mi yi ama ba eyerin buo ama.

Keme tobou dou mene yibo bein, dou me ne yi bebe, baa bira la mene yi bebe. Dou mene yibo gbale kemi. Ani doni kemee ke suo me ne: keme awou, ogbo ama, gometi mo gometi kemeama.

Yia ma ne biyegbo miebuo mo yibo kpo gbalekemi, ane kpo kemebagba politiki me yi ama ne kemeawou ese mie ondo ke pelemo mene; akpo ma, gometi mo ogbo ama bulu ma ese mie pamo men ke pele mo mene. Kemebagha politiki me, keme bayise pelemo mene baa gometi mo ogbo ama kori mie yi ama ne keme bagha fa yi bo mie gbolomo ake apere mene.

Yi-a-tudou mo kemeawou eyerin buo biye gbo miebuomo me politiki bulu emi pa me, dou mene bira pa mene bra nu mu wori de ke yigha. Don yo nu mu zu wogha fa baa don yo zuwo mo pa numu de ke don ma tudou. Kemebagha politiki me bise bra gha.

Kemeba paa ake biyegbo yiama numu zuwo buomoagha a deiya kemebagha paa ke numu a see zuwo mene ekiye na na mo birafa. Zene anga bira doun yo zuwo yi fa baa zuwo yi numu de ke doun atu dou mo zuwo mo bira mie pa mo ke keme ango zuwo atu dou yi (basic and medical science) mie bolou buogha ekiye mo bira fa.

Kemebagha politiki atu dou numu kiri mo kirimo biyegbo yia ma ne ese bulu a pamene politiki na numu zuwo buomo bira ekiye mo bira fa. Kuro bira ake yia tudou, (vast commitment to scientific), kemeawou mo nanaweri mi yia ma (human and material resources) ake esedou mo ese mie pamo yiama baa esomo tein mie pa mo bira na akpo ma kemeba mo kemefe mo (gbobal lethality)

Soo mo kemeto bou mo wariotu baa (genocide and homicide) akpo ma tebe ama ne soo dou yiama ne numu kirimo kirimo akpo see baa mo yia ma (nuclear weapons). Kon ake ku nu mogha emi. Kemeba me duba ake duba dein dei. Kemebagha paa dein yi se fa.

Kemetobou baa pele mo me bo tebe politiki a tudougha. Yi bo see atu dou tolumo yi (Sciences), keme awou bo see, korimie yi bo see baa keme see ke gboolo emi. Ani kpo politiki atudou ke yi ma tebe tua mene.

Keme bagha paa ake kemeawou buwo don yi mie buomo bira doo mo yi bo see zuwo ke, yi ladei emi. Me bulu me tara waimo yo di me ne: me tara biyegbo oru bo "hitler and the holocaust" revolutionary structural change, and security from the individual to the nation-state.

"Hitler me keme ekudu baa keme", "Holocaust me keme ekpudu, bin keme ama ake keni efie aba".

Koo biegbo yibo, akpoma vi idi dei yi mie pamo; baa keme tobou duo mu jbe doo mo yi na na mo bira.

### **Nonkilling, Hitler and the Holocaust**

#### **Kemebagha, keme ekpudu baa keme mo keme-ekpudu ake keni efie abaa**

Keme otu da mo keme baa biegbo yi bo, Hitler mo Holocaust di ya mo bira me, da ana kunumugha me, gerede ba yi atu dou pa ake biegbo yi miebuama pa ka ake daa mene. Me kemeotu biye-embelemogha ba esin teme nana yi bo ne bo bo embast tuwa keme - ekpudu ne keniyo duwo bo emi keme ama baa, tebe ladei ba keme ongbo ama sele baa mo yibo buomo weri kemebagha atu numu pele mogha fa ani fa ba politiki atu dou fe mene pa me sei dein mene.

Be tbeb keni owou duwo afa. Keme awou ondo bo kemeba duwo dei ake kemebagha bina keme otu da baa keme otu duwo. Kemeba mie pa mo yi see pele mene (Paige 1977).

Twentieth century ane si foni karamo sonron a sii kurai ama efiye me keme otu kemeba bra kake kemeotu da baa keme a tu duwo bra bo see pele mo mene. Ane fa see kemeba pele afa. Ane ke doni nineteenth century ane oi ise foni karamo sonron asii kurai fa de efie me, keme otu gbade bira soo abeyi see pele mo. World war 1 duwo mu world war II mo cold war baa bolou amu keni diya mo yo emi. Politiki me yi ama ne keme otu le mo bira wai mo yi bo se pele baa kemebo kori ake keni suo mo, zozona, baa kemebagha timi mu bra mie pamo.

Ake yine Hitler, Stalin mao mo amin bo, baa pol pot mo atomiki bomb obo gbein timi kemebo mie ba seri bogha fa me: wai mo politiki bolou da otu ne kemeba tebe otu dei ake kemebagha bra akpo biegbo yibo miebuomo; ebi efie di keme da otu ne kemeba ekiyo tuwa weremi keme bo selepa mo; ekiye mo yi ne kemeba baa keme feremo ake kemebaa kuro nana werimi yibo a kon sin; ogbo ama ne kemeba yi ke mie baa kemeke bayi ke sibe mene tokoni kumo; kari ogbo, tubotuwa, fereweni, yiatu dou baa yi mie da keneba yikemie ogbo see tokoni kumo; keme otu dou mene yibo mie pamo ondo ke tuwa; kemebagha eyerin buo ake ibe dimo; keme akoro keme la see di seimo kumo; zozona bira kake pibe eyi ere zozona; Kemebagha bira ake keme awou dou mene yi bo mie pamo.

Hitler toru toru opu sei bo, ba bin kemeama ake keni-efie aba konbo ake kunumu menemem, kemebagha politiki atu dou tara kuro yi mie mene: Sei yi see ba buo mo bolou di kumo pa afa, suo ake yi ama mie ebi mo, baa efie ne keme otu oyafe, eno suo, tebe biri sei mo pa mene yibo doni, me efie duwo kemebagha efie miepamo. Mie mene yibo see numu kemebagha bira ake yibo see mie afa ekiyou bo kon sin.

### **Kemebagha mo kurokemeba bra ake viridi bra aya yi dou**

Mamu karamo biyegbo yi ne biye gbo miebuomomen bulu a pamene yi me, ane kurokemeba bra mo bra wai kuro-kemeba bra ake buwo don yi mie buomo. Ake gbamene abe embigede otu ake gometi kon sin mene bira, me embigede otu wai da tiyemo bra, keme ne kemeba bira mo keme-esinmo bira ake dou mene yi laa ake, mekeme bo toru wai da tiyemo, soweitimi kemeba soo, baa embigedem ibemo soo. Me tiye kiri mo ba buodei politiki yi atudou me boyi bo buomo weri mi. Kuro bira ake sei gometi kon sin da ebi ye bo abiye gbogha wai mo sei bra ake gometi kon sin bra da ebi yai bo abiye gbogha, me gbe buomo yi bo buomo worimi abe kpo numu kesii bira mie afa. Zuwa America sukulu awou gblade bira kemeawou numu doo bra ake nana worimi yi mo kuro mo a bra singha, anidoni kurobra ake miyein me kere-emi. Koo otu ba gblade bira kuro bra ake boo dou ekpudu ama ne gometi dei dou mene keme bo kuro bra ake soo dou wekpudu ama ne gometi dei dou mene keme bo kuro bra ake amomo mie me ebi-emi, America otu keme sele bra kpo, kemesee angko ke telemo wer ei kuro bra mo kemeba bra mo name ne bai kpo mumugha doni, amerika me keme otu alagha kpo ake akpa atuwa were wenimene ake angko mo ibe mo di weri mene.

Kemebagha politiki yiatudou numu ake mie da keme ba fa bra ake gometi ama baa kemeawou mo agbegha bra pa bo ne ake akon sin mene bra mie pamo mene. Cold war ane lee zozoba efieme, world war II; wan efie akpo se mamu kara mo so bo fade ififiye me, ibe ama ne Soviet Union konu atimi yai bo mo baa Britain mo America konu ma timi yai bo baa zozona, zozo tein dou efie me, tar politiki go weri mi kemeama, kemebagha pa ne ake yi ama kori pele mo bra gba pamo mo.

Tara keme duwo bo emi yo bo ane kemeba bra ake yi mie tebe yobo – United States, Soviet Union mo China mo.

Bo tara keme bo, America me kemeowei Gene Sharp (1973) omene (198) keni sonron a-sii mo isena oi mo ningini kemebagha pa gba pamo mo, alagha mo ogbolo mo sibegba bra ake yi mie bra; Soviet Union, Kemeowei E. G. Plimak mo Y.F. Karyakin (1979) ame ne kpo gblade bra alagba, agidi, ogbolo si begha bra ake zozona bra ake yi mie. China me kemeowei Zhang yi-Ping (1981:79) Ome ne kpo gbamo, isomo koro afa bra ake yibo see mie. Ane me embigede bo mo, pere otubo mo, opu mo ka ibe bo, numu alagba

sibe a bra ake yi mie yain afa gha? Zuwa yo ama alagba sibe ya bra ake bra tebe nana de, didi ya Gandhian (movement) weni buo India ibe ma mie bra tɔrumɛ.

Opu ibe bo nɛ kala ibe bo ponu mɛnɛ bra bo, numu zozona bra ake yi mie yain afagha. Gandhian mo Kingian ake yi mie pa me, “Zozona” bra kakɛ yi mie mo kemeawou numu mɛ kɛmɛ zozona bra ma ake mie bolou amu mɛnɛ. Kemeowei Machiavelli omɛnɛ kpo gbadɛ bra kemeawou numu isomɔ korogħa fa bra ake oya fe duwo bra tebe nana mɛnɛ (The Discourses, Book 3, Chapter 7).

### **Kemebagha mo eyilagha**

Kemebagha politiki mɛ adise mo odi seyə O, ačɛ kɛmɛ otu bagħa bra, kɛmɛ otu ɔndɔ mɔ nana worimi yama koko, eyilagha bra, keni keme o, egede gometi O, ibe gometi o ba akpo see bra.

Tiye kiri ma ake keme mo nana worimi yi eyila. Kumo me, ake ekiye mo ba mie mene bra me, kemefe esin bulu keduwo bo emi: di diya “I mɛnɛ/omɛnɛ gan mie ake idiya mene bra me, i mɛnɛ/omene e baa mɛnɛ” Kemebagha bra ake keme kokɔ, keme eyi lagha bra mie mene me mo kɛ gbamo: “I mene/omene gan mie ake idiya mene bra me imene/omene ebaagħa fa /abaagħa fa. I mene kpo/ amene kpo e / oo baagħa” fa. Ake kilq gba mene bra mɛ oo see gan mie ake zozo diya mene, oo mene keme baagħa fa. Keme ne numu doo timi mu bra timi mɛnɛ kɛmɛ see fa, a baa mo kɛmɛ emi efiye see. Kemeba atu numugħha mo kemeba ekiye mo yi nānaghha mɛ yi ne ake soo dou mo yi see numu da mɛnɛ. Kemeba ka ačɛ bolou dà mɛnɛ see, kuro dein soo dou yi ke bira agono amu mɛnɛ. Soo dou yibo paa pa ke emi. Gbengboun emi, alagba emi, kiri soo dou aru emi, beni soo dou aru emi, agono soo dou aru emi baa keni efie aforu sei mo da keme see fe soo dou yi ama kpo emi. Aneyan be kpo keme ne wari ne alagħa ake tuwa bein mo worimi wari a timi kpo, oþo tei mene ekiye mo yi nana kumo. Wan bo mɛ numu soo dou yi ne tolu buo keme ba yi nana mene, ba soo dou dein pa numu mie pa mo mene – oþo numu afru mo, fiyai mo beni mo numu sei mo mene. Kesi mɛ keme tei mene see, keme kemeba ekiyou tuwa ha fa.

Politiki atu dou tolumo yi see mie mene bra me, yi ama ne tolumo yi ba kore mie mo bra yi ama ne kemeotu doo kemebagha bra timi mo yi ama ke mie pa mo mo fiyai emi. Me kemebagha għolomo doni fun ama għe de da na tiye kiri me keme otu ake na yi atuwa tongħha keme bo mɛ amɛnɛ. Alagħa sibe ya bra seri ake Nazi Keme ekipudu baa da bulu atu dou (Hallie 1979; Fogelman 1994. Semelin 1994); Danilo Dolci’s ama otu kemebagħa ese dou bra ake le kemeba ba le sei yai mie kemeama da (Amato 1979; Chaudhuri 1998); soo dou yi sibe atimi keme-awou bira ebi dou fże weni kemeama (Mahony and Eguren 1997) Kuro kemeba bra ake embiged gometi kuro kori ake bra da (Roberts 1975; Sharp 1990; 1993); kemeba ese doubra ake ibe, alagħa si be ya kemeama mo eyein rin buo da wori (Boserup and Mack 1974; Sharp 1990; Martin et al 1991; Randle 1993; Burrowes 1996); embiged kuro ne ačɛ kemebagħa pā (Keyes 1082); kemebagħa kuro (Banerjee 2000; Weber 1996; Moser-puangsuwan and Weber 2000); Kemebagħa soo dou yi ama mie pamo (Lewer and Schofield 1997).

Bin ibe gometi ama kemebagħa bra ake ani keme bo da weri mo bra atu dou de, ake embiged otu kou ake da mo bra di da bä. Bise ibe bo Sweden kpo, Norway, Denmark, Netherlands, France, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Austria, Switzerland, mo Finland (Schmid 1985; sharp 1990; Randle 1994:121-37). Thailand ibe mɛ kemebra esedougha bra ake mɛ bolou embiged ake gometi kuro kori ake bra mɛ, ake oloko

mie fun ma tuwa dei Article 65 of New Thai Constitution of 1997. "Kemeotu numu a disé ya bra doo bra mie pa mo méné numu a timi kémé ama oloko gbawéri mi bra me ake gometi kuro ma ake dou da ba".

America ibe me ebibra ka ke kemekori otu mo embigede otu mo kemeba soo dou yi ama sibe ya fa bra atu dou de 1965 duwo bo see ba 1990s duwo bo me ba tu dou dein de.

Bin soo dou yi pa ama ka tu dou de. Zuwa ake beke ibe kemekori otu mo embigede otu tolumo fère kpo weni de (Lewer and Schofield 1997). Me tiye kiri me kemebagha pa ake kemeotu zuwo me ebi ake soo dou yi sibe dein worimi da, Kemeotu wa ke kemeba pa ke gbolomo worimi, ake dei bra di ya. Kemebagha pa ake keme Zuwo yi laemi bra me kunumu egberi ne Carnegie commission ge wérimi fun ma gerede mie pa mo worimi (Carnegie Commission on preventing Deadly Conflict 1997). Fun me gan ke gbawori mi "Kele kele wari kori bra ake sei yi se buo mo pa ha fa bra ake bolou da: anémé fe kon bo mo dono pa emi aba, mie mu ake tu yére mo bra ka ke mie"; ba wai "eyenri buo ama ne sei yi se buomo pá hágá ke mie pa mo". Me bolou me mie na kemebagha bra keme tobou mo akpose zuwo mo bra me pá emi. Tei ne akpose kemebagha fa bra doo timi mene kuro kpo kemebagha bra ake numu kemetobou mo akpo mie doo mo mene ([www.nonviolentpeaceforce.org](http://www.nonviolentpeaceforce.org)).

Kemebagha politiki yi atu dou tolumoyi me mie na akpo ma ese fa ama ama mie pa mo. Ibe mo ibemo zozo bá sin mo esin yo kon sin. Bolou bolou yi me kemetobou fa aba zéne biyegbo yi ama mie mo bra fa. Mamu kara mo yime ifie bo se kemeba yi ke mie me ne se akpo me kémé tobou numu timi mo bra se fá.

Kemebagba pa yi la emi yo me, numu zuwa bibebe ama para méné: kémébagha ma ekiyo bo se ake wériméne me, alagha botebe ake keme ba yi mie yan, zozo eninimo, pinakeme dirimo keme ponimo, disegha bra ake keme bong, kemeotu oyein ake perewerimi yiama kon ake, ba gba fá de bra ake yi mie, bo bose kemeba yi ama áhan? Me bibebe bo para mene me kemeba kumo ke numu para mene. Kení para bebe ne emi yi me kemeba ekiyou tuwa, kemeba eyoin mo kemeba eyenri buo ke numu me kem otu oya fe bo kon bo mene. To bra ke mie keme oyamo, zozo ponimo, ereama ponimo, kemeotu nana worimi yiama kon ake bá gba fa de bra ake kemeotu dii numu timi ala mene ne ake esin mo fe sin yo gbole mogha ba? Keme wari kemeba duwo mu ake soo bulu ae kemeba me akpo ma kon sin da ba, koo biyegbo yibo se numu saramo kon sin mene, meke teme anga, ekiyo gbole nanawerimi yi ama, gometi emi bra ba oyein temé pere wérimi yiama.

Ekiyou mo eyoin see ake kemebagha koromo me diya mo amene bra politiki atudou me yi ne kemetobou ondo mo timi mo ebi bra seimo mo yibo kon sin mene. Gandhi wo efie me keni kala ama mo ere timi me oméne kano egbisa duwo gba de bra kpokoroyi ne kèmeawou biyegbo yibo mie buo mo méné yibo me améne: kemeséé gbásé keni ake bira gbolomo fiyaghá kemebo bra wére; keme diya bra ake cotton bide gbein ake keme otu bra bo buomo; kemekori diri mo wuru mo bou kumo; Hindu-Mushim mo ekiye zozo tari; ba owei bo mo ere bo mo gbase bra mie. Gandhi méné" bira tremé esedougha" (Ashe 1969:243).

Mimi me oméne numu sonran biyegbo yi ne akpo ma gan emi yi ama: efiye bose kemeba mene, ba kemesé soo dou yi bo koromo; akpo ma emi opu oya ba kemesé bira dou yi ebi mo bra, keme awou diseimo yiama ba ake zozo bira tebe di dubamo; akpoma oyein teme worimi yibo owoimi yi ama seimo ba ake akpoma teme wéri mi yi bo ondo nana mo bra; ba yiama ne zozo na mo bra yibo seimo seri sin.

Me sonran biyegbo yibo keme toubo kpo gbolo emi, keni wari kemeama, kemeamaotu, keni ibe ba akpo ma keme awou bq se. Keme tobou se bo sonron biyegbo yibo se ba zene yain kpo ateimo fiyai emi. Bo biyegba yibo se keni ke suomo emi ba emi tu me kemeba pa ka ake biyegbo yibo mie buomo mene bra ke doni. Omene kemeba ka ake ango di mene ba keme ba yi ka ake efiye bo se ango aweri emi; wai mo kemeba mo bra ka ake keme esisi mo mene, ane me keme anou kpo oya mo mene, ba kemeawou diseimo me kemeawoy mie sei bulu tuwa ba bira wai dou mene; kemeba ba emkigede fou me kemeawou timi oru bo kpo seimo mene; esin teme me kameawou zozona ango ebimo mo yo kpo seimo mene.

Keme bagha pa ake biyegbo yibo mie buomo me numu pa mene. Keme out a geleukumene da numu pa mene. keme otu a gele kumene da numu pa mene. Bein yo ama ke bise diya mo yi pere dei. United Nations mo zen ogbo ama bieni mo erede efiye bose kemes an ekiyo bose kuro bramo dei mo bra mie pamo da ba dei yo numu pa mene. Kemese bira wasamo daba, bo tebe gometi ya, parti-ama suwo, gometi asuwogha ogboama, (NGOs) fere woni ogboama, opu sukulu tolomo wari, egberi gee fun wari ama, oyein kari wari ama keni suwo mo daba numu pamene. Keme ekiye mo mene bra me me bolou me keme tobou ondo ma biyegbo mene yi bo sei ke sei dein mene. Tume, soo dou yi bo, a lagba suwo mimi me bin ke bin dein mene, keme otu alagba sai ke sai ebi do suwo mene; nana wori mi oyein ake pere wori mi yibo, kiri bulu emi pulo ama, fiyai gboro ogbo ama, la bra la bra poni mo ake, ba labra labra mie; ebi akoro ebi la see tubo tuwa ba zozo nagha; kemese keni bra, gbasee zozo dein ya bra ake yi mie gha, ere sumo, amakubu otu suwo, keme bin yan otu suwo ba bin keni eyerin buo lelei nana wori mi out ama. Keme ama ne akpo me emi bra numu worimi keme bo-amene akpo see keni kpei kpei ibe ka pa bra me asuwo gha – me keme bo Federico Mayor, UNESCO Ogbo tebe owei (Director General) – efiye me Sara mo kori ekiye ke la emi “fou you/tubo tuwa ba fa bra ke emi” (Mayer 1995:83-93). Politiki atu dou me ake sara mo eyi mie mo fiyagh?

### **Kemebagha mo soo dou yibo koromo**

Mie buomo mo kiyegbo yibo mo ba wai ese suwogha bra ake mie buomo mo pabo ne emi yai bo asee pa eyi tolu mo politiki zuwo paama. Me tiye kiri akpo me a kere pa mo weri mi. Politiki yi atu dou tolu mo yi me kuro bra ake amie buo mo. Gerede ba gaan bra ake oda worimi bra ne ake biyegbo yibo mie buromo mo pa me bolou bolou UN General Assembly ogbo kunu mo fun ma ge worimi, “a ne keme see tein da keme see soodou yi bo see koromo ake akpo see mie ebimo” (UN General Assembly 1978). Timi ibe kein me Alabama mu pagha me, keni sonron a-sii, sonron oi mo ise ibe ama bibririn mo, aforu ake keme ba mo soo dou yi bo see gban buomo ba pelemo; soo dou yi ama ne numu keni efiye a bin keme ba mene yai bo see pelemo; embigede ama ne zen ibe a koko worimi yai bo see wai mo; bin yan embigede ama ke ake ibe dii; bin yan pa alagba ama ka ake wori; baa sele ama ne ake embigede soo dou yi ama bulu opu bra mie fa mo, ake ibe keme awou dou mene yibo atuwa mo bra diya, asee pele mo. Ibe zene ebiyi ama kpo kori ton mo. Amene bede bede bra ake esefa bra ake yimie mo bra esedou mene ibe bo amie dou mo, da bin politiki atudou awou tunu mugha.

Kemebagha politiki eyi atudou tolumo yi me numu mie da gometi mo ibe otu bo gbolomo ake akpo ma soo dou yi kokogha br bebe bra tiye ya f. Ake gbolomo mo yibo ekpe kpe gbolo bira sibe alagba, kuro bra keme akemo soo dou yi ama, labra labra Oyein

teme ake ogbo ma tuwa wori mi yibo kon ake, ba soo dou yi yere mo fee tubo tuwa, boyi bo see babuomo afa; ama bo mo ba ibe tebe ama bo doo soo dou yi kokogha bra mie pa mo; ba akpo ma aforo ake kemeba soo dou yi ama kokogha yo ama mie pamo.

### **Kemebagha mo buomo suoyo nanagha**

Zene kuro yila pane ake kemeawou biyegbo yi ama mie buo mo yi me a ne "mi yein mo, fiyai emi ge weri mi yibo" ne sonron oi mo taru Nobel prize laureates chemistry duwo mu physics ma bolou ake keme bo, amene ge amene keme endagbudu keni efiye a tubo tuwa suoyo nana yibo buomo bira lagha bulu afee yo ebi ifiye dii tiye mo (Nobel prize winners 1981:61-3). Asee gba pamo amene: "Keme see ne me keme endagbudu keni efiye afee mo yoo pelemo mo yoo me, asee bibirn amene me kemebas sei yibo see politiki tu ke duwo bo emi".

Yi la emi yi me ibe kemeawou mo ibe kori bolou amu mo kemebo ke sele ekpange bo see, keme sele efiye, oloko miyein wari, gometi bulu ba akpo see gbolo, amene aya kori mie mo yi ba aya yi mie mo pa mie pa mo ake keme keni orogodo ama moun pere baa duwo mu tubuo mo yo mo baa keme sonron asii igbidi ama keni efiye keme ama duwo mu zene la see moun pere ba mo yo teye mo (62).

'Keme ondo koko mo yo mo, keme kemebakumo baa kemeawou akpo ma kon sin afa pa see amene kuro bra keme bagha pa ka ake mie:

Akpo wa kuro dein keme bo ke duba dein kori mie mo yibo nana weri mi a be kpo, amene bo tebe fa. Zuwo keme fa kemebo numu atimi an pamo bra ma ake an bira bulu ma tuwa daba, bin keme numu atimi sei oloko boni keme awou mo fiyagh yai bo ba di duba mo af, keme ondo kuro nana weri mi yai bo bu mo na, numu atimi eyoun fa keme bo kpolu weri bin yain kuro soo dou yibo kon da ba: kemebagha paa ake yi mie pa ne Gandhi diya mo bra me (Yi la emi), ake yi mie mo bra bo kori ake baa ton ake keme bo pere weri mi yi bo ne agbe bra baa ebi emi bra yai bo ake keme bo agbana: numu atimi bo yi bo numu pa mene abe weri ya numu me sei ongbu lulu bo new o efiye ma emi yai bo pele mo mene (63).

Amene kunumu ma gba bra me, "me ke efiye ne weni mo efiye, me ke efiye ne yi mie pamo mene, me ke efiye ne omene timi mo pa ne ondo ake ko otu pere mo efiye".

Keme see ake keni bra mie yan, keme awou bin mene bra, baa embiggede ake yi mie asee keni gbolo mo da ba, tiye kiri sei suoyo nana bra, esedou bra baa agono toru mo kiri mo sei emi bra me wai sei ke sei dein mene. 1999 kurai me world bank ge amene keni mo ekibe mo orogodo kemeama "Kuro oya bulu ka emi", keni enein ma fe mene yo me zau ake keni America (\$1 per day) Dolla dein weri mi, baa tara orogodo keme ama enein ma fe mene yo me zau ake dolla mamu dein weri mi. India ibe bo tebe kemeotu oya me tara keni sonro asii ma ake tara keni sonron a sii ma sii igbidi la emi 1980 kurai famo efiye duwo bo see (World Bank 1999). Keni efiye bo kemeawou enein ma fe mene yo bo keni bra ya me owou ke owou dein mene. Keme owei Tariq Husain World Bank keme kala feun agoniye ma 1997 kurai me kilou gba ake keni sonron a sii mo tara sii aya ibe daotu, pere mo, an bolou bolou mie yi ne United Nations University International Leadership Academy ka gba mo:

Akpo me 1990 duwo mu 1999 kurai bo okolo me gbale afere kuro ake 1980 kurai bo dein weri mi. Akpo ma oya dein kemebo ake sonron oru diye mo keni ang, me buo de tara oi kurai bo akpo ma an sele bo eyi fe yo bo ake oi yoru diye mo mamu mo taru yo duwo eyeri mu keni mo nein mo ladei. Akpo ma pere dein kemebo Sonoma oi

duwo owou mu nigine oi mo sonron mo la mo ake oi ya oi diye mo da ba. Pere otu bo ake oya otu bo ton mo da ba maa efiye bra owou dein mo, tara oi: keni duwo mu sondiye oi mo keni mo: keni Akpo see nana worimi diye a sii mo tara sii orogodo bo duba ake akpo ma ake oi oru diye mo ma sii sonron akeme kurai ma bira duwo suwo mene sele dein mo. (Husain 1997:13)

Akpo see sele koko wari (World Bank) tebe owei, kemeowei James D. Wolfensohn mo kemeowei Mahatma Gandhi mo binbiri amene keme awou bo ake gba se bra mie ya me ese mie pamo mene. World Bank tebe owei dou ere bra me “keme awou ake gba se bra mie ya me tubuo dei yi ama pa mene. Oya me soo mie pamo mene” (Heisain 1997:6). Mahatma keme otu beri bo kori kpoun bra me, “ese fa bra ake yi miye mene gemeti numu pagha afa pere otu bo keni igbidi ama oya fiyai eri fegha keme bo okolo bo dan kuro emi efiye see. Numu atimi pere mo ba kuro ake dou mene bra ake gbase keme see di ye mo keme see ebi mo mo bra miegha efiye see ese mo zozo ba esomo koro mene (Collected works 75 (1941): 158 keni America doo akpo dou mene ere, keme-arau Betsy Duren amene world bank tebe owei mo mahatma yi ekiye bra bo ake keni tuwa mo me, amene baa ani pere kpo ake diye pamo keme otu pere de bra gbase yo, “keni kpei kpei bra ne ma akpo doo nana mene me wai mo akpo pere see diye mo. Kemeama ne pere ma ake ango pere ba ango bo tebe kori mo weri mi keme bo ke oya mo soo mo mi yein pa mo mene” (Mogil and Slepian 1992:100). Mee World Bank tebe owei mo Mahatma mo ba mee America ere tobou a mene.

Kemeowei Aristotle maa egbuwa mo tara sonron asii kurai ama buo dei efiye ma gbadei bra keme awou ake keni bra mie yain me kemeba mo gboloimi bra ke amene mu gbolo kuromo mo,

“yila dein mi yi ne ekiye mo fiya emi yi see keme bone kuro ake, keni keme o gometi’ ekpange yo, Okosi yo kalai yo, ake kemebo kori weni mene bra ke me kemeba kon bo mene. Amene numu toun ye duwo ake kemeba mie pamo me ane Koo. Otu bo ane kuro ma toru don wori bira wai mene, ba numu gan toru kpo keme owou ake keni bra mien yain bra mi yein mene ane amene anango bo duba ake koo otu bo dein weri mi bra mie de see (Aristotle 1962: 199)”.

Keme awou akpo ma bin mene bra di da ba mee keme bagha pame ake buo don yi bo mie me kori ekiye mo fiyai, emi, 1950 kurai me kemeawou bo maa mu mo ekibe mo orogodo katimi mo ba bo 2000 kurai ne bo ake sondiye mo oi oru diyemo keni anga mo orogodo lamo; ba ekiye mo wori mi bra me 2050 la mene me Kemeawou bo nigina Orogodo mo keni ake Oi oru diye mo isena anga laa mene. 2050 kurai la mene me akpo ma keme bin dein ibe bo India keme biri me (Keni orogodo mo sonron sonnon a sii mo sii ise foni igbidi) laa mene, China keme biri me (Keni orogodo mo nein yan soron a sii mo tara sii Oi nigina igbidi) laamene; United States keme biri me (tara sonron a sii mo maa sii ise foni igbidi) laa mene, Pakistan keme biri me (kara sonron a sii mo maa sii sonron foni igbidi) laa mene. Kemeowei Lester R. Brown mo Omene kemebo World Watch Institute ma dili bra me kurai bulu me keme nigine a sii ake bin dein mene bra me kuro bra kemeawou ondio bo gbolo mene. Oi ise foni bulu ma kemeawou gbolo esisimo mene yi bo me amene, bou beni,, orose mo aka fiyai gboru pamo bra, tukpa mo enzini mo mie weni mo kuro, fiyai gboro ogbo, tein bou, bo, akpo bou me emi emba Sara mene yi bo, akpo ma enein toru ma ake dei mene bra me, donyo ama, kekekoro bra, wari ama, funtolumo, fere ama, ba ibe mo ibe zozo nagha (Brown, Gardner, and Halweil 1999).

Me Orubai bai pa bo ne ake keme awou bin bra me eyerimo mene bra me keme dise ya bra me, ane soo, keme ekpudu ake keni efiye abaa, kala awou ba biri mie Koromo ba wai moun ake keme tuwa, keni efiye keme ba don; ane doni me kemebagha pa mie pa mo me ebi mene. Aneme di ya mo amene ake akpo ma kemeawou biye gbo yi bo mie buo mo mene, zozo di idubamo, keme see gbase emi bra baa akpo ma emba sara mene yi bo ondo nana mo bra politiki bulu a tolu mo mo bra yi la emi.

Akpo ma zuwa soo dou tebe otu, baa kemeba tebe otu ake mie de bra me embigede kemeba bra pelemo ke fiya emi. Ana keni bo ane WW II general ne united states ibe bo daa owej me, kemeowei Dwight D. Eisenhower (1953-1961). Odein kemefia, keme ama ne soo mo esedou mo ka ake zozona gha kori pele mo dougha kemebo:

"alagba ne teme weri mi ye see, soo dou aru ne feremo pa emi, ye see, Opu soo dou embi ne tein pamo werimi ye see, ane keme ama ne fiyai moun kori mene da gbaleyga; edidi kori mene da bide eri tuwa gha otu bo ke furu mene. Sele bonge ake alagba fei me ne yaibo, boo tebe anai yain, oya fe keme bo kpo yai, yi ekiye teme pamo mene otu bo kpo yai, kalaawou bo bolou ekiye mo yibo kpo yai ..... ane keme awou eyerin buwo a pa mo tu fa, gesi egberi me. Soo ne agong toru yaun keme esimo mene bra me ane kemetobou bein mo weri mi Ogu atekle emi bra kemi. (Address to the American Society of News Paper Editors, April 16, 1953)".

Keni tu ne kemeawou "bein mo weri mi ogu atekle emi me" ane "furu" ne United State 1940 duwo mu 1996 Kurai bo seleama ne ake soo dou kemeba yi ama telemo bulu a tuwa weri mi yai, ane sele biri ne wee bra me sonron orogodo orogodo mo sii keni orogodo dollar la mo (Schwartz 1998).

Ane diya mo amene Opu sele biri ne ake embigede soo dou bulu atuwa mene sele bo "opu bra ka ake kemebo famo. Mene 1990 kurai bo, "soran souron a sii orogodo dollar dein yoo keni kurai bulu ma tuwa mo" (Sivard 1996:7). Kemebagha politiki atu dou me ane akpo ma embigede bulu ka sele tuwa kemegha oya mo bra binbirin ake gha fa. Omene ake mo yo me ane kere wenibuwo ama ne numu "kemetobou ne bein mo werimi ogu atekle emi dene mo koro mo" ake me "Oya doni keme-endagbudu keni efiye a fee mo yo kon bo kumumu mo yo".

### **Kemebagha kemetobou kuro ama mo korimie mo fiyai emi yiama**

Kemebagha bra ake yi mie mo yo me yi la emi bra me kemeawou kuro ama ne gba ake akpose pere won ni bra ke doni Universal Declaration of Human Right (1948) ba avo bo ne kemeawou gbolomo ba politiki gbolomo kemeawou eyerin buo ba kemeawou suoyo mie mo yo gbolomo emi yo bo mie bein mo. Ane tebe egberi mie ake politiki atu duo otu mo akpo see otu bo numu mo. Ane abe kpo kemeawou kuro bo zozona gha bra keme otu eyein buo bo ka mie pamo worimi. Keme bagha politiki atudou me mee kemebagha kuro bo mie kuro mo mene. Ane buo mo da ba, akpo me emi Olo ne keme kuro nana wori kempere bagha baa kemekumo nana weri kemeba gha olo mie bein mo mene yo ka emi. Me olo mo akpo maa ake eyerin buo mie mo bra kori ake.

Article 3 (2) Keme tobou see kuro nana weri keme pere bagha ba Keme ba mo kori mie yi nana gha fa.

Kemebagha politiki atu dou yi me numu bra tuwa ake keme ama ba Ogbo ama ne kemeawou enyerin buwou bo koko ba kemeawou nana worimi kuro bo mie kuro mo dou mene Ogbo bo see pere mene. Ake ton mo mene me 1995 ere ama otu Bei jing ma benn

ton amene yi ne ere ama mo erewou dɔn mo mene yi see pelemo mene bra me (United Nations 1996). Zènè ton mo yin e emi yi me ane Amnesty International Ogbo ne 1961 ma pa Ogbo me gba pamo amene kemelese dougha/kemebagha bra ka ake keme awou nana worimi kuro bo koko. Ane fere me akpo see ton Pele wori mi yoo ke duwo bo emi ane gba amene, "keme tobou see buo mo wéri keme pere Oyamo, nama bra Oyamo ba poni mo bra see mie Kumo bra see oyamo ba poni mo bra see mie kumo" (Art. 5) "keme tobou see ake paa pa kori ba kori ekoli a kai bà ake ibe ma tiri dugo mo see mie kumo" (Art. 9); baa "keme tobou see kuro nana wori ekiyou a dise yi ton ba erepamo; ane mee Obo numu ekiyou a ton yi see erepamo, dise de yi see pere na mo fiya emi, akpo ma fun bulu O radio bulu O numu egberi gba pamo mènè, eyi timi bra timi bra "(Art. 18).

Amnesty International dou mene yo me akpo see kemeba ka ake Ogula pèlé, keme oyamo yi bo see pelemo, baa keme oyamogha bra ake ogula suwo, esedougha bra ake yi dou menè keme bo ne ekoli a kai wérími ekiyo-pa emi keme bo see pamo.

Zènè Ogbo ne keme awou kuro bo koko baa kemebagha politiki atu dou bra tuwa pere mene ogbo bo, ane Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO) 1991 ma dou pamo Ogbo me. UNPO avò ne fe worimi ye me, "akpo see yi ama ne ton da ese mie pamogha fa yi bo ke mie bolou amu". UNPO keme see ke tein worimi "gometi O, akpo see bein wérími ogbo ama, gometi asuwogha ogbo ama baa ibe da otu bo see ke be wérími, yi ama ne ese mie pamo afa ton yi bo ke ake kori wèni".

Bisè yi bo: keme awou zozo di dubamo, kala ibe o zau bra zau bra, ane eyerin buo O, kari mene yi o, a di dubamo; kala ibe bo mò bòlòù dà kémè fa otu bo mò ane ton yi bo mo buwo dɔn yi bo mie bein mo; buomo wéri kala ibe bo ne ba bolou da keme fa otu bo Oyamo mènè yi bo see gba seimo; doo bra bà kesi kemesele Olomie bra ake yi dou mènè bra otu bo lelei; ba amòmò erétei zozo náamo, doumènè yibo ba mie bein mo; baa doo bra ake zozonaghá otu kori pelemo (UNPO 1998:8).

UNPO "sele dou baa sele koko ogbo bo kpo diya worimi, amene keme otu oyamo bra ake seledou kumo, sele doni keme otu nana wérími yi bo ponimo ake, alagba mo soo dou yi ama yeri ake keme otu pere a ne yi bo ake, baa ese mie pamo me ebi emi bra ake fun bo agee, yi bo see pelemo "(a). Keme ama ne me pa bo oya fèdè otu bo see kemegha pámè di sé mènè. Mè kala ibe bòmò bolou da keme fa otu bo bin emi bra di daba, UNPO ogbo me duba ake United Nations ogbo kpo dein kpo pámè.

### **Kemebagha mo oyeintèmè wéri emba sara yibo ondò nana mo yo**

Kemebagha politiki atu dou kemeawou nana wori mi yibo ne oyein ake apere wérími yibo bà famogha fa kpo gbolo emi. Omènè oyoro worimi yi bo bà mènè bà Oyoro worimi yi bo kpo Oba mènè. Kemebagha akpo omu nána mènè me omènè Oyoro worimi yi bo bagha fa.

Twentieth Century duwo bo me akpo see kemeawou ondò pere mènè yibo see omènè mu sei mo mènè diya mo yi ké pámè. Embigede mo soo dou yi ama ake mo tubo tuwa, embigede ake bolou da me akpo mma emi ondo pere mene yi bo sei mo sin de.

World Charter For Nature ogbo me kémè sònron a sii oi kenifoni U.N. General Assembly October 28, 1982 ma gba pamo bra "Oyein tème worimi yi bo see kémè mu sei mo a fa soo bulu o, zozo nagha bulu o" (Arts.1, sect 5). Di diya United States mu vietnam soo ma diri aforo ake téin pomu bo see bà bra; Iraq ake Gulf soo ma pulo bo

sei mo bra me. Kemeowei Barry Commoner gba dei kemeawwou bo mé akpo mo doo timi mó avó fe mo fiya emi (Commoner 1990:243).

Zéne kori ekiye mó fiya emi yi me angé kemeowei Maurice F. Strong, fun gee owei Major United Nations Conference on Environment and Development Rio de Janeiro 1992 ma beni mé, omene gba de bra “akpo see aya owou ne oyein teme wéri ni yi bo koko baa fa a fa bra ondo nana mo bra mie pamo” (United Nations 1993:1). Argentina 21 gba de soo abe yi see kemeawou bedé bedé ondo nana mo bólou buwo mó yo ke sei mo méné “(Principle 24) baa onumu mó yine” doo soo fa mé, sou bolou amu mé ba wai oyoro wéri mi yi bo kekere mé a see keni ke suwo mó emi aké pupu yo fa “(Principle 25).

Ibe ama, gometi, ibe otu bo, ereama, asiya mo ereawou, izon kemebo mo, embi gede, embi gede tubo tuwa ogbo ama, férèwéne Ogbo-ama baa politiki tu dou otu bo see kori ekiye mo fiya emi. Zéne yi ama aké kémé awou owotimi mó yo esisi mó me ne bra me oyoro werimi yi bo gbolomo kye gbo-yibo kpo gbale, yoro yoro baa akpo see ke gbolo emi. Ane doni me kemebagha pame ake kori ton mo fi ya emi yi bo see mie mé ebi emi. Ake mie mó bra me oyoro wori mi yi bo sei mo méné yi bo bolou lelei, ake mie mo bra bo sele ba tudou, bede bede mie ake kemeawou bo abiri bein, (Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences 1983; sebek 1983) ake mie mó bra mie pamo wori mi.

Kemebagha politiki atu dou mé angé bira tu wa ake kemeawou mó ogbo ama né kemebagha bra ake a yoro werimi yibo koko mó yo mé “kemeawou bo see zozona wori alagba bo koro mó baa kemeawou nana werimi kuro bo di dubamo baa akpo see / ibe bo see zozona weri ake kori miye na weri ake miye yi suwo wori akpo yibo zuwo mó bra mie ke ebi méné (Kelly, 1992:76). Ake mé keme bo gbolomo mé, ane Tolsay, Gandhi, abdu Ghaffar Khan, mó Martin Luther King, Jr., erearau Petra Kelly mé, kemeawou mé bólou duwo mume akoriekiye méné kemeama né me kemebagha bra ake akpo dei mo bra mé twentieth century bulu mé (Kelly 1989; 1992; 1994; Parkin 1994).

### **Kemebagha mó keni suwei mó zozona weri biyegbo yi ama mie buomo**

Koro ake kemeawou pere weri mi yi me ane soo fa bra ake kemeawou du wo mu akpo see biyegbo yi bo mie buomo. Keme ondo koko o, keme tobou mie ebi mó, kemetobou eyerin kuro di duba mo o, kemetobou yoro wori mi embá Sara yi ama o, baa zéne kemetobou timi ebi mo mó yo. Ama ke timi kpo, zozona kenisuweimo wori woni yain see numu amiyein bein mo a fa. Ese mé bo tiye dá bá diye mo ke diyemo mene, eseфа mé zozona keni ke suwei mó méné.

Ane doni kemebagha politiki atu dou mé ekpange bo see ere o owei yo, duwo boyo eyerin buo, ogbo ama, dirimo o pi na otu bo see zozona keni suweimo yi bo see mie ke keremene. Anème kemeba kemebagha baa keme kpo pere ba gha. Ekpange bo see zozona wori kenisuweimo zozonaghá yóó ama kori pele mé ebi akje omi yein dein méné (Fisher and Ury 1981; Burton 1996). Kemebagha politiki atu dou lelei werimi yibo, génédee oloo ama né kemeawou eyerin buwo ama ne kemeawou eyerin buwo

bo a biyegbo a fa yai ke lelei werimi; kemeawou bo buwo mo disé yi mie, dise karibuwo asuwo, dise fun egberi gee ba ere pamo, dise keme sele ogbo asuwo (Finer 1997; Goldman 1990). Embigede mō kemekori otu ake kuro bra ese mie pamo mēne bra bo see dei mēne.

Kemebagha maa ake yi dimo emi bra mē kemeawou doumēnē yibo mie bein mō ayo kē akpo ma esebo miepamo mēnē, beke ibe bōnē kesi bra ake keme sele nānā werimi yōbō kpo. United States kpo:ese mō zozōba kpo waribo mō sukulu waribo kpo apamene; kalapesi bo ese mie ogbo bo asuwo, kememie ese dou apili bo bou, baa dii tuwa mene; gometi kpo di dubamogha yō kpo pamene; kemeawou bo koromo wēri embigede fou bo kē tuwa. Zuwa otu oi oru diyemo maa anga oya, fiyai kpo ere fē ya, dōun yō bō mō wari kpo fa, fun kpo la tolumogha, wari bo kpo wāsā mēnē, toru kuro furu kpo pamene; ere mō owei mō ake bebe bra mie, duwo oru ama ake bebe bra mie; oi oru diye mo maa anga bōq tebe pērē.

Ibe bōnē gōmō bra ake keme sele yi miegha ibe bo bā sei kpo sei dein emi. esebo pāpā kē emi; zozoba, oyamo, keme sele doni zozoba, keme ekpudu kpo ake keni efiye a ba mene, zozo esisimo, embigede mō keme kori otu ake keme esisimo, doumene yibo akē kēmēbō oyamo.

Me kemeba mene pābō di daba, kemebagha pame yibo mie bein mō mē ebi dein mene, kēmē tōbōu o wāri yo bā akpō see, kpo.

## Chapter 5

Sonron karamo koro goyo

### Biyegbo miebuomomene bulu apamene yiama

Ekpange ama mo ogbo ama ne orukumo woo numu wérimi yai bo buomo da zeng ekpange ama ne numu kemeawou kori bolou amu mene yai ama emi bra me omene mu kori ekiye ya.

Alexis de Tocqueville

Biyegbo yiama ne me akpo ma kemetobou ondo esisimo mene yi bo kemese ke amie pamo wérimi, baa kemese ke gbolo emi, baa kekesee ke numu weni a dei mene.

Petra K. Kelly

**M**e kemebagha pame ake yibo see mie mene me, te pa ogbo ama baa te pa ekpange ama ka ake kori weni mene yain? Kemeawou dou mene yi pa bo ke, ogbo ama mo ekpange ama ne ake bisé doumene biyegbo yibo mie bein mo mene. Kemeawou nana worimi bibirin biye bo di daba, zuwa otu oyeinkari mene (Church) zuwa otu ba awusa otu oyeinkari mene wari ka kari mene (Mosque). Politiki yi koro de se, keme otu politiki ogbo mie pamo mene, keme sele yi mie pamo mene, oloo mie wari mie pamo mene.

Kemeawou eyerin buobo mie keremo mene me keme kori otu mie pamo mene, ogulawari mie pamo mene ba ikoli wari ama kpo mie pamo mene. Sqo bulu me, ake sqo dou mo pa, ogbo, beni yo agono o mie pamo mene. Sele mie pamo ake ibe kori weni ba embigede gbolomo mo yo me gometi beke fere ama mie pamo mene (Finer 1997:16-17, 20-21), Prince Henry ake akpo see you yoro me fifteenth century, me yi ekiye bra ama bira weni fere tolumo mo fiya emi baa kemetobou agono ma atoniye ma mu gbana efiye me twentieth century Apollo fere pamo.

Me kemebagha pame ake yi bo see mie mene aba te pa ogbo ama mo ekpange ama ka ake kori weni mene yain? Ogbo pa bo kemebagha keme ama ke akori wonimo mene. Kemebagha politiki atu dou kpo kemebagha otu ke numu kor weni mene.

#### Kemebagha ekpangeama ne politiki atu dou bulu emi yai

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Politiki tolumo yime ekpange ekpange keemi, ane yan bekpo, numu aya kemebagha ekpange mie pamo mene. Omene numu kemeba yi pa bo see pelemo mene. Awou amane opu sukulu wari bo amu politiki tolumo mene otu bo see kemebagha pa ka ake atolumomene (Boorstin 1983; 1992; 1998), Finer 1997, Josephson 1985). Kemebagha tolumo yi kpo anumu duba dein kule bo fee mene. Kala ama bo da wori wenimomene kemebo mo zene yi goo wéri mi keme bo see kon bo kori weni mo mene.

### **Dubadein fun tolumo wari (A University shanti sena -peace corps)**

Kemebagha akpoasuwo mene me, opu sukulu wari bo a numu kemebagha pa ake sukulu awou ekpu du tolumo mene. Shanty sena me ane keme ekpu ne tolumo weri ake kemebagha pa ake kemeotu zozonagha kori pelemo mene, baa ama bo doo timi mo bra di mene kemeama. Shanty sena numu tgin ake opu sukulu wari bulu o tiri yo apa mene dono mo sooo mo kori pele mene. Gometi ake embigede bulu atu wa mene sele bo ake numu me Shanti sena bo mie ebi mo mene. Aya opu sukulu a suwo de keme see numu Shanti sena bra tolumo mene. Me shanti sena fere mie pamo de kemebo toru me, ane fun akuran (Professor) tuwa de owei, N. Radhakrishnan Gandhi Rural University India maa mie de owei me (Radhakrishnan 19997a; 1997b). Tolumo yi ne, ane Khudai Khidmatgars (servants of God) ake yi tolumo paa me, ane 1930-47 kurai bo, keme nein a sii egbuwa kuro esedou kemeba. Bra ake yi mie yan strong nonviolent Muslim Liberation army, India. (Banerjee 2000:73-102), baa Kingian movement for non-violent social change (Lafayette and Jehnson 1995; 1996) ba wai zene esedou gha bra tolumo yi nana wori mi pa ama (War Resisters League 1989).

### **Kemebagha opu sukulu (fun) tolumo wari ama**

Kemebe akpoo duwo dei mu ake kemebagha akpo la mene me keni kpei kpei tolumo yi ekpange duwo bogha fa. Social Sciences, natural sciences, humanities mo professions a see ke beni mo mene. Mee opu fun tolumo wari bo tebebiri ama beni mo weri kemebe soo dou yi ama zene efiye bo a mie pamo de. ane doni numu bise tebebiri bo ake kemebagha bra mie pamo mo bra numu mie mene. (Harvard magazine, September-October 1995) cover 32, 43).

Opu fun tolumo wari bo, aya ye o oru ye o mie da sooo o baa kemebe mene pa bo see mie buo mo mo bra mie yain baa? tolumo yiama mie da kemebagha akpo me bolou ma paa mene yo me eyi la emi.

### **Kemebagha politiki ogbo ama**

Kemebagha politiki atu dou me ane kemebagha politiki ogbo ama ne suwei mo keme otu abiyebo mene yibo mie ake ane-ebimo. Keni ere ne ake me ogbo bo tein mene ere ane ahimsa sarvodaya party. (Ahimsa, nonviolence – ese fa; sarvodaya, well-being of all - keme see mie ebimo). Me ogbo bo kesi ere, kesi kori weni buo, ba keme eyerin bra mo emi tiye kiri bo ke di ogbo bo kori weni mene.

Kemebagha politiki ogbo bo ekiye weni mene yo me mie da ibe bulu mo akpo see kemebagha akpo ke eyerin mene. Amene zene buo de ogbo ama bra ne keni otu ba duba ake koo otu dein weri mi bra mie yan fa.

Kemebagha politiki ogbo ake yi dimo weri mi bra me Gandhi akemo bra fa. Gandhi December 1947 ma gba ake ese dou gha fere weni otu bo diya mo, amene politiki asuwo kumo politiki tei me keme gbale mene doni (collected works 90:233-4). Kemebagha ogbo bo amene kemesele yibo mie ebi mo mene, ba ibe bo kesi yiama ton mene. Esedougha fere weni otu bo amene gometi beke fere bo asuwo da sele weri a da weni mene kemebo Mie ebi yiama tan mie mene. Me kemebagha yi numu ekifyou me ake ebi fere kori mie ba gesi yiama kori ton kemebo biyegbo yibo mie buomo mene.

### **Gometi fere yo ekpange ama ne kemebagha bra ake kemesee odubo bo gba mene**

Gometi fere yo ekpange ama ne kemebagha bra ake kemesee odubo bo gba mene ekpange bo ake egede gometi mo ba kala ba opu tebe gometi mo anana mene. Ane weni mene fere me, kemeawou timi bo amene mu dii ba ake kemebagha bra gbolomo mene, tolumo pa ama ne ane da keme kemebagha fa ba kemebagha efiye duwo mu ama ake kemebo telemo mo bra mie pamo mene, baa amene gesi orodo yiama ake gometi tolumo mene.

Me esedougha ekpange bo amene sɔnɔni ese mie pamo mene yi bo see gee pamo ba ake mie da buo mene bra bo see mie pamo ake gometi mo pa fere yo otubo pere mene. Ameng efiye bo see pamene yibo gee ba ake mie da kemebagha bra ake yi bo see mie mu bra ake gometi mo gometi atu duwo mene otu bo di ya mene. biyegbo yibo ne a dii mene yaibo: keme kemeba mo di tuwa; wari bulu ese (awou, ere ama, tamo yeimo, wari okosi otu); sukulu wari ese; fere weni yo ese; seiyai mie ogbo; kemekori otu ese; ikoli wari ese; fun a zozo gee ese; bauntei bulu apamene ese; tubotuwa ese; alagba sibe embigede mo alagba sibeya embigede mo bira soo bulu ese ama baa keme otu fee kemeba bulu anana mene oya ama, binaotu a pere ba de bra ba akpo mie zigbei zigbei.

#### **Kemebagha bra ake kemebo koko mo ogbo ama**

Embigede mo keme kori otu ake kemebo koko mene bra buo mo da, kemebagha pa ake kemebo koko mo bra me, ane ake kemebagha akpo nana mo bra.

Me ogbop bo tolumo weri mi see, ese pa a fa bra ba ese pada aba ake mie mo bra bo ake a tolumo mene. Bolou bolou embigede mo kemekori otu tolumo bra bo ake kemebagha ogbo bo tolumo mene. Shanty sena opu fun wari bo ake numu bolou da mene. Me ogbo tɔru bo sukulu wari bomo, oyein kari yo bo ba fere weni yo bo kpo numu mie pamo mene. Kemebagha akpo di ya mo yi bo keme ekpudu ake keni efiye aba soo dou yi see ba fa, embigede kpo ba kokogha, keme yi mie seimo daba keme oya mo bra ake amomo mie afa, alagba mo soo dou yi fou ba you a fa. Orukumo kemeba pa ake kemeotu tolumo bra ogbo bo koromo da, kemebagha tolumo ogbo ake a dei mene.

#### **Kemebagha bra kesi doo akpo dou mene ogbo ama**

Akpo me bo ake kemebagha bra eyerin mene me, kemebagha bra kesi doo dou mene ogbo ama mie pamo ke ebi mene. Bo ogbo bo tɔru akpo ma pa de da mo kpo gerede yai dawai pamo me ebi ake omie mene.

#### **Kemebagha bra ebimi dou mene teme anga fere weni otu**

Kemebagha bra ebimi dou mene teme anga fere woni otu kemeawou kemebagha akpo eyerin mu bra yi la emi. Amene numu kemebagha bra yi la emi bra me ake kemeawou bo mie numu mo mene. Ani ke kemeba me ake akpo see duwo seri mene.

#### **Kemebagha bra tolumo yi nana wori mi ogbo ama**

Kemebagha bra tolumo yi nana wori mi ogbo yi la emi. Amene kemebagha bra mie pamo kemebagha bra mie pamo mo bra bo see ake numu kemebomo, gometi mo tolumo wori kesi bra mie mene anike kemebagha akpo mie pamo mene.

Zene ogbo ama numu kemebagha akpo mie pamo mene ogbo bone akpo me emi yaibo, dii diya UNPO Unrepresentd Nations and Peoples Organization, Amnesty International, Green Peace, baa Internationall Fellowship of Reconciliation.

UNPO amene kemeawou tuwa mo ake mie mo yi bo ton mené. Amene numu Sara ne kemeba pa diya wéri mi baa bi yegbo epkange bo see mie buo mo mene.

Kemebagha bra ebi mi bra ake kemeotu tolumo mene ogbobo mo, kemebagha bra ebi mi bra atu dou mene ogbobo mo, kemebagha me ebimi bra ake dumo bra tun mene yo ama mie pamo, kemebagha bra ake egberi gba pamo mene bra, kemebagha bra ebimi bra ake ekpekpe gbolo timi kemebo ne fede yai bo teme yo atiyemo da keme awou bo kori ekiye mo bra mie pamo, baa kemebagha bra ake fou you tubo tuwa mo bra ogbo bo see mie pamo, baa akpo see ese fa bra ake ekpekpe gbolo mo yo ama mo ogbo ama mie pamo. Yila dein mi yi me politiki atu dou mene kemebo mo keni keme see akpo see ese timikumo e bra ake ekpekpe gbolo mo bra mie anike kemebagha akpo pamene.

## Chapter 6

Sondiye karamo koro goyo

# Kemebagha akpo politiki atu dou ane kemebagha bra ake kemeotu da atu dou tolumo yi

Omeng aya akpo aya yi mie efiye ke ladei. Oru efiye yi mie bra bo ba tebekorigha. Omene mie bra bo see aya ekiye yiama, aya ekiyou tuwa mene, aya yi mie bra nana mene. Omene ese dou keme bra dan kuro bide koun omene soou dou yiama teri weri mene bra bulu duwo serimene.

General Douglas MacArthur.

Keme tobou ekiyou tuwa dubamo weri ba ake mie da orubai ese dou mo yi seimo agiyore pele sin mene.

Martin Luther King Jr.

Buo de yibo dida ba kesi egberime, kemetobou numu dou mene yi la ake mene me omene ifiye akoromu ifiye la see numu geleku mie da pa afa yibo ka tuduwo.

Max Weber.

Omene enein akoromu enein la see buo de bai bo a numu pamo fiyagha yibo see me enein ma pamene.

Mohandas K. Gandhi

## Duo ake kemebagha bratebe laamu owou, ane zozobagha akpo pamo bra me

**K**emeawou bo la dei efiye me ane kemeba me ake biyegbo yi ake mo da mie buomo bra dou, kemeba kori ake weri ondumoghafa. Me keni bo keni bo, ekpuду ekpuду ba alagba ake keme ekpuду ba me bo ake di di ya ang o baa ladei. Kemeba me keme otu mie ebimo mo bra diya, wai keme otu ke oyamo, keme otu ke esisimo, baa akpo see timi pamo bra ke esisimo mene. Kemeawou mene oya me ane Kemeowei Craig Comstock ere weri mi bra ke emi. "Pathology of defence", ane kemeawou ake ang o di weri mi yibo wai mo ang o ke baa mene (Comstock 1971).

Wari bulu ake ang o di weri mi alagba wai wari bulu kemeba mene, ibe da otu ake ang o lee weri mi otu wai abaa mene, embiged otu wai oloo bo seimo weri kemeotu bo wai oyamo mene, a foro soou dou yi ne mie pamo weri mi yi me wai mo dou pamo otu bo mo nana weri mi otu bo esisimo mene. Ano doni kemebagha bra tebe nana mo yo gba pamo me ebi ake omo akpo mo pere mene, ane wo dou mene yi me, esedou bra ake akpo eyerin me ebi bra ka esomo koromo dei, kemeotu nana weri mi yi seimo baa keme otu enimimo dei. Kurai oi buo de efiye French dei dou mene otu bo amene bideama gee mo "keme see gbasii yee" America ibe dei dou otu bo ba kemeba ka ake kemeotu zuwo mene. Russia mo Chinese otu bo ba kemeba ka ake keme otu gbasii ke emi yee bra mie

pa mo mene. Kurai oi buo d<sub>e</sub> efiye kemeba ka ake doo mie pamo timo. M<sub>e</sub> bere ma tolumo m<sub>o</sub> yi m<sub>e</sub> gesi bratebe nana, keme<sub>ee</sub> gbasii ba keme<sub>ee</sub> binaotu bra m<sub>e</sub> numu pa mene m<sub>e</sub> akpo ma keme<sub>ba</sub> yibo see sou seri. Keme endagbudu ne ebi m<sub>o</sub> sei bulu mo apere ba weri timi you mene kemebo omie ake tolumo yi nana mene.

Ane tum<sub>e</sub> kemeba m<sub>e</sub> ebigha ke diya mo w<sub>erim</sub>i, ane aya kemeotu da pame yi la emi. M<sub>e</sub> yime emi bra m<sub>e</sub> di diya dou<sub>n</sub> zuo bulu eno bebe a oma pamene bibirin bi ye kon gbein t<sub>ai</sub>ngbe ye bra kemi. Greek dou<sub>n</sub> zuo owei, Galen (c130-c200) zowa Egbuwa m<sub>o</sub> sii oi sonron a sii kurai buo d<sub>e</sub> efiye gbad<sub>e</sub> bra oma eno bubamene lei lei oyein ake mie w<sub>erim</sub> mi bra m<sub>e</sub>. M<sub>e</sub> bulu ka keme<sub>ee</sub> owei Lister 1867 og<sub>ee</sub> w<sub>erim</sub> mi fun (Lancet paper) m<sub>a</sub> "diri n<sub>e</sub>" ake ang<sub>o</sub> puu d<sub>a</sub> eno zuwo m<sub>e</sub> n<sub>e</sub> diri mie pamo m<sub>o</sub>". Diri m<sub>e</sub> "anticeptic" ke tein mene (Ackerknecht 1982:77; Garrisou 1929:116; 589-90). Ane keni bra bo keme<sub>ba</sub> me ebitimi ake yibo mie m<sub>e</sub> bra ba ake kemeotuda pa me keme<sub>ee</sub> ang<sub>o</sub> eno oma pa ye bra kemi. Beke otu "laudable pus theory" ke tein m<sub>e</sub> politiki atu dou tolumo yi m<sub>e</sub>. Kemeotu da bra atu dou kemebo ne ane ondo see ake kemeotu kuro nana weri kemeotu da bra tolumo mene keme bo numu atimi m<sub>e</sub> war<sub>i</sub> duwo mu akpo see apamene so<sub>n</sub> bo mie da pele m<sub>o</sub> bra dou aba, ibe da otu m<sub>o</sub> adamene otubo zene mie m<sub>o</sub> bra fa. Ani kpo ibe da otu m<sub>o</sub> ada mene otu bo zozoba me ebigha bra yi am<sub>a</sub> mie de. Ake ton m<sub>o</sub> m<sub>o</sub> yi m<sub>e</sub> 1895 kurai m<sub>e</sub> Russia m<sub>a</sub> sonomo Egbuwa pacifist peasant Doukhobors embigede dou a doni "soo dou yi am<sub>a</sub> eyounmo m<sub>o</sub>" (Tarasoff 1995; 8-10).

Kemeama ne zozoba ka ke kemeotu da m<sub>o</sub> ba zozobagha ka ke kem otu da okolo m<sub>e</sub> ebi bra ka finimi. Sii foni karamo kurai sonron a -sii efiye m<sub>e</sub> kemeotu zozobagha yo m<sub>a</sub> bolou d<sub>a</sub> de. Bo kemebo ane Tolstoy, Gandhi, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Martin Luther King Jr., m<sub>o</sub> Petra Kelly. Zene otu ne ba kori bolou a mu otubo ane Dalai Lama, Aung san suu kyi, m<sub>o</sub> Desmond Tutu.

### **Gee koromo werimi kemebagha akpo mie pamo m<sub>o</sub> yi bo**

Gee koromo werimi yibo diya amene zozobagha akpo eyerin numu pa mene, ake yi tolumo bra bo dei yo mie dei see. Zozobagha pamo yo m<sub>e</sub> sonomo ayi ka tekele emi. Bin keme awou am<sub>a</sub> kemebagha. Bin kemeama oyein fere weni bulu doni kemebagha teme nana werimi. Eyi atu dou tolumo yi kpo kemebagha akpo mie pamo m<sub>o</sub> yi am<sub>a</sub> mie pamo de. Zowa ibe ama ne orukumo mie timi bra buo mo da mimi m<sub>e</sub> babo m<sub>o</sub> babo m<sub>o</sub> oloko bo kon sin m<sub>e</sub> ba embigede ake bolou d<sub>a</sub> yo kpo ebigha bra mie pamo de. Ogbo am<sub>a</sub> ne zozobagha bra ka ke weni m<sub>o</sub> ogbo am<sub>a</sub> kpo pade. Kemebagha pa ka ke bira tebe nana m<sub>e</sub> kuro ake esedou zozoba dein werimi. Akpo pa duo bo m<sub>e</sub>, kemeawou zozoba dou gha lelei numu dou eri mene. Ane doni zozoba akpo duo dei mu Zozobagha akpo pamene, omene kemeama ne, ere yo owei yo buo d<sub>e</sub> efiye ma zozoba m<sub>e</sub> ebigha bra gba baa mie da kemebagha akpo pa dou mene otu bo kori ton la emi.

### **Kemeotu da (politiki) atu dou gbolo emi yo m<sub>e</sub>**

Bibirin werimi yime, keme awou numu zozoba m<sub>e</sub> baa numu zozoba kpo bagha fa. Bin otu na kemebagha baa ogbo am<sub>a</sub> zozoba m<sub>e</sub> ebigha bra ake kori weni mene ogbo am<sub>a</sub> kpo akpoma pa emi. Kemeawou tolumo yibo ladei bra m<sub>e</sub> numu keme<sub>ba</sub> mie pamo m<sub>e</sub> yibo kon sin baa numu mie pamo, ani ke zozobagha akpo mie pamo m<sub>e</sub>. Mee agono anga m<sub>a</sub> ere weri mi yi bo di dab<sub>a</sub> zozoba ekiye m<sub>o</sub> yi ka ke keme otu da tolumo yi a weri m<sub>o</sub> yo m<sub>e</sub> eyi la kagh<sub>a</sub>. Ani doni zozoba baa zozoba bulu duo

pamē oya bo kā kē tolumo yi suwo ee ake ya fa yo me gbasee emi. Kemeotu da pa atu dou tolumo yi mō baa zēnē tolumo yi āma mo ake kēni gbolo mō dā bā numu buo de efiye kēmē otu numu wērimi zozobagha brā bo mō mimi mā lelei wērimi zozobagha mie pāmo mo bra bo gbolomo dāba mēe bolou mē kēmēbagha akpo eyerin buo mie pāmo mēne. Mē pa me ake bra tudou, keme ama tolumo baa ake gometi see yo a mie dā bā kēmēbagha eyerin buo numu pāmenē.

Tebe yibo ne ake keni suwo mō dā zozobagha akpo pā mo yibo bo amēne. Spirit ( $S_1$ ) ane kari buo ama ne keme zozo bakumo bibirin wērimi, science ( $S_2$ ) ane yi atu dou numu yi ekpange ama nē ekiyou bo ake zozoba mie pāmo mēne yi bo mō baa mie da kēmē bā zozobagha fā brā yo bo a wēri mi. Skill ( $S_3$ ) ane kēnibo ba kēmē ekpudu dēe wēri ake mē tēmē anga mo yi ātu dōu pāmo ake akpo dei kēmēbagha pā amu mēne. Song ( $S_4$ ) ane zozo bagha mē ake dumo bra tun. Bo nein ayi bo ake keni gbolo mō daba, baa democratic leadership (L) ane bin dein anga seleweri ake āda mo bra, citizen competence (C) angē kemeawou bo nana werimi eyoin mē, implementing institutions (I) ane kori weri mēne ogbo bo baa Supporting Resources (R) ane ake gbolo mō mēne nāna werimi yibo. Boyibo see ake kenigbolomo mō bra me eyila emi" Beke ma kilo gba maaabā:  $S^4 \times LCIR = NonKilling Global Transformation$ .

### Ake mie mo ekiyou mo tudou bra

Zozoba bulu a femēne oya me neinyan ekiye yi ne kēmēotu dā tolumo yi bulu a dōu eri ake kēmēba duwo mu kēmē ekpudu akeni efiye aba baa aforo siemo dā akpo see kēmē ōndo seri sin mo yo pele mō bra. Kēmēotu da bra tolumo yi ekiye tēmē me anē zozoba duo mu bira tuwa ake biyegbo yibo mie buomo. Anē tume zozoba mie pāmo mēne yibo atunumu; zozobagha fā mie pāmo mēne yibo atunumu; dei ake kēmēba duo mu kēmēbagha yibo amu kubo mēne yibo atunumu; baa kēmēbagha duo mu kēmēba; baa wāi zozobagha akpo lelei bo numu mō bra. Mē numu yi me omie kēmēba sāra ma kēmēbagha pā mie pāmo mēne. Funnel (sāra) of lethality: neuro – biological, structural, cultural, socialization, and killing zones.

### Eyi tolumo mo dēmo fiyai emi yi tolumo

Me zozobagha eyerin buo mie pāmo bā kori weni mō yo me, zozobagha brā ake biyegbo yibo mie buo mō mēne bra ake kēmēotu da pā tolumo mēne otubo tolumo fiy emi. Zozoba mēne bulu apa mene oya bodi dāba baa ebi ne zozobagha bulu a femēne ebi di dāba, mie dā kēmēbagha pā bo ake fun tolumo yi mie, anē zozoba mie pāmo mēne yibo mō zozobagha fā mie pāmo mēne yibo baa kēmēba duwo mu kēmēbagha la mō bra bomō baa kēmēbagha akpo lelei mō ake kēmēotu da mō tolumo mēne otubo see tolumo da ba anī kē kēmēawou biyegbo yibo numu sāramō mie bein mō mēne. Opu fun wāri kpo numu bōlōu mō māa mu kārāmō, tāru kārā mō kule goo mēne otu kēmēbagha pā ake atolumo wēri, ani kē me zozobagha pā me ake kēmēawou biyegbo yibo mie bein mō mēne baa zozobagha akpo mie pāmo mēne.

### Biyegbo yiamā mie buomo mēne

Biyegbo mēne yibo pā pā kē emi keme tobou eyerin buo di daba. Akpo me sonron eyila biyegbo yiamā emi: esedou mō soō dou yibo koromo mō bra, fōu you bo see bāmēne bulu, kēmēawou nāna mō fiyai emi kuro bo see seimo mēne, oyein tēmē koro

mo weri kemeawou yorou weri mi yibo kure mene bra, baa keni suwei mo weri kemeawou biyegbo mene yi bo mie buo mo abra. Bo bo see kemebamene pa ama. Keni tuwa bebe ne emi ye me "kere bra ake yi mie yan efiye see keme otu doo teme nana a fa" – tumé esedou mo sooo mo ka ke keregha bulu yi dei mene. Zozobagha anga duwo di da ba tuwa bebe ne emi ye me "zozobagha timighaba kere bra yi mie kpo pagha fa". Zozoba mo kemeba esisimo mo keregha bra yi me seri mo pamo mene. keregha bra ake ere ama otu mie mene bra me Petra Kelly eri bra toru me: "yibo see ake owei owei ke mie mo dein emi bra me orukumo oloo bo kpo atuwa werimi ba wai zuwa efiye owei kpo ake ese mie pa mo meng" (Kelly 1994:15).

Kemebagha bra ake kemeotu da tolumo yi ka ke botebé kemeotu biyegbo yibo mie buomo mene abe yo afa. Ani ke ani yan be kpo omene numu kemesee dou mene yo mie bein mo dein mene (Goldman 1990).

### Ogbo bo

Ogbo ama mie pamo weri ake zozobagha tolumo yi mo biyegbo yibo mie buo mo ogboama eyi la emi. Bisé ogbo bo orukumo yai yoo aya politiki atu dou ekpange yoo baa fun warí bulu tolumo ekpange yoo tiri yoo, baa opu fun warí atimi keme ekpudu tolumo weri dongo mene keme ekpudu mie zozona mo ogbo o eyi la emi. Koo yai bo baa gometi kemebagha yi ton ogboama o, kemebagha sooo kori pele ogboama o, zozobagha politiki ogbo ama o a see eyi la emi. Me ogbo bo mie kuro mo werimi efiye see numu akpo ma kemeba yi kon sin mene baa numu kemeotu mie kemebagha politiki atu numu deinmene.

### Gbiriki gbiriki yi ama mo ake mie mo bra teme

Me kurai sonron a-sii , sii keni foni karamo (21<sup>st</sup> century) ye me koro ake kemeotu mo ibe da bra tolumo mene otu pere werimi yi me ane mie da zozobagha akpo mie pamo mo bra. Me gbamene yi me ane o diseyo o diseyá o eyi la dein mi yi me. Eyilaghá abe weriya, politiki atu dou otu kemeama oya femene abe kpo ake yi miegha timo. Hitler kemeenda gbudu ake keni efiye aba timi bra (Hitler's holocaust) mo kemeama ondo nana (Ganghi's Satyagraha) ake bebe bra diya timo. Orukumo kemebatimi bra doni, kemeba pelemo yo me kuro emi da zozo ba pelemogha efiye see kemeotu numu gomoo bira tebe nanagha fa.

Wa bin otu ekpe ka biri bein mene; zuwa furu ka biri bein mene zuwa keme enini mo ka fiyai femene, zuwa ibe daotu kemebo esisimo bra ka ake ane tuduo otubo kori wenimo mene. Ani doni dei ake kemebagha akpo lamo yo me kuro emi. Eyilaemi yoo see keme see ba politiki tolumo mene kemebo bibirin kuro mo werimi see kemebagha akpo numu mie me bolou ma pamo mene. General Douglas Mac Arthur America embigede sooo olotu 1955 kurai me ere ake American legion pere mo. Omu mene sooo abe yi see pelemo sisei ke omene mu kon ake America Otubo tekemo. Me ere bebe kpo teme ake dei ake zozobagha kemeotuda pa tolumo yo laa mene

keme numu gbamene orukumo see kemeotu sooo abe yi see pelemo ee dou mene da, pelemo mo yo me numu pamo yo tamana mene. Zuwa sooo dou yi ama mimi me keni efiye ke tein kpo akpo see ke ake keni efiye a famo mene. Kemeotu mimi me aya bra ka eyi ekiye ladei. Akpo see ekiye mene yo me kemebagha yo ke lamo fiya dei. Oru efiye yi bra bo pelemo ladei. Kemesee aya bra ka eyi ekiye ladei. Keni bra ka ake eyi mie timi bra bo apei pa ladei (Cousins 1987:67-9).

French ibe ma pa dei aforo efiye me, America keni efiye embigede tebeowei baa me tuko United states ibe da owei President Dwight D. Eisenhower omene gbamu soo me kemeotu doo timi mu yo sei mo mene, kemeotu bina yo kpo sei mo mene baa kemeotu bra gbase yo kpo seimo mene. Kemesee doo weni mo yome: “omene yi see ake tei kumo ee” (Farewell Address, January 17, 1961). Kemeotu fou you bra gbasee mo yo me: “soo dou yi ne teme baa fei ke fei kpo diya mo amene ake kemeawou bo ne fiyai eri fegha moun kori mene otubo ke furu mene, edidi kori mene da bide eri tugha kemebo ke furu men “(speech to American Society of Newspaper Editors, April 16, 1953). Kemeotu bina gbolomo yo me: “kemeotu doo akpo ke dou mene ani doni gometi me doo akpo ke kon apere ladei” (BBC TV Interview, August 31, 1959).

December 4, 1996 kurai me ere ake National Press Club Washinton D.C. me, keni efiye afono soo dou olotu gbamu-aforo soo dou yibo see America mu pelemo ee. Ani General George Lee Butler. Omumene America boloudi pelemogha efiye see amene kpo numu akpo ma zene ibe otu beda aforo soo yibo see seimo bra numu miegha fa. Swords into plowshares movement ogbo otubo dou mene bra mee aforo soo dou yi see seimo ee ani me soo dou olotu kpo kuro mo weri mi yi me. Me soo dou olotu bo kpo soo abe yi see eri dougha ba ama akpo zozoba yo pelemo mo yo me kere ke emi. Keni a siya tobou America ma gbamu, omene ake Tennessee ma pa esomo tein zozo tein soo di daba, soo abe yi see pele mo ke fiya emi, ani young Union Soldier John W. Burgess.

Embibo eneintoru bra fiye timi bra bo di efiye me emene bo ekiyou tuwa mo, oyein keme tobou ake omene bra teme werimi doni, yine keme tobou ondo koko mo yisee emene kpo suwo mene (Burgess 1934: 28).

Kemeowei Baa fun akuran tuwa owei professor Burgess, doo akpo pamo yo doni Germany ibe amu fun tolumo weri bo Columbia College New York ma 1880 kurai ma bo kemeotu da tolumo bra yi sukulu bo finimo. Professor Burgess mene zozoba kon sin mene yo me bin gbiriki gbiriki yo ama ke duobo mene. Ane doni kuro bibirin biye mo baa akpo see zozona weri weni mo bra ka ake mie pamo mene. Omumene kemeotu ama ne doo akpo doumene otubo kemeotu ake ekpe mo suu otu ke ake mo werimi, ani omene United States Akpo see bolou karamo soo ma suwo dou efiye me.

Gandhi “mene kemetobou see doo teme nana, kesi yimie ba toru kuro bra ka ake yimie, ani wo ake yimie mo fiya emi bra me”. Mexico me Bee civil society teinmene ogbo seri zapa tista embigede ama mo soo dou yi sibeya bra soo. Amumene Baibolo (Bible) kpo gbawerimi zozoba kumo ee ani doni akumo akumo binaotu doni zozobagha fa ee (Peace News, July 1998: 13, 14).

Kemeawou eyerin buo tolumo otu Clayton mo Carole Robarchek (1998), gbamu bra me, Waorani kemebo ne Ecuador me emi yaibo 1958 kurai me ebibra ka zozoba yo eyerimo mo. Akpome amenekpo ebibra ka zozoba timo. Ani oyein kari erebo maa keme ne me kemeba pelemo dou otubo ba bulu me Waorani erebo serimo, church bo kpo seri ebibra oyein karimo. Church buogha erebo kpo serimo. “Kemetobou numu eyi ekiye bra ake yimie mene, Teme werimi yi ne bede bra mieye gbada mie mene bra fa” (1998:4).

Waorani otu mie bra me na lagha, akposee ba politiki atu dou tolumo mene otubo see bira finimo da akpoma zozoba pelemo.

### Akposee eyi la dein emi yi me

Kemebagha (zozobagha) bra kemeotu da pa tolumo yi me di dee akpo see ke gboldo mene. Teme anga o, tudou yo o, bira weni fere yo, tun dumo o, kori weni mo ogboama

mo ekpange ama o baa nana weri ake tuwa mie mo yibo see akpo see ke gbolo mene. Diidee akpo see kesi bra ka ake ani kemebo kori weni, baa kemeawou dou mene yibo mo buodon yibo mo mie apere mene. Diidee akpo see bibirin weri zozoba pelemo mene. Akposee keme ondo didubam̄o weri kemebagha bra ake ani akpobo mie ebimo mene. Yi tolumo mene keme see zozoba efife kon bo kunumo mo yo ke mie mene.

Zozobagha ekiyemoyi ne akpo ondo see laemi yi me ane zozoba pa ake kemeotu da pa tolumo yi duo mu zozobagha pa ne tarí konbo, ebi timi konbo baa buomo weri angó bulu emi ebi yiama mie pamo bra ke diya mo werimi.

Kemebagha (zozobagha) akpo eyerin numu paamene yan?

Akpo see zozobagha bra kemeotu da bra tolumo yi numu pa mene yan?

**HEIN YEEE!**

## Appendix A

### International Political Science Association National Associations (1999)

Name	Year Founded (predecessor)	Members
African Association of Political Science	1974	1,360
Argentine Association of Political Analysis	1983 (1957)	180
Australasian Political Studies Association	1966 (1952)	425
Austrian Political Science Association	1979 (1951)	537
Flemish Political Science Association	1979 (1951)	450
Association Belge de Science Politique	1996 (1951)	125
Communauté Française de Belgique		
Brazilian Political Science Association	1952	*
Bulgarian Political Science Association	1973 (1968)	72
Canadian Political Science Association	1968 (1913)	1,200
Chilean Political Science Association	*	*
Chinese Association of Political Science	1980	1,025
Croatian Political Science Association	1966	50
Czech Political Science Association	1964	200
Danish Association of Political Science	1960	350
Finnish Political Science Association	1935	550
Association française de science politique	1949	1,030
German Political Science Association	1951	1,250
Hellenic Political Science Association	1957 (1951)	53
Hungarian Political Science Association	1982 (1968)	410
Indian Political Science Association	1935	1,600
Political Studies Association of Ireland	1982	247
Israel Political Science Association	1950	250
Italian Political Science Association	1975 (1952)	220
Japanese Political Science Association	1948	1,522
Korean Political Science Association	1953	1,700
Korean Association of Social Scientists	1979	1,465
Lithuania Political Science Association	1991	75
Mexican Political Science Association	*	*
Dutch Political Science Association	1966 (1950)	400
New Zealand Political Studies Association	1974	*
Nigerian Political Science Association	*	*
Norwegian Political Science Association	1956	400

Pakistan Political Science Association	1950	300
Philippine Political Science Association	1962	*
Polish Association of Political Science	1950	200
Romanian Association of Political Science	1968	188
Russian Political Science Association	1991 (1960)	300
Slovak Political Science Association	1990	115
Slovenian Political Science Association	1968	220
South African Political Studies Association	1973	186
Spanish Association of Political and Admin. Science	1993 (1958)	253
Swedish Political Science Association	1970	264
Swiss Political Science Association	1950	1,000
Chinese Association of Political Science (Taipei)	1932	350
Political Science Association of Thailand	*	*
Turkish Political Science Association	1964	120
Political Studies Association of the UK	1950	1,200
American Political Science Association	1903	13,300
Association of Political Science of Uzbekistan	*	*
Venezuelan Political Science Association	1974	*
Yugoslav Political Science Association	1954	*
<b>Total</b>		<b>35,142+</b>

\* Data not provided.

Source: *Participation* (1999) 23/3: 33-41. Bulletin of the International Political Science Association. Bulletin de l'association internationale de science politique

## **Appendix B**

### **International Political Science Association Fields of Inquiry (2009)**

#### **Main fields**

Area Studies  
Central Government  
Comparative Politics  
Developmental Politics  
Elections and Voting Behaviour  
International Law  
International Relations  
Judicial Systems and Behaviour  
Legislatures  
Local and Urban Politics  
Political Executives  
Political Parties  
Political Science Methods  
Political Theory and Philosophy  
Pressure Groups  
Public Administration  
Public Policy  
Women and Politics

#### **Research Committees**

RC01 - Concepts and Methods  
RC02 - Political Elites  
RC03 - European Unification  
RC04 - Public Bureaucracies in Developing Societies  
RC05 - Comparative Studies on Local Government and Politics  
RC06 - Political Sociology  
RC07 - Women, Politics and Developing Nations  
RC08 - Legislative Specialists  
RC09 - Comparative Judicial Systems  
RC10 - Electronic Democracy  
RC11 - Science and Politics  
RC12 - Biology and Politics  
RC13 - Democratization in Comparative Perspective  
RC14 - Politics and Ethnicity

- RC15 - Political and Cultural Geography
- RC16 - Socio-Political Pluralism
- RC17 - Globalization and Governance
- RC18 - Asian and Pacific Studies
- RC19 - Gender Politics and Policy
- RC20 - Political Finance and Political Corruption
- RC21 - Political Socialization and Education
- RC22 - Political Communication
- RC24 - Armed Forces and Society
- RC25 - Comparative Health Policy
- RC26 - Human Rights
- RC27 - Structure and Organization of Government
- RC28 - Comparative Federalism and Federation
- RC29 - Psycho-Politics
- RC31 - Political Philosophy
- RC32 - Public Policy and Administration
- RC33 - The Study of Political Science as a Discipline
- RC34 - Comparative Representation and Electoral Systems
- RC35 - Technology and Development
- RC36 - Political Power
- RC37 - Rethinking Political Development
- RC38 - Politics and Business
- RC39 - Welfare States and Developing Societies
- RC40 - New World Orders?
- RC41 - Geopolitics
- RC42 - System Integration of Divided Nations
- RC43 - Religion and Politics
- RC44 - Military's Role in Democratization
- RC45 - Quantitative International Politics
- RC46 - Global Environmental Change
- RC47 - Local-Global Relations
- RC48 - Administrative Culture
- RC49 - Socialism, Capitalism and Democracy
- RC50 - Language and Politics
- RC51 - Political Studies on Contemporary North Africa
- RC52 - Gender, Globalization & Democracy

Source: International Political Science Association, <http://www.ipsa.org> (2009).

## Appendix C

### American Political Science Association Fields of Inquiry (2008)

#### General fields (Members on APSA mailing list)

American Government	4,777
Comparative Politics	5,456
International Relations	4,812
Methodology	1,629
Political Philosophy and Theory	2,709
Public Administration	1,147
Public Law and Courts	1,383
Public Policy	2,883

#### Subfields (Members on mailing list)

Advanced Industrial Societies	336
Africa	443
African American Politics	264
Asian American Politics	64
Australia	26
Bureaucracy and Organizational Behavior	665
Caribbean	71
Central America	125
Central Asia	71
Civil Rights and Liberties	743
Conflict Processes	857
Congress	734
Constitutional Law and Theory	1,007
Criminal Justice	220
Declines to State	3
Defense	427
Developing Nations	902
East and Central Europe	437
Economic Policy	413
Education Policy	393
Electoral Behavior	905
Electoral Systems	557
Energy Policy	112
Environmental Policy	617
Ethnic and Racial Politics	847

Evaluation Research	131
Executive Politics	232
Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations	721
Feminist Theory	402
Foreign Policy	1,662
Gender Politics and Policy	443
Health Care Policy	283
Historical Political Thought	1,327
History and Politics	990
Housing Policy	56
Immigration Policy	262
International Law and Organizations	969
International Political Economy	1,162
International Security	1,463
Judicial politics	595
Labor Policy	123
Latino/a Politics	159
Leadership Studies	206
Legislative Studies	694
Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Politics	124
Life Sciences and Politics	84
Literature and Politics	263
Middle East	593
Native American Politics	48
NE Asia	560
Normative Political Theory	1,154
North America	122
Political Behavior	1,165
Political Communication	671
Political Development	585
Political Economy	1,380
Political Parties and Organizations	1,223
Political Psychology	728
Positive Political Theory	436
Post Soviet Region	415
Presidency	693
Public Finance and Budget	189
Public Opinion	910
Regulatory Policy	210
Religion and Politics	838
Research Methods	799
Science and Technology	294
SE Asia	202
Social Movements	654
Social Welfare Policy	454
South America	428

South Asia	189
State Politics	596
Trade Policy	130
Urban Politics	626
Western Europe	1,031
Women and Politics	648

### **Sections (Members on mailing list)**

Comparative Democratization	597
Comparative Politics	1,508
Conflict Processes	396
Elections, Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior	823
European Politics and Society	500
Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations	271
Foreign Policy	621
Foundations of Political Theory	715
Human Rights	381
Information Technology and Politics	265
International History and Politics	440
International Security and Arms Control	529
Law and Courts	809
Legislative Studies	594
New Political Science	478
Political Communication	470
Political Economy	653
Political Methodology	943
Political Organizations and Parties	562
Political Psychology	405
Politics and History	654
Politics and Literature, and Film	361
Presidency Research	385
Public Administration	534
Public Policy	981
Qualitative Methods	909
Race, Ethnicity and Politics	569
Religion and Politics	603
Representation and Electoral Systems	378
Science, Technology and Environmental Politics	325
State Politics and Policy	477
Undergraduate Education	468
Urban Politics	354
Women and Politics Research	637

Source: American Political Science Association, *Mailing Lists to Reach Political Scientists* (2008).



## Appendix D

### Religious Denominations of Conscientious Objectors in U.S. WW II Civilian Public Service Camps (Number of Members in CPS)

Advent Christian	3
African Methodist Episcopal	1
Ambassadors of Christ	1
Antinsky Church	1
Apostolic	2
Apostolic Christian Church	3
Apostolic Faith Movement	2
Assemblies of God	32
Assembly of Christians	1
Assembly of Jesus Christ	1
Associated Bible Students	36
Baptist, Northern	178
Baptist, Southern	45
Berean Church	1
Bible Students School	1
Body of Christ	1
Brethren Assembly	1
Broadway Tabernacle	1
Buddhist	1
Calvary Gospel Tabernacle	1
Catholic, Roman	149
Christadelphians	127
Christian Brethren	1
Christian Catholic Apostolic	1
Christian Convention	1
Christian Jew	1
Christian & Missionary Alliance	5
Christian Missionary Society	1
Christian Scientist	14
Christ's Church	1
Christ's Church of the Golden Rule	3
Christ's Followers	1
Christ's Sanctified Holy Church	2

Church (The)	1
Church of the Brethren	1,353
Church of Christ	199
Church of Christ Holiness	1
Church of Christian Fellowship	1
Church of England	1
Church of the First Born	11
Church of the Four Leaf Clover	1
Church of the Full Gospel, Inc.	1
Church of God of Abrahamic Faith	13
Church of God of Apostolic Faith	4
Church of God Assembly	1
Church of God in Christ	12
Church of God, Guthrie, Okla.	5
Church of God, Holiness	6
Church of God, Indiana	43
Church of God & Saints of Christ	12
Church of God, Sardis	1
Church of God, Seventh Day	21
Church of God, Tennessee (2 bodies)	7
Church of God (several bodies)	33
Church of the Gospel	1
Church of Jesus Christ	1
Church of Jesus Christ, Sullivan, Indiana	15
Church of Light	1
Church of the Living God	2
Church of the Lord Jesus Christ	1
Church of the Open Door	1
Church of the People	1
Church of Radiant Life	1
Church of Truth (New Thought)	1
Circle Mission (Father Divine)	10
Community Churches	12
Congregational Christian	209
Defenders	1
Disciples Assembly of Christians	1
Disciples of Christ	78
Dunkard Brethren	30
Doukhobor (Peace Progressive Society)	3
Elim Covenant Church	1
Emissaries of Divine Light	1
Episcopal	88
Essenes	5
Ethical Culture, Society of	3
Evangelical	50
Evangelical-Congregational	2

Evangelical Mission Convent (Swedish)	11
Evangelical & Reformed	101
Evangelistic Mission	3
Faith Tabernacle	18
Federated Church	1
Filipino Full Gospel	1
Fire Baptized Holiness	3
First Apostolic	1
First Century Gospel	28
First Divine Assn. in America, Inc.	16
First Missionary Church	2
Followers of Jesus Christ	4
Four Square Gospel	2
Free Holiness	3
Free Methodist	6
Free Pentecostal Church of God	4
Free Will Baptist	2
Friends, Society of [Quakers]	951
Full Gospel Conference of the World, Inc.	4
Full Gospel Mission	3
Full Salvation Union	1
Galilean Mission	1
German Baptist Brethren	157
German Baptist Convention of N.A.	4
Glory Tabernacle	2
God's Bible School	1
Gospel Century	1
Gospel Chapel	2
Gospel Hall	1
Gospel Meeting Assembly	1
Gospel Mission	2
Gospel Tabernacle	2
Gospel Temple	1
Grace Chapel	1
Grace Truth Assembly	1
Gracelawn Assembly	1
Greek Apostolic	1
Greek Catholic	1
Greek Orthodox	1
Hepzibah Faith	6
Hindu Universal	1
Holiness Baptist	1
Holiness General Assembly	1
House of David	2
House of Prayer	1
Humanist Society of Friends	2
Immanuel Missionary Association	13

Independent Assembly of God	2
Independent Church	2
Institute of Religious Society & Philosophy	1
Interdenominational	16
International Missionary Society	2
Jehovah's Witnesses	409
Jennings Chapel	9
Jewish	60
Kingdom of God	1
Kingdom Missionaries	1
Latin American Council of Christian Churches	1
Lemurian Fellowship	9
Lord our Righteousness	1
Lutheran (nine synods)	108
Lutheran Brethren	2
Mazdaznam	1
Megiddo Mission	1
Mennonites	4,665
Methodist	673
Missionary Church Association	8
Moody Bible Institute	2
Mormons (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints	10
Moravian	2
Moslem	1
Multnomah School of the Bible	2
National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc.	5
National Church of Positive Christianity	5
Nazarene, Church of the	23
New Age Church	3
Norwegian Evangelical Free Church	2
Old German Baptist	7
Open Bible Standard	1
Orthodox Parsee Z.	2
Overcoming Faith Tabernacle	1
Oxford Movement	1
Pentecostal Assemblies of Jesus Christ	1
Pentecostal Assemblies of the World	3
Pentecostal Assembly	2
Pentecostal Church, Inc.	2
Pentecostal Evangelical	1
Pentecostal Holiness	6
People's Christian Church	1
People's Church	3
Pilgrim Holiness	3
Pillar of Fire	1
Pillar and Ground of the Truth	1

Placabel Council of Latin Am. Churches	1
Plymouth Brethren	12
Plymouth Christian	1
Presbyterian, U.S.	5
Presbyterian, U.S.A.	192
Primitive Advent	2
Progressive Brethren	1
Quakertown Church	1
Reading Road Temple	1
Reformed Church of America (Dutch)	15
Reformed Mission of the Redeemer	1
Rogerine Quakers (Pentecostal Friends)	3
Rosicrusian	1
Russian Molokan (Christian Spiritual Jumpers)	76
Russian Old Testament Church	1
Saint's Mission	1
Salvation Army	1
Sanctified Church of Christ	1
Scandinavian Evangelical	1
Schwenkfelders (Apostolic Christian Church, Inc.)	1
School of the Bible	1
Serbian Orthodox	1
Seventh Day Adventist	17
Seventh Day Adventist, Reformed	1
Seventh Day Baptist	3
Shiloh Tabernacle	1
Spanish Church of Jesus Christ	1
Spiritual Mission	1
Spiritualist	1
Swedenborg	1
Taoist	1
Theosophists	14
Trinity Tabernacle	1
Triumph the Church & Kingdom of God in Christ	1
Triumph Church of the New Age	1
True Followers of Christ	1
Truelight Church of Christ	1
Twentieth Century Bible School	5
Unitarians	44
Union Church (Berea, Ky.)	4
Union Mission	1
United Baptist	1
United Brethren	27
United Christian Church	2
United Holiness Church, Inc.	1
United Holy Christian Church of Am.	2
United International Young People's Assembly	2

United Lodge of Theosophists	2
United Pentecostal Council of the Assemblies of God in America	1
United Presbyterian	12
Unity	3
Universal Brotherhood	1
Universalist	2
War Resister's League	46
Wesleyan Methodist	8
World Student Federation	2
Young Men's Christian Association [YMCA]	2
Zoroastrian	2
<i>Total affiliated with denominations</i>	10,838
<i>Non affiliated</i>	449
<i>Denominations unidentified</i>	709
<b>Total</b>	11,996

Source: Anderson 1994: 280-6. Cf. Selective Service System 1950: 318-20.

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Kemeba anga kiri me  
Eyerin  
gbolo yo me