

African Human Person and Peacebuilding: the Place of Ujamaa

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Abstract: *Peace building has been one of the most onerous tasks for the African human person. This is evidenced in the various conflicts that are going on in the continent that seems to have defiled every method applied to quell both externally and internally. It has also been noticed that there are some detractors known as spoilers or beneficiaries of the constant conflicts in Africa that have contributed in making peacebuilding in Africa seem like the journey of Sisyphus. Apart from the spoilers of peace building which are the human elements, there are also some none human elements that have constituted clogs in the wheels of peacebuilding for the African human person. Among which are scarce resources, marginalization, ethnicity, etc. The factors mentioned above have led to many negative effects to human and developmental growth in Africa. It is based on the foregoing that this paper seeks to apply Julius Nyerere's Ujamaa as a solution to the evasive peacebuilding in Africa. This is because it is discovered that Nyerere's Ujamaa being local contains the elements that are not considered when dialoguing about peace in Africa Western approach. Therefore, this paper wants to analytically establish that when equality, freedom and unity which are the basic principles of Ujamaa are genuinely considered and applied in an African way before, during and after conflicts in Africa, the peacebuilding that seems to be a herculean task can easily be achieved.*

Keywords: *Africa, human person, peace, peacebuilding, ujamaa, and African politics.*

Introduction

Living in peace with his fellow man has been the wish of all men including the African human person; considering the fact that peace is perceived as a precondition for human development and absence of it leads humanity heedlessly into destruction (Okoro, 2010 p. 140). Unfortunately, Africa since after her years of slavery, colonization and independence has been experiencing underdevelopment and perennial political chaos across the continent. Consequently, Africa is regarded as a war zone in contemporary history. Berahino (2011) agrees there was political instability in almost all African countries immediately after they became independent. Patel (2001) in a similar way says "Africa is plagued by violent intra and inter-state conflict of various kinds since the 1960s than any other continent" (p. 357).

The above claims is evidenced in what happened and still happening in some African countries like: Nigeria, Mali, Angola, Burundi, Central African Republic, DRC, Republic of Congo, Kenya, Rwanda, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, Mozambique, Kosovo, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Guinea to mention but a few. Perennial war going on in Africa made Baregu (2011) to lament that the region has become the home of violent and prolonged conflicts that have caused untold suffering and blocked any meaningful socio-economic progress. And yet no solution seems to be in sight.

Reasonable solution to the intractable unrest in Africa according to this paper seems to be far-fetched because there is no serious attempt towards peacebuilding in Africa. Little wonder Call & Cousens (2007) aver “a general consensus holds that between one-third and one-half of all terminated conflicts tend to relapse into armed violence within five years” (p. 3). Reason been that so many methods adopted in peacebuilding in Africa are alien to her. And again external and internal beneficiaries of African unrest are detractors to genuine peacebuilding in Africa. The question that needed to be asked is, is there no clime that has not experienced conflict in the globe? Considering the fact that according to Okoro (2010) “conflict is considered as universal, timeless and eternal” (p. 138). But in these other climes there is relatively peace and tranquility hence, the development that is witnessed in all those areas. Africa must not remain at this level of quagmire; she must seek for a way of building her own peace using her own local method because peacebuilding is very essential in every society. It is the bedrock of peaceful coexistence of people and shapes the future for transparency and development (Obinelo, 2010).

The local method this paper is suggesting in building sustainable peace in Africa is found in Julius Nyerere’s *Ujamaa* because it emphasizes the Africanness of the measure we intend to follow. Again, *Ujamaa* is African and it is coeval with the Africa human person. It is believed that it will underpin the work of peacemaking and peacekeeping by addressing structural issues and the long-term relationships between conflictants which are Africans. Hence, making sustainable peacebuilding which has for long eluded African human person attainable and restore relative peace and development in Africa as is the case in other climes.

Conceptual Analysis

There are so many conceptions of African human person, but in this context this paper sees the African human person as that African individual substance with reason that naturally sees all around them as a family and a community and treats them with love. He is the personified expression of communality, peace, equality, justice, freedom and unity in that he always seeks to live in peace with anybody that comes in peace. Nwakamma (2020) describing who the African human person is, similarly opines:

A great credo of the Igbo (African), a cornerstone of its ideas, is that all humans no matter who they are or whence they come from, for as long as they come in peace and adhere to the principle of justice, have equal value. That is a very fundamental aspect of Igbo (African) personality, humanism and culture of toleration.

The above description of the African human person is similar to Odemegwu (2008) idea that “African human person is religiously hospitable as he is hospitably religious” (p.15). African human person for Iroegbu (2000) is “the communally and self embodied being that is in search of full transcendence” (p.7). The implication of Iroegbu’s definition of the human person is that an African human person does not just want to live in peace with his fellow man but also with all that is around him including the immaterial that lives vertically and horizontally with him most especially his creator. Blyden (1975) captures it thus, “not a tribe on the continent of Africa fails to stretch out its hands to the Great Creator” (p. 3). African human person lastly here will be said to be all the black people everywhere on the planet that sees Africa as their home and habitation. The habitation of this home is an essential part of being an African (Odemegwu, 1998: p. 15).

For the fact that conflict is an invitation to peacebuilding; one cannot discuss peacebuilding without conflict. Consequent upon that, this paper sees conflict as a necessary evil that necessitates peace. For Heraclitus (KRS 212) conflict (war) is a force and it is justified, for it is a natural force and a means of winning peace. Conflict (war) connotes a broad outline of the meaning of conflict; it also means strife, rivalry, contention, tension, discord as well as jealousy (Oburota, 2006: p. 208). Oraegbunam (2006: p. 219) talking on conflict opines, absence of war does not necessarily mean peace. War is only one form of violence which is physical, open and direct. Galtung (1990: p. 27) similarly holds, that a society cannot be described as peaceful where structural violence such as poverty, exclusion, intimidation, oppression, want, fear and all sundry types of psychological pressure still constitute the psychological mainstay. Finally, conflict could mean variation in interest, ideas, views among individuals, groups, nations etc. However, this paper is particular about armed conflict.

Peacebuilding is any measure(s) introduced to avert conflict or sustain peace before, during and after conflict. It is a process that facilitates the establishment of durable peace and tries to prevent the recurrence of violence by addressing root causes and effects of conflict through reconciliation, institution building, and political as well as economic transformation (Agenda for Peace in Introduction to Peacebuilding, 2013). Brahimi Report (2000) refined the definition of peacebuilding as “activities undertaken on the far side of conflict to reassemble the foundations of peace and provide the tools for building on those foundations something that is more than just the absence of war”. It went further to say that:

Peace-building involves a range of measures aimed at reducing the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict, by strengthening national capacities for conflict management, and laying the foundations for sustainable peace. It is a complex, long-term process aimed at creating the necessary conditions for positive and sustainable peace by addressing the deep rooted structural causes of violent conflict in a comprehensive manner. Peace-building measures address core issues that affect the functioning of society and the state. In this regard, they seek to enhance the capacity of the State to effectively and legitimately carry out its core functions (2008)

According to Lederach (1997) peacebuilding “is understood as a comprehensive concept that encompasses, generates, and sustains the full array of processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform conflict toward more sustainable, peaceful relationships” (p. 20). The term thus involves a wide range of activities that both precede and follow formal peace accords. According to Call & Cousens (2007: p. 3) peacebuilding is generically defined as **initiatives that are designed to prevent the eruption or return of armed conflict**. It refers to a process that relies heavily on the commitment and efforts by local actors/insiders to break away from conflict and create a state and society in which peace can be sustained. From the foregoing one could see that peacebuilding simply implies a process of making attempt to ensure that human persons live peacefully in his society and anywhere they found themselves.

Ujamaa literally means familyhood. It is a philosophical and socio-political African ideology that is hinged on tripod of equality, freedom and unity. Its major teaching is the familyhood and brotherhood of all Africans. Ujamaa was popularized by the first President of Tanzania, Julius Kambarage Nyerere who lived between March, 1922- October, 1999. He used it to bring to the mind of African human person the idea of mutual involvement in building and development of Africa that was shattered by slavery and colonialism; by bringing to their consciousness that irrespective of different slave and colonial masters that they are still one family. For Ibhawoh & Dubia (2003: pp. 59-72) Ujamaa is traditional African values with core emphasis on the African familyhood system and communalism of traditional African societies.

Detractors/Obstacles to Peacebuilding in Africa

As already mentioned elsewhere in this paper, African people have been living in peace before they came in contact with the West. It was after the independence that peaceful co-existence among them went to exile and building it back became a herculean task. Detractors to peacebuilding in Africa are but not restricted to the following:

Conflict Entrepreneurs: These are those that fomenting and causing conflict is their stock in trade. They earn their living whenever and wherever there is conflict most especially in the developing nations in Africa. Baregu (2011), opines that at the war end of the continuum are the conflict entrepreneurs. They are actors who deliberately precipitate formation of conflicts to create situations of chaos upon which they scheme off dividends. They are in the business of instigating and fuelling conflicts for personal gain. An interesting case in point is that of Mark Thatcher and others who, in 2004, plotted the invasion of Equatorial Guinea to capture oil fields but who were intercepted by South African and Zimbabwean security forces before reaching Equatorial Guinea. Conflict entrepreneurs make peacebuilding for the African human person difficult.

Peace Opportunists: these people promote peace or escalate conflict depending on what they will gain from either of them. If the outcome of peace favours them they sue for peace and if the reverse will be the case they spoil it. Baregu (2011) confirms, that this is an enigmatic and unpredictable group of actors. They may promote peace as easily as they may spoil it. They may gain or lose through protraction or termination of the conflict; they support peace when it serves their interests and obstruct it when it blocks them. Their interest is their major determinant of their intervention

during any conflict. These include the so-called ambulance chasers, intelligence and security services (CIA, MI6, regional security organizations, etc.), imperialist countries, warlords, financial institutions and the UN's blue berets. They could be converted to peacemakers through the judicious use of appropriate incentives (Baregu, 2011). These peace opportunists are the cause of most conflicts in Africa in the sense that they make peacebuilding for the African human person difficult.

Peace Blocker/Spoilers: just like the conflict entrepreneurs the businesses of these group thrives well during direct and open conflict such as war. When and where there is peace their businesses are threatened. Baregu (2011) maintains that these are actors whose interests are promoted by the existence and prolonging of the conflict or whose interests would be threatened by the termination of the conflict. Peace threatens their interests. They are the direct beneficiaries of open and direct confrontation. These include gun-runners, mercenaries, plunderers, warlords and private militaries. These should be exposed, isolated, condemned and sanctioned through international criminal procedures for peacebuilding to be attained in Africa.

Apart from the above human obstacles to peacebuilding in Africa, there are none human elements that constitute serious hindrances to African peacebuilding. Ross (1993) submits that in a situation of economic and political discriminations and weak kinship, social conflict are likely to be higher than in a situation where social conditions are the exact opposite (72). Dar es Salaam Declaration (2004) opines:

the endemic conflicts and persistent insecurity caused or aggravated by, *inter alia*, economic stagnation and poverty aggravation, mistrust and suspicion between governments, massive violations of human rights and other policies of exclusion and marginalisation, gender inequality, use of violence for conquering and conserving power, impunity of crimes of genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes, illicit trafficking of small arms and light weapons, proliferation of armed groups, organised crime and illegal exploitation of natural resources.

Kibasomba&Lombe (2011) advance the following reasons for the persistent conflict and insecurity in various African countries: favoritism and complicity of external powers and the international community in favor of one of the conflictants, like was in the case of Nigeria during the Nigerian/Biafranwar and Tutsi against the Hutus in Rwanda ; inability of the central authority to ensure the well-being of its citizens and the military; lack of harmony and cohesion, and disloyal political actors; weak army and police forces, lack of political will; conspiracy of leaders and politicians who lost the elections; and widespread corruption among the elite. Police brutality, harassment and arbitrary detention of political opponents as are the case currently in Nigeria. Lack of respect for human rights; rape of women; assassinations and widespread insecurity. Greed in relation to rich natural resources, income distribution, land reform, absence of democracy and the rule of law, gender inequality, economic development, ethnonational divisions, environmental degradation, tran

sitional justice, and on and on.

The foregoing in no small measure have constituted clog in the wheel of peacebuilding in Africa. And the absence of peacebuilding has no small mean effect on the continent.

Implications of frustrated peacebuilding in Africa and on African Human person

Frustrated Africa peacebuilding has indeed cost Africa and African human person greatly. The first among its various negative effects is that it has led to so many direct and open confrontation chiefly among them is war. In the word of Heraclitus cited in Oburota (2006: p. 208) war is the father and king of all the conflicts. War has had serious negative effects on the African continent and on the personality of the African human person. According to Berahino (2011), the war in Burundi reached its apex in the year 1972 when, it is estimated, up to about 300,000 people, most of them Hutu, were killed by what was then the army. Then, in 1988 and in 1991, uprisings in Ntega and Marangara, saw many Hutu arrested, the majority of whom died in jail. Violence reached a high point again in 1993, when many people died. What war that resulted as a result of frustrated peacebuilding in Rwanda did was captured thus in Gemini News Service (2000), since the outbreak of fighting in August 1998, about 4 million people, mostly women, children and the elderly, have died from disease, starvation, assassination, massacres, shooting, etc. More than 2.5 million people have been driven from their homes. This is exactly the picture of what is happening everywhere there is war conflict in Africa resulting from weak peacebuilding. War conflict resulting from frustrated peacebuilding has invited pervasive fear for one's life, the loss of loved ones through military conflict, and the uncertainty about the future. All these are detrimental to Africa's well-being and to the health and happiness of the African human person.

Though Africa practices quasi democracy, in that what one calls democracy in Africa is despotism and autocracy in the garb of democracy. More so, whatever that is remaining of this quasi African democracy is eroded by armed conflict resulting from frustrated peacebuilding. An ideal democracy as it is practiced by most Western countries enshrines all the features of the dignity of the human person. Democracy is a political system and governance by the people, which guarantees the dignity and freedom of the people, promoting equality in sharing the resources of the state, letting all the people have utmost influence on their political destiny (Oburota, 2006, p. 206). But constant armed conflict resulting from frustrated peacebuilding obliterates all the principles of democracy which in turn dehumanizes the African human person. Frustrated peacebuilding has brought in what is dubbed in this paper 'demoncracy' which contains in it all the anti-democratic principles and anti-human features. Failed peacebuilding have ushered in most African countries fusion of power, absence of checks and balances, dependence of the judiciary on the executives, illegal operation by the police and neglect of smaller arms of government such as the local government. More so, frustrated peacebuilding in Africa has led to violation of basic moral and humanization principles that makes democracy what it is like; respect for human dignity and freedom, respect for human rights, respect for the law, necessity of being law abiding and ultimately truncation of the democratic bible which is the constitution and contrarily injected disorderliness, lawlessness,

corruption and filth. The afore said is detrimental to Africa and have contributed to the abuse of the African human person.

Furthermore, Africa has remained perennially underdeveloped, resulting from frustrated peacebuilding. All spheres of development be it institutional, social and human development always go down the drain during the incessant armed conflicts in various African countries, hence, Africa's trade mark of underdevelopment. Developmental projects such as schools, health facilities, financial institutions, religious houses, social amenities, etc are not only put to a halt during armed conflicts but the little ones that are remaining are demolished by the conflictants. Families are scattered and people confined into Internally Displaced Persons' (IDP) camps if they are alive and everyone knows that meaningful development does not take place in such condition. Whenever and wherever peacebuilding fails development becomes impossible as what will matter to everybody is survival because every necessary supplies/need of the human person will be shattered such as food, shelter, water and the injured will be left with little chance of survival because health facilities would have been destroyed by then. Mary & Sall (2007) collaborate:

Various conflicts in the world in general and in Africa in particular...have compromised economic stability, halt human progress and retard infrastructural improvement. They have also trivialized human life and render persons expendable. The situation never gives opportunity to addressing the human dislocation caused by crimes, unemployment and fatal communicable diseases. The system cripples human spirit, consumes irreplaceable natural and environmental resources. Therefore, the future seems to be disappearing as cultures and social organizations are destroyed, these consequently stifle (development) civilization (pp. 9-10).

Lastly, learning that is the father and king of all development cannot take place because schools are no more operational for the reason that the people are running for their dear lives or that the school is demolished. Such situation has become a constant variable in Africa, thereby making meaningful and sustainable development in Africa impossible. More so, the funds that are meant for development of Africa are mostly used either in sponsoring the war or cushioning the effect of the conflicts. One will at this point wonder little why African countries has consistently maintained their seats in the comity of underdeveloped nations. The underdevelopment among other factors such as greed, corruption, illiteracy, misplacement of priorities, etc. is majorly linked to frustrated peacebuilding in Africa.

Ujamaa a lasting solution to peacebuilding in Africa

Peacebuilding in Africa for long has been an effort in futility because of so many wrong colonial approaches that are being applied. Unfortunately, her contact with the colonial masters left little to be desired in that the first thing that African colonial masters did was to distort the thinking of the people and to set the different groups against themselves in the term of tribal identifications.

Some tribes were made to think of themselves as superior to another (Anjov. 2006: p. 235). The implication then is that from the onset they never wished Africa and Africans well neither do they wished for their unity or development. Therefore, none of their solutions put forward or by Africans themselves has done anything to assuage the constant conflicts taking place in Africa; hence, the application of *Ujamaa* as a solution to sustainable peacebuilding in Africa.

Ujamaa is believed to be replete with those values which if applied into modern African conflict will go a long way in solving the problem of epileptic peacebuilding. It is no longer news that disorientation lies at the base of African disunity and underdevelopment which emanated with the African contact with the colonial masters. This paper believes that if *Ujamaa* is adopted as a method in peacebuilding in Africa it will go a long way to make Africans to understand that they are one family contrary to the teaching of their colonial masters; once the idea of familyhood is imbibed by all Africans, achieving the solution to peacebuilding becomes easy. According to Nyerere (1966) the family unit is everywhere “based on certain practices and attitudes which together meant basic equality, freedom and unity” (p. 8). These practices together ensured that no member of the family is endangered by the others. It means everyone can expect that their basic needs will be satisfied. It means that neither poverty nor wealth is privatized. The joy and sorrow of one is the joy and sorrow of the others (Gbadegesin, 2020: p. 51). With this consciousness of the principles of *Ujamaa* and its application a sustainable peacebuilding can easily be achieved.

Ujamaa has humanism as its cardinal point and equality, freedom and unity as its major principles. Armed with these ideas African human person will see that there is no need of all the incessant conflict taking place among them because since they are one family all will see one another as equal and when they see themselves as equal there will be no need for one to seek to enslave the other or think himself important over another which is one of the reasons for epileptic peacebuilding in Africa. Instead all its members are held in esteem. They are equally valued and each is given a vital role to play. Nyerere (1966) buttresses:

The equality of all members is fundamental to any social grouping to which an individual freely belongs. By joining a social group- by being a member of it- a man is surrendering certain freedoms. His gain is that others do likewise. If they do not, he has not become a member of a society; he has become a slave or a servant of another individual or group of individuals. .. (p.8)

He continues:

...the ideal society is based on human equality and on a combination of the freedom and unity of its members. There must be equality, because only on that basis will men work cooperatively. There must be freedom, because the individual is not served by society unless it is his. And there must be unity, because only when the society is

united can its members live and work in peace, security and well-being. (p. 8)

This means that each member, young or old, man or woman, is considered as having dignity and value which no one else can replace (Gbadegesin, 2020: p. 51). When these principles of equality, freedom and unity are elevated there will be mutual involvement to see that the other succeeds and develops and for success and development to take place in Africa there is need for peace, which *Ujamaa* promotes.

With the consciousness of African familyhood and brotherhood through *Ujamaa* all the conflictants in Africa can see themselves as one and team together to fight their common enemy which this paper described as detractors/obstacles to peacebuilding in Africa. Most of these detractors are those that cultivated individualistic orientation in the African consciousness against the traditional African teaching of communalism. The idea of individualism that was cultivated by them in no small measure has contributed immensely in setting Africans against themselves. Hence Uwalaka (2003) avers thus:

The celebrated African solidarity has drastically waned and continued to vanish...today this excessive individualism is now on the African throne, geocentricism and selfishness have become driving force, personal interest and subdued common interest, personal agenda over group, nothing is sacrificed in the higher interest of the group. Internal destruction, competition has taken over cooperation and collaboration (30).

Okoro (2009) corroborates:

Unfortunately, this type of individualism have made African people become a people, who listen to no one, agrees on nothing and cannot pursue any common good....This situation can account for most violent conflicts and wars in Africa. On the whole, the advent of the colonial model of education in modern Africa withdraws the children from the society and inculcates them with values and knowledge that make it difficult for them to return to their society. Thus, Africans have become rootless and a people without a historical past in the modern world. Therefore, the result is confusion, oppression, marginalization, militarization, violent conflicts and ultimately war in most African societies (pp. 22-33; 2010: p. 155).

However, with Nyerere's Ujamaa, African human persons and society can be reintegrated essentially against exploitation, competition and division which are the tools of disunity, neo-colonialism, underdevelopment, dehumanization and instrument of impoverization; substituting them with cooperation, equality and unity which are features of sustainable peacebuilding.

In addition, African democracy should be tailored towards *Ujamaa* and African leaders and politicians made to imbibe and apply the principles of *Ujamaa* in their dealings with the people for a sustainable peacebuilding in Africa. The reason is because unlike what is tagged 'distorted democracy' in this paper which most African countries practice; democracy that is tailored towards *Ujamaa* gives room for discussion, equality and freedom which happens to be the principle of pure democracy and which constitute other important features of political arrangement which cannot be described as undemocratic. Those features of traditional African political arrangements have been latent in *Ujamaa* and practiced in Africa long before colonial imposition. Therefore, traditional African human persons are democratic and do not have to be taught democracy (Gbadegesin, 2020: p. 57). Again, Ujamaa based African democratic institutions provide channels through which groups may voice grievances, promote ethnically-diverse recruiting processes, and prevent the marginalization of particular groups from political participation and protection (Bekoe&Omach, 2002). Lack of these essential conditions of Ujamaa has made peacebuilding difficult in Africa.

Finally, sustainable peacebuilding in Africa will be achieved if the leadership of Africa should imbibe and implement the principles of *ujamaa* in all their dealings with the people. It has been said continuously that the problem with Africa is the problem of leadership. This leadership problem has led to unrest in various regions of Africa either remotely or immediately. But with *ujamaa* the culture of selfishness, greed, self-aggrandizement, highhandedness, unpatriotism, tribalism, fanaticism, abuse of power, disregard for the rule of law and other anti-democratic practices that are common among African leaders and which fuel conflicts and make peacebuilding difficult will be nipped in the bud. Then according Lederach (2005), the culture of equality, relatedness, collaboration, love, empathy and tolerance that are necessary and sufficient factors for creating a fertile environment for peacebuilding enthroned. He further maintains that the capacity to imagine and generate constructive responses and initiatives associated with the daily challenges of violence can serve, to transcend and ultimately break the grips of those destructive patterns and cycles within which conflict is perpetuated (Lederach 2005: p. 29). On the other hand, the people acquainted with the principle of *Ujamaa* will apply moderation, solidarity, respect for truth and willingness to work and strive for self and community advancement, respect for authority, sense of honesty, modesty, tolerance, sense of goodness and kindness, love of ones neighbour, respect for life and so on (Ntahobari&Ndayiziga 2005: p. 15) which are necessary requirement for sustainable peacebuilding.

Conclusion

It is high time *Ujamaa* is considered by Africans in peacebuilding since all the foreign approaches have failed. Every conflict is local and needs local approach; conflict is part of politics, therefore conflict in Africa is part of African local political problem and needs local solution to it. *Ujamaa* as an African philosophical and social political ideology contains the antidote, in that it contains those moral values among members of African traditional communities which make African people in the traditional setting to consider everybody as one and each other as a brother and no body as his natural enemy within the community. Consequently, true African person in the traditional setting do not form an alliance with brethren for the extermination of the non-brethren. The African human person regards all men as his brethren; as members of his ever extending family, thus the unwritten African creed is “I believe in human brotherhood and unity of all men” (Okoro, 2010: p. 152). Thus walking the talk of Boutros-Ghali (1992 in Bekoe&Omach, 2002: p. 27), which aims at building sustainable peace in Africa by identifying at the earliest possible stage, situations that could produce conflict, and try through diplomacy to remove the sources of danger before violence results. Where conflict erupts, to engage in peacemaking aimed at resolving the issues that have led to conflict. Through peacekeeping, to work to preserve peace, however fragile, where fighting has been halted, and to assist in implementing agreements achieved by the peacemakers. To stand ready to assist in peacebuilding in its differing contexts: rebuilding the institutions and infrastructures of nations torn by civil war and strife; and building bonds of peaceful mutual benefit among nations formerly at war.

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