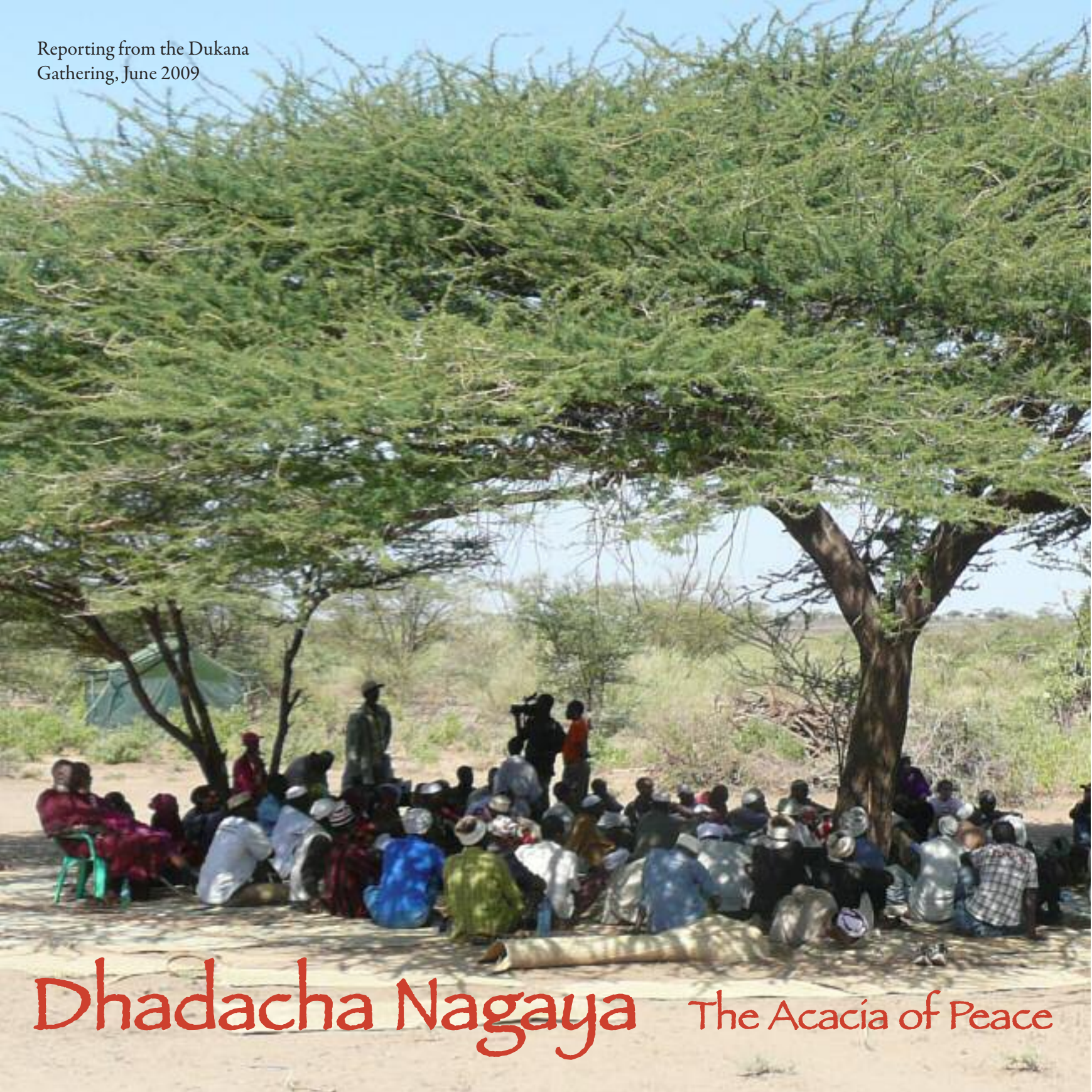


Reporting from the Dukana  
Gathering, June 2009



Dhadacha Nagaya The Acacia of Peace



## A bit of background...

The Borana and the Gabra are closely related people, speaking the same language, living in southern Ethiopia and northern Kenya.

Tensions between these groups had been rising for some time due to political constituency building and sub-division of districts. In 2005, 75 Gabra, including schoolchildren, were massacred in a raid in Turbi in Kenya, for which the Borana were blamed. The following year large numbers of Borana living in Chalbi took flight to Ethiopia or settled around Administrative Police locations in the district. Tensions led to rising banditry, cattle rustling, cross-border attacks, highway robberies and frequent shoot-outs.

A peace initiative started between elders from the towns of Dillo in Ethiopia and Dukana in Kenya. In November 2008, the two communities agreed to a ceasefire and a formula for compensating those whose animals were stolen should there be any future incidents. As trust was restored between the communities in the locality, local leaders agreed to try to extend their accords along the entire border.

The people of Dukana invited 130 people from Ethiopia and Kenya to discuss their peace initiative from 3rd – 6th June 2009. Participants included senior government representatives from both countries, traditional and civic leaders, youth and women from the pastoralist communities from Dire, Miyo, Dillo and Teltele districts in Ethiopia and from Chalbi and Marsabit districts in Kenya.

The Pastoralist Shade Initiative, a group of elders representing the different pastoralist communities of Kenya, assisted the Dukana community to organise the gathering. The Oromia Pastoralists Association assisted the Ethiopians to attend.

Among the major outcomes of the gathering was a full endorsement of the Dukana and Dillo accords by the Governments of Ethiopia and Kenya and the pastoralists present.

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**pastoralist**  
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initiative

# Agenda



## Chief Tuye Katelo, Dukana

Welcome to Dukana. I welcome you all to our gathering. In Dillo and Dukana we have agreed to build peace. We want to share that.

### Our agenda:

**DAY 1:** Review the Dukana and Dillo peace initiatives – The elders will brief us on what has happened over the last 2-3 years. They will also give us an idea of the way forward.

**DAY 2:** Our guests from outside Dukana and Dillo will give their comments and ask questions on the peace process.

**DAY 3:** Government representatives will comment on the process and answer any questions that have been raised for them

**DAY 4:** The way forward. Where do we go from here?

Most of the participants have never held a meeting together before, others are meeting for the first time and they still have their own conflicts with them. I ask for patience to those of you attending the first time because I know you will be emotional. Leave your emotions, listen to the speeches and discussions and learn from the process. Everyone is free to express themselves.

## Molu Kulu, Chairman of Pastoralist Shade Initiative

Thank you for coming to Dukana. When leaders agree to come and spare their time to sit under this tree and discuss, it is already an indicator of peace.

## Nura Dida, Chairman of the Oromia Pastoralists Association

The main objective of this meeting is peace-building: there's nothing more important than peace. There can be no development without peace. There'll be no tranquillity without peace.

Previously we planned to organise a big gathering in Marsabit for over a thousand participants to discuss peace. But that meeting didn't take place. I travelled to Marsabit and held a meeting with the Gabra and Borana elders there. They agreed to hold this meeting in Dukana first, as a preparation for that bigger meeting.







**Tafari Alema, Deputy Administrator,  
Borana Zone, Ethiopia**

Without peace this gathering couldn't have taken place here. We have all left our homes to be here and this shows we are very serious about it. The thing is to go well with the people and work with them and listen to them. Peace has to be brought wisely; it will never be immediate.

**Elijah Kodoh, DC Chalbi, Kenya**

We are here to give you our ear; this is a pastoralist meeting. As government officials we are here to provide an enabling environment to pastoralists to accumulate more wealth, and educate their children; otherwise our role is limited. The peace we are talking about is in the interest of pastoralists, the Kenyan Government and the Ethiopian Government.

The Government of Kenya officially condemns cattle rustling, whether within Kenya or in the neighbouring republic, Ethiopia. Any time there is raiding into our district or into our Republic we are ready to work hand in hand to ensure that the stolen animals are returned to their owners. We will deal with this as a criminal activity

Kenya and Ethiopia have a long-lasting, cordial relationship, which has allowed our two countries to enjoy peace and obtain the level of development we have. It is our responsibility as citizens of both countries to make sure that any elements of insecurity are removed from among us.

I want to apologise to the people of Dire District in Ethiopia. Some months ago, someone was killed by a criminal around Forole. The footsteps were followed into our



district. You must be wondering why these people have not been arrested. We are following the case and soon we are going to inform you that we have arrested the culprits.

We want to build this peace across the whole border extending to our Borana in Moyale. We have good relations with our neighbours in Ethiopia, but there are frosty relations between our neighbours in Moyale. I appeal to you – Please build those relations even into Moyale.



# Opening





### **Molu Kulu**

**Is the quorum complete?  
Are all those we invited  
present?**

We have invited people from Bubisa and Shurr, but they have not turned up. They are facing drought and a new borehole has opened in Wajir West, so when they got access to the water they shifted their animals there. They have sent their apologies and blessed this gathering.

Sololo district is not represented. We invited people from Uran, Walda, Sololo and Rawan, but none of them have turned up.



### **Adan Sora, Marsabit**

I'm one of those who went to Sololo district to mobilise the elders to attend this meeting. We met and they elected representatives to come.

In Rawan, we saw the chief and we talked about this gathering. She told us that she wanted to be here for this gathering because the people there are not in good terms with

the Turbi chief and community. She said that not all the lost animals have been recovered. I told her, "Come to Dukana. We want to hear from you."

I haven't received any reason for their absence.



### **Katelo Hukka Dambaba, Turbi**

The Gabra and Borana are brothers and sisters. They are from the same mother. Our communities used to be as one, with good relationships

and intermarriage. I am from Turbi. The day conflict between us and our neighbours started, one young man died and 200 goats were taken. That is where the heart of this conflict took place. The people who have initiated that conflict are from a small village. I wish that village could have been here. I am standing here for peace. We tried to use the Madogashe declaration for the goats to be paid for, but the chief said he had never heard of it. That is where the conflict started. Then after that, the Turbi massacre broke out. The war of Borana and Gabra matured at that place and that war has not yet ended. The war in Moyale

has become a puzzle to even government and each of us. The Government are entering into expenses fueling their vehicles, but they haven't got anywhere. It has made conflict between Ethiopia and Kenya. The Government needs to take initiative to unite these people.

We want peace. I have lost 137 camels and more than 300 goats and 4 of my people have died in this conflict. Considering all that has been taken from me, I am supposed to revenge. But if I do, then someone else will lose a lot and the war will continue. When I look for peace I know I am going to prosper. Peace is the priority.

We are hearing good news about peace everywhere, but we are hearing bad news about our area. We must come up with a way forward on how to bring the Sololo community into the process.

### **Molu Kulu**

**We are going to continue with our meeting and discuss how we are going to approach them. We are not going to leave them out. They are key players. We are ready to make more attempts to bring them on board to discuss peace.**



# The Dukana Dillo Story

## **Katelo Adano, Dukana**

When the war started between the Gabra and Borana, we didn't join in very fast. We were patient. Even after the Turbi massacre we remained at peace. The war reached us by starting from Sololo then moving to Mega and then reaching us. By the time it reached Dillo and Gorray it had a lot of strength. At that time, the communities of Dillo and Dukana were one. We in Dukana had relatives in Gorray and Dillo. We asked ourselves, "Are we really going to fight these people?"

Then a lot of camels were taken in Gorray. We told our relatives there to disburse to avoid trouble, but they had been living there a long time in peace and trust with the Borana, and they decided to stay. Then one day the authorities of the time came and told them to release the animals they had and leave Ethiopia



by sunset. Not one person was lost, but their animals were taken and the people left for the border with nothing. They then understood that the war had come to them. After that, we fought non-stop for two years. People didn't sleep because they expected attacks. Even Dukana town was surrounded by trenches.

Then one day, two herders—a Borana and a Gabra—fought on the border and people joined them. They sent for reinforcements and the next day a lot of strength came from both sides to fight one another. When they were about to fight, with guns raised, they called each other by name and didn't shoot. Instead they came together. That is how the process started. We came together and made peace.

Now we have agreed that the peace between Dillo and Dukana is meaningless if our neighbours in Forole and Magado are at war, or if Turbi and Rawan are at war. We said, "Let's expand it. Let others benefit from our peace." And now today we are here.

This war is a war of fools. Look at the Borana in Ethiopia. Look at their level of education and development and business and just ask. Even the Gabra here – are they equal with other Kenyans in terms of economical development and education? The war has really pulled us down. Gabras and Boranas who are anti-peace should be forced to learn peace for the sake of development and a better future. Peace will not happen if no one markets it. Now we have seen the benefits – those who have not experienced peace, have yet to understand its benefits. Let our fighting focus on development, not war.

## **Ali Adano Councillor, Dukana**

We had been asked by the authorities if we wanted peace. We had told them, no. Sometime after that, herders from Borana and Gabra came into contact. Instead of fighting, they came together and greeted each other, although they were all well armed. When they returned in the evening they said they had met the Borana and greeted them. We said, "Why



did you greet them? Why didn't you finish them? Why didn't you fight them?" The message they brought was an agreement to meet under an acacia tree at the border. When we went there, they were also there. We met as enemies but left as friends.

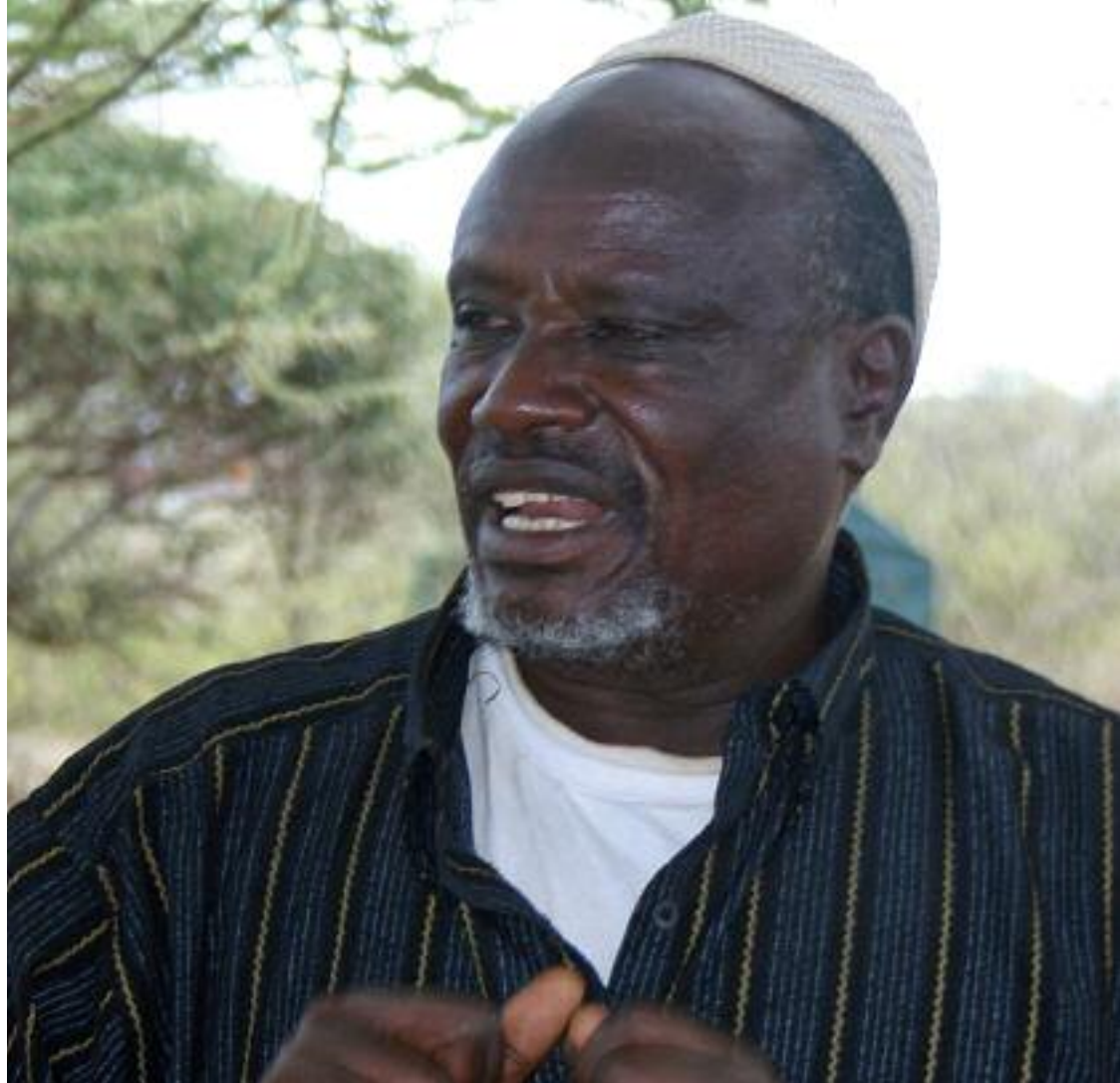
At that first meeting we created a peace committee out of the people who had created the chaos. After the meeting, animals that got lost started to be returned by each side. We started to trust the Borana from around Dillo. Everyone cooled down and we expanded our peace. We have even met the Hamar and other tribes. Now we are asked: "You are a teacher of peace – why don't you expand this peace?" People challenge us a lot with this. That is why we invited people all the way from Sololo to Teltele to this meeting.

The thing that started this war was insults and inciting war songs. We started to talk about it and concluded that it is meaningless. This gossiping took place in the *Fora* camps. When the herders are enjoying life and milk, they call the others names as a way of joking. The elders shouldn't have turned these kind of jokes into a war. If someone has died somewhere it doesn't necessarily mean they have been killed. Our peace has come because we stopped believing these things.

### Wako Konchora, Dillo

The authorities of Ethiopia and Kenya tried to solve the problem and stand in between us, but they couldn't. We ourselves came together, despite fearing one other. We came together humbly and greeted each other at the acacia tree on the border. We asked each other, "What is the benefit of the war?" and we couldn't find any. We said, "When we go back to our community let us preach the same as what we have talked here". We went back and agreed to meet again – more people than before.

We started to ask each other, "Did you elders hear about this and this." We told each other



the stories we were hearing from our communities. We said we wish to live in a situation where we don't have to guard against each other. Everyone agreed and began to reconcile. We formed a committee from both communities to trace any incidents that occur. Now when an animal is lost, this committee is responsible for tracing it and returning it to the owner.

We made a law that was fully supported by government so it can be implemented well. Whoever was shooting firearms was going to be disarmed. Whoever stole one cow must return back five.

As the peace journey proceeded we started interacting more and more together. Now even the government is closer to us because of this process - Dillo has been given *woreda* (district) status.

We agreed to be honest and give accurate information about the animals that have been lost. We agreed that if there is enough water on this side, let's share it. If there enough grazing on one side, let's share it. Let us share our resources for our animals. Let's live together.

We've lost much, but peace has brought greater benefit than we ever lost. We know there is still conflict going on in Forole and now it is your turn to reconcile and have the same peace.



### Dalacha Denge, Dillo

The Gabra used to stay a lot in Ethiopia, but with the war they weren't able to go to their spiritual grounds there. How did this happen? The Borana say it's two things; propaganda and bad politics. What brought all this conflict is incitement and gossip. For example, there was a story that if a Borana came down to Dukana he would never return.

On our first arrival in Dukana town everyone ran to us because the Borana names had been ringing in their minds and there was a lot of fear. We were only two – Elias Galgalo and me – who first came to Dukana. People were staring at us to see. People from our two communities met weekly after that – once on the Kenya side and once on the Ethiopia side.



We knew the number of men we had lost. We knew the number of livestock we had lost from that conflict. We knew how we have suffered as a result. At first, people asked for compensation for livestock and human loss, but in the end we decided to forget about it. We decided that if we went into compensation for previous loss – so many animals had been lost, so many human lives had been lost - that we could never recover it. We agreed that the best medicine was to forget and start a new chapter.

Now we do business together. We trade livestock. We share water. Even someone from Dukana called Ali Lama is marrying from Dillo. There are others too. He is just one example. That is the condition we are in. Now four of the five Gabra *Yaas* have started to use their spiritual sites in Ethiopia again.

### Guyo Jarso, Dillo

I'm one of the originators of the Dukana Dillo peace process. When we began the initiative we were few, but now we are many. When we started to talk we agreed that there'd be no shooting, no following of personal vendettas, no propaganda. We agreed that a committee would come and meet and exchange views, that we'd return all the stray animals. In any case of stray animals the committee should sit and reach an amicable solution.

The government and development partners supported our initiative after we ourselves had started it. We, the Dillo and Dukana communities, we nurtured it like a growing child and now it has grown into a big tree like this one we are meeting under.

### Chief Tuye Katelo

The problem starts from us – it is made by us. Even if you are in a position of authority, and you are leading Gabra – put yourself in the position of being a leader of Borana. Then you work on the interest of Borana and vice versa. Then no bad thing will happen.

### The Dukana Dillo Declaration

“Let there be no sound of a gun along the border-line.” We agreed this amongst ourselves and since then no one has died.

The rules and resolutions we agreed are:

For each head of cattle stolen, 5 should be returned.

For each person injured, 15 cows should be paid.

For each person killed, 30 cows should be paid.



“It all starts with you. Peace has to start with you. You heard about this man, Guyo Tete, who lifted his gun in the battlefield and said he wanted peace. It can start with you also.

*Reuben Dhuku, DO Dukana*





In April 2006, a plane crashed in Marsabit. Among the 14 dead were several local MPs engaged on a local peace mission. The second day of the gathering started with women and youth singing about this event.

**Nura Dida:** What did you learn when you heard that song? What impact did it have on you?

**The Gathering:** We almost cried.



### Nura Dida

This song has a lot of meaning as it refers to an accident on 10 April 2006, in which a plane carrying our MPs crashed in Marsabit. They died in the process of

peace-building and this choir has awakened people. It's made us think, Why? Why are we fighting? What is the reason? Instead of gaining, we are all losing even more. We are even losing our leaders. Why do we fight?

Earlier this month, the Oromia Pastoralists Association invited the traditional and ritual leaders from different *Gadaa* Councils of

Oromia in Ethiopia to a gathering. They had a big gathering and got to know each other. The Gabra, Borana and Gujji *Gadaa* members left together on one bus. On the journey back they had a collision. Two pastoralists died and 19 were injured. One who died was a Gabra *Kallu* and one was a Borana deputy *Abaa Gadaa*. The 19 injured were all Gabra and Borana. Not one of the Gujji was injured. This is the cost of war – it is only Borana and Gabra, who are fighting, that were injured. The Gujji have made peace and they were all safe.

The two incidents – the plane crash and the car accident – have similarities. Both involved leaders and both happened at the same time of year. Gabra and Borana must learn from this now. We were not fighting before. We were friends. Now we have turned into enemies. It is God showing his power that we have to leave this war. Those who died in the plane crash were the leaders and senior politicians. The ones who died in the Ethiopia accident were senior ritual leaders. We must come together and build consensus on the way forward. How are we going to stop this conflict?



*If we'd been united in the first place, we would have not lost the MPs in the plane crash.*

*Why does the son of man refuse to unite?*

*Why does he refuse glory?*

*Why does he refuse the strength out of unity?*

*Why does he refuse prosperity?*

*Unity bears love. Unity bears blessings*

*Unity bears glory. Unity bears Peace.*

*And those who embrace unity will enjoy peace*  
*And those who embrace unity will be showered with blessing*

*And those who embrace unity will prosper*

*And those who embrace unity will live*

*Unity, let's strengthen it.*

*If we are united, what will kill Abdi Tari?*

*If we are united, what will kill Bonaya?*

*If we are united, what will kill Dr. Gurach?*

*If we are united, what will kill Bishop Wago?*

*If we are united, what will kill Ngoyoni?*



# Pastoralists review



**Wako Konchora, Dillo**

War doesn't take much time: you can destroy an entire nation in an hour. Whilst peace requires a lot of patience and commitment, a lot of work,

hunger and dust. This gathering is not to propagate hatred but to inculcate the culture of peace.



**Mogole Haibor, Rendille Elder**

You've had a conflict and you've been fighting. When you fought did you use stones, spears, guns? Both of you used weapons. Where

did you get those weapons? I know that guns don't give birth like cows or camels. We see you still have guns. Have you disarmed yourselves? If you are not disarmed, you are lying. In order to make sustainable peace, both communities have got to be disarmed. If the arms are going to stay in these communities the same people are going to use them to make conflict again. These people should go back to their traditional culture and return to only using sticks to herd their animals.

**“... Have you disarmed yourselves? If you are not disarmed, you are lying. In order to make sustainable peace, both communities have got to be disarmed.”**



**Joseph Ole Kishau  
Maasai Elder, Naivasha**

I work with the Pastoralist Shade Initiative. We are the elders who move around seeking ways to unite those peoples who lack peace in their

areas. To seek ways to solve conflict you must first uncover what its origins are. Where did the pregnancy come from?

The culture is similar in all pastoralist areas. The importance of cattle in our lives forces people to seek fame. At some stages in the lives of the youth, this encourages cattle rustling, causing conflict with neighbouring people.

Weight must be placed upon these communities, especially these womenfolk. They deserve large meetings to be held for them because they kick you at home when they

miss tea with milk, then you are asked, “Where are the camels? When the child cries it is hit with the calabash and asked, “Has your father brought any cattle?” These are the lessons that need to be taught at the hearth because if women say, “Do not go out and steal, stealing is bad,” all men will refuse to go out to steal. But as long as they give praise, even if we sit under this tree or that tree or another tree, stealing will go on.

**Nuria Gollo, Marsabit**

We have heard about the peace agreements between Dillo and Dukana. Why haven't we heard about the women? They are also part of the conflict. What was the role of women in building peace and resolving conflict?



**Adano Seles, FHI  
Marsabit**

You have made an agreement for compensation. How far is your agreement functional? Is stealing of animals still going on? What is the success of the agreement? Can you give us an example of where you have used the rules of the agreement?







### **Councillor Ali Adano**

We want our other brothers here to learn from us: You don't use guns in solving conflict. You should use dialogue. In Dillo and Dukana only the government

officers are armed. Guns have no market and no value in our place.

The traditional culture of Borana and Gabra is that women and men can't sit under the same shade. In our process the women have been included in it. It is an all-inclusive process. That is why we are enjoying peace. If we hadn't included the women, we wouldn't have peace now.

In the two and a half years since we made these agreements we have not lost any lives. All the stray animals have been returned to their rightful owners. I think it is very clear that our pact is viable and the agreement is working. Although there have been some small incidences of animals straying, those small incidences are outside the area of jurisdiction of Dillo and Dukana. That is why we need your support to spread the agreement outside Dillo and Dukana,

### **Councillor Diba Dambala, Kalacha**

Dillo and Dukana are an example to us all. The white man, when he is happy, sometimes cries instead of laughing. I am the same. My livestock and my animals are now on the other side of the border. In my conscience, I thought the Borana are going to take them away. But now, having heard yesterday's announcement of the policy that someone can be compensated in return for each one stolen, I am more content.

It's clear that the young men in the bush herding must be targeted. They are the ones who understand every situation, but the ones from town can't walk even some kilometres and could not survive even one day in the bush. These youths, these herders, are the ones who need to be attending such a gathering.

I'm a politician. Many of you say it is the politicians who've been inciting us. One of our proverbs says that "the fortune of the poor man is in the hands of a mad man." But you are the ones who elected these mad men. You should use your votes wisely.



**"...Those who suffer during conflict are the young men. I am asking the elders at this gathering to involve the youth."**

talk about the youth. The elders sitting around here, we can't go around and fight with others or go raiding. The men on the ground who are causing the conflict are the youths.

We need more youth participants to be part of these peace-making agreements. Elders can sometimes incite youth to cause conflict. The old men take them back to olden times saying, "Our enemies did not come and graze in our areas before. It is your weakness that they are coming now," and this makes people go to war.

People wear rings made of elephant tusks, to prove their bravery. That is a big problem. It makes them want to fight to be recognised for their courage. The youth say, "But our fingers are without rings, our arms without bracelets and now they are making peace. When will it be our time to get these things? They are trying to destroy us and prevent us getting these things by making peace."

### **Councillor Elema Bitacha, Maikona**

We the people of Maikona have never fought with anyone. We even have peace with our Rendille neighbours. People say that women are not involved in peace. In Maikona we involve our women. Women from Maikona have gone to the neighbouring division of Kargi on peace missions. We have no problem with the people there. Our youth are coming together in the *Fora* camps to get to know each other and be ambassadors of peace. That is how we preserve the culture of peace in Maikona. If the people of Dukana and Dillo also preserve the same culture, we can only support you.

### **Halkano Galgalo, Marsabit**

Those who suffer during conflict are the young men. I am asking the elders at this gathering to involve the youth in everything they do. I want to remind our leaders that they need to be extremely careful in what they say. If only they could preach peace at every occasion then peace will spread and become sustainable.



### **Councillor Ibrae Galgalo, Dukana**

We have been discussing how the people used to fight and now they have made peace. I want to





## Councillor Guyo Adano, North Horr

When the Dukana people were fighting, we were having the same problem in North Horr. We know the people who have problems are the politicians. If your politics are not going well you make sure people fight so that you can get mileage. Politicians must be involved in building peace. The politician who sees his political mileage is down initiates the conflict. Let us understand this and not listen to his propaganda.

A young man wanted to challenge an old man. He came to him with a grasshopper in his hands. He asked the old man whether the grasshopper is alive or dead? The old man said, "This grasshopper is in your hand. When I tell you this grasshopper is dead, you are going to kill it. If I tell you it is alive you are going to leave it. It's fate is in your hands." The people of Dillo and Dukana have called us together to extend their peace. That peace is in our hands.



All our problems are political, both in Kenya and in Ethiopia. Humans never get satisfied. Everyone wants to be brave, clever and rich. And yet there are three people with problems; the Brave, the Clever and the Rich. The Clever – God has given him ability to listen but instead of using it wisely he uses it for evil intention. Instead of using it for the marginalised, he suppresses those weaker than him. The Rich – God has given him riches. He has never used any strength to get them. Yet he uses it unwisely by inciting people to fight. The Brave – he only wants to kill. But we believe that these are the three great things that a man should have. We should use our resources wisely. The wealthy should not fund political opportunists among our communities.

## Adan Sora, Marsabit

Before the time of *Gadaa* Jaldesa we could not differentiate between Borana and Gabra. We were one. And the only rifles came from Mega. These were supplied by four agents, two Borana and two Gabra. We were living in the bush then. At this time it was only myself and this old man, the *Dabela*, who were alive. Most of you here are our children and were not yet born then and those who initiated the difference between Gabra and Borana are no longer alive.

In those days we Gabra and Borana were working together on the same front line. We fought together. We were not living then the way we are today. I want to cry when I recollect these things. Now you are talking of Gabra and Borana and you are confusing us. We've been living in the bush and we've been lied to. It is the people who went to school who initiated all those things to us.

My wife is a Gabra. One of my sons died in this conflict. I can't say it was the Gabra who killed my son. It was that season.

When an eagle has lost the use of his wings it cannot fly but if it has been treated it is healed. The people who volunteered to heal the eagles' wings are the people of Dukana and Dillo. I give you thanks for that.

We need to support each other now. So we are now calling this tree where we're meeting the Acacia of Peace as an example of the unity of the communities of Borana and Gabra. From this moment no one shall cut any of the leaves and branches from this tree. We are going to support each other and we are going to support you people of Dukana and Dillo also. You came up with a good initiative.

Let us now face where the problem lies. The problems were stirred up by politicians over the new boundaries. Previously Gabra and Borana were one. But then our children were

forcefully taken to school by Kenyatta and we have forgotten all our history. You people of Dillo and Dukana have made us remember all we have forgotten. We thank God that the people of Dillo and Dukana are like those who fixed the wing of the eagle. The Gabra and the Borana are the missing wing-feathers. Those absent from the peace process are those who have not remembered what has happened. Let's take this message to them.

Perhaps this drought is an intervention from God. We are now again sharing our water and resources. Previously in Marsabit, we couldn't even enter each other's shops. Now we are again grazing together. We can even visit each other's houses now.

## STORIES FROM OTHER PLACES

### Elder from Chari Liche, Miyo District

There is no talk about peace in our area. Everyone is ready with his gun cocked. You hear bad news about conflict all the time. The conflict is increasing, especially over the last month. What causes this problem?

We have been trying to return stray animals. I have met with my counterpart chiefs in Moyale, Kenya but they always say that they

can't assist with returning stray animals. There are over 16 donkeys and 13 camels that strayed to Turbi. What can we take from the model of Dukana to deal with the problem that is around us?

### Abudho Guyo, Turbi

Many of our cattle that were lost have been recovered, but some remain in Kenya and some in Ethiopia. Most of the livestock from Ethiopia were returned, but we have information that the ones in Idi, Miyo District are still there. We have no link with Miyo

**“...We are now calling this tree where we're meeting the Acacia of Peace as an example of the unity of the communities of Borana and Gabra.”**



because in between us, there is Uran and Rawan and we are afraid to go through those places. Since all the authorities are here, please assist us to return those animals. Please return to us the remaining nine head of cattle that are still in Ethiopia and please take care of them until they reach us.





In Turbi there is no water. Yet there is water at Rawan, which is only 13km away, and Walda, which is 27km away. Right now trucks travel 360km to bring water for the people in Turbi from Loglogo – 180km each way. All our life is based on water - water and animals. Without water the animals will not survive. Without water the humans will not survive. We have decided that if we are not going to see the rain, the water from Logloga is not going to sustain us and we will all perish if we can't access Rawan water. Even the police officers who usually get their water from Rawan have been denied it. That hatred is unmentionable. Before the massacre we interacted and married with Borana. We shared *Fora* together. How are we going to sort out this issue?



### Debano Jilo, Chari Liche

Conflict is part of life. Even two brothers can quarrel when they are looking after the goats. The father has to take a position. If the father fails his responsibility it will have an effect on the entire community. The Government is our father. Out of ignorance or criminal activities from a few individuals, troubles begin. The conflict that started was far away from us. It

**“...there is water at Rawan,  
which is only 13km away, and  
Walda, which is 27km away.  
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people in Turbi.”**

was around Hurri Hills, Bubisa, Turbi and Sololo – it didn't even cross into Ethiopia at first. But it spread all over our entire area. It has wasted a lot of time and resources. Our government made a serious follow up. We were even returning the stray animals that were raided by the bandits or criminals. But on Kenya side the animals that have been raided are transported to Nairobi for sale.

We met at Magado on a number of occasions and made agreements together that there will be no repeat of previous incidences and tough action will be taken. We have been collaborating well with the community at Forole, but we never get any interaction with the government. Yesterday the DC was here and we were very happy with his speech. I was excited and overjoyed.

I want the peace to be strengthened between Kenya and Ethiopia. If this is not possible, or if it has no use to the government, then we community must do it on our own. We are people of high integrity so we must tell each other the truth. We should be sincere in our speech and actions and make sure what we say is implemented. If we all agree to be transparent with our actions and words, there will be no room for criminals to hide among us.

### Quri Guyo, Forole

The Dukana Dillo peace process has also reached us and we have been praising them. In Forole, we have been having obstacles here and there but the peace process is working well.



We were fighting. At last we were brought together and we have been sitting with the people of Ethiopia. But as we were going on with that – one child was killed and there was retaliation for that. Then the communication between our communities broke down.

Finally an old man from Ethiopia came and we talked together. This old man visited us and we asked,

“Why did you come?” He said he came for peace. We asked him,

“Did this peace happen?” He said, “It will.” We said,

“We have been speaking about peace, but then you came back and killed one of our children and we think if we talk about peace, someone might die again.” He said,

“If someone has to die again, let me be the victim. If this thing is about sacrifice, let me be sacrificed so that this thing will pass.” We said to ourselves, “What this man said is true. Let us agree with him.”

The people of NGOs and Cordaid came into the process. We told them the background of what is going on. The old man from Ethiopia was also present when we met them. Cordaid supported us to hold a gathering. That gathering had a lot of impact where people greeted each other and sat together as brothers



and sisters. They formed a committee with members from each side and now they meet every week.

The process was going on well, but then someone on the Ethiopia side was killed. We said, “We can’t leave someone who has died just like that. Let us enact a policy to deal with these incidents, using the one brought by the Ethiopian Government [as a model]”. We entered into this contract together. There are people who don’t want that contract to go on. We knew that one of the people on the other side was not for the idea. We knew there are still people who can come and destroy what we were planning. But we still came to consensus. Now we have agreed. We encourage each other so we don’t get discouraged.

We have started to implement the policy. We are returning stray animals. There were 11 stray donkeys that came our side: We returned them. Recently a camel was lost: We followed the footsteps and saw it was on the other side. They returned it to us.

Now when the Ethiopian Government hears things they get involved. They follow the footsteps and arrest the culprits. Recently there was an incident of an isolated shooting. Two Kenya Police Reserves were wounded. One has been hospitalised in Meru for the last four days. These are the challenges we are facing now.

### **Diba Okotu, Chairman of Maikona Peace Committee**

We are people who were outside the Dukana Dillo declaration. If it is a road that the people of Dukana and Dillo are building they are now at the stage of putting the tarmac on it. The Maikona community are ready to support the peace process in any way we can. We have criminals living amongst our community – if someone is an enemy of the peace, we must take action immediately and the criminals should be punished. That is how we are going to expand the peace.



### **Mohamed Abdi (Baba), Dillo Woreda Administrator**

The peace initiative between Dukana and Dillo was done well and it was the community who sat down and devised the way forward on this sustainable peace that we are all celebrating today. My work is to build and strengthen peace and that is why I am here.

When we have been continuing with this dialogue for the last two years we had some fears. The fear was that those in districts and divisions beyond Dukana were a threat to our dialogue – in both Ethiopia and Kenya. But today I am happy because people came from all over Chalbi to this gathering and it is as if I am now assured that these initiatives will succeed.







### **Halake Wako, Miyo Woreda Administrator**

On the relationship between the Miyo District and the Gabra community in Kenya: In the last year, there were two incidents, one on the Kenya side and one on the Ethiopia side. The first was that people went from my area and raided Turbi area. They confiscated 74 head of cattle and killed one person. We responded rapidly and recovered 34 heads of cattle which we gave to the Kenyan authorities to be handed over to the rightful owner. We jailed all who had taken part in the raid and disarmed them. We continued the investigation and recovered another nine head of cattle [that the elder from Turbi mentioned]. We had no contact with the Turbi community since there are Borana areas of Rawan and Uran are between Turbi and Miyo. Of the nine cattle we later recovered, one died because of drought, eight are there and the skin of the ninth is still at the Miyo police station. They are ready to be collected by the rightful owner.

Two months ago there was a regrouping of the Borana community. They wanted to attack Turbi again. We had an intelligence report. We followed up and we reached them after they had reached more than 24km into Kenya territory and we disarmed them. We jailed all of them and they are still in prison.



### **Kalicha Boru, Dire Woreda Administrator**

We are with the elders. They are very committed. We have had so many meetings in Dillo, in Gorray. We call these elders the ambassadors of peace.

We have been a bit late starting the process around Forole area. We will make sure that we open up the Forole Magado side. The Chiefs in Forole have been giving us a lot of support.

We have met for the last two and half years and had many talks and interactions with those from Dukana up to Hurri Hills. There are some

small isolated cases, but we have had much success. I first met with the Moyale team and met with DC Moyale. It was DC Moyale who helped me meet DC Chalbi. I have seen DC Moyale is a good person and straightforward. It is only that there might be a force that is much greater than him. For example, I have seen that those under him (the chiefs and councillors) are not faithful people and that is why I think he had a number of hiccups. The problem disturbing me in Dire always generates from Sololo and Uran. The problem is that we are not in terms with those people because they harbour the OLF insurgency group. The peace we made in Forole was distorted just two months after the declaration and we believe that they are the ones who distorted it, who came and killed the youngster. We know it was the same people who killed the two KPR 4 days ago. All these problems have a root and it starts from that Sololo area.

I don't share a common border with Sololo district, but I have jurisdiction over one village that is near the border and I have seen that village of mine has been manipulated and strongly influenced. But I have taken tough measures on the village and made sure they will never be used. We are disarming and jailing them. Since the criminals are among us and in society, there might be one or two people among them who are criminals, but I will assure this gathering that I don't think any of them





will join in the conflict. We as the Dire community have discussed and agreed that we can't achieve anything from the conflict – it will only increase poverty and we have agreed to build sustainable peace.

I request DC Chalbi and Moyale to have a meeting together, and with their DSIC before the next public meeting. I request that we meet with our Kenyan counterparts before coming to the next public gathering.

### **Commander Alemeyahu, Head of Peace and Security, Borana Zone Ethiopia**

We have to stand together and abolish such acts and deal with such criminals. I request that we Ethiopian and Kenyan officials need to be tested and evaluated by you people. We need to report to you and inform you what we have done and what we are going to do for the coming meetings so that good relations amongst all will flourish.

We, as government leaders, have to understand that these communities know their rights and they know when to say yes and when to say no. We need to stand for and with and among the people.

We have discussed with our friend, Nura Dida, and we propose to hold the next meeting at Magado, in Dire district, neighbouring Forole.

**“The peace initiative between Dukana and Dillo was done well and it was the community who sat down and devised the way forward... My work is to build and strengthen peace and that is why I am here.”**



### **Chief Inspector Diba Liban, Borana Zone**

There is no way that people can be above the law. The law should be above them and upheld at all times. If a criminal commits a crime, the law should be used to the letter. The recovery of stolen animals alone is not a solution to the problem; the criminal must be punished and brought to the law. In one of our meetings that we had with the Oromia Pastoralists Association with Gabra, Gujji and Borana, we agreed to draw resolutions of how to end tribal clashes and banditry and we made some declarations, similar to those made between Dillo and Dukana, which have shown positive results in our area. Now the incidents of murder and raids has reduced by 75%.

As the lead agents of security in Ethiopia we are ready to strengthen these community initiatives. If we hear any distress call, I am on the frontline - day or night. I am committed at the provincial level. I am sorry if my statement irritates you, but I don't see so much concern from the Kenyan side. I said to myself “seeing is believing” – I must myself come down and see really what is really happening at this gathering. But where are those people who have the same rank as me from the Kenya side? Why are they not here? Are they satisfied with only the reports of the junior officers here? If the mothers have left their house and children to be here with us, why can't they be here too? It is our responsibility, for me as the one in charge of police division, to forward these matters and the discussion of this gathering to the federal government in Addis Ababa. I am sorry that I am not very conversant with the administrators and structures of the Kenyan Government.



## Reuben Dhuku District Officer Dukana

We have a different system of government between Kenya and Ethiopia, but we want to assure the people of Ethiopia that we will be sending government representatives of equal rank to all meetings.

Regarding whether the rule of law is applied equally in Kenya; Do we have rules for pastoralists, for the farmers, for the politicians, for the elders? In Kenya the rule of law is the same for all: No-one is above the law in Kenya.

We in the Government of Kenya don't want others' problems to be our problems. But we are ready to help when asked. We don't support any insurgency group. We are a stable state. The government has spread its wings to every corner of Kenya. We are in Moyale. We have a DC, DO and chiefs there. The people of Sololo are Kenyan citizens.

I challenge the Turbi people to get an easy entry point to Sololo. We believe the Turbi people can help us to negotiate with them. If a boy wants to marry, he wants to do everything

he can to get that girl. We should be friends with the people of Sololo in all ways. We should use all possible entry points. We know they are interested in peace. We believe they will participate in the next meeting.

We have contacted the Sololo District Officer. Sololo has been elevated to a new district. The leaders of the district were to meet and being the first meeting it was very important for them to attend. So I want to dispel any kind of rumours about their absence.

We want to assure our Ethiopian colleagues that the Kenya government is committed to peace and we are going to work together. We need to unite as leaders. When we unite, the criminals will become naked and will have nowhere to hide.

**“The Kenya Government is committed to peace... We need to unite as leaders so criminals become naked and have nowhere to hide.”**

## George Mwangi, OCS Dukana

I am privileged to be associated with the Dukana Dillo process since its inception two years ago. The first time I went with a Land Cruiser of armed officers to guard our elders while travelling to the meeting. There was so



much suspicion and mistrust. Thank God it's changed. Today we can see the fruits. You have seen conducive co-existence between Dukana and Dillo. But there is a lot of concern about conflict between Turbi and Rawan, Walda etc. I challenge the PSI Chairman and the elders here to work on this.





# Into the Future

## **Molu Kulu**

All gathered have agreed that the issue of those who haven't arrived will be dealt with as a way forward. We have agreed that we shall meet them at a later date. We have agreed that we cannot have the next gathering at their place, but we will have a different venue where we can host them. The Ethiopian government has suggested Magado in Dire District.

Each of us has accepted peace. To have greater impact we need more people involved in such a gathering. If those people from the other side had come, our quorum would have been bigger and we could have planned for the huge meeting involving many people. But in their absence we need to agree how to include them in the next step.

## **Adan Sora**

There is a place called Titu near the Moyale/Wajir border. It is a small enclave between two hills. During colonial times there were a number of rhinos there and during the night there were lions there. They are still there and you will face them if you walk alone. If you pass Titu you will come to a big plain, and on

this side too there is open savannah land. It is only those who have knowledge of the terrain who can traverse that area. The Sololo issue needs a knowledgeable person. The elders from Sololo are really for the peace. They really want it, but they have fear.

We've all been blaming politicians. Those in charge of politics are the MPs. In the Madaraka Day celebration on 1st June, our MP in Marsabit declared peace and the people are very happy with him. He said he stands for all the people and for peace. We want the MPs from Marsabit, North Horr and Moyale. We are the ones who elected them – and the next election we will be casting our vote. We want them to head this process. Let's involve all of them.

We want our next meeting to be held in a good venue. It really needs an elder with wisdom to find the best solution. The area like Kalacha and Maikona in Chalbi District is a neutral ground for everyone. There is no fear for anybody there.

## **Gufu Orgi, Balesa**

We should select a few people to go and meet the people in Sololo and convince them and talk to them. Adan Sora should be one of those people so that they will have a positive mind about the coming meeting. Yesterday we all said the peace initiative started with Dukana and Dillo people. We are satisfied with it. I want the mistakes and bad deeds we have been doing before to be over - Spit out the bad things.

## **Dalacha Denge, Dillo**

The chairman asked how we can see those that didn't attend this meeting. We are going to get the people from Sololo on board through the people of Kenya mobilising them through the District Commissioner and through the Pastoralist Shade Initiative. It will be their responsibility. Oromia Pastoralists Association will take responsibility for mobilisation for the next gathering on the Ethiopian side.

**“The Sololo issue needs a knowledgeable person. The elders from Sololo are really for the peace.”**

## Joseph Ole Kishau

More women should participate – they are very important in conflicts. Young men should also come. We elders are getting tired after talking so many days. Chairman, please ensure that every area gives a chance for women, girls and boys from every area to attend the next meeting. Change is inevitable, if you don't accept it it will change you. We've named this tree an Acacia of Peace: The peace process must be extended and not just remain here.



## Adan Sora

We've all agreed to build peace. I have a request for the gathering, especially the Magado and Forole communities. You have said that you started your initiatives some time back. I want you to show us in the same way as Dillo and Dukana have shown us. In Forole, there is a lot of grass and in Magado there is a lot of water. If you could share those resources together the way Dillo and Dukana are now sharing together, you will have really shown us.

We have extensive lands which are rich. We only suffer from poverty of ideas. How can we resolve that? By sharing our resources amicably. Before the next gathering, we want to hear that you have started sharing those resources that you had stopped using due to fear and mistrust and that is the fruit of the peace you are building.

## Guyo Hukka, Dukana

We in Dukana and Dillo initiated this dialogue and process. Now you, the participants, have you agreed with what we have done? Have you accepted that it is good? - YES - Thank you.

Peace came as a surprise. It started with only two villages, Dillo and Dukana. It was a surprise because two villages can't do all that much, but now they have encompassed all of you. It has now reached the larger Borana and Gabra communities. It has gone beyond village level and even brought the Ethiopian and Kenyan governments together.

The war needs little support, but it is hard to strengthen the peace. When you go home, the first thing you will get is threats. You are going to get a log of false alarms and reports. Listen to Dukana. When we first had our peace tree, the Borana were told, "Don't listen to the Gabra – all of them are going to raid your side". Gabra were also told – "Ehh, don't go to that meeting you are going to be killed." If you listen to such personal propaganda, you cannot even visit your neighbour's house.

It wasn't that the rumours were true, but we know that those who said them are the enemies of peace. We refused to listen to such falsehoods and that is why we are celebrating peace here. Always when we plan for a meeting during the last five to fifty years, there have been incidents where someone has been killed, or propaganda has been put out. Those are major obstacles to peace. We refused all those false and alarmist statements. If you have accepted peace and unity, there are such challenges ahead of you. They will not leave you out because you are a senior government administrator or senior elder. You will just hear bad things that someone is being killed near your administrative boundary, or that others are going to raid. Don't be affected by these things.

**“The war needs little support, but it is hard to strengthen the peace. If you go home the first thing you will get is threats. You are going to get a log of false alarms and reports.”**







### **Mohamed Abdi (Baba), Dillo Woreda Administrator**

Now we in Dukana and Dillo have opened up our markets and there is total peace here. We have a big market. If you want to buy or sell your items you can come to Dillo and sell or buy whatever you want. We invite you to our market day every Monday.

### **Major Ramata, Gass Councillor**

We need to open up small trade across the borders like Dukana and Dillo have done. The long-term strategy is economic generation. The reason people fight is because they are very poor. The poor will do anything to sustain their living. Let's wake up and strengthen marketing for livestock.

Let's open our borders. People have been put in small areas and have little information about the next place and that is why they have these problems and doubts. As the Borana proverb says, "If it has rained in your country you also think it has rained in other countries."

**"If you want to buy or sell your items you can come to Dillo and sell or buy whatever you want. We invite you to our market day every Monday."**



### **Adano Selesa**

Prior to the conflict, there was very good business between Ethiopia and Kenya on livestock. It was at the local level but it used to assist a lot. You remember that Ethiopians used to come and buy a lot of sheep from our area. That used to bring a lot of resources in. They also used to pick up some things useful for their area and take them back. That kind of exchange trade is very good. Since now we are getting peace, I request our Ethiopian counterparts to come back and do that trade in our homes again. We are pushing to have some markets in Kalacha and North Horr. It is challenging us, but if we get opportunity from the Ethiopian side, it will help. In other parts of Kenya, they have market days. Even next to you – Samburu – they have market days. If we get organised like this, even the government will cover it with good policies, which will start to strengthen our economy.





### Chiri Bulle, Maikona

I am very happy and joyful. It is God who brought all of us together under this shade. We have shared and prayed together. Thanks be to God. Our purpose here was to talk about peace and everyone has had a chance and put forward their opinions.

[A snake joins the gathering and surprises everyone]. The snake shows that we have spoken the truth here. We women we really promote general peace. Now the main challenge when we go back is to spread the message of peace to the entire community. If each of us shares the same message I think we have sowed the seed of peace.

One observation is that, "It is easy for men to say but difficult for them to do." As women we shall deliver the messages. But I doubt the men will deliver the message. They will promise here under the shade and then forget about it. It isn't that I want to praise women, but it is our natural behaviour to sing and dance and cry quickly. Let's put our words into action



**"The snake shows that we have spoken the truth here."**

### Nuria Gollo

Peace starts with an individual. One herder initiated this process and I would like us to honour and imitate him as a role model. The shade is beautiful, it is rich and I want to make it my home. I want it to continue. I want the people to continue talking peace. Nothing is greater than peace: let's support the initiative.





## Chief Tuye Katelo

Peace is like a vehicle. It is very good when you travel in it, but it can have an accident and kill all the occupants. Or an aeroplane which is very good and takes very little time, but it can be disastrous if it falls down.

Let's all take responsibility. Don't add fuel to the fire. Cool down everything and use the best approach to solve a problem. We've all been blaming the MPs but we elders are the catalysts - we are the people who make them behave how they do. Because they want votes from us, they accept anything from the elders, they don't want to offend them.

All of us should be agents of change promoting peace and tranquillity in our area. Take this message to the youth and the herders, to everyone. And all of these should be present at the next meeting.



## Molu Kulu

**Let's respect the Dillo Declaration and applaud it. Go back to your people and disseminate the same information.**

We started planning this gathering at Dukana in September 2008. It was postponed three times. After we leave here, those who are organising the next gathering will certainly meet some challenges. It won't be good if we agree the date and place for that gathering here and then find problems, which mean that we need to change it. The gathering must be comfortable for everyone. We must secure the resources for it. I assure you, as Chairman of the Pastoralist Shade Initiative that I will do all I can to make the gathering as successful as it can be. Please await my feedback on the date and location.

**“Peace is like a vehicle. It is very good when you travel in it, but it can have an accident and kill all the occupants.”**



## Postscript

The Dukana gathering mandated a group of Gabra and Borana elders to visit Moyale District to brief the Kenyan administration and pastoralist leaders of the area on the outcomes of the meeting and pass the news of the next gathering.

On 10th June, this team concluded meetings with the Moyale District administration and the communities of Sololo, Rawan, Walda and Uran. These communities, along with the district administration, have agreed to attend the next gathering. They have requested that this second gathering should also be held in Chalbi District. As a gesture of good faith and good will, the Borana of Walda have now opened a way for their wells to be used by Gabra livestock from Turbi.

Since the Dukana meeting, there has been an increase in cross-border activity and Gabra pastoralists from Forole, Kenya have been given access to the Borana boreholes at Magado, Ethiopia for watering their animals and for domestic use.

The next gathering will be held near Maikona, Chalbi District from 17th – 19th July 2009.



## The Pastoralist Shade Initiative

“*Shade* is an association of the elders from all the different pastoralist groups in Kenya, legally registered. We involve all pastoralist communities: Gabra, Borana, Somali, Dassanech, Rendille, Pokot, Turkana, Maasai, Orma etc. *Shade* was set up to work on internal pastoralist conflict. We conduct meetings under the shade, not in halls. We work in a way that pastoralists are used to. If this meeting had been held in a hotel, the elders wouldn't have been able to chew and spit their tobacco: they'd be in jail by now.

“*Shade* doesn't have professionals. We use our own knowledge to solve our own problems as pastoralists. Many of our board members cannot read and write. *Shade* has big missions and dreams. We are working to hold meetings on peace in Kibish [Turkana], Pokot and other places. We will also continue to work on this process.”

*Ole Kishau, Mogole Haibor and Adan Sora*

