

**THE PUFF ADDER, THE FIRE, THE SPEAR, THE PEACE...**

Reporting from the Maikona Peace Gathering 17th - 19th July 2009

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

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.

In June 2009, the people of Dukana invited traditional and civic leaders, youth, women and senior government representatives from Ethiopia and Kenya to discuss their peace initiative. People attended from Dire, Miyo, Dillo and Teltele districts in Ethiopia and from Chalbi and Marsabit districts in Kenya.

At the Dukana gathering, those attending endorsed the Dukana and Dillo declaration, but felt that a larger group of communities must be brought into the peace discussion, particularly from Sololo district, Kenya.

They mandated the Pastoralist Shade Initiative and the Oromia Pastoralists Association to organise this second gathering at the Gamura Wells near Maikona from 17th - 19th July 2009.











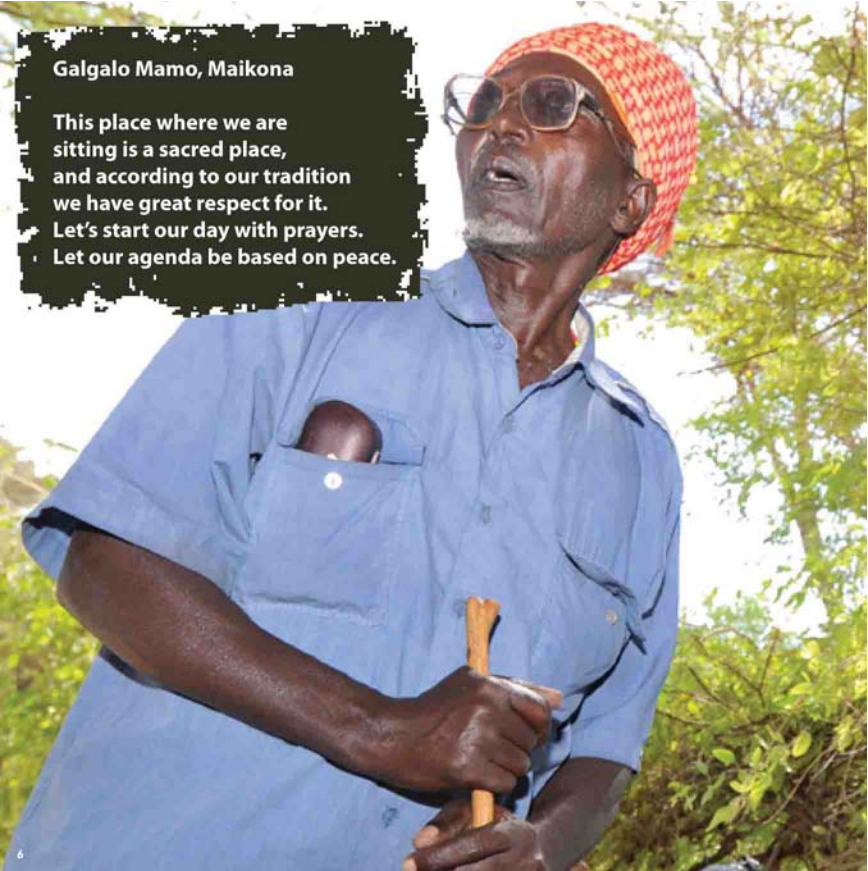


# WELCOME

Chiri Bulle, Maikona

You are welcome. This place is called Gamura. It is right on the edge of the Chalbi desert. It has many trees, much shade and sweet water. We have a tree here with medicinal value.

We use it as a toothbrush and when camels feed on it, they give us a lot of milk.



Galgalo Mamo, Maikona

This place where we are sitting is a sacred place, and according to our tradition we have great respect for it. Let's start our day with prayers. Let our agenda be based on peace.



Elijah Kodoh, DC Chalbi

Welcome to our district. No development can be attained without peace.

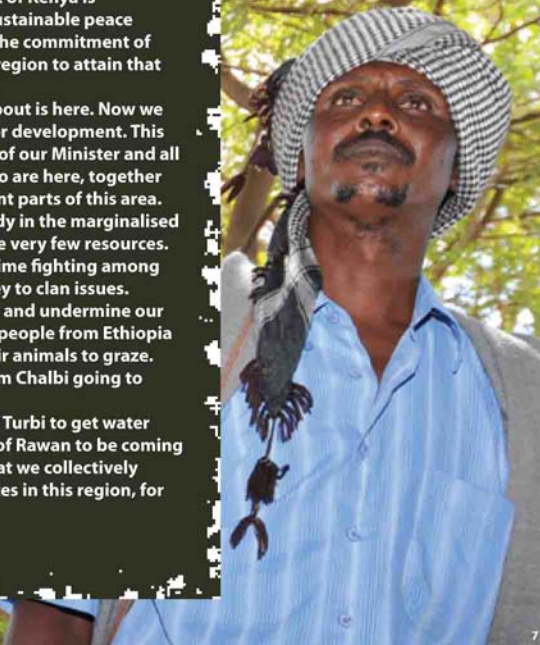
That is why the Government of Kenya is committed to developing sustainable peace in our region. But we need the commitment of all our people living in this region to attain that peace.

This peace we are talking about is here. Now we should prepare ourselves for development. This is signified by the presence of our Minister and all the government officers who are here, together with the elders from different parts of this area. As pastoralists we are already in the marginalised part of this country. We have very few resources.

We cannot afford to waste time fighting among ourselves. Let us not fall prey to clan issues.

They only serve to divide us and undermine our development. I want to see people from Ethiopia coming into Kenya with their animals to graze. I want to see our people from Chalbi going to get water from Ethiopia.

I want specifically people of Turbi to get water from Rawan. I want people of Rawan to be coming into Turbi for grazing. So that we collectively maximise the use of resources in this region, for our own development.





In June we had a gathering of 140 delegates in Dukana. It was organised by [the Borana] community of Dillo and [the Gabra] community of Dukana. At that gathering, they told us how they had been going on with a peace initiative between the two communities for two years. We learnt a lot about peace from them.

They told us that they had been fighting for two years. Then one day, when the herders went out with the animals,

they saw each other from afar. They put down their guns and came together and asked each other, "Why do we fight?" It was one person who put down his gun and went and greeted the others. He is the person who started the dialogue. A herder from Dillo responded and also put down his gun. Both of them faced serious challenges when they went back to their homes. People said to them, "How can you go and talk to a Borana?" or "How can you go and talk to a Gabra?" Then the communities started to ask each other, "Why do we fight? What's the reason? There's no reason why we are fighting. We are fools, so why don't we talk about peace?"

On the first day they met in no-man's-land, on the Ethiopia/Kenya border, but later on they had their meetings both in Dillo and Dukana centres. They started returning stray animals, even some stolen ones. They started building a consensus with the entire community. They developed rules for compensation to be paid for future stolen animals or deaths. After some time they started to involve others, including the government and the development partners.

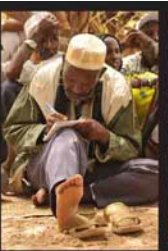
When they called us to the Dukana gathering, they told us their story and asked the gathering to analyse and say whether the process was good or bad, whether we should continue with these peace initiatives, or leave it and go back to how we have been behaving. They wanted to expand their agreements beyond Dukana and Dillo so that the peace could spread.

We all agreed that what they had done is good, and we should all support and strive to build and expand it. But the quorum at the Dukana gathering was not complete because one of our communities, the people from Sololo, was not with us. We said yes we have accepted peace but we need a complete quorum that will encompass all of us. So let's welcome them to the next meeting. And this gathering at Gamura, Maikona is the gathering that has welcomed them.

After the Dukana meeting we, the elders of the Pastoralist Shade Initiative, followed up. We went to their place to ask why they hadn't come. We invited them to this meeting. Now they are here with us and are ready to discuss with us.

**We said yes we have accepted peace  
but we need a complete quorum  
that will encompass all of us.**







## OPENING THE GATHERING

Hon. Francis Chachu, MP North Horr

Peace is from God, but God gives peace through human beings, through us the people. It's not for government or MPs to organise this peace. It is you the herders who started the process. It is you the elders who are now moving with it. On behalf of all the elected leaders in this northern region, we are ready for peace. We are not going to let you down. We are going to build the process and strengthen it with you.

I have a message from Hon. Mohamed Ali, MP for Moyale. Today he is abroad on an official government visit. He has asked to bless the gathering. He says he will accept all the outcomes of the meeting and he will work to strengthen them.

We, the MPs of North Horr, Moyale and these northern areas are going to so many places preaching peace. Because we are politicians, we seek favour from you. Since you yourselves have put a lot of effort into the peace process, we are ready to support you in all your endeavours.

Due to this persistent drought, the animals are dying. There is no grass, no water. Now most of our livestock from Dukana has crossed over to Gorray in Dillo area, those from Hurri Hills and Forole are sharing resources with Magado people in Ethiopia, and those from Bubisa and Turbi are up there in Abjan, sharing with the people of Wajir West. In absence of peace, could we have shared those resources?

In every society there must be a mad person, or a bad one. Don't blame the entire community, get hold of him, say it is this one, give him the name, don't give him the blessing of a clan name, because he will hide under that.

Now I am addressing the Minister. The security of the communities should be the first concern of the government. It is the responsibility of the government to keep general peace, to maintain it. Our elders are ready and they are committed to peace. We want our government to give true support to our elders and to our administrators, especially the DCs. Our government officers should hold hands with our elders, they should continue building this peace process every day.



We politicians are only at our ugali. We think the best way to get elected is to incite you to fight, especially if we cannot initiate any tangible development. Don't listen to any of us who say go and fight.

Hon. Hussein Tari Sasura, MP Marsabit

Let's not only talk about peace, let's put it into action. Gabra and Borana have the same culture. It's only the bad season that came and separated us. The drought is a very bad thing but it has brought us together.

People call Honorable Chachu a coward. They call me a coward. This is because we seek peace. They say we are dead wood because they cannot encourage us to fight. We don't accuse anybody and we don't encourage anybody to fight. We shall never do it. In Kenya the major challenge to our peace is politics. We politicians are only at our ugali. We think the best way to get elected is to incite you to fight, especially if we cannot initiate any tangible development. Don't listen to any of us who say go and fight. As long as there will be peace, I'll be happy. I have accepted even to be called a coward.

After I had been in office for just two months, two Borana were killed and many animals were stolen. My community of Borana wanted revenge. I held a baraza where I said peace. There was so much hatred towards the Gabra, I was left alone in the baraza. The crowd just walked away. When we were campaigning before the elections, there were many candidates. I was the only one against fighting. I said, "Let us share resources with Gabra." But my opponent said, "He just is seeking votes from Gabra."

I know there are many people who have been affected by that conflict on both sides, from Borana and Gabra. How good is it when we sit together, make jokes together, and discuss our problems? The problems we ourselves have created mean that we can't even access resources. Turbi people cannot access the water at Rawan and Walda, and then Rawan and Walda cannot access the grass on the Turbi side. Why don't we laugh and talk and discuss our problems the way we are sitting under the shade here? That is the way to come out of our problem.



Now most of our livestock from Dukana has crossed over to Gorray in Dillo area, those from Hurri Hills and Forole are sharing resources with Magado people in Ethiopia, and those from Bubisa and Turbi are up there in Abjan, sharing with the people of Wajir West. In absence of peace, could we have shared those resources?



Hon Mohamed Elmi, Minister of State for the Development of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands.

As pastoral people we share far more than a common border. I believe that by drawing on our common shared values, experiences and struggles we will see a peace that will take root and flourish. Any initiative which is serious about building peace will always have my full support. As a Minister for a part of Kenya which suffers greatly from insecurity, I believe that finding solutions to conflicts which undermine the stability and prosperity of this region is fundamental to everything else. We will only secure peace if we meet all four of the following conditions.

First is that all politicians play a constructive role in managing conflict. I'm happy to say that this time round we have a lot of MPs who are for peace. Today you have been joined by counsellors and MPs, who are serious individuals committed to peace building. I believe that if you use your votes wisely you will always elect leaders who have your interests at heart.

The second condition is that the state fulfils its basic duty to protect its citizens. We need to place more emphasis on prevention, and on strengthening the positive role and presence of government in this region.

The third condition is that we have a comprehensive regional policy to facilitate collaboration and coordination between neighbouring states. It is our intention to find long-term solutions to the challenges that jointly face us. I believe that we currently have an opportunity in IGAD to make progress in this regard.

These three conditions are the responsibility of government and leaders, and I want to show you my personal commitment to these three conditions and to tell Hon. Chachu that the government will support the DCs and security administrators here as well as the elders of peace, and that you will see a difference within the coming year.

The fourth and the last is your responsibility. Peace will be achieved when you as communities decide to change the attitudes, the practices and the beliefs that perpetuate violence. So I ask you, as an elder, as a mother, how is it acceptable for your son to go and kill a son of a mother, or a daughter of another mother and come back to your house, eat food and laugh with you? This gathering and others like it is evidence of your desire to build peace, and I commend you for it.

Yesterday I was in Burgabo. There were women who had been waiting for water from the borehole for three days. There was a water truck there from Ministry of Water. I asked if it could go and collect water. I was told that Walda would have been a better road and quicker, but they could not go there until after this meeting. I am hopeful that you will get a resolution so that the last part of this region will also have peace. So let's see this Gathering as part of our shared responsibility to resolve conflict. These gatherings are important moments in that process, but in order to sustain them we need mechanisms to ensure that negotiations between communities continue independent of external funding, and that the agreements we reach between us are respected.

I also request you, if you have got over the Borana-Gabra conflict, please move to Rendille, Samburu, Pokot and Turkana. If you're not going to do that, there'll be no development for Northern Kenya.

These gatherings are important moments in that process, but in order to sustain them we need mechanisms to ensure that negotiations between communities continue independent of external funding.



# EXPANDING THE PEACE TO SOLOLO

## Nura Dida, Chairman, Oromia Pastoralists Association

The Sololo people are major players and we want to remove any tension or any problem among you and the people you are neighbouring in the Forole and Turbi area. Can you join the process and come together with us? The sustainability of this process is incomplete without the Sololo people. Without them it will derail. Dukana and Dillo are enjoying peace. It is sustainable. They have strengthened it. Now we are looking to expand their peace and make that sustainable.

## Mary Adl, Chief, Rawan

We are here for peace. We are ready for peace. The gathering thinks we refused to go to Dukana. We want to explain why we were not there, we want to be given time to explain why.

## Abdub Dengicha, Elder, Walda

We were not present at the Dukana meeting. We thought that when we came here people would penalise us. We heard rumours that people are not satisfied with us - because we were absent. But since we came here there has been no accusation. If the community has no accusation we are going to continue with our peace discussion.



The minister and MPs said that everyone has opened up and even started sharing resources. Even in Marsabit they are sharing together. But when they came to Turbi and Rawan they put a question mark. Now what we shall do? Let us strengthen this peace.

## Liban Wako Gedo, Chief, Dambala Fanchana

The indicators of rain are clouds. The indicators of peace have manifested themselves. We were lacking opportunity for peace. I am sure that if we get the opportunity we are going to discuss it. And it will be the number one priority in all matters. There are so many factors that cause conflict, like tribal hatred, negative ethnicity, geopolitics, politics and many others. We have never had an opportunity to come to a gathering like this and have a dialogue. It is because of the absence of dialogue that this conflict has taken long.

The minister and MPs said that everyone has opened up and even started sharing resources. Even in Marsabit they are sharing together. But when they came to Turbi and Rawan they put a question mark. Now what we shall do? Let us strengthen this peace.

Formerly when we were talking about truth and truth was existing there was no problem. But now it is the same tongue that speaks truth and lies and most of you cannot differentiate between them. If you want to talk on the peace issue here, talk as if God is looking at you and then the truth will come out.

This gathering has encompassed people of Sololo, but it has left the Moyale people out. There are Boranas there. There are many Gabras there. Even Burji. We want this process to encompass them also.



## Adan Sora, Marsabit



*There were four people on a journey, a father, mother, son and slave. They reached a place called Ell-Wak [Well of God]. They were very thirsty, but they looked at the well and saw the water was deep down and there was no way to get the water out. The father said to them, "Please say what you think and if we speak the truth, God will reward us by making the water rise up so we can quench our thirst." The mother started and said, "Husband, I wish you would die and I will become powerful in the household and I will be in charge of your wealth. Then I will have the freedom to walk anywhere." The water began to rise. Then the son said, "Father, I wish you would die and then I will inherit our names and wealth and the dedhas [grazing] will be named after me". The water increased. Then the slave said, "I wish, Master, you would die. Then I will be free. I will be like others and wake up at any time." And the water increased. Then the father spoke. He said, "I wish to grow old with you, my wife. I want to see our son marry. I want us to see our grandchildren, and that our slave becomes like our children." The water reached the top of the well and the family quenched their thirst. After quenching their thirst, the family started saying to the father, "We didn't really want you to die, but..." Before they finished what they were saying the water had gone down again so they couldn't reach it. The father said, "I will go to God and you stay in peace," and he died.*

**This is what you are experiencing. The people of Dukana and Dillo people are like the old man, speaking truth and giving to his family. We should ensure the water stays at the level where we are - don't make any attempt that will make us not focus on the peace we are building.**

## Liban Bagenjo, Sololo

*There was once a man called Barr Bekh [someone who can predict the season]. He was a very young man. The administrator of that land summoned Bar Bekh and said, "You can predict the season. Tell us what the season has for us. If you are right, we will give you a good reward. But if you are wrong, we will kill you." Bar Bekh cried. He did not know what to say. Then he saw a puff adder on the road and the puff adder asked him why he was crying. He said, "The administrator of the land has told me to tell him about the season, but I am just a herder looking after my father's cattle and I can't do it. If I answer right, he will give me a good reward, but if I don't he will kill me and I can't protect myself from his hand." The puff adder asked him, "If I tell you what will happen, what are you going to give me?" Bar Bekh replied, "I will share half of whatever I receive with you." The puff adder responded, "Go back and say that this is the season of fire." Bar Bekh went and told the administrator. The administrator asked his ministers if what the young man had said was true. They agreed it was true and gave him a good reward. Bar Bekh laughed and went away. He passed the puff adder waiting in the same place. The puff adder asked for his share, but Bar Bekh grew angry. He attacked the puff adder with fire, but he only burnt his tail and the puff adder didn't die.*


*Then the administrator again called Bar Bekh to tell him about the season. The young man cried again. He didn't know where to get the answer. He was on the road and the puff adder appeared again and asked him again why he was crying. He said, "I was asked about the season again. I apologise to you for the fire, but please tell me about the season again." The puff adder said, "I will tell you if you will share half the reward with me." Bar Bekh agreed and the puff adder told him that this will be the season of the spear. Bar Bekh told the governor and he was given an even better reward. When he was going back he saw the puff adder again. He refused to share again. Instead he took a spear and wounded the puff adder's tail. Still the puff adder didn't die.*

*The administrator summoned Bar Bekh for a third time and asked about the season. Bar Bekh cried again out of fear of the administrator and of the puff adder, who he had wronged. The puff adder appeared again and asked him, "Now what is wrong?" Bar Bekh apologised to him for hurting him before and asked for his help again. The puff adder told him, "Go back and tell the administrator that this time the season is about peace. And when you get a good reward make sure you bring my part." The man went back and told the administrator and received a good reward. He returned to the puff adder and gave him half the reward. And the puff adder told him, "During the time of fire, you attacked me with fire, it was not you, it was just the season. Then you wounded me with a spear, it is not you who wounded me, it was the season. Now because the season is about peace, when you got the reward you shared it with me. It is not you who brought it to me it is the season of peace that made you do it.*

**Now it is the season of peace. We have been under one shade and sharing resources. We are children of the same father and mother. Let us forget the past and come up with a good foundation of peace from this gathering.**

Denga Okotu Godana, Retired Assistant Chief Mukotano, Sololo

We came to this gathering from Sololo. We are all different representatives from different locations there. You know the other people remaining behind are the people pointing the accusing finger against us. We are going to go home and give the people the same education we got here and we will widen the peace processes with them. These meetings have a bad name. People just expect us to come here and eat, they suspect that it isn't a real process. I am requesting the gathering to ensure that there are delegates who are able to accompany us to our places to pass the message of this meeting. Don't let it be done by only us.



We have a problem that is even bigger than property and life. We are quarrelling about the soil of the earth. We said that the day they come to a meeting like this is the day we are going to talk.

Abudho Guyo, Elder, Turbi

Our elders who are selected to attend this gathering must commit together in truth. We must not speak lies, but truth and whatever agreement we reach and whatever we decide must be implementable.

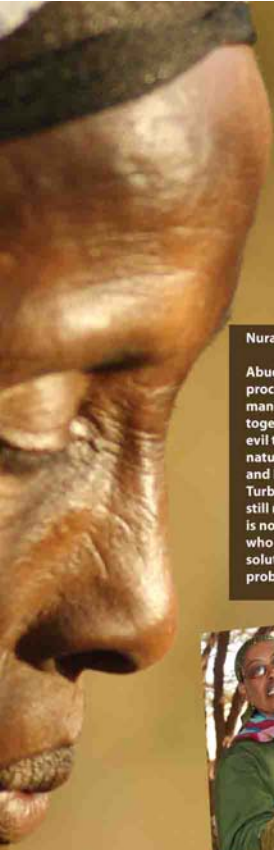
It is our tradition that when elders go to a meeting, only one or two people go. You go because of the respect you carry in your community. We should be brave enough not to fear that propaganda about people going to workshops. We are elders and we have the mandate from our people.

At the Dukana meeting, the people of Dukana and Dillo invited us to join their peace. And that peace is good. We Turbi people said we have a problem. There is rustling, property that is lost, tension. We are pointing guns at one another. The government has even decreed a 5km no-go zone between Turbi and Walda. At Dukana we said we could not discuss our problem without the people from Sololo. We called for this gathering to bring them to the shade. We have a problem that is even bigger than property and life. We are quarrelling about the soil of the earth. We said that the day they come to a meeting like this is the day we are going to talk.

We say, "Before you get peace, you get a case, so looking for a case is looking for peace". What we are looking for is settlement - indirectly we are looking for peace. We want to have peace under this shade. That is why we came and all our elders are here.

We people of Turbi, Rawan and Sololo are the same people. We have begotten one another and sired children for one another. We are families, in-laws, age-mates together. But we are creating problems for ourselves. The last 3 DCs have come and asked for water on our behalf and it has been refused. Our animals are now dying because there is pasture on one side and water on the other.





Adan Sora

The purpose of this meeting - the very essence of it - is what Abudho said. In the previous meeting there were people who had killed one another, there were animals stolen. We forgave one another and said let's start a new chapter. There is nothing we can accuse the other of that we haven't done ourselves. If we have refused each other water, from now we are going to give each other water. If it is grazing we have denied one another we are going to let each other graze and give each other access.

Nura Dida

Abudho has said there is a problem. These are very delicate procedures. We can't take everything out of the box. The old man has said there is a problem of us not using our resources together. The purpose of our meeting is to make sure that this evil thing where you deny each other natural resources from nature is removed. I think that the way things were done at Dillo and Dukana has been accepted and peace has come. People of Turbi and Rawan accept the same peace, but there is something still remaining in the stomach. We are not here for a hearing. It is not a case to be heard and then cross-examined and we see who wins and loses. We are here to speak and find our own solution. It is our responsibility as elders to sort out our own problems.



Mumina Konso, Isiolo

Even us at Waso [Isiolo], far away, are also getting problems because you people from here fight one another. You come to us to fund your wars. Some of us are getting problems because we have uncles in Gabra who demand money to fight Borana and we have fathers in Borana who demand money to fight Gabra.



We came here to greet one another, to say peace to one another and to facilitate peace. For many years I led both Gabra and Borana together as chief of Uran. Times change and time has brought its own problem. We need to look at each other now eyeball to eyeball and reach understanding. We have accepted peace ourselves. We all know what peace begets and what conflict begets. In the morning when our leaders were talking about peace, I was so happy that I had tears in my eyes. We want peace because we need it for our life and our prosperity.

For an old man like me, what has happened is not surprising. If you look at our history, the Borans have even fought one another. The Borana are divided into two sections. They fought one another and they killed one another. The time was called Tillo Waraba. Then they prepared a meeting like this and they decided not to fine anyone for anything that passed during Tillo Waraba. They sorted it out and we can still sort out this one in this meeting. It was ruled that whoever denies someone a girl for marriage because of what happened during Tillo Waraba is not a Boran. Whoever denies someone's livestock water because of what happened then is not a Boran. If anyone ever denies anyone anything because of Tillo Waraba, he isn't a Boran. We all know the story of Tillo Waraba.

Looking for peace and coming to win cases are not the same thing. At a meeting like this accusation and counter accusation is left behind. Kara Mata [fine and punishment] cannot help us. What will help us is proceeding for peace.

There are people from Moyale and Saku [Marsabit] who are not here. We just need one more meeting in this procedure. I will put the peace in the lorry and move with that lorry back home, flying the flag of peace. Moyale is the headquarters of Sololo, Turbi etc. All the rich people are there, funding things. All the leaders are there. All the political heads are there. All the government are there. They are a big population and a powerful group who have been left out.

Both Borana and Gabra have unique and elaborate justice systems, which can deliberate over issues well. But we should not opt for a hearing. We should solve the problem through ebb

Haji Gira Huka Qampe, Elder, Isiolo



In Waso, we have long experience of conflict. We live on the border. We have conflict with Somali, Meru, Samburu, so we talk a lot of peace as elders. We have become equal in number; we have lost equal amounts. Now elders came and looked for peace. This is not a shade where we are going to hear cases, accusations and counter accusations. Both Borana and Gabra have unique and elaborate justice systems, which can deliberate over issues well. But we should not opt for a hearing. We should solve the problem through ebb [the aggrieved request a blessing and all the issues are put aside]. This is what I bring for you from Waso. We should not look back, but forward. I pray we finish this issue through ebb and you take ebb and don't look back. Then you will enter into peace and prosperity.

Abudho Godana, Chief, Turbi

According to the way I know, when someone brings an accusation, he makes the accusation then the accused person is heard and then ebb becomes the answer to it. It is better to hear from one side and then the other side and then come back to ebb.

Some of us are junior officers and our senior government officials are here. Sometimes if we talk the very truth it might be a problem for us in office. Whatever we talk here as leaders should not make a problem for us when we go to the office. Will there be a problem for us if we talk openly?



**Elijah Kodoh, DC Chalbi**

**There is fear among our chiefs around talking about these issues. No-one is going to victimise you out of this discussion. I want you to feel free and say all that you have in your mind whether it is bad or good. So that out of this forum we can get solutions. Solutions don't only come from good things. We must take good things and bad things and put them together and get a way forward. We are an open society, an open government where we accept these things where necessary.**





## Nura Dida

People of Dillo and Dukana have a peace agreement. Those of you who were left out of it, have you accepted the peace that was made in Dillo and Dukana?

Yes we have agreed

We have accepted peace from one another. The issue before us is that peace. How do we entrench it in the community? How do we take it to the people who are not here? How do we widen its base, so it reaches every person in our community?

The elders of Sololo and Turbi are in agreement that there is a major issue about peace between their two areas. They have spoken their issues; they have agreed they must be sorted. We are all in agreement that there is a problem we must sort out. We will find a way for the peace to reach Moyale.

We know the people of Dukana and Dillo cemented their peace after talking out what was inside them. They talked out and deliberated the issues and came to a conclusion. We are going to do likewise.

We have accepted that we are going to be peace ambassadors. We have accepted peace for our region. Now we must work out the details of how the peace will reach the community and how it will have strong foundations. Afaan Naggaa Gababoo. [The language of peace is short].

Some of you here have been pushing for things to be opened and for people to talk out their issues and hear accusations. The strategy is that we can only do things through ebb. Things might not work if we do things through accusations and counter accusations. The big issue is how to convince the constituencies we all represent.

We are going to split into three groups, Borana of Kenya, Borana of Ethiopia and Gabra, and then come to plenary and talk it out together.



## Kenyan Borana Group Decisions

Abdulahi Dima Jilo, Isiolo



There are two issues. One is the issue of conflict that has brought loss of life, loss of property and people not sharing resources. The second one is the issue of boundaries – inter-district boundaries; of which resource falls where.

In colonial times this whole area was Moyale District. But when we got independence, this place became Marsabit district. Later Moyale was hived off from Marsabit and a new district border came. And now Marsabit and Moyale are being divided up into new districts. And all these administrative lines, when they are drawn, bring conflict of resources. For example there is a new well called El Bor. According to the people of Chalbi [Marsabit North], it is in their district. According to the people in the new Sololo district—I heard just three hours ago that Sololo is now a district—it is part of their district. This isn't an issue we need to fight over, but it is an issue that we need to sort out.

The solution for us is to accept peace without any condition, accept peace whole-heartedly. Accept peace and implement it with everybody. So the Borans of Kenya announce that it is peace for us without any condition. We have accepted peace.

How are we going to manage this peace? We are people who have killed one another and who have done very cruel offences to one another. We have used our resources against each other. We have decided that from this meeting on, you Gabra have the right to use all our resources equally.

We are going to use our resources together. This doesn't mean we are going to use them haphazardly, but we are going to use our traditional rules that prevail among Gabra and Borana, called herek. When you come to water, there must be a rota and a way of using that water.

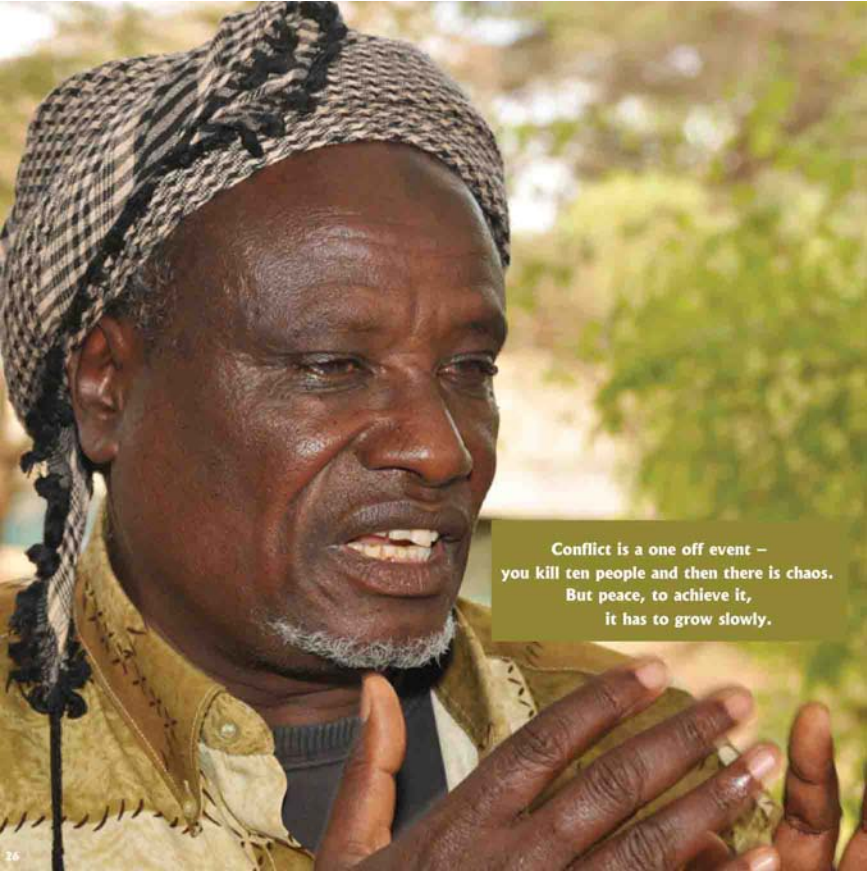
Accepting peace means living together like brothers and sisters. Accepting peace means that when my animals get lost, you are the one to give me direction. The lost ones which are in your boma - you are the one to give me back. It is giving each other information of survival. In this wild environment, information is very crucial. Pastoralists have no telephones, but we have oddu. We survive in this environment by sharing a lot of information. We should be people together, giving each other all the information - lost animals, where there is what - all information, oddu.

We need to urgently implement this peace, ensure it reaches everyone and ensure inclusion of people from places like Moyale because there is drought now and people need to use water and share resources. This can't wait for anything. We hope to convene another meeting in Walda that includes people of Moyale and Sololo, so that the issues we have discussed here can be handed over to the people there and implemented. That meeting should happen in a week's time.

The urgency of the matter is also dictated by the fact that the delegates here are few. There are many people who are troublemakers, warmongers and liars. They can destroy and distort this message so we must be faster than them

One of the purposes of the Walda meeting will be to produce an inter-clan committee of Borana and Gabra that will oversee the rules of access to resources, rules of denial of resources, herek and everything. There will be a committee that will come out of there.

The issue of boundary is the preserve of government. It is the Government of Kenya that defines boundaries. We can say here in Kenya, because it is our democratic right to speak openly, that the government policy has not been conducive to pastoralism. Every pastoralist area in Kenya has a problem of boundary, of development, of lack of resources. The centre has not been responsive to the interest of pastoralists.



Conflict is a one off event –  
you kill ten people and then there is chaos.  
But peace, to achieve it,  
it has to grow slowly.

## Gabra Group Decisions

Abudho Godana, Chief, Turbi and Bonaya Wako Racha, Chief, Bada Hurri (Hurri Hills)

Our first resolution is that peace is accepted by us the Gabra people.

The problems are first boundary issues, second, administration and government and third, the stray animals that have got lost from each side. A disease, when it is identified – even when it has gone to a very deep part - you have to get to it otherwise it will kill you. When a problem enters a place, you follow it, whether it is in a secret part or an open part. You have to speak the truth here.

What my brother talked about boundaries is the truth. The boundary dispute is like a disease. If it is not followed up and cured, it will finish us. We are not surveyors here to decide which boundary falls where. It is the security team of Chalbi and Moyale who are confusing it. DC Moyale came and said this is the district boundary and then DC Chalbi came and said that is the district boundary. The problem is from this administration, from the government side. The issue of boundary is the preserve of the government.

OLF has been operating along this border for many years. They are armed and without livestock. They kill, they steal from us and anytime we ask the Sololo people about them, they tell us it is shifta. These bandits have killed a Security and Administration officer. They have brought many problems between us. Those people are not in Ethiopia. They are not in Kenya. They are not in the sky or in the soil. Where are they?

It is the governments of Ethiopia and Kenya who have responsibility to fight them and disarm them and take them out of here.

We don't have capacity to remove them. Their removal is not the burden of the community. They carry weapons and we are not supposed to carry arms. We all know these bandits have officers from here up to Washington DC. We have no power to deal with them. It is up to you governments of Kenya and Ethiopia to take urgent measures to protect lives and property in Sololo and Moyale districts.

Animals from both communities have strayed. We should return these to their owners.

We propose an elders committee. We need a period that will be facilitated by this elders committee working on peace between these communities until things take off and we have engagement and interaction. These elders should go around villages talking about peace. That will build trust and confidence amongst us. They should be supported by all those who are interested in peace, including government and NGOs.



## Ethiopian Borana Group Decisions

Wako Konchora, Elder, Dillo

We talked about peace and about peace being in all places. We said let's bring peace to this small corner, to Turbi and Sololo also. If this peace is not okay it will reverse the gear and our gains will be reversed. We are offering our support to make it stable and entrench the peace.

Whatever is on government side, they should take responsibility. Whatever is on the people's side, we should take responsibility.

There are dams and pans and wells that Gabra and Borana own together and have always owned together. We should all use all of them together.

In spite of government rules and regulations, we have our own rules and regulations. Gabra have got their dabelas and Boran have got their Gadaa, the five ladu etc. All those institutions are working for us. It is not a must for us to run to the government to sort our issues. We can use our own systems. We can sort out our daily life issues through our own traditional system.

This is not a one off event. We cannot have an event in Maikona today and say peace has been achieved and we all go back. It is a process. Conflict is a one off event – you kill ten people and then there is chaos. But peace, to achieve it, it has to grow slowly. So after this meeting we will also listen. We will put our ears out. We should have a lot of other small events, small activities to talk to the people, to mobilise them for peace.

One of the Borana proverbs says,  
"There is conflict between people  
because they don't talk to one another"



Councillor Ali Adano, Dukana

I declare peace. It was first in Dukana-Dillo and its everywhere now. Can Turbi and Walda embrace it? Lets form committees to propagate peace. OLF has been an issue and the reason for their presence is to provide security to the Borans. I believe if they want to remove them they can. If not I vow we will fight. Ethiopian government is serious about flushing it out. The Kenyan government is not serious about it. We have complained about them but the government has been slow in picking it up

Nura Dida

What the three groups presented is not different. One of the Borana proverbs says, "There is conflict between people because they don't talk to one another." When you ask each other questions, you can't quarrel. Look, now you are all talking about the same problem, but you don't usually talk to one another. What is the difference between these three presentations? For us they are one, they are the same.

In our traditional system, there is a way we drive the discussions into one line. First we have concurred there is a problem between us. We have also agreed there are issues of boundary – everyone said it. They said we don't use our resources together. Everyone agreed this is the problem. The only issue that is a bit different is the Walda meeting proposed by the Borana side. Both parties have agreed we should have a peace committee. If we concur on this, then we can talk about the technicalities of implementation. The Borana group said they require support – the community, the government and the NGOs will give what they can to make sure this Walda meeting takes place. That meeting is to facilitate the process of the peace and bring back what has been lost.

Molu Kulu

The group who leave here should ensure follow up and ensure that the Walda meeting takes place. We will make a committee of eight people from the Borana side, since the meeting will be held in their place, and five people from the Gabra side. Any Borana or Gabra can join. That committee is responsible for who will come to the meeting, how many people will come to the meeting, how many bulls will be killed there, how it will be paid for.

The meeting at Walda will be held on Monday 27th July.



## HOW CAN WE SAFEGUARD THE PEACE?



Nura Dida

If we pass a resolution, we must have rules that will safeguard that resolution. Dukana and Dillo people sat and discussed and proposed some rules compensation for stolen animals, injury and death. We can propose what we discussed at Dillo and if we agree the rules are good we can take them up.

*Wata Habte Wako, Dire Woreda Peace and Security Office*

For the government justice system to function it needs the support of the customary system. If someone commits an offence and there is no evidence and no witness, under the government system, the culprit can go unpunished. A criminal can go to court and argue his case and because there is not sufficient evidence, he can go free. And the community knows that this man is a criminal. They know that they can't get justice through that system. And the criminal knows the traditional system can't mete out justice if the court of the land has acquitted him.

In our traditional system there is a way of getting to that person without a witness. In our system the community is responsible for crimes committed. We can track footsteps to your village and ask you to show us where the footprints passed or you shall all be responsible. We need to be able to use this system.

We have a declaration between Dillo and Dukana, but we need to make it universal for it to be functional. We need a cross border declaration that involves communities living along the border on both sides that is enforceable across the border. We people working for the government will recognise it and both the communities will recognise it. We who work in the security structure of government among the community can support it and it will help us with our work and make it easier. My fear is that we can't do it in this meeting as it is about to be closed. Maybe we can have another session – a bigger one, where both governments and both communities harmonise rules and practises that we agree on and that is clear for both parties.

## Guyo Tete, Dukana

These are the rules and declarations we made in Dukana and Dillo in brief.

1. If a person is caught with a stolen animal, he must return the stolen animal and pay a fine of four animals per one animal stolen. The culprit also has to pay the expenses incurred for tracking that animal. We have implemented this in both Kenya and Ethiopia. The same rule applies for sheep, goats, camels and cows.
2. If anyone injures another person with intent, the penalty is 15 cows
3. If anyone kills a person, the penalty is 30 cows.
4. If someone is putting out lies and propaganda, inciting people to fight – we are very careful about that one, it is worse than fighting - he is fined expenses and 5 cows. These expenses are not cheap. For example there was a guy who told the Gabra that the Borana wanted to fight and he told the Borana that the Gabra wanted to fight. People fought and all the security personnel and vehicles were mobilised. Then people discovered who initiated that propaganda and he was brought to the border in front of the governments on both sides and the communities and he was fined these expenses and his character was condemned.
5. For the man who conceals a culprit or information – both the concealer and the concealed are fined the same. E.g. if a man hides another man who has killed, both are fined 30 cows.

In all these cases the culprit also goes to court.

**We have all accepted this proposal.**

### Ajoftu Guyo, Dillo

These are the rules. Propaganda is very dangerous. The propagandist never goes to war, he never supports you or pays you money – he sits in his chaat room or in the bar and talks – he is a very dangerous man. What we have decided is that he should pay cows and be charged in the court of law for spreading lies. I have heard in Kenya there is a crime called “war-like activities” – he can be charged with that one.

### Elema Bitacha, Councillor, Maikona

Since you passed these rules, what has happened? Have you tried anyone in court? Have you put them into effect? Has it brought changes? Have they been implemented?

Yes – it has been implemented.

### Chief Liban Wako Gedo – Denbela Fachana

How do you define injury? There are many degrees of injury – you can scratch your finger – or you can break your back – they are both injuries.

### Guyo Tete

We have our own traditional rules which control injury sustained when you are fighting and it has many degrees. It is not that one. We are looking at intent – the intent of that culprit was to kill and it was by the grace of God that he only made a small injury – so in that case every injury is the same whether big or small. It is 15 cows.

### Molu Kulu

Have you accepted this?

We accept.

We have all accepted this proposal. We adopt the Dukana Dillo Declaration.



**We adopt the Dukana Dillo Declaration**





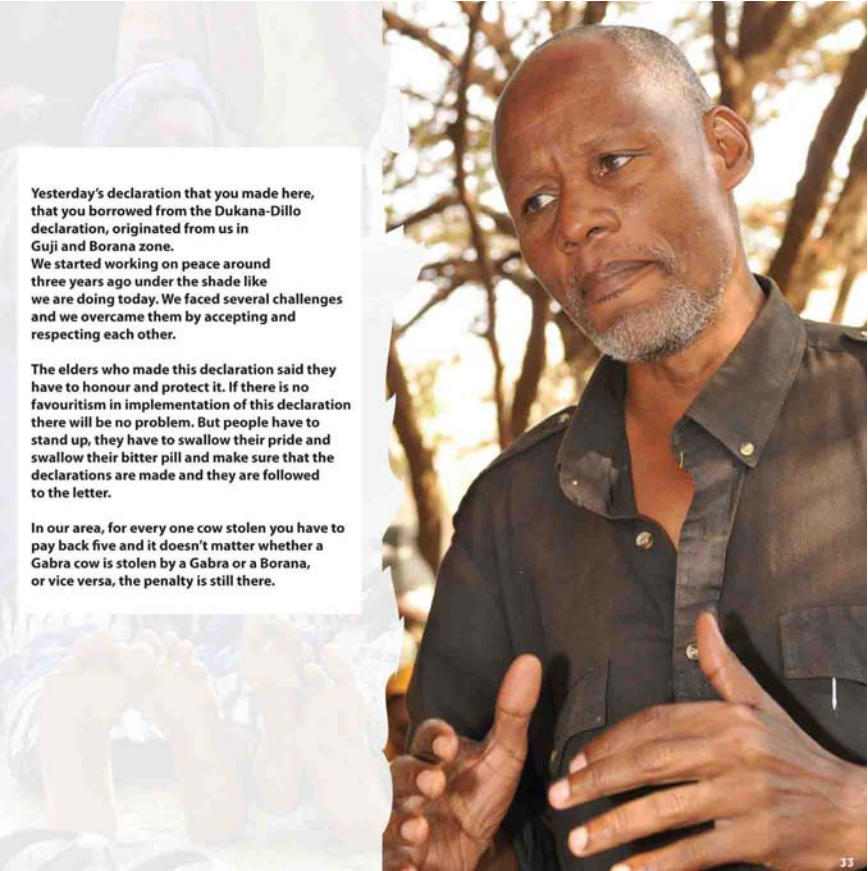
Molu Kulu

Now we are welcoming the government representatives, NGOs and individuals from other pastoralist communities to give their comments.

Utukano Malo,  
Chairman of Borana/Guji  
Peace Committee, Ethiopia

I encourage you, don't be people of words, be people of action. Don't please us with sweet words, the moment you leave this shade, go and practice them.

The government can only settle the dispute, it can use force, deploy military and all their arms and it can stop the violence, but it is you the community to sustain it, it is you to build peace. The government cannot build peace for you.

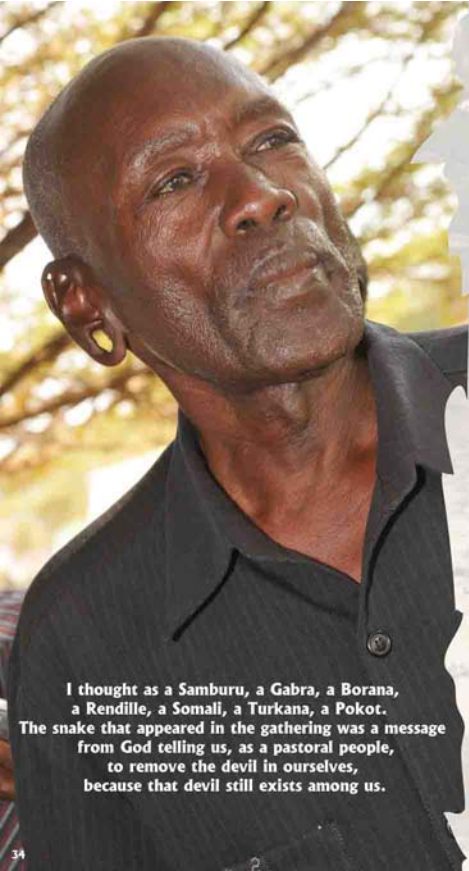


**Yesterday's declaration that you made here, that you borrowed from the Dukana-Dillo declaration, originated from us in Guji and Borana zone.**

**We started working on peace around three years ago under the shade like we are doing today. We faced several challenges and we overcame them by accepting and respecting each other.**

**The elders who made this declaration said they have to honour and protect it. If there is no favouritism in implementation of this declaration there will be no problem. But people have to stand up, they have to swallow their pride and swallow their bitter pill and make sure that the declarations are made and they are followed to the letter.**

**In our area, for every one cow stolen you have to pay back five and it doesn't matter whether a Gabra cow is stolen by a Gabra or a Borana, or vice versa, the penalty is still there.**



Francis Lenges,  
Elder from Wamba, Samburu East

I am among the elders of the Pastoral Shade Initiative. In the last two days, we have spoken a lot between the people of Chalbi and the people of Sololo. Peace is built by us coming together and eating together. That is already peace. We have slept here as brothers and sisters without hiding ourselves. Last night all of us were singing together. All of us; youths, women and elders came together to sing. Our songs portrayed what we discussed yesterday.

This gathering will end today, and probably after some days some of us might return to Chalbi, and put up a tented camp like this one. What is going to happen to those people? Are you going to protect them? Are you going to treat them as your brothers? Or are you going to fight them again? Am I going to remain your brother like the way we are today? Or am I going to be a different person?

There is God and there is also Satan. Satan is like the snake. Satan has a strong enough influence to fight the existence of humanity. When you were in Dukana, at a gathering like this, there was a snake that appeared in the gathering. When I received the report [Dhadacha Nagaya] yesterday, I thought about what happened in Dukana. I thought as a Samburu, a Gabra, a Borana, a Rendille, a Somali, a Turkana, a Pokot. The snake that appeared in the gathering was a message from God telling us, as a pastoral people, to remove the devil in ourselves, because that devil still exists among us.

I thought as a Samburu, a Gabra, a Borana, a Rendille, a Somali, a Turkana, a Pokot. The snake that appeared in the gathering was a message from God telling us, as a pastoral people, to remove the devil in ourselves, because that devil still exists among us.



**Paulina Leneyasa,**  
Archers Post, Samburu

**What we few Samburu decided here, is the message of peace that we also take back to our place, to Samburu there, to Archers Post. My challenge is this one. You must talk to your morans [young herders] before they go to another place, before they can plan their next raid. Take time, if you are coming from a place to another place, discuss with these people, tell them and give them the message. It is those who are doing the raiding who need to be given this word of peace.**

**As a woman, it is easy for me to tell other women about this peace. But going to the morans will take time. So you old men, elders, make sure you are putting these people together, telling them the reality. Tell them how this world is going now.**



**Ali Lobuin, Elder, Turkana**

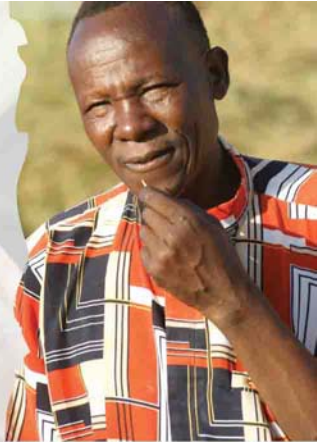
For all of us from Turkana the issues are the same, quarrel over pasture, quarrel over water, quarrel over boundaries, it is the same issues.

What will bring problems in the implementation of this peace is when an incident occurs and it is on one side and those punishments are meted out, and the penalties are all enforced. Then it goes to the corresponding guys, now they become reluctant, they foot drag, it delays, and that is a very bad situation. Everybody must be ready to suffer the consequences of his actions.

Anybody who has shot at a person should be arrested along with his gun and handed over to authorities. Another trick is to be very close and have a very good working relationship with government security organs, as they have a very big interest here. We all have one common goal, so we have to have a good working rapport. We are the eyes, ears and agents of government, government can't work without us.

**Diba Kayana, Merti**

Peace has already been made. The agenda of the Walda meeting will be how to implement peace activities, how you use your pasture and your water, how you implement the decision here. Where I come from around Merti there is conflict. Around other places there is conflict, I would like to ask shade elders to make sure that such meetings are held elsewhere. Even last night there was an incident in Isiolo and seven people died. You have to take action, move very fast and hold a shade like this there.





**Batula Lairapo, Rendille woman, Laisamis**

The first line of people affected in conflict are women: it is our children, it is our husbands, it is our in-laws, who are lost to conflict. This meeting is good because there are lots of us women here, who listen to the proceedings, who participate. The womenfolk are the spirit that is added to the fire, they are the catalyst, they give adulation to people, they praise the one who kills, they demonise the one who does not kill, they have got their poets, they make certain poems that praise the people who are involved in war.

We participate in war, we play with people's emotions on and off, we are first class warmongers. All you men, why do you respond to our ignition? Why can't you refuse because you are the ones who are dying?

Womenfolk, use your power to ignite people's emotions to catalyse peace. Use everything to catalyse peace. Use all your talents and knowledge.

There is a big problem between Rendille, Samburu and the people of Isiolo. We want the Pastoralist Shade Initiative to organise a peace meeting. We want you to assist us. We need to open up the road from Isiolo to Moyale. The road that you came here on is not very safe. A lot of people have been killed on that road, it destroys peace right up to Ethiopia.

**We participate in war, we play with people's emotions on and off, we are first class warmongers. All you men, why do you respond to our ignition? Why can't you refuse because you are the ones who are dying?**

For the last six years I have been doing peace and conflict resolution for the government of Southern Sudan. In that capacity I have come here to see and listen and watch the process of peace making between the Gabra and Borana. I am chairman of the IGAD civil society organisations that has relevance to activities along the Kenya-Ethiopia border. I have been listening to what you have been saying. And one of the rules you put under this shade is 'talk the truth'. I am going to tell you the truth. The Chairman told us that the peace started with one man who had a gun ready to shoot. Something touched him. He stopped it and he walked to the other side to greet another person, and that was the beginning of peace. That is the seed which started this peace meeting here.



**That person who put his gun down, he is a hero. And the one who responded. He is a hero too. These are the heroes. They planted the seeds of peace**

That person who put his gun [down], he is a hero. And the one who responded. He is a hero too. These are the heroes! They planted the seeds of peace. And I will beg the provincial administration, the elders who are here, to recommend these people for a Presidential Commendation Award. And we should also recommend to the Government of Ethiopia, that they commend the herder from Ethiopia.

The gun this man put down had a bullet in it. That bullet was going to kill somebody, but he didn't fire it. I want the provincial administration and the Ministry of Social Services to get that gun, get that bullet, and mark it with the words, 'this is the Peace Gun, this is the Peace Bullet'. We will keep it for the future of our children. Tourists will come and they will see that this is the gun, and this is the bullet, which brought peace between the Borana and the Gabra.

Regarding the district and constituency boundaries, the politics going on in Kenya is to have each constituency become a district. Right now we have 254 districts but 210 constituencies. So the districts are more than the constituencies. What is happening is, those districts which are more, they might be new constituencies. But for you people, you have a chance to determine about the constituencies' boundaries, because there is a boundary commission coming around. You need to put your input there.

*Zainabu was a very rich and wealthy lady who employed a house-boy called Juma. Juma used to take tea to Zainabu's bedroom every morning. He used to open the door take the tea in. Zainabu told Juma, "Juma, don't come to my bedroom and just come in, you should knock!" And Juma asked, "Madam, why?" [And she replied] "Because, if you don't knock, one of these days you'll come in and find me naked." Now Juma said, "No, no, no, no, I will never find you naked. Because, every day when I come, I check through the keyhole and I see you dressed and then I come in."*

**We have seen the reports from Dukana, we have seen reports from Koora, we have seen other reports talking about the Pastoralist Shade Initiative. In other words, the world is seeing you through the keyhole. What you are doing, the world knows.**



**Dr Haji Abdulahi Wako,**  
Chairman of the board of directors of Waso Ng'iro North Development Authority

Kenya is a country where you can stand up for your rights, where you can stand up and talk your issues. We want you to be proud, proud as pastoralists who can stand up and fight for their rights. You have a big responsibility yourselves because conflict is a barrier to all development. If there is conflict, government will stop all funding for development, their excuse is conflict. NGOs will stop development, donors will stop development, and investors will stop development. And that is not the responsibility of government, it is our sons fighting, it is us. We have to take responsibility and create an environment that is facilitative for prosperity, for development, for government to work, for investors to come in and for peace to prevail.

**Nuria Gollo, Marsabit**

This is the same shade under which we women used to have no right to utter a word. Thank you. I am very happy.

This is a message for the NGOs. We should stop the culture of going to big hotels. I have attended many of them. It's not very fruitful, and not very effective. This gathering at your home, at your village, is very efficient, where you can pass all of this message. We are tired of the culture of attending seminars and workshops in towns. Many people are fat and they have got money because of pastoralists. They have got money and you people are not aware. It is a trade. Many people make money on it: UN, NGOs, government, consultants, experts, and so on. It's a big industry, a money-churning, ideas-churning industry in the cities. We must strengthen these people in kikoyis, like you, under the shade, speaking your language, no flip charts, no boards, no nothing complicated. We must continue to meet like this.





We are talking about peace. Peace has life. Peace has prosperity. Peace has sustainability. Peace has satisfaction. To work on peace you have to do a lot of things, you have to fatten it.

My pledge to you on behalf of Oromia National Regional State, on behalf of the Federal Republic of Ethiopia, on behalf of the Government of Ethiopia, on behalf of the elders who are with us here, is that we have accepted the peace which has been deliberated and agreed here. I assure you without any prejudice, we are going to ensure that the agreements made here are going to be implemented with all our persons and resources. We are going to implement it. This is the pledge of our people.

We shall ensure the provisions because peace needs watchers, peace needs enforcement, peace needs people who will go and implement it. My advice to you people of Kenya, the government people, the elders is that when you go back home there will be people who will be sitting even right now, plotting and planning how to make sure that the agreement reached here is not going to function. Those are our real enemies. We have to be really watchful. Your own clans-people will tell you, oh these are elders who have sold us to Borana, elders who have sold us to Gabra, these are women who are used by Borana, these are women who are used by Gabra, they will give you many names, they will baptise you. But don't listen to that. Stand firm stand firm for peace, be messengers of peace, be elders who don't stand for any destructive propaganda.



Stand firm stand firm for peace,  
be messengers of peace,  
be elders who don't stand for  
any destructive propaganda.

As you set back home, move in peace, greet our brothers and sisters that are there. And tell them that Maikona will have what you call the Maikona Declaration, which has finally brought peace among Gabra and Borana.



Elijah Kodoh, DC Chalbi

I want you to be serious about this declaration of peace. I suggest that we call this declaration the Maikona Declaration. I suggest that we document these proceedings, we put them in writing and have at least five elders from each community signing on behalf of Borana and Gabra. If you agree, each of the communities should give us the names of those elders. And among them we should have at least three ladies. And we should have at least one youth. I believe when we have it in such an inclusive manner, it is going to be easy to implement.

I want to make a commitment. I was requested to give a commendation to those elders who participated in sowing the seed of peace. We are going to do it. We request our counterparts in Ethiopia to do the same. I suggest that we should use them as ambassadors of peace both in our region and outside our region. We have agreed as elders, including our sisters and our young ones. I request your commitment to this declaration, so that we can achieve sustainable peace in this region and extrapolate it into other areas.

As you set back home, move in peace, greet our brothers and sisters that are there. And tell them that Maikona will have what you call the Maikona Declaration, which has finally brought peace among Gabra and Borana.

# MAIKONA AND WALDA PEACE DECLARATION - 28<sup>th</sup> July 2009

We, the undersigned, have accepted peace between our communities, the Borana and the Gabra.


We pledge to live peacefully with one another and to share the natural resources of water and pasture.


Peace will be maintained through regular meetings between representatives of both communities, at alternating locations.

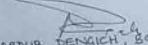
Peace will be safeguarded through the implementation of the following fines:

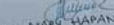
1. If a person is caught with a stolen animal, the fine is 4 animals per animal stolen. The culprit also has to pay the expenses incurred for tracking that animal, and will be handed over to government law.
2. If a person injures another with intent to kill, the fine is 15 cows and they will be handed over to government law.
3. If a person kills another, the fine is 30 cows and they will be handed over to government law.
4. If a person is spreading lies and propaganda, inciting people to fight, they will be fined expenses and 5 cows.
5. If a person conceals a culprit or information, they and the concealed person will be fined the same, depending on the crime.


SIGNED:


  
GALMA DABASSO, BORANA

  
JATTANI KOTOTE, BORANA

  
ABDUB DENGICH, BORANA

  
ADI MARY HAPANA, BORANA

 (KTP)  
SALEA GALMA, BORANA

  
CHUKULISA TUYE, GABRA

SORI

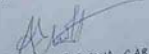
SORI SALESA, GABRA

ABUDGO

ABUDO GUYO, GABRA

QURI

QURI GUYO, GABRA

  
ABUDO GODANA, GABRA





## THE WALDA MEETING

The Walda community hosted the gathering of 160 people on 27th and 28th July, as planned at Maikona. They welcomed pastoralists from Dukana, Forole, Maikona, Marsabit, Moyale, Rawan, Sololo, Turbi, Uran and Government officials from Chalbi, Moyale and Sololo Districts. The gathering agreed to extend the peace between Boranas and Gabras to their area. They agreed to start sharing resources and endorsed the Peace Declaration agreed in Maikona. Five members of both Borana and Gabra communities signed a copy of this declaration. The gathering also nominated peace committees from Turbi, Uran, Rawan and Walda. DC Moyale endorsed the Peace Declaration and vowed to support its implementation.

The meeting was resourced by the people of Walda, with transport support from the Pastoralist Shade Initiative and other local NGOs and government departments.

By 30th July, 1500 sheep and goats, 400 cattle from Turbi had already watered at Rawan and 500 camels had watered at Walda. Additionally water was being transported to Turbi from Walda, instead of Loglogo, saving around 300 km per trip.

## POSTSCRIPT

After the Dukana meeting in June 2009, Forole elders took the Yaa Galbo and elders from Turbi to Yaballo, Magado and Mega in Ethiopia to discuss the peace. The people of Forole and Magado are now sharing the water in Magado and the grazing in Forole.

5 camels strayed from Forole to Ethiopia and were being brought back as the Maikona gathering was taking place, with an additional three calves that had been born in Ethiopia. The 8 cows which were being held in Miyo Woreda, Ethiopia (mentioned in Dhadacha Nagaya, the report from Dukana) are also being brought back to Turbi, although one of them has now died.

People in Forole are hopeful that the Borana villages on the Ethiopia/Kenya border will soon be repopulated.

## PEOPLE WHO CAME TO THE MAIKONA GATHERING

### ETHIOPIA

Dillo: Boku Burje, Dulacha Kararsa, Galma Galgalo, Godana Guyo, Guyate Halake, Jilo Intalo, Katelo Bombi, Konso Wariyo, Sake Guyo, Sora Kusune, Wako Konchora. Dire: Abkula Dida, Boru Godana, Dama Boru, Denge Gollo, Garbicha Dida, Garbole Golicha Dulacha, Guyo Karu, Halake Jarso, Halkano Tuse, Katelo Kotto, Sukare Godana, Wate Guyo Dida, Wata Habte. Miyu: Abdi Godana, Abdiya Galma, Adamu Wakjira, Ali Guyo, Bokora Halake, Galgalo Jirmo, Golicha Tullu, Galgalo Sora, Racho Galgalo, Jilo Debano, Tune Wario, Wario Sara Molu. Moyale: Abdia Tato, Boru Roba Gufu Wajera, Guyo Bukure, Tari Wako.

Government of Ethiopia: Chief Abdurahman, Deputy Chief of Police, Borana Zone. Boru Godana, Borana Zone Administrator. Kalicha Boru, Dire Woreda Administrator. Mohamed Abdi, Dillo Woreda Administrator.

Oromia Pastoralists Association: Fugicha Denge, Godana Adola, Nura Dida, Utakano Malo, Wako Galgalo

### KENYA

Balesa: Chief Ibrae Gonce, Councillor Godana Wato. Balesa Saru: Chief Gufu Orge. Bubisa and Shurr: Ali Gufu, Bonaya Malate, Boru Racha, Chukuliza Tuye, Nominated Councillor Gollo Wario, John Bagaja, Chief Mamo Wako, Councillor Roba Elema, Chief Roba Guyo, Sori Salesa. Dukana: Nominated Councillor Ali Adano, Barile Golicha, Guyo Boru, Guyo Tete, Councillor Ibrae Galgalo, Sales Guyo, Sabbito Ibrae, Chief Tuye Katelo. El Hadi: Chief Sora Godana, Shamo Molu. Forole: Councillor Barako Guracha, Bokayo Yatani, Chief Elema Gura, Galgalo Dodosa, Quri Guyo. Gass: Councillor Major Ramata. Hurri Hills: Chief Bonaya Wako Racha. Kalacha: Councillor Diba Damballa, Kulu Fugicha, Molu Hachuke, Sabbito Kira. Maikona: Adele Umuro, Barile Sora, Chiri Bule, Diba Okotu, Councillor Elema Bitacha, Galgalo Mamo, Nominated Councillor Gindole Katelo, Godana Dulacha, Chief Guyo Isako, Guyo Roba, Guyo Tura, Hersi Ibrin, Huko Elema, Katelo Demo, Sales Tunicha, Sarah Kala, Shaku Roba, Tume Gindole, Umuro Guyo, Umuro Orto, Wario Ibrae. Marsabit: Arule Halake, Aljo Adan, Asha Isako, Arule Ekale, Barako Katelo, Diba Guyo, Diboya Hubanne, Jilo Hachu, Jacob Lepedo, Halaku Biru, Halkano Galgalo, Kabale Adano, Kabale Kombola, Nuria Golo, Wesa Wolda. North Horr: Adhi Huka, Hajj Elema Adano, Councillor Guyo Adano, Ibrae Bonaya. Rawan: Elema Wario, Chief Mary Adi Hapana. Sololo: Ali Sora, Boru Huka, Denge Okotu, Diba Halake, Glama Dbaso, Guyo Sora, Liban Wako, Suleiman Bagajo. Turbi: Chief Abudho Godana, Abudho Guyo, Councillor Boru Wario, Dambala Bonaya, Katelo Huka, Chief Katelo Umuro, Molu Diba, Robale Guyo, Wario Mamo. Uran: Jatani Kotote, Kula Jilo. Walda: Abdub Dengicha, Sales Galma. Yaa Gaara: Buda Charfi, Huqa Roba Tabo, Sora Guyo Sora, Ola Tanda.

Garbatulla: Mariam Huka, Fatuma Wario. Isiolo: Abdullahi Dima, Dr Abdullahi Wako, Gira Huqa, Guyo Haro, Jilo Mumina Konso. Laismas: Batula Hassan, Silago Lengima. Mert: Chala Ali Huka, Diba Kiyaana, Duba Wario, Gubal Baricha. Wamba: Fred Longonyek. Julius Lenakae. Paulina Lenayasa.

Government of Kenya: Hon. Mohamed Elmi, Minister of State for the Development of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands. Hon. Francis Chachu, MP North Horr. Hon. Hussein Tari Sasura, MP Marsabit. Elijah Kodoh, DC Chalbi. David Rotich, DC Marsabit. DO Dukana, DO North Horr, DO Sololo, DO Turbi, Security teams from Marsabit and Chalbi districts.

Pastoralist Shade Initiative: Adan Sora, Marsabit. Ali Lobuin, Kainuk. Daoud Tari Abkula, Isiolo. Francis Lenges, Wamba. Hussein Boru, Isiolo. Joseph Ole Kishau, Naivasha. Katelo Adan, Marsabit. Mogole Haibor, Kargi. Molu Kulu, Bubisa. Tumul Orto, Maikona.

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