



## Armed Conflicts Report

### Kenya (1991 - first combat deaths)

Update: March 2009

#### Summary

#### Type of Conflict

#### Parties to the Conflict

#### Status of Fighting

#### Number of Deaths

#### Political Developments

#### Background

#### Arms Sources

#### Summary:

**2008** Post-election violence was responsible for the deaths of approximately 1500 during the first three months of 2008. Fighting between supporters of Mwai Kibaki and the Party of National Unity – mainly members of the Kikuyu tribe – and supporters of Raila Odinga's Orange Democratic Movement Party – mainly members of the Luo and the Kalenjin tribes – occurred both in Nairobi and the Rift Valley Province. The February 2008 agreement between Kibaki and Odinga has held and a Truth commission has been scheduled to prosecute those responsible for the violence in March of 2009. In addition, clan violence continued throughout 2008, causing at least 200 deaths in the Mt. Elgon district. Additional estimates by independent media place the death toll in the Mt. Elgon district upwards of 500. Although post-election violence largely came to an end in March, it spurred on old rivalries in the Laikipia district in the Rift Valley Province and also revived the Mungiki sect, an outlawed quasi-religious militia group operating mainly in the Nairobi slums. This continued violence which stemmed from the election violence in early 2008, resulted in a combined total of approximately 100 deaths. Finally, an additional 13 deaths occurred in various regions of the country as fighting over resources such as water continued in 2008.

**2007** Although clan violence was responsible for the deaths of nearly 200 people during the year, this figure pales in comparison to the some 1 500 who have died since the announcement of the December 2007 presidential election results. Following nearly two months of violent turmoil, a power-sharing deal between re-elected president Mwai Kibaki and opposition leader Raila Odinga was signed in February 2008 and is expected to be ratified by the Kenyan Parliament in March. The accord, brokered under the leadership of Kofi Annan, divides power between Kibaki and Odinga and has brought an end to hostilities. However, the agreement does not address ethnic rivalries that will continue to plague any prospects for Kenyan stability.

**2006** Clan violence continued over struggles for land, water and cattle along the northern Kenya/Ethiopia border. Raids by Ugandan and Somali bandits were also reported, as well as clashes between Kenyan tribesmen and Somali refugees. Hostilities resulted in at least 125 civilian deaths. In addition, the Kenyan government became the centre of speculation following the uncovering of the 'Anglo-Leasing' scandal, which intended to divert funds to the promotion of 2005's rejected constitution. As a result, several cabinet ministers, including the former finance minister have resigned and aid has been withheld.

**2005** Inter-communal violence over natural resources, mainly land and water, escalated in northeastern Kenya. Over 180 people were killed including 76 civilians killed in a single episode in July.

**2004** Inter-communal conflict continued in several parts of Kenya at a reduced level. Clashes again were economic in nature, with land at the forefront.

**2003** Inter-communal violence, fueled mainly by economic interests, continued especially in the north-west as

Kenyan, Ugandan and Sudanese populations clashed with each other, often in cross-border raids.

**2002** Clashes along ethnic lines in several districts of the country resulted in more than 100 deaths. There also was violence around presidential elections in December.

**2001** Conflict between numerous tribal groups continued through 2001, with an escalation in the fighting targeting non-combatants. Over 100 people were reported killed in the clashes.

**2000** Inter-tribal feuds, cross-border fighting pitting Kenyan tribes against tribes in Uganda and Ethiopia, and mob violence continued during the year. At least 100 people were killed by the end of September, down from estimated figures for 1999.

**1999** Political and mob violence, police-sanctioned extra-judicial killings, and ethnic clashes increased in 1999 with most of the last concentrated in the northern regions of the country. At least 550 people died in the violence, up from the previous year.

**1998** Post-election peace and reform aspirations were shattered as politically- and economically-based ethnic clashes and police-sponsored extra-judicial killings increased during 1998. Most clashes took place in Rift Valley Province between members of the president's ethnic group and rivals, though serious fighting also occurred in the northeast among several groups, including ethnic Somalis and Sudanese.

### **Type of Conflict:**

Failed state

### **Parties to the Conflict:**

1) Kenyan President Mwai Kibaki and his Party of National Unity (PNU)

During the December 2007 presidential elections the President is said to have used an array of illegal vote-tampering methods in order to declare victory against rival opposition leader Raila Odinga. The violence that erupted threatened to further destabilize the country, which was already divided over land disputes and ethnicity. Following the power-sharing agreement signed in early 2008, Kibaki retained his position as President of Kenya and post-election conflict was greatly reduced.

“Widespread violence and a humanitarian crisis were triggered by the 30 December announcement that incumbent Mwai Kibaki had won a hotly contested presidential poll amid opposition claims of rigging and international observers' reports of serious irregularities in the vote-tallying process.” [*IRIN*, 10 January 2008]

2) Opposition leader Raila Odinga and his Orange Democratic Movement Party (ODM)

Following the December 2007 presidential poll, opposition leader Raila Odinga claimed that incumbent Mwai Kibaki tampered with the electoral process, resulting in fraudulent victory. Odinga refused to accept the results of the election and his supporters engaged in violent clashes with those of Kibaki. Following the power-sharing agreement signed in early 2008, however, Odinga became the Prime Minister of Kenya and post-election conflict was greatly reduced.

3) Kenyan forces engaged in Operation Okoa Maisha (Operation Save Lives)

The military and police forces engaged in Operation Okoa Maisha (Operation Save Lives) have been accused of committing human rights abuses in the Mt. Elgon area. The intent of the operation was to eliminate the Sabaot Land Defence Forces (SLDF) and protect civilians in and around the district of Mt. Elgon in the Western Province. Prominent human rights agencies including Médicines sans Frontières, Human Rights Watch, and two local human rights agencies in Kenya have accused the army of using systemic torture to extract information from local citizens not involved in the SLDF. An investigation was launched by the military and police forces but as of December 2008, the military and police forces involved in Operation Okoa Maisha continue to deny participation in systemic torture and human rights abuses.

4) The Sabaot Land Defence Forces (SLDF)

Composed largely of a sub-group of the larger Kalenjin ethnic community, the Sabaot Land Defence Forces was formed in 2006 to seek redress for alleged injustices during land distribution in a settlement scheme known as Chebyuk which pitted two main clans of the Sabaot (Mosop (also known as Ndorobo) and Soy) against each other. The group has been carrying out an increasing number of atrocities on civilians, killing many and stealing livestock and is reportedly responsible for some 600 deaths in the area from mid 2006. In March 2008, the Kenyan government launched an enormous military operation targeting the SLDF. Approximately 900 SLDF members have been arrested by government forces. The leader of the SLDF, Wycliffe Komon Matakwei was reportedly killed in May along with 12 other SLDF combatants. In addition, the SLDF was implicated in using children in combat during 2008, with reports of families in the Mt. Elgon area being forced to either pay the militia or sacrifice their sons to fight for them.

"Most of the raids have been blamed on the Sabaot Land Defence Forces (SLDF), a militia group ostensibly fighting for the land rights of members of the Sabaot community, a sub-group of the larger Kalenjin ethnic community." [IRIN News, 14 March 2008]

"Kenya's army has launched a huge military operation targeting a militia which has killed some 500 people in a land dispute over the past 18 months. They are targeting the Sabaot Land Defence Forces (SLDF) which was blamed for the killing of 12 people last week." [BBC News, 10 March 2007]

"The SLDF has been carrying out an increasing number of attacks on villages, killing people, stealing cattle and destroying homes. They claim to be fighting for land which they say belongs to the Sabaot clan of the Kalenjin community." [BBC News, 10 March 2007]

#### 5) The Mungiki Sect

The Mungiki sect is a quasi-religious militia recruited to protect the interests of Kenya's largest ethnic group, the Kikuyu. The government had largely cracked down on Mungiki prior to the 2007 elections in December. The post-election violence revived the illegal group, which has resulted in the death or disappearance of hundreds and possibly thousands from Nairobi slums.

"The Mungiki is a quasi-religious militia recruited to protect the interests of Kenya's largest and most prosperous ethnic group, the Kikuyus. Nearly finished off last summer during a government crackdown, the Mungikis have reemerged in a series of recent attacks in the Nairobi slum of Mathare that killed three and maimed more than a dozen others." [The Christian Science Monitor, 29 January 2008]

#### 6) Various Kenyan and non-Kenyan ethnic groups

Kenya is made up of over 40 ethnic groups and in 2008 these groups were part of a higher level of violence in part due to the post-election crisis. Post-election violence mainly involved the Kikuyus, Luos and Kalenjins. The Turgens and Turkana, pastoral groups, continue to fight the Kikuyu, a farming group, in the Laikipia district. Fighting there also involves the Samburu, Maasai and Pokot tribes. In Mt. Elgon, the SLDF has appeared to align itself with the Kalenjins, encouraging violence between the Kalenjins and other tribes. Fighting not related to the election is often over resources.

"Usually the problem is between two biggest tribes, Luos and Kikuyus, but this time it is all other tribes against Kikuyus" [Christian Science Monitor, January 29th, 2008]

"In central Kenya and Isiolo District thousands of people were displaced by inter-ethnic conflict, mostly between warring groups of the Turkana and Borana communities." [Amnesty International, Report 2003]

### Status of Fighting:

**2008 Fighting in 2008 can be divided into three categories. First, the post-election violence involved the Kikuyu tribe and those aligned with them fighting the Luos and the Kalenjins. These groups represent the groups of the Prime Minister and President of Kenya. The Mungiki sect, a group largely eliminated in 2007 was revived by the violence. Their mandate is to defend the**

**Kikuyu culture, and they engaged in both post-election violence and additional violence throughout 2008. Post election violence involved an increase of rape and sexual violence. Second, in the Laikipia district, fighting between the Turgens who are aligned with the Turkana and the Kikuyu continues. Additional fighting in the district involves other tribes, specifically the Massai, Pokot and Samburu. Finally, in the Mt. Elgon region, the government forces continued their crackdown on the SLDF and both groups have been accused of perpetrating human rights abuses and torturing civilians. The SLDF has also been implicated in forcefully recruiting children to fight.**

"While trumpeting SLDF abuses, government officials have persisted in denying reports of torture by the security forces even as the evidence has piled up, with reports and publicity in recent months from local human rights organizations, local media, Human Rights Watch, the Nairobi-based Independent Medico-Legal Unit (IMLU) and the constitutionally independent state human rights organ, the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights." [*Human Rights Watch*, July 28, 2008]

**2007** Fighting in the Mt. Elgon region over traditional land rights has grown more and more severe despite the presence of security forces. In March 2008, the government announced a huge military operation designed to target members of the Sabaot Land Defence Forces (SLDF) who are reportedly responsible for atrocities against civilians in the region. However the most troublesome development of 2007 was the December presidential election, the results of which engulfed the country in violence from December to March. Further, the banned Mungiki sect has been responsible for a number of uprisings, which have ended in arbitrary killings by government officials.

"A simmering feud over land rights in western Kenya's Mt Elgon district was blamed for several killings there in October, as disease spread among those displaced by the unrest. At least seven people have been killed in the month of October in the district, the dead include an area administrator who was shot dead in his office on 16 October. The killing prompted several families to flee the area, adding that an estimated 45 000 people were currently displaced in the Mt Elgon region. At least 180 people have died in the area since fighting broke out in December 2006 following inter-clan disputes between the Soy and the Mosop communities over land allocation in the Chebyuk settlement scheme." [*IRIN*, 26 October 2007]

"Kenya's army has launched a huge military operation targeting a militia which has killed some 500 people in a land dispute over the past 18 months. They are targeting the Sabaot Land Defence Forces (SLDF) which was blamed for the killing of 12 people last week." [*BBC News*, 10 March 2007]

"Human Rights Watch accused ODM officials of helping to organize violence in the Rift Valley region in which hundreds of President Kibaki's Kikuyu community were killed following the announcement of his election victory. HRW warned that more attacks were being planned on the Eldoret areas of Langas and Munyaka, where many Kikuyu homes remain intact, and called on the opposition to take steps to prevent them." [*BBC News*, 24 January 2008]

"Kenyan police have been accused of involvement in the execution-style killings of nearly 500 people in Nairobi over the past five months. The Kenyan National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR) made the claim after investigating the disappearance of hundreds of men from the Mungiki sect. Banned in 2002, the sect's members are thought to be militants from Kenya's biggest ethnic group, the Kikuyu. The dossier published by the KNHCR alleges that police were behind the execution-style killings of nearly 500 men during the crackdown on the Mungiki between June and October this year." [*BBC News*, 06 November 2007]

**2006** Violent inter-clan skirmishes continued in Kenya's Northern provinces near the Ethiopian border as well as with Somali refugees and Ugandan tribesmen. These clashes included Dongiro warriors from Ethiopia who attacked Turkana herdsmen, as well as Boran raiders who assaulted the village of Dukana. The Marsabit district in the North has also reportedly suffered from Ethiopian militia raids. In the southern Samburu district, Pokot tribesmen were responsible for a raid on the Samburu tribe. There have also been reports of fighting in the Kanyarkwat district, where many locals have armed themselves for protection against Sebei and Karamajong raiders from Uganda. Violence has also erupted in a Kenyan Somali refugee camp in northern Kakuma, where tensions between local Turkana groups with Somali and Sudanese refugees have erupted into violent attacks.

"Dongiro warriors crossed into Kenya from Ethiopia and attacked Turkana herdsmen to steal their animals, said Njenga Miiri, district commissioner for Turkana." [*The Globe and Mail*, 19 January, 2006]

"A heavily armed Boran raiding party arrived at the village of Dukana, on the border between Kenya and Ethiopia, under the cover of darkness. The rustlers escaped on foot with more than 2 000 animals and forced 1 000 people from their homes." [*The Times Online*, 21 April, 2006]

"One of the hardest hit areas is Kanyarkwat, where many locals are believed to own guns to protect themselves from Sebei and Karamajong raiders from Uganda. Kanyarkwat is located near the Kenya/Uganda border, and it is the first place cattle raiders strike before venturing into other parts of the district." [*AllAfrica.com*, 18 May, 2006]

"At least four Kenyan civilians were killed when armed raiders attacked border villages in the violence-prone Marsabit District in northern Kenya, the local Red Cross reported. "The raiders are suspected to be Ethiopian militia," police spokesman Gideon Kibunjah said, adding that the assailants had fled across the border while being pursued by Kenyan police." [*IRIN*, 23 May, 2006]

"Relations between the refugees and members of the Turkana ethnic group had been strained by several violent incidents earlier this month, a local observer, who did not wish to be named, said. Two weeks ago, bandits from outside the camp shot dead a Somali man; two days later a Sudanese refugee was attacked and killed by local men. When the relatives of the Sudanese man were digging his grave, they attacked two Turkana men in retaliation, killing one and seriously wounding the other." [*IRIN*, 24 August, 2006]

**2005** Inter-communal fighting mainly over land and water continued with violent clashes taking place between the Murule and Garre communities and between the Borana and Gabra communities in northeastern Kenya near the Ethiopian border. On several occasions government troops clashed with groups of armed attackers including a large number of cattle raiders from Uganda, in attempts to apprehend those responsible for inter-ethnic violence.

"According to Abdul Ibrahim Haro, coordinator of the Conflict and Disaster Project in the Eastern Africa office of the Intermediate Technology Development Group (ITDG), competition for resources among Somali clans around the Kenya-Somalia border had also caused recent feuds between the Garre and the Murule clans in Mandera. The resources include pasture, water and business opportunities." [*IRINNews.org*, August 1, 2005]

"'According to the information we have, members of the Borana community attacked the Gabra in retaliation for an earlier attack,' Kitur [police official] told IRIN. 'Both have long-standing animosity'...Kitur said six Borana people were killed in June at Forone, near Kenya's border with Ethiopia." [*IRINNews.org*, July 13, 2005]

"Samburu people have surrendered 213 illegal firearms and more than 280 bullets before the expiry of a two-week government amnesty...A major operation to seize illegal firearms kicked off in Baragoi and Nyiro divisions yesterday morning...In neighbouring West Pokot, half the schools have closed down as residents have fled to Uganda fearing the security operation." [*The Nation (Nairobi)*, June 1, 2005]

"An estimated 1,500 families have fled their homes following the killing of earlier this week of 22 people by armed raiders in the northeastern Kenyan district of Mandera, a spokesman for the Kenya Red Cross Society (KRCS) said on Thursday." "In Mandera over 20,000 people have been displaced by violence in recent months." [*IRINNews.org*, March 17, 2005]

"Ombati said the assailants were believed to be members of the Murule clan, while the victims were thought to be from the Garre clan. It was not immediately clear what triggered the latest violence, but the two groups, both Kenyan Somalis, have a history of feuding over pasture and water points." [*IRINNews.org*, March 16, 2005]

**2004** Inter-communal fighting continued over land and cattle rustling, though on a smaller scale than in the past. New problems emerged in regard to Maasai in the Laikipia District who attempted to repossess land involved in a contentious 99 year lease signed during the British colonial era.

"Rift Valley provincial commissioner Wilfred Ndolo who chaired three peace meetings last week was categorical that politicians were fuelling tension and animosity, blocking attempts to bring calm to the region. The clashes, in Ololunga division, were sparked by the theft of nine goats on September 29 and in retaliation, some youths stole about 100 head of cattle from their neighbouring community. Since then, many residents have fled their homes and hundreds of them, including children, are camping at a trading centre with no food, clothes and bedding after their houses were burnt." [*The Nation*, November 8, 2004]

"At least 15 houses at Sogoo village were torched on Thursday night in a renewed wave of clashes between members of the Maasai and Kipsigis communities living on the Narok-Bomet border... elders from the two communities had been invited for another round of peace talks." [*The East African Standard*, November 8, 2004]"

"The fighting in Olmenyeku area has now spread to Ololunga and Mulot divisions of the district. Two primary schools were set ablaze while 30 more schools have been affected by the clashes, according to local education officer Beatrice Makau. The raiders have so far set on fire 60 houses belonging to members of different communities living in the area." [*The Nation*, November 5, 2004]

"Seven security guards were seriously injured after hundreds of herdsmen invaded a farm associated with politician Kenneth Matiba in Meru Central District yesterday. Anti-riot police, who were later called in, were forced to lob teargas canisters at the herders to drive them with their livestock out of Embori farm in Timau division." [*The East African Standard*, November 4, 2004]

"Maasai herdsmen at the weekend invaded a private ranch in Laikipia, barely three days after Security Minister Dr Chris Murungaru ordered them to vacate the vast farms... Guards at the ranch told the East African Standard that the herdsmen threatened to attack them with spears if they blocked them from grazing at the ranch." [*East African Standard*, September 6, 2004]

"There is little hope of a quick solution to the long-running clashes between members of the Tugen and Njemps communities over boundary and pasture... The two communities clashed again last weekend, bringing to the fore the differences that have dogged the pastoralists." [*East African Standard*, September 6, 2004]

**2003** Inter-communal conflict claimed over 50 lives throughout the year. The violence, which often occurred in the north-western region of the country, involved Kenyan, Sudanese and Ugandan groups. The presence of foreign groups in Kenya is largely due to ongoing conflicts in neighbouring states.

"The violence that followed a cattle-rustling incident last month in Kakuma refugee camp, northwestern Kenya, was unprecedented in its deadly impact. Displacing 30,000 people and killing two Turkana, nine Sudanese, and one Ethiopian caught in the crossfire, the effects are still being felt four weeks later." [*IRIN*, July 22, 2003]

"Despite several agreements between Uganda and Kenya to disarm pastoralists, cattle rustling along the border persisted this month, causing heavy human suffering. Kenyan police said members of Kenya's Pokot community at the weekend attacked three villages in Kapchorwa district, eastern Uganda, killing over 30 people and torching some 300 houses." [*IRIN*, April 14, 2003]

**2002** A number of inter-ethnic conflicts over land, cattle and politics took close to 100 civilian lives in the first nine months of 2002. The December presidential elections followed an outbreak of politically-motivated violence throughout the country.

"A new report by CDU (Central Depository Unit) on political violence in the country indicates a sharp increase in political violence in the past few months. The report, released on Sunday, says

such incidents have more than doubled since May this year, to the rate of about 25 deaths per month." [IRIN, November 25, 2002]

"Renewed ethnic tensions in the Gucha, Transmara and Migori districts of western Kenya, in which several people have been killed since last week, have been linked to crucial presidential and parliamentary elections expected later this year... A humanitarian source based in Gucha told IRIN on Wednesday that the current ethnic tensions in the region were not just a normal problem resulting from cattle rustling - a common phenomenon in the area - but were due to political problems that typically occurred during election periods." [IRIN, September 18, 2002]

"Hundreds of Ethiopian tribesmen invaded a village in northern Kenya, killing 10 people in apparent retaliation for a cattle rustling raid earlier this year, police said Thursday. The Ethiopians from the Merrile tribe attacked the town of Kambi Miti late Tuesday as the Kenyan villagers from the Turkana tribe were sleeping, said James Ringer, police spokesman for the area. The village is 100 miles north of the city of Lodwar. The Merrile and Turkana are both cattle-herding tribes. They regularly clash and rustle each other's livestock... Cattle rustling among nomadic herders on the borders of Uganda, Sudan, Ethiopia and Kenya has become more deadly in recent years because of the proliferation of firearms in the region." [Washington Post, September 12, 2002]

**2001** Conflict between tribal groups continued in 2001, with fighting widening to include attacks against villages, women and children, traditionally spared such raids.

"On March 12, several hundred young Pokot, many carrying AK-47's, mounted a raid on the Marakwet, their neighbours to the south and west. By the time the raiders retreated back to their side of the Kerio River, the valley had been dubbed The Valley of Death. Schools, houses and shops had been torched, and most of the 47 dead were women and children, traditionally spared by a culture forbidding attacks on noncombatants." [The Washington Post, July 8, 2001]

"Reports from Kenya say a band of heavily armed cattle rustlers have killed thirty members of a rival tribe and seized fifteen-thousand of their cattle. Local newspaper reports say four-hundred raiders from the Samburu tribe ambushed Borana herdsman just after dawn near Samburu National Park." [BBC News, February 9, 2001]

"The bodies of at least 30 people killed in ethnic clashes in Kenya are reported to have been dumped in the River Tana in the east of the country. Kenyan television quoting local officials said armed gangs from pastoral Wardey community attacked members of the Pokomo community in the area." [BBC News, September 19, 2001]

**2000** Tribal feuding, cross-border fighting between Kenyan tribes and tribes in neighbouring Uganda and Ethiopia, and mob violence continued during the year. The most serious fighting involved clashes in May between the Borana and Somali ethnic groups in the northeast over livestock.

"Newspapers reported that trouble had begun early on Sunday, when armed bandits attacked a Somali village, killing villagers and then making off with hundreds of cattle. The police spokesman said police have so far recovered 500 stolen cows, 300 camels, and 100 goats, and that they were searching for other stolen animals ... Correspondents say the traditional fighting between the Borana and ethnic groups has been made worse by the ready availability of weapons from conflicts in neighbouring areas." [BBC News, May 2, 2000]

**1999** Extra-judicial killings by the police forces, ethnic clashes, and political violence increased in 1999. Government officials arrested and prosecuted a number of police officers for abuses, but no action was taken against most of the police officers who perpetrated heinous crimes. Ethnic clashes continued between Pokots and Marakwets/Keiyos in Trans Nzoia in the northwest, between Boranas and Somalis in North Eastern province, between Oromos and Somalis in Eastern Province, between Kuria and Luos in the west, and between Pokots and the Turkana ethnic group in the Turkwell Gorge. There were also clashes between the Njemps and Turkana ethnic groups in the Rift Valley, between members of different Sudanese clans in Kakuma refugee camp, and between the Aulyan and Abduwak clans of the Somali ethnic group over grazing and water rights. Many people were killed as a result of mob violence linked to police brutality and dissatisfaction with the

judicial system.

"The Government's overall human rights record was generally poor, and serious problems remained in many areas; while there were some signs of improvement in a few areas, the situation worsened in others. Security forces committed an increased number of extrajudicial killings, and continued to torture and beat detainees, use excessive force, rape, and otherwise abuse persons...Attacks and revenge counterattacks, part of a longstanding pattern of cattle rustling, continued between Pokots and Marakwets/Keiyos in Trans Nzoia in the northwest, Boranas and Somalis in North Eastern province, Ormas and Somalis in Eastern Province, and Kuria and Luos in the west, resulting in scores of deaths....At least 40 persons were killed in a March 4 cattle raid by Pokots on Turkana in the Turkwell Gorge area. At least 15 persons were killed in an October 24 cattle raid by Pokots on the Marakwet village of Tot; raiders killed 10 women and children waiting for polio vaccinations at a health clinic. Also in October in the Rift Valley members of the Njemps and Turkana ethnic groups fought each other and burned each others' houses after some inebriated Turkana men reportedly killed an Njemps herdsman...In February fighting between members of different clans of Sudanese in Kakuma refugee camp wounded 20 persons....n August, during county council elections in Garissa county, there was fighting between the Aulyan and Abduwak clans of the Somali ethnic group, between which there were longstanding tensions over grazing and water rights....A resurgence of fighting between the same clans in December reportedly caused hundred of families to flee the area." [*Kenya Report on Human Rights Practices for 1999*, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, US State Department, February, 2000]

**1998** Ethnic-based conflict in 1998 primarily occurred in three major attacks, though there was sporadic fighting throughout the year. In January, armed groups of Kalenjin (President Daniel arap Moi's ethnic group) attacked ethnic Kikuyu groups, apparently because they voted against Moi in the December elections. Kikuyu groups retaliated by virtually wiping out a Kalenjin community at Naishe, after which Moi publicly called for peace and the violence subsided. In early November there was a massacre in the remote North Eastern village of Bagala, which pitted members of the Boran and Gabra tribes, reinforced by Oromo kinsmen from Ethiopia, against ethnic Degadia clans.

"In January, the results of the presidential election were challenged in a court petition by opposition Democratic Party (DP) leader Mwai Kibaki, who subsequently, with his lawyer, received anonymous death threats. "Ethnic" violence also followed in two DP constituencies in Rift Valley Province. Armed groups of Kalenjin (the president's ethnic group) attacked ethnic Kikuyu residents in night raids, raping, hacking with machetes, or killing with firearms, before looting and burning their homes. Over one hundred people were reportedly killed and thousands displaced. The initial attacks were well organized and from outside the community." [*Human Rights Watch World Report, 1999*]

"Deadly attacks and revenge counterattacks, part of a longstanding pattern of cattle rustling, continued between Pokots and Marakwets in Trans Nzoia in the northwest. There were also sporadic incidents of ethnic-targeted violence and banditry in Isiolo, Meru/Nyambene, Garissa, Trans Mara, and on the coast. In October in Wajir district in the northeast, Boran tribesmen, reinforced by Oromo kinsmen from Ethiopia, raided camps of the rival Degadia ethnic group. Approximately 150 persons were killed, many more were wounded and more than 50 persons, mostly teenage girls, were kidnapped." [*Kenya Report on Human Rights Practices for 1998*, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, US State Department, February 1999]

"Kenya's refugee camps have turned into a battle ground where rival Somali and Sudanese ethnic groups fight over anything from politics to rights of grazing land. About 11 refugees have been killed in Kakuma and Dadaab camps this year alone...The latest incident occurred last week when 5 Sudanese were murdered and more than 200 others seriously wounded in fighting between Dinka and Didinga at Kakuma camp in northwestern Kenya, on the border with Sudan." [*InterPress Service, February 1, 1999*]

## Number of Deaths:

**Total:** Since 1991 more than 6,800 people have died in ethnic and political violence.

**2008 Reports indicate that anywhere between 1200 – 1500 people were killed during the election violence occurring early in the year. As a result of the election violence, the Mungiki sect, a Kikuyu militia group almost entirely eliminated in the summer of 2007 by Kenyan police forces, was revived. Partially as a result of the election violence but mainly as a result of revived rivalries, the Turgen and Turkana pastoral tribes and the farming community of the Kikuyu clashed in Laikipia. The Mungiki sect and the Laikipia fighting are responsible for 100 deaths in 2008. An additional 200 deaths occurred in the Mt. Elgon district as government forces continue their operation to fight and possibly eliminate the SLDF. Altogether, 2008 saw an estimated 1500-1800 killed in violence and an additional 600 000 – 700 000 who were displaced mainly as a result of the election violence but also as a result of the tribal violence occurring elsewhere in the country.**

**2007** By the end of 2007 civilian deaths that are the result of land disputes have topped close to 200. Meanwhile the violence that has occurred as the result of election disputes has claimed the lives of close to 1500 civilians and has displaced 600 000 more. Further, human rights groups claim that the government is responsible for thousands of deaths that have occurred as the result of its crackdown on the Mungiki sect.

"The fighting [in the Mt Elgon region] has pitted two clans of the Sabaot community against each other and claimed at least 158 lives and left 140 injured, according to the Kenya Red Cross Society (KRCS). Government officials have put the death toll at about 80. Despite the presence of security forces, tension remains high, with the number of displaced on the increase, said the KRCS, which has been offering humanitarian aid in the district since November 2006. The clashes were initially concentrated in the Kopsiro area of Mt Elgon in December 2006 and moved to Kapsokwony and then more recently towards Tans-Nzoia District, where six killings were recently reported." [Reuters, 01 May 2006]

"After weeks of rancorous negotiations to resolve a post-election conflict that killed nearly 1500 people, Kenya's two rival parties signed an agreement on power-sharing." [The Christian Science Monitor, 29 February 2008]

"A human-rights organization has claimed that Kenyan police killed as many as 8 040 people by execution or torture during a crackdown on a banned sect. The group said a further 4 070 people had gone missing as security forces tried to wipe out the Mungiki sect. The deaths and disappearances occurred over five years up to August 2007, said the Oscar Foundation Free Legal Aid Clinic Kenya. A Kenyan police spokesman has dismissed the report as fictitious." [BBC News, 26 November 2007]

**2006** Violence has resulted in at least 125 casualties, most of which are civilian. This figure includes those killed in inter-clan fighting as well as 14 officials who were killed when their plane crashed some 280 miles from Nairobi while en route to a peace conference in the north.

"A battle for livestock between Ethiopian and Kenyan nomads has left 38 people dead in drought-stricken northern Kenya, officials and aid workers said. Dongiro warriors crossed into Kenya from Ethiopia and attacked Turkana herdsman to steal their animals, said Njenga Miiri, district commissioner for Turkana. The fighting killed 30 of the raiders and eight Kenyan women and children." [The Globe and Mail, January 19, 2006]

"A heavily armed Boran raiding party arrived at the village of Dukana, on the border between Kenya and Ethiopia, under the cover of darkness. The rustlers escaped on foot with more than 2 000 animals and forced 1 000 people from their homes, shooting two dead. The attack was the first in a series of clashes across the remote badlands of northern Kenya that have left 13 dead. Another 10 000 people have been forced to flee as warring tribes launched cattle raids and counter-attacks." [The Times Online, April 21, 2006]

"Trouble has erupted in the Samburu district, where Pokot tribesmen killed five people and stole nearly 1 500 cattle from the Samburu tribe. Two Pokots were killed in a revenge attack, according to police." [The Times Online, April 21, 2006]

**2005** At least 180 people, mostly civilians, were killed in several violent inter-ethnic clashes and fighting between government troops and armed raiders. 76 people were killed in a single attack in July.

"At least 40 armed Ugandan cattle rustlers were killed on Wednesday by Kenyan warriors and security forces when they crossed into neighbouring Kenya to raid cattle, Ugandan military officials said." [*IRINNews.org*, July 21, 2005]

"In January, another 20 people were killed during inter-clan violence between the Murule and the Garre communities in Mandera. Another 14 people were killed and 2,000 displaced from their homes in the Mai Mahiu area of Nakuru district of western Kenya in January, following violent clashes between two ethnic communities over water." [*IRINNews.org*, July 13, 2005]

**2004** More than 40 people were killed as a result of fighting.

"In February, armed men from the Pokot tribe attacked members of the Turkana tribe, resulting in the deaths of 13 persons, including 3 children. In February, Maasai warriors killed a farmer and injured five others in a raid on an area in Laikipia District where land had been allocated to influential persons from the former KANU government. In April, flyers appeared in predominantly Kalenjin areas of the Rift Valley threatening to forcibly expel Kikuyu residents from the area. In December, clashes between 2 ethnic Somali clans, allegedly over access to a water source, claimed 24 lives in North Eastern Province." [*Kenya: Country Reports on Human Rights Practices – 2004*, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, US State Department, February 28, 2005]

"Hundreds of raiders from Ethiopia launched a surprise attack in Turkana District, killing four fishermen and ambushing a paramilitary police patrol. Police headquarters in Nairobi said the Friday morning raid left two General Service Unit (GSU) officers dead, another injured and one missing." [*The Nation*, November 7, 2004]

**2003** Independent media reported over 50 people killed in 2003 as a result of inter-communal conflict.

"At least 18 people were killed on Saturday evening after Toposa tribesmen from Southern Sudan raided a Turkana village. The heavily armed Toposa cattle raiders attacked Nakareso village ... (and) drove away over 1,200 head of cattle after they overpowered the villagers." [*The East Africa Standard*, September 24, 2003]

**2002** Independent media reports claim that close to 100 people were killed in the first nine months of 2002.

"Five people were killed and two others seriously injured in renewed violent clashes on Saturday between the Orma and Pokomo communities in Tana River District, eastern Kenya, according to humanitarian and news sources." [*IRIN*, January 14, 2002]

"Renewed ethnic tensions in the Gucha, Transmara and Migori districts of western Kenya, in which several people have been killed since last week, have been linked to crucial presidential and parliamentary elections expected later this year. .. On Sunday, two people were killed and 10 injured when youths from Gucha and Transmara were engaged in running battles along the border of the two districts, the 'Daily Nation' reported. This brought to eight the number of people killed in the area over the past two weeks." [*IRIN*, September 18, 2002]

**2001** More than 130 people were killed in 2001.

"Over 130 people have been killed in the district over the past year in violent clashes between the two communities over rights to land and water resources. While the Pokomo accuse the Orma of allowing livestock to encroach on their farms and of destroying their crops, the Orma complain that Pokomo farmlands are too close to the banks of the Tana river and prevent the herders from using the river to water their cattle." [*IRIN*, January 14, 2002]

"Inter-ethnic clashes and civic unrest in Kenya continued to plague many communities across Kenya throughout 2001. From the capital, Nairobi, to Turkana in the far northwest of the country, rising tensions frequently exploded into violent clashes between neighbouring communities, forcing families to flee their homes, exacerbating food shortages and increasing reliance on

emergency relief aid... Among the clashes to occur in Kenya in 2001, two stood out as examples of the violence prevalent in both rural and urban areas of the country: conflict between pastoralists and farming communities over land and water resources in Tana River District, eastern Kenya; and the sudden outburst of civic unrest in Nairobi's sprawling Kibera slum." [IRIN, January 11, 2002]

**2000** At least 100 people were killed by the end of September.

"Heavy casualties have been reported from north-east Kenya as fighting broke out during a livestock raid. Kenyan television says more than 70 people have been killed so far, including three policemen." [BBC News, May 2, 2000]

**1999** At least 550 people died in 1999, as a result of extra-judicial killings, ethnic clashes, and political violence.

"The nongovernmental Kenyan Human Rights Commission (KHRC) reported that police killed 187 persons from January to September (compared to 164 persons during the same period in 1998), including at least 24 by torture. The Independent Medico-Legal Unit, which observes and performs postmortems on suspected victims of torture, recorded 39 cases of death from 'internal hemorrhage due to external trauma' (i.e., torture) of individuals in police custody during the first 8 months of the year. Police lacked restraint in employing lethal force, and the Government generally failed to take appropriate action against members of the security forces accused of extrajudicial killings. ...

Mob violence increased. According to the KHRC, 157 persons were killed in mob violence between January and September, compared with 139 such deaths in all of 1998. The Government recorded 183 deaths due to mob violence between January and September. Human rights observers attribute mob violence to a lack of public confidence in the police and the judicial process. The great majority of mob violence victims, who died by lynching, beating, or burning, were persons suspected of criminal activities, including robbery, cattle rustling, and membership in terror gangs." [Kenya Report on Human Rights Practices for 1999, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, US State Department, February 2000]

**1998** At least 430 people were killed in ethnic based attacks, police extra-judicial killings, and post elections violence.

## Political Developments:

**2008** The February 2008 Presidential agreement retaining Mwai Kibaki in the elected position of President and Raila Odinga as the Prime Minister was fragile but continued to hold. In March, three new bodies were formed to look into the election violence -- the Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission; the Commission of Inquiry on Post-Election Violence and the Independent Review Committee on the 2007 Elections. The Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Committee (or the TJRC) will investigate crimes that have been committed since the country's independence in 1963 until February 2008. It will have nine commissioners -- six Kenyans and three foreigners who will be appointed by the team of African Eminent Personalities who mediated the power sharing agreement along with former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan. The TJRC is separate from the international tribunal recommended by a separate commission of inquiry which was set up after the violence. Some are calling for unconditional amnesty for those who are implicated, others insist that those involved should be prosecuted and that amnesty would encourage impunity. Judge Philip Waki, the head of the separate commission of inquiry, sent a list of 10 names of mostly senior personalities to Kofi Annan and told the government that failure to meet commission timelines would result in the names being sent to the International Criminal Court in the Hague. The tribunal is expected to start in March of 2009.

"Mr. Annan urged the Kenyan government to set up the tribunal, saying the long culture of impunity must end." [BBC News, October 24, 2008]

**2007** The presidential election that took place in December 2007 threatened to destabilize the entire country as violent demonstrations occurred throughout December and February. The election results declared incumbent Mwai Kibaki as the victor amid numerous claims of vote-rigging and tampering, irritating supporters

of opposition leader Raila Odinga. Kibaki has openly stated that the election results will not be overturned, further angering those who feel the electoral process has been manipulated. After the failure of the African Union to even get the two sides to meet in person, Kofi Annan stepped in to facilitate peace talks in January and brokered a power-sharing agreement between the two parties in February. Under the agreement, Kibaki will retain the post of president and Odinga will be made prime minister. However, the two parties agreed to a similar arrangement in 2002, which collapsed after 3 years. Further, the agreement contains no stipulations for ensuring ethnic tensions will be addressed in the new constitution, set to be drafted later this year. Kibaki must also agree to an external review of the 2007 elections that are widely viewed as corrupt and the government faces the daunting task of repatriating some 600 000 who have been displaced as the result of post-election violence.

"Under the agreement, President Mwai Kibaki will retain the position of president, although international observers and Kenya's own election commission have declared his election deeply flawed. Opposition leader Raila Odinga will become prime minister, although his powers are decidedly ceremonial." [*The Christian Science Monitor*, 29 February 2008]

"The pact does not address such key issues as a new Constitution, land redistribution, and human rights violations. But with it, Kenya appears to be turning the corner toward a tentative peace. Now begins the work of making politicians set aside rivalries and greed to form a unity government and to urge ethnic communities that have massacred each other to make amends." [*The Christian Science Monitor*, 29 February 2008]

"The electoral process is so seriously flawed that, until that is redressed, and until we have truth and justice about the election, we are not going to have a viable society in Kenya," said Shailja Patel of the Kenyans for Peace, which includes the Kenyan National Commission on Human Rights, which while state-funded has proven in the past to be independent and is highly respected, and the Law Society of Kenya. [*CBS News*, 10 January 2008]

**2006** The Kenyan government spent most of 2006 embroiled in the 'Anglo-Leasing' corruption scandal which involved the diverting of monies towards a private fund designed to promote the new constitution rejected in November of 2005. The scandal has resulted in the resignation of several high-ranking officials, such as former finance minister David Mwiraria, education minister George Saitoti and energy minister Kiraitu Murungi. The World Bank also withheld \$266.6 million US for HIV/AIDS due to transparency issues. Furthermore, the United States denied 2.5 million US in aid for the country's 'anti-corruption' campaign also due to transparency issues. Several administration officials have been suspended over the mishandling of relief distribution in northern regions. Government forces are reportedly responsible for a raid on the country's oldest newspaper and the arrest of three of its editors, an act condemned by Reporters without borders (RSF). In addition, a newly formed political party, the National Rainbow Coalition-Kenya (NARC-Kenya), won the Nakuru Town constituency seat in the Rift Valley Province and two other seats in the northern Marsabit district following a by-election held after the deaths of five MPs in an April plane crash.

"Two weeks after Kenyan finance minister, David Mwiraria, resigned over allegations of involvement in corrupt acts, two other key ministers have resigned following similar claims against them. Among those who have resigned are, education minister George Saitoti and energy minister Kiraitu Murungi." [*IRIN* February 4, 2006]

"The World Bank recently stopped payment of almost \$266.5 million - earmarked for education, the fight against HIV/AIDS and banking reforms - to Kenya over concerns about transparency in use of funds". [*IRIN* February 4, 2006]

"Four provincial administration officials from Kenya's northern region have been suspended over the mishandling of relief-food distribution to 3.5 million people in the drought-stricken districts of Garissa, Mandera, Marsabit and Wajir, according to local media reports." [*IRIN*, January 24, 2006]

**2005** Kenyans voted to retain their current constitution rejecting the proposed changes supported by President Kibaki but opposed by a faction within his government. The contention centred on the opposition belief that the proposed changes would retain strong Presidential powers. In December the EU pledged humanitarian assistance to victims of ethnic clashes in Kenya's northeast.

"The European Commission (EC) is to provide 2 million Euros-worth of humanitarian aid to victims of ethnic tensions in northern Kenya next year, the commission said in a statement on Thursday. 'It will finance humanitarian operations to improve the situation of up to 450,000 people,' the EC said. 'Measures will cover their needs concerning nutrition, water and sanitation, as well as the protection of those caught up in the ethnic clashes.'" [Reuters, December 16, 2005]

"Kenya's attorney general, Amos Wako, on Tuesday released the country's proposed new constitution, which Kenyans are expected to adopt or reject in a referendum in November. The draft features major changes to the current constitution, including the addition of a deputy president and prime minister, as well as two deputy prime ministers. Under the new 197-page document, the presidency would remain powerful, with the authority to appoint and dismiss the prime minister and other cabinet ministers." [IRINNews.org, August 24, 2005]

"Kenya's proposed new constitution has been rejected in a referendum despite its having been supported by President Mwai Kibaki and other key figures in his government, the country's electoral commission announced on Tuesday." [Reuters, November 22, 2005]

"Following the clashes in Mandera between the Garre and Murule clans, the government supported the formation of an inter-clan arbitration committee led by religious leaders and other prominent personalities, including local Members of Parliament. The committee came up with an agreement binding the two parties to pay blood money for the killings committed by members of their clans. Property lost during the fighting would not be claimed, but damaged homes were to be repaired by the culpable group, according to the pact" [IRINNews.org, August 1, 2005]

**2004** In a controversial move President Mwai Kibaki brought opposition members into his administration as it continued to struggle to produce a workable draft constitution in 2004. There was little progress on the establishment of a truth and reconciliation commission, although the government continued to promise it would be established by the end of the year. A lobby group, the Public Corruption, Ethics and Governance Watch, sued former President Moi on charges of failing to prevent genocide during his tenure.

"Kenyan President Mwai Kibaki has brought in several opposition politicians into his administration by way of a reshuffle, saying he wanted to form a government of national unity that would be more focused on improving the lives of the people.... But his move has been widely seen as an attempt to deal with the factional infighting that has dogged his National Rainbow Coalition (Narc) government since it came to power following general elections held in December 2002." [IRIN, 1 July 2004]

"A truth and reconciliation commission will be formed before the end of the year. It could not have been set up earlier as the Government was busy with the constitution review and economic crimes." [Daily Nation, 23 April, 2004]

**2003** Mwai Kibaki, leader of the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) was sworn in as Kenya's third president in December, succeeding Daniel arap Moi. Moi, leader of the Kenyan Africa Union (KANU), held the presidency for 24 years and was prevented by Kenya's constitution from reelection. Upon assuming the presidency, Kibaki promised constitutional reform and the establishment of a Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC) to investigate crimes committed under previous governments. Political opposition and violence stalled constitutional reform. An additional obstacle facing President Kibaki's government was the death of Kenya's Vice-President Michael Wamalwa in August. Following two alleged Al-Qaeda attacks on Israeli targets in Mombasa in November 2002, the relationship between the Kenyan and US governments deepened as Kenya became an ally in the US-led "war on terror".

"A TJRC Task Force was thus appointed by the Government, to look into the possibility of establishing one. Revealing some of its findings just before the three-day conference, the task force said 90 percent of Kenyans wanted a truth commission to be established. A report of the task force, scheduled for presentation to the Government on August 26, is expected to suggest establishment of a commission with powers to recommend redress and demand that people alleged to have been involved in gross public misconduct be called to account." [All Africa.com,

August 25, 2003]

**2002** In preparation for elections scheduled for December, the Constitution of Kenya Review Commission proposed radical changes to the Kenyan constitution that would greatly reduce the President's power by introducing the post of executive prime minister and a two-chamber parliament. Incumbent President Daniel arap Moi is due to step down. Controversy and violence surrounded his decision to name Uhuru Kenyatta, the son of Kenya's first president, his preferred successor.

**2001** Attempts were made to restore peace between two communities, the Pokot and Marakwet. Some reports indicated that the Kenyan government, and its local representatives, were not doing enough to assist in the peace process and were in some ways disruptive.

**2000** Opposition and religious groups launched a rival constitutional review process in April in response to a government plan to review the constitution, which will allow President Moi to appoint a Board of Commissioners.

**1999** In August, a presidential Commission on Ethnic Clashes, created in 1998, submitted its report on the cause of the ethnic clashes that have plagued the country since 1992. At year-end the government had not made the report public, nor did it announce any step based on the findings.

"In August a presidential Commission on Ethnic Clashes, a government-appointed panel of three judges formed in 1998, submitted to President Moi its report on the cause of ethnic clashes that occurred in the Rift Valley in 1992 and 1997, the Coast province in 1997, and the areas of Molo and Laikipia in 1998." [*Kenya Report on Human Rights Practices for 1999*, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, US State Department, February 2000]

**1998** A December election did not bring the reform and reduction in violence hoped for as ethnic conflicts increased during the year. After a serious attack and retaliation left hundreds dead in February and March, President Moi's call for calm and peace dialogue cooled the conflicts to some degree. However, serious peace talks or cease-fire negotiations were not attempted during the year.

"The lead-up to Kenya's second multiparty election, on December 29, 1997, was fraught with violence and intimidation, and marred by government renegeing on promised legal reforms to allow genuine political liberalization. Several peaceful pro-democracy rallies were brutally dispersed, an estimated one million eligible youth were denied registration, and over 100,000 people were displaced in the Coast Province following ethnically-driven attacks on groups largely affiliated with the opposition. Under pressure, the government made concessions a month before the election to allow some constitutional reform and to permit the registration of opposition party Safina. While these gestures calmed somewhat the volatile climate and allowed for the election to proceed, they were not sufficient to level the playing field to allow for a genuinely free and fair election. The reelection of President Moi for five more years and the victory of his ruling party was due both to longstanding government obstruction of the opposition as well as to deep divisions within the opposing parties, largely on ethnic lines." [*Human Rights Watch World Report*, 1999]

## Background:

Opponents of ex-President Daniel arap Moi claim he exploited factional violence, competition over land, and ethnic patronage to bolster his own power and that of his supporters, and to discredit a multi-party approach to politics that was restored in 1991. In 1992, an estimated 2,000 people died and 20,000 were made homeless in ethnic clashes in Western Kenya, and in 1993, fighting in the Rift Valley between the Kalenjin and the opposition Kikuyu group killed 1,500 people and displaced 300,000. Foreign observers accused authorities of pursuing a policy of ethnic cleansing in the fighting. Ethnic clashes were especially violent due to the availability and use of small arms, as well as the erosion of traditional tribal power structures. In 1997 Moi was reelected President for a fifth five-year term in chaotic and contested elections that maintained divisions between opposition groups. After a serious Kalenjin attack followed by opposition retaliation left hundreds dead in early 1998, Moi called for calm and renewed peace dialogue, which reduced the conflict to some degree, but did not lead to tangible progress. The 1999 report of a presidential commission on ethnic clashes was not made public. A constitutional review conducted in 2002 proposed the creation of the post of executive prime minister and a two-chamber parliament in order to reduce presidential powers. In 2003 the National Rainbow Coalition

assumed power as Mwai Kibaki was elected president.

In 2006 the government became entangled in what has become known as the “Ango-Leasing” scandal, which involved diverting funds towards promoting a new constitution that had been rejected in November 2005. Outcry over the corruption scheme has resulted in the withholding of aid funds by the World Bank and the United States as well as the resignation of the former ministers of finance, education, and energy. The results of the 2007 presidential election that declared incumbent Mwai Kibaki as the victor against Raila Odinga resulted in numerous instances of violence and some 1500 deaths. Following a February power-sharing agreement brokered by Kofi Annan, the two sides have agreed to a 10-point deal that allows for Kibaki to remain as president and for Odinga to assume the roll of prime minister. The negotiation also requires that Kibaki submit to an external review of election proceedings and calls for a new constitution to be drafted later. In 2008, tribal violence also continued in the areas of Laikipia and Mt. Elgon, and the Mungiki sect continued its violence beyond the election in areas of Nairobi. The government deal, albeit shaky, held throughout the rest of 2008. A truth commission is set to start in March 2009, with senior government officials being implicated for the election violence of early 2008. Hundreds of thousands are still living in displaced persons camps despite government promises to protect those who return home. The potential economic impact from the election crisis is huge, owing in part to the fall in tourism, but also the conditions of the IDP camps within the country.

“Many parts of Kenya experienced violence for the first time after the disputed December 2007 presidential elections” [*IRIN*, April 4, 2008]

“...in a society that a generation ago relied on spears to beat back rivals who attacked with poisoned arrows, the assault rifle has become the weapon of choice. As military technology, small arms are hardly advanced killing machines. But their impact often goes far beyond their role in combat. When introduced into societies such as that of the Pokot, they can have a profound effect on how people govern, discipline and feed themselves. The weapons of death change the fabric of life... Power, which from time immemorial in African society has accrued with age, suddenly comes from the barrel of a gun. Village elders who once mulled every crucial decision are today deferring to armed ‘youth elders,’ who are often governed by hot blood.” [*Washington Post Foreign Service*, July 8, 2000]

## Arms Sources:

There is a concern over the 2008 increase of small arms in Kenya due to post-election violence. Independent studies have found that there are at least 100 000 illegal arms in circulation. These illegal markets source the guns from Uganda’s Karamoja region, Southern Sudan and parts of South Ethiopia.

The continued violence in Kenya is due in part to the existence of illegal firearms. According to a Small Arms Survey report, the number of small arms in sub-Saharan Africa, including Kenya, is much lower than previously expected. However, Kenya reportedly has a considerable stockpile of weapons (500,000 to 1,000,000) and also some domestic capacity to produce small arms and ammunition. The Nairobi Declaration, signed in March 2000 by 10 regional countries including Kenya, is aimed at fighting the flow of illicit weapons into and within the region. In March 2003, the Kenyan Government, as a demonstration of its commitment to the Declaration, destroyed 1,000 confiscated small arms. In March 2007, Kenya burnt up to 8,000 small arms in its fourth national small arms destruction event.

France, the United Kingdom, China, Spain and the United States are Kenya’s recent arms suppliers. In a joint venture with the Kenyan government, a Belgian weapons supplier has constructed a munitions factory in Eldoret, Kenya to produce bullets. Some ethnic fighters reportedly secure weapons from neighbouring Somalia and Ethiopia, while others rely on supplies from government sources. The proliferation of small arms among ethnic groups has led to an escalation of hostilities as cattle raiders as well as civilians carry small arms. In 2005, Kenya spent a reported 271 million US on military expenditures and weapons.

[Sources: *SIPRI Yearbook 2005; The Military Balance 2004/2005*]

“The small arms problem is bigger at this point than at any other time in our country’s history, especially owing to the post-election violence, which created new markets for illegal arms more than ever before. The danger is these arms may not necessarily be in use currently but could be used for the wrong reasons in the near or distant future” – Mutuku Nguli, chief executive of Peace

and Development Network (Peace-Net) [*IRIN*, May 26, 2008]

"Kenya burnt up to 8,000 guns in Nairobi on 15 March 2007, its fourth national destruction of illicit small arms, an event coordinated by the Kenya National Focal Point on Small Arms and Light Weapons and the National Steering Committee on Peace-building and Conflict Management." [*IRIN*, 26 May 2008]

"The Kenyan government is grappling with rampant trafficking of illicit small arms and light weapons but needs to pass tougher laws to contain the problem, officials said. Government ministers claim that it is difficult to stop the illicit trafficking of small arms because their sources are unknown and the international community is doing too little to stop their manufacture." [*IRIN*, 13 August 2007]

"In recent years the raids have taken on a more violent nature, fuelled by an influx of guns, from civil wars in Southern Sudan, Uganda and Somalia." [*The Times Online*, April 21, 2006]

"Kenya is vulnerable to weapons trafficking because of its geographic location in a conflict-ridden region. The weapons circulating in Kenya originate from places as far away as China and the United States, but most of them passed through war zones in neighboring countries before making their way to Kenya's illegal gun markets." [*Human Rights Watch*, May 2002]

"Correspondents say the traditional practice of cattle-raiding has become much more deadly with the arming of nomadic groups by both the Kenyan and Ugandan governments." [*BBC News*, January 29, 2000].

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