

# PEACE CULTURE!

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through art, culture, sport and media*



# PEACE KENYA! NEWSLETTER 2

25/02/2008

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## **Kenya can't solve it alone**

*International help to end the crisis is not meddling but a moral duty, and our leaders must embrace it* - By Wangari Maathai, The Guardian, February 22, 2008

The post-election crisis in Kenya remains unresolved. The damage being done to the country's economy is severe: tourism, horticulture, and other industries that depend on trade beyond the Kenyan border are reeling. Thousands of livelihoods, along with investments throughout the region, are threatened and collapsing. As the situation in Kenya escalated - with murders, rapes, burning of property, looting, and the displacement of thousands of people throughout the country - the international community was urged to help. Many countries responded, providing essential humanitarian assistance and logistical support. For this, I and many other Kenyans are very grateful.

The international community has also endeavoured to persuade the two rivals, Mwai Kibaki and Raila Odinga, to negotiate a political settlement in the wake of the contested presidential election. But a resolution still eludes Kenya, despite the efforts of Kofi Anan, the former UN secretary general, and his team, which includes the former Mozambiquan first lady, Graça Machel, and the former president of Tanzania, Benjamin Mkapa. Over the past weeks a number of other prominent Africans have participated in the mediation efforts, including Ghana's president and African Union chairman John Kufour, President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, and Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

However some Kenyan politicians claim these efforts represent an unwarranted meddling in the country's affairs. According to them, Kenyans should be left alone to solve their problems. While this may appear to be patriotic, it is just the opposite. These politicians know how dependent Kenya is on the international community - and the degree to which other nation states in the region depend on Kenya. Moreover, to be worthy leaders of an independent and sovereign state, Kenya's politicians should have demonstrated a capacity to manage the crisis. Leaders of the business community, civil society and religious organisations, among others, appealed to politicians to end the violence. But they would not budge, even as the carnage escalated.



In Rwanda, the international community in large part left politicians to sort out the mess they had created, only for a horrific genocide to take place in which close to a million people were killed. When it was over, the world wondered why it had taken so long to react. Today, millions of people are urging intervention in crises in Darfur, Somalia, Chad, and the Democratic Republic of Congo, to name only a few. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the world should not stand and watch as citizens are incited to kill and maim each other because politicians cannot agree on how to manage the state. The international community has a moral responsibility to intervene when life and human rights are threatened on such a scale.

To allow our egos as Kenyans to be offended by international involvement is a misrepresentation that can only give comfort to the hardliners in Kibaki's and Odinga's camps. As US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice said while visiting Nairobi earlier this week: "The time for a political settlement was yesterday."



The focus must now be on and support given to the UN's Kenya national dialogue and reconciliation team so that a lasting solution is found. Responsibility for resolution lies in the hands of the rival presidential mediation teams. It is up to these leaders to put Kenya first. I, along with millions of other Kenyans, urge them to find an enduring settlement based on justice, fairness and the common good.

## CHOOSE THE LOGO

This section is part of the Peace Kenya! Art Project. Every Newsletter cover will propose a new graphic artwork. Proposals can come from anybody and anywhere. We have already contacted artists in Italy, Kenya, Angola, Rwanda and the US. Anybody interested should feel welcome to participate in this important aspect of our initiative. You can send your logo proposal to the following address: [peaceculture.artproject@gmail.com](mailto:peaceculture.artproject@gmail.com). The **selection procedure** will involve the opinions of the Newsletter's readers and will be communicated as soon as possible.

Anthony Mutua Mutiso (Kenya) - 1 Cover of Newsletter n. 2	Anthony Mutua Mutiso - 2
	

*I have not experienced the ethnic violence that has rocked our country at first hand, luckily because I'm from the Kamba community who are considered impartial in the ethnic rivalry. But just like any other Kenyan we've been panic stricken for the better part of this year with no guarantee of tomorrow. Should the ongoing mediation talks fail, God knows what the future holds for us. My opinion is, for the ethnic tension to be relieved once and for all, the entire political and social system should be overhauled for the citizens to have faith in it and they won't have to result to violence when perceived injustices are committed against them.*  
Anthony Mutua Mutiso

Lilith (Italy) – 1	Lilith - 2
	

## LAST DEVELOPMENTS IN KENYA – APPEAL FOR WANGARI MAATHAI

The story of the 16-year-old **Robert Ochieng** is symbolic of the tribal tensions that threaten Kenya's future. Robert is a Luo who lived for a long time among the Kikuyus. He had a lot of Kikuyu friends and he used to play and study with them. After the beginning of violence, a mob of Kikuyus attacked Robert as suspected of being a Luo. They almost killed him just after they stripped him naked and performed a grotesque surgery in the street to circumcise him. The police rescued Robert just in time and now he's a refugee. Doctors did some repair work and said he will recover physically, but his hostility and his sense of betrayal perhaps will never be healed. "When I see Kikuyu shops that have been burned down, I feel good inside", that's what Robert say to Nicholas Kristof, the New York Times journalist who wrote the 21<sup>st</sup> February editorial you can see, clicking on [http://www.nytimes.com/2008/02/21/opinion/21Kristof.html?\\_r=1&oref=slogin](http://www.nytimes.com/2008/02/21/opinion/21Kristof.html?_r=1&oref=slogin).

**Wangari Maathai**, a Kikuyu by her origins, is Kenya's Nobel Peace Laureate and since the crisis began has played an active role to promote internal dialogue and attract international attention on the risks of implosion of the country and of the whole Eastern African region should the rest of the world stand by and simply watch this new, worrisome situation unfold before everybody's eyes. She has received death threats last week through SMS. Please find below **Amnesty International's appeal to support Wangari Maathai** in this difficult situation:

### UA 50/08 KENYA - Death threats / Fear for safety - 22 February 2008

**It appears that a gang has listed Nobel Peace Prize winner and human rights defender, Wangari Maathai, as the next target on their death list.**

Human rights defender Professor Wangari Maathai received three death threats by mobile phone text message at around 12.30 am on 19 February. They read "Because of your opposing the government at all times, Prof Wangari Maathai, we have decided to look for your head very soon, you are number three after Were, take care of your life." Two people working for her received similar threats on 19 and 21 February. The threats were signed "Mungiki", the name of an outlawed gang mainly of Kikuyu ethnicity, that has claimed responsibility for beheadings and other murders involving mutilation. Prof. Wangari Maathai is a former Member of Parliament. "Number three after Were" refers to MP Melitus Mugabe Were, who was killed outside his home in Nairobi on 29 January. A second MP, David Kimutai Too, was killed in Eldoret town on 31 January. Prof. Wangari Maathai believes the threats were a response to her call for increased pressure on both President Kibaki and opposition Orange Democratic Movement leader Raila Odinga to reach an agreement to deal with the political crisis in Kenya, and for her criticisms of politicians allied to the ruling Party of National Unity. The Kenyan national press has reported Police Commissioner Major General Hussein Ali as saying that the Kenyan police are investigating the threats. The police recently removed the police bodyguard they had been providing to Prof. Wangari Maathai after she won the Nobel Peace Prize in 2004.

**RECOMMENDED ACTION:** Please send a personally-worded appeal urgently to President Kibaki, Police Commissioner Mohamed Hussein Ali, and George Saitoti, Minister of State for Internal Security (check <http://www.amnesty.ca/urgentaction> to find contact details):

- expressing concern that Prof. Wangari Maathai received death threats on 19 February;
- calling on the authorities to investigate these threats and to bring those responsible to justice;
- urging the authorities to protect her and other human rights defenders.
- Wangari Maathai was an MP, and is both an environmentalist and human rights defender. Please consider asking your MP or someone active in environmental or human rights issues in your community to respond to this appeal as well as, or instead of, taking action yourself. Those individuals can request automatic updates on her situation by sending the message **"Keep me updated on Wangari Maathai"** to [urgentaction@amnesty.ca](mailto:urgentaction@amnesty.ca).

For other information on Kenya, please check the following links:

<http://allafrica.com/stories/200802070746.html>

<http://allafrica.com/stories/200802070191.html>

<http://www.reuters.com/article/worldNews/idUSL0830410220080208>

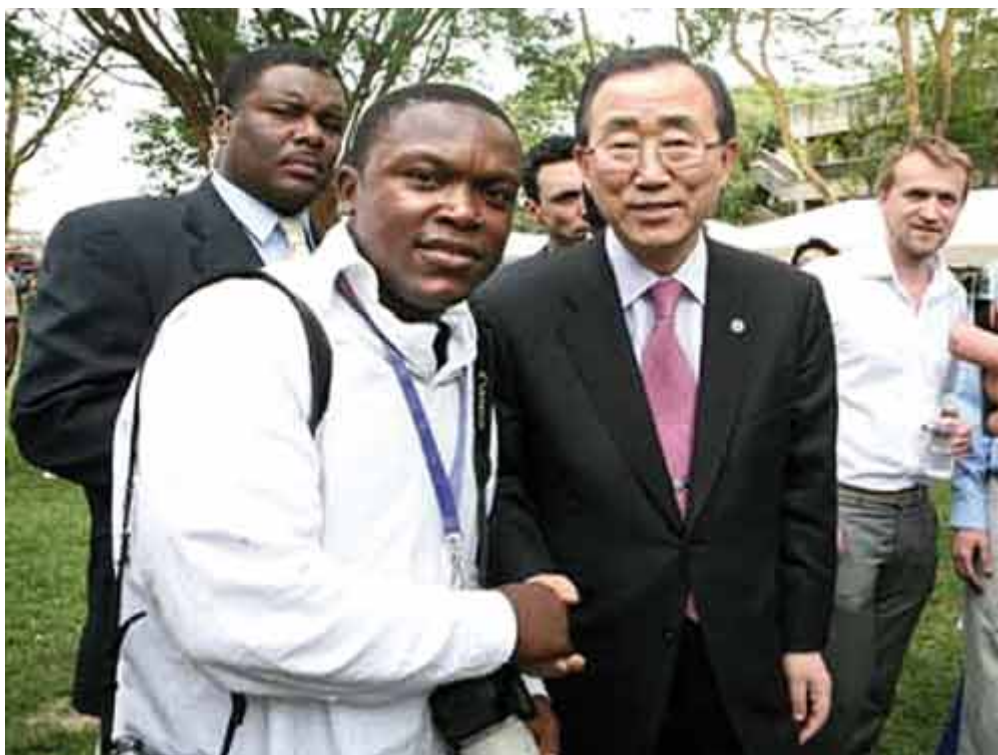
<http://allafrica.com/stories/200802080011.html>

[http://www.nationmedia.com/dailynation/nmgcontententry.asp?category\\_id=1&newsid=116460](http://www.nationmedia.com/dailynation/nmgcontententry.asp?category_id=1&newsid=116460)

<http://www.nytimes.com/2008/02/22/opinion/22fri2.html>

<http://allafrica.com/stories/200801300361.html>

## PEACE KENYA! IMAGES



Julius Mwelu ([www.mwelu.org/](http://www.mwelu.org/)) and Ban Ki Moon ([www.un.org](http://www.un.org/)) in Nairobi. Manoocher Deghati.



On the way to Masai Mara. Enrico Muratore.

## LOCAL INITIATIVES



**Simone and the children of the "God Our Father Children's Home" in Watamu, Kenya**

Simone Coppari is an Italian musician living in Filottrano. During a journey to Kenya he came across the "God Our Father Children's Home", an orphanage in Watamu, a little town on the Kenyan coast. That was the beginning of a wonderful story.

Simone and his girlfriend Sabrina sympathized with the children of the orphanage and they decided to come back to Kenya very soon. That's what happened. They went back there several other times, last of which was in October 2007.

The orphanage is going to build new rooms and a new kitchen for its little guests and money is needed. Simone had an idea: "When I will be back in Italy I can organize a music show together with my friends to raise up some money for the orphanage!"

That's how Simone, Sabrina, his band "Chopas & The Doctor" and all the friends of the Filottrano City Rockers cultural movement got out with "Watamu Express", a music and theatre show which took place on the 4<sup>th</sup> of January 2008. During the "Chopas & The Doctor" performance, (the band was placed in the left side of the stage), improvised actors, jugglers, poets, Filottrano City Rockers members or simple friends of the initiative were acting in the centre of the stage in which the scene painting represented a bar full of people of all races and countries.

Symbolically as the show was going on, the "BAR" sign was renamed several times in different languages: Italian, Bosnian, Arabic, to symbolize the union and the solidarity of the entire humanity. All the people there felt wonderful that night, thanks to Simone's music and his simple great idea. At the end of the show it seemed the public never wanted to stop clapping hands.

It was a success. Around 1.400 euro were raised to help Watamu children smile!



**The Watamu orphanage project**



**The guys from Filottrano performing in "Watamu Express"**

## Have you taken the ethnic route? Here's checklist

Story by MILDRED NGESA - Daily Nation. Publication Date: 2/11/2008

Beware! These are some danger signs to look out for that would indicate if you're slipping into that ethnic discrimination cocoon.

Before December 27 last year, these indications probably did not matter much to you. Suddenly, it seems they are the all important decision-making points. Snap out of it before it is too late.

Me? A tribalist? No way! Well, you probably have not thought of it but the past two months have become tricky for all of us Kenyans.

We are all increasingly guilty of allowing ethnic biases to cloud our judgement and guide our thinking. We forget that this is a destructive route to take in this one country that belongs to some 42 ethnic communities. We forget that after all is said and done, ethnic groupings become meaningless since there is only one country to live in. We are quick to deny that we harbour ethnic tendencies while we indeed live it on a daily basis.

You are becoming ethnically inclined if:

- You are suddenly considering evicting your tenants just because you have learnt they are from the perceived "enemy tribe".
- You have suddenly changed your hairdresser, mechanic or doctor because you resent the community they come from.
- You suddenly stop calling and talking to a once close friend or acquaintance because you strongly believe their community is responsible for the chaos in the country.
- You sneer or recoil the moment the passenger seated next to you answers his or her phone in a language that you perceive as the enemy's.
- You were about to tie the knot, but now you are hesitating because you are disturbed by the fact that your future spouse is from an ethnic background that is different from yours.
- Your conduct and perceptions as a teacher in class are guided by the second names of the students you teach.
- You carefully peruse the application letters in your tray and dismiss those from the "enemy" community without much of a second glance.
- You tense-up and go silent when a colleague from another community joins the lunch-table where you were having quiet discussions with your "own" people.

### You cannot stand

- You strongly resent and protest the fact that your daughter or son is dating someone from the "enemy" community.
- Your pastor's ethnic background makes you avoid church service.
- You are worried about your child's kindergarten teacher's ethnic background.

- Your friend's ethnic background starts affecting your friendship.
- All the people in your "merry-go-round" team in the office are from your own community with an unwritten rule not to allow "foreigners" into the team.
- You ask your children to stay indoors so that they don't play with the neighbours from the "enemy" community.
- You cannot stand someone speaking his or her mother tongue especially the one of the "enemy".
- You wish your boss dead because he is from a different ethnic community.
- You cannot stand being in the same room with people from a different ethnic background.
- You refuse to attend a friend's wedding because they are marrying from an unfavourable ethnic community.
- You use those derogatory terms to describe one from a different group — terms that you can never use to their faces.
- You subconsciously try to gauge the tribe of the waiter who is serving you or the customer you are serving with the intentions of spiting them.
- You terminate the services of your employees purely on ethnic grounds while pretending it is a cost-cutting measure.
- You stop watching a certain presenter on TV or listening to a certain broadcaster on radio just because they come from a different ethnic community.
- You are suddenly unnecessarily rude and resentful towards a neighbour from a different ethnic community, with whom you initially had no qualms.
- You want to know the ethnic background of teachers in your school before you can welcome them aboard or distribute different duties and privileges.
- You suddenly become nonchalant and negligent towards patients from a different community at the clinic or hospital where you work.
- You are hesitant to take in an internally displaced person (IDP) from a different ethnic background because you perceive him or her as an "enemy".
- You are particularly selective of the IDPs you intend to help focusing only on those from your ethnic group.
- You ask for the second names of those you are serving as a civil servant on the basis of favouring only those from your ethnic background.
- You circulate hate mail and derogatory statements only to "your" people on your mailing list with the sole intentions of spiting another ethnic community.
- You experience this unrelenting bitterness in your heart against a different ethnic community because of things that you cannot clearly explain.

### **Scars that run too deep to heal**

What is there to say to 50-year-old Bernard Ndege from Naivasha who watched paralysed from a fence as his two wives and eight children were burnt to death in the house?

What language can you possibly use to console this man who survived the atrocities of ethnic instigated violence but has died inside with his entire family though he still walks this earth that scarred him so deeply?

Are there any words or compensation worthy enough for the 1,000 people who have so far died in the country in a war that is deemed necessary by unworthy politicians presumed to be leaders?

It is easy to stand from one side to condemn and castigate especially when you are not directly affected as someone like Bernard Ndege.

It is easy to sympathise and mourn along, pray a little, then retreat to our safer havens while people like Ndege stare the devil in the face with images that can never ever be erased for their entire lives.

We continue to watch the ping-pong of intellectual minds seated in expensive air-conditioned hotel rooms debating our fate as if we are a bunch of quails awaiting slaughter at the mercy of our captors. We are told that there is a government in control and that this country is still a heaven that is coveted by many.

We are told that the rule of law and justice still prevails and that the security systems in this country are alert and operational. We are told, contrary to popular belief, that the government of the day is committed to safeguarding the life of every individual and to ensure justice and prosperity for all. We are told so many things — things which people like Ndege and others like him really do not want to hear — things that it is too late for them to care for.

One thousand people have died without understanding why. Over 350,000 are clamouring for survival and beginning to understand why. Countless other people have sunk into empty shells like Ndege who will probably never understand why. Still they are here.

If I were the Government, I would be careful about empty rhetoric and playing meaningless politics to the masses who have been scarred too deep to care for much.

I would be worried — very worried indeed.

### **My heart blazes with desire to commit ethnic suicide**

I hereby confess that I am a love and romance junkie. An overdose of the two has the guarantee of sending me on such an amazing high that you would be forgiven to assume that a light halo lives above my head.

Any woman with a heart will tell you that she just cannot get enough of these fixes be it in droves or in small doses sprouting out of nowhere. I have no red dress to wear this Thursday neither am I anticipate a lorry-load of Naivasha's finest export to grace my table and blind my view, however my heart is blazing with the desire to commit ethnic suicide.

They call it lover's day. Valentine's day. Almost two months of madness have elapsed and many of us have forgotten what love is. Many of us might not even want to remember what love is. I choose to digress.

The country has burned - it probably is still burning. We know the score. You might be one who is embroiled in loving the other from the "enemy" tribe.

It could be the test of your life – the greatest hurdle of your love.

This Thursday, endeavour to commit that ethnic suicide. May it be the beginning or the culmination of a love that will mock tribalism with a hideous grin – a love that will be the symbol of healing this nation?

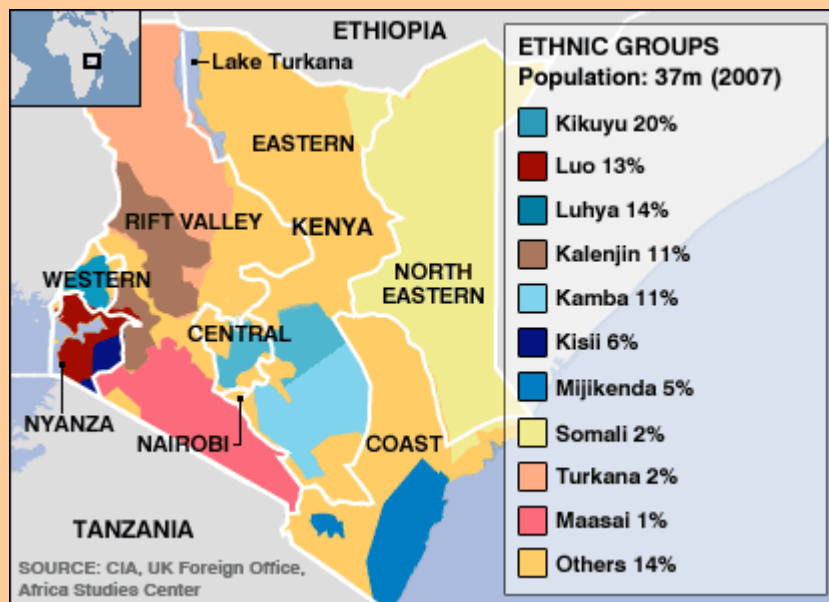
### Prove your love

True, the strain of the post-election violence is now being felt even in the sanctity of the marital union.

Second names and districts of birth are now determining relationships.

However, it is time to test your sense of honesty, value judgement, integrity and dignity beyond ethnic boundaries.

Go ahead, commit that suicide and declare your love to your partner more than you have ever done before. Even if it means walking down that elusive aisle to prove your love. Go ahead, love him or her to death if you must, for these are desperate times for love – times to prove that tribe had nothing to do with it in the first place.



## **The political crisis in Kenya: A call for justice & peaceful resolution**

*Maina Kiai (2008-02-07)*

Maina Kiai makes an impassioned plea for seriousness and commitment from all actors in the pursuit for a resolution to Kenya's political crisis

Kenya is at a cross-road that will mean either the complete disintegration of Kenya or the beginning of a new, more democratic, sustainable nation suited to the needs and aspirations of the Kenyan people in the 21st Century. In a deeply painful and costly manner—in terms of lives lost and destruction wrought—the crisis in Kenya has given the country a unique opportunity to move forward in a way that we have been advocating for the last 20 years. In a sense, Kenya is at its "civil war" moment that the US was at in 1861. Just as that war was pivotal in establishing and solidifying the democratic credentials of the US, this moment could lead Kenya to much greater heights if properly handled both domestically and internationally.

In this context, the mediation currently going on under the leadership of Kofi Annan, Graca Machel and Ben Mkapa is the last best chance for Kenya to move forward. Whatever can be done to keep the players at the table, and keep them there in good faith, is critical. And efforts that delay, or subvert the talks—whether through insensitive statements and actions or by trying to prolong the talks through acts of filibustering—must be condemned. Consistent regional and international pressure is necessary especially on the hardliners who think that the crisis will blow over. The consequences of the failure of the mediation efforts are too dire to imagine not just for Kenya but for the region.

What is going on in Kenya is a political crisis with ethnic manifestation because politics in Kenya is organized ethnically. Clearly there are cleavages and differences in Kenyan society that have erupted brutally to the surface. But these have erupted due to the failure of peaceful means of resolving and addressing these differences, including the failure of elections and political reforms promised to Kenya in the 2002 elections.

The crisis in Kenya was foreseeable. In March 2007, the KNCHR submitted a memorandum to President Kibaki urging him to maintain the "gentleman's agreement" that had been in place since 1997 whereby all parliamentary parties made nominations for appointment to the Electoral Commission of Kenya. We argued that unilateral abandonment of the agreement would likely invite chaos and instability were the elections disputed. Moreover, since January 2006 we witnessed consistent attempts by the state to reduce democratic space and instil fear in society.

### **THE EXTENT OF THE CRISIS**

Some 1000 people have been killed in the one month since violence erupted on December 30, 2007. Note that 3000 people were killed between 1992 and 1998 in the state instigated clashes in the country. During that same period, more than 300,000 people were internally displaced, most of whom have not returned to their farms and homes. In the month since the elections, an additional 300,000 people have been internally displaced.

Part of the reason why militia—on both sides—have been so potent and dangerous is that they arose from the earlier violence of the 1990s and were never de-mobilized. Nor was there a process to deal with the root causes of that violence, with the Kibaki government choosing to sweep the matter under the carpet, despite campaign promises to the contrary. With grievances bubbling and fermenting close to the surface, it was relatively easy to reactivate the militia using methods similar to those of the 1990s. Most important, the paymasters and planners of the 1990s clashes were never held accountable.

It is estimated that in the month since the crisis started the Kenyan economy has lost about US \$3 billion and about 400,000 jobs. Moreover the crisis has severely affected the economies of Uganda, Rwanda, Eastern DR Congo, and Southern Sudan and could bring them to ruin if not checked. All these nations have a history of conflict and violence that could be reawakened by economic collapse.

We have observed 4 forms of violence:

- i)** Spontaneous uprisings of mobs protesting the flaws in the presidential elections. These mobs looted, raped and burnt down buildings in an anarchical manner.
- ii)** Violence organized by ODM-supporting militia in the Rift Valley that was aimed at perceived political opponents. The initial militia action attracted organized counter-violence from PNU supporters especially in Nakuru, Naivasha areas of the Rift Valley, and Nairobi.
- iii)** Excessive use of force by the police in ways suggesting "shoot to kill" orders against unarmed protesters mainly in ODM strongholds including Kisumu, Kakamega, Migori, and the Kibera slum of Nairobi. Policing has been uneven in its implementation. In some strong ODM areas, the police have been shooting to kill, while when confronted with pro-PNU militia, they have opted to negotiate with the groups. However, in the Eldoret area, the police largely stood by and watched as pro-PNU supporters were killed and their houses burnt.
- iv)** Local militia in pro-PNU areas, on receiving internally displaced persons (IDPs) from the Rift Valley, have mobilized in sympathy and turned on perceived ODM supporters, killing them, and burning their houses.

The violence is neither genocide nor ethnic cleansing: The root of the problem is not that different ethnic groups decided they could no longer live together. The root of the problem is the inability of peaceful means to address grievances. For this to be genocide there would have to be either state complicity or state collapse and the first obligation would be for the state to provide adequate security for those at risk. Instead we have uneven and selective policing with emphasis on preventing Raila Odinga from holding protests in Nairobi rather than protecting IDPs and others at risk across the country. We therefore believe that the quickest and most effective way to reduce the violence is progress in the current talks.

#### THE ELECTION TRIGGER

It is clear that the flagrant effort to steal the presidential election was the immediate trigger for the violence. All independent observers have said that the tallying process was so flawed that it is impossible to tell who won the presidential election. Since 1992, Kenya's elections have been progressively better and fairer, culminating in the 2002 elections which were the best ever, and the 2005 constitutional referendum. The effect of this progression is that Kenyans finally believed in the power of the vote as a way of peacefully resolving differences, a fact confirmed by voting trends in the recent parliamentary elections that saw almost 70 percent of incumbents lose their seats. When this sense of empowerment was subverted, and peaceful legal spaces for protests were disallowed, it is not surprising that frustrations boiled over and violence ensued.

We have documented some of the facts and analysis that make clear that the flaws in the tallying of presidential votes rendered untenable the conclusion that Mwai Kibaki was validly elected. With the benefit of hindsight, there were steps taken that paint a picture of a well orchestrated plan to ensure a pre-determined result. These include:

- i)** President Kibaki's decision to abrogate the agreement of 1997 on the formula for appointments to the Electoral Commission ensuring that all the Commissioners were appointed by him alone; **ii)** An administrative decision within the ECK to give responsibility to Commissioners for their home regions, something that had never been done before, meaning that they appointed all the election officials in the constituencies in their home regions, in a manner that created conflicts of interest;

**iii)** The rejection of an offer from IFES to install a computer program that would enable election officials in the constituencies to submit results electronically to Nairobi and then on to a giant screen available to the public making it virtually impossible to change results; **iv)** A decision to abandon the use of ECK staff in the Verification and Tallying Centre in favour of casual staff provided by the Commissioners directly; and **v)** A refusal to ensure that election officials in areas with large predictable majorities for any of the candidates came from different areas so as to reduce the likelihood of ballot stuffing.

#### WAY FORWARD AND ROLE OF US CONGRESS AND GOVERNMENT

At this "constitutional moment" that Kenya has reached, we believe the way forward must be centred on truth and justice as the only sustainable road to peace and development. This is the time for Kenya to end the impunity that has been a feature of our history since independence, and also to end the "winner take all" "first past the post" system. Specifically, we call for:

**i)** An international independent investigation into the 2007 presidential election process in order to come to closure on the elections, find out who did what and why; who ordered it; and promote accountability; **ii)** An international independent investigation into the post election violence—from citizens and police—so that there is accountability on all sides. **iii)** An interim transitional government to be formed with limited powers of governance and for a limited time—between 1 and 2 years—with Kibaki and Odinga exercising equal powers. **iv)** The primary duties of this interim government should be to undertake constitutional reform, and especially explore ways of reforming the current Imperial Presidency; motivate electoral reforms, police reforms, judicial reforms, land reforms, civil service reforms, devolution of power; and conduct new elections at the end of its term. **v)** The interim government should also be charged with cooling passions and starting the process of reconciliation through a Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission that starts operations immediately after the new elections. It is important that presidential elections be held at the end of the interim government to inspire confidence in Kenya's electoral processes, and as a sign of the new Kenya. **vi)** It is also important to note that significant work in all of these areas of reform has already been done in various constitutional drafts and also by Government Commissions and Task Forces so Kenya would not be starting from scratch.

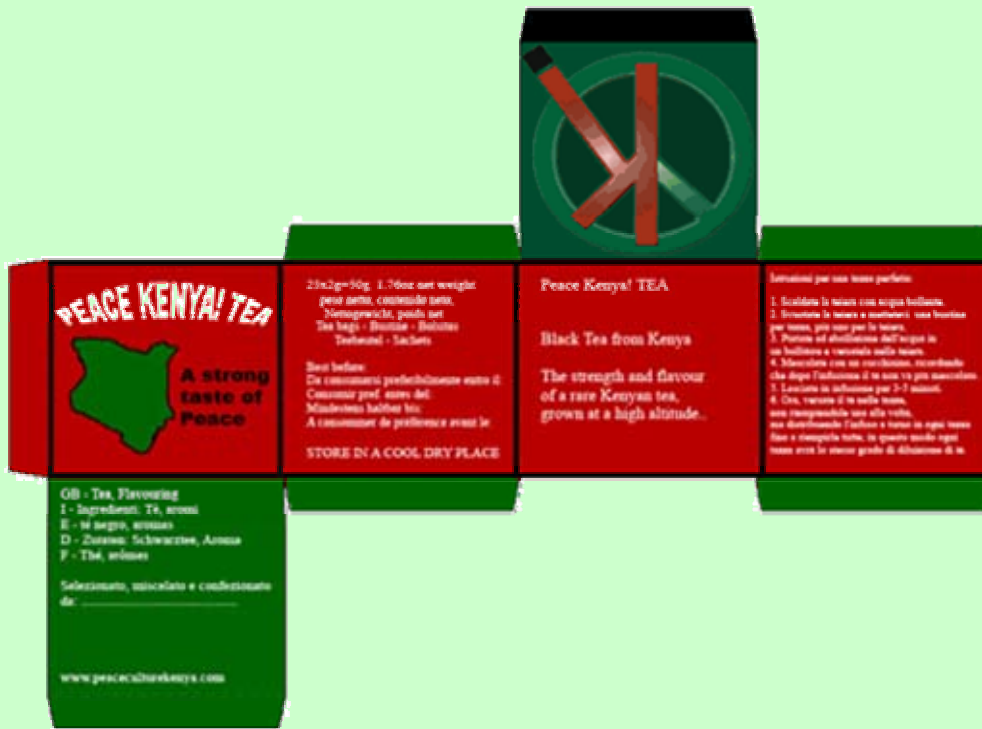
To ensure that there is good faith in the mediation it is imperative that the U.S. Government work with the rest of the international community to maintain pressure on Kenya's leaders to treat the mediation with utmost seriousness. To this end, we welcome U.S. leadership in raising the crisis in Kenya at the UN Security Council, and call for pressure at this level to be maintained and increased.

We also urge Congress to request the release of the exit poll conducted by International Republican Institute (IRI) without delay so as to maintain pressure on all sides to negotiate in good faith. In addition, we urge Congress to work with the EU to have the EU Observation Mission Report released immediately. In case of continued intransigence from any of the parties we call on Congress to impose travel bans on the hardliners on both sides and especially those implicated in instigating violence whether through militia or through the police. These travel bans should extend to hardliners in the civil service and to their immediate families. Moreover, assets of the hardliners and those involved in violence should be traced and the assets frozen. Finally, it is important that U.S. military and security assistance be frozen immediately. All US assistance to Kenya should be channelled through non-governmental sources.

\* Maina Kiai is the Chairperson of the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR), an independent state body charged with protecting and promoting human rights in Kenya. He writes on behalf of the KNCHR, as well as for Kenyans for Peace through Truth and Justice (KPTJ), a coalition bringing together more than 50 human rights, legal and governance groups in Kenya

\* From [www.pambazuka.org](http://www.pambazuka.org)

**PEACE KENYA! LET'S DRINK THE TEA OF PEACE**



**Tea in our country.**

Tea farming has proved to be the most productive farming in central and the Rift Valley provinces in Kenya, the main reason being the access local and foreign markets (e.g. Europe, Middle East and Pakistan). Climatic conditions also contribute to the increase of tea production.

The government has also come in at the right time by writing off the long standing loans on farmers and introducing loans with low rate of interest. The other factor is the availability of semi-qualified labour. Tea farming has got its challenges in my country both for farmers and producers. Farmers are most hit by poor road networks where tea leaves get spoilt on the way to the factory. The fertilizers are very expensive regardless of the loans granted to farmers. Accidents like snakes bites are in the increase. AIDS and respiratory diseases have also been on increase amongst workers.

While tea farming continues to increase in production there are no signs of increase in new farming fields and change of technology a part of the introduction of tea plucking machines which has got stiff resistance from trade unions and employees. Farmers' living standards have remained the same but are considered better if compared to those of coffee farmers. To improve the living standards of the farmers, the government should come up with a clear export policy, reduce taxes on farm inputs and improve infrastructure.

The government should come in and set clear guidelines regulating the trade and social conditions of the purchase of tea leaves from the farmers.

KARIBU SANA.

*Paul Luttah Kongani, Nairobi.*

**AFRICAN PRIDE**

CARMEN PACE GUEYE. *Carmen Pace Gueye is an Italian writer and peace activist.*

Hello everybody, my name is Carmen. I will tell you about myself a little bit, because you have to know how I feel about Africa.

I've been a tourist, not a traveller. I have often asked myself why people love touring: big question, so many big answers! Perhaps because the western world has more means, women travel, society has changed. Books that we have read, pictures that we have seen, moved our desires, made us dream and escape daily life with our fantasies, even if we cannot do anything else.

Modern tourism history began thirty years ago, more or less, and the confusion doesn't stop. Does indeed the risk of accident exist? The chance of it does not frighten the tourists. What represents your typical tourist? Normal people, two journeys a year, photos, memories, until the next escape. I have been a similar person!

I went to Africa only once, and this is a short report of my trip. Tragicomedy, it seems to me.

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Morocco is not considered a dangerous destination; it's not necessary to take pills to prevent health problems – and anyway- I didn't care about it. On the plane we tried to take business class, 'cause there were only eight passengers, but the pilot chased us away! After the landing, at the customs, there were long and strenuous checks and the young people were controlled more and more.

Agadir: very long sandy beach, strong smells, noisy deals at the fish market, a ruin of a castle above the country; bad boys hassled us to buy a joint, but you know that you must refuse: it's easy getting into trouble over there. The room was simple, without "comforts"; only distraction for the guests, the gymnasium and the trainer always looking for single female tourists, a handsome and exotic boy smiling at foreign girls. My husband, Roberto, advised me to relax: drinks, vegetables, we were thinking it was all going to be easy and we counted on luck. The teeth! My God, we will not buy mineral water for this. And that's what happened: dysentery and the husband in bed for two days.

Seaside: fully dressed women were taking a difficult bath. I was very, very angry!

Then we tried an excursion to Tarouddant; next we went to the locations shown in many pictures. Our assistant was Ali, a fat boy who was repeating all the time: I hate German people! But there were only Italians! I was forced to drink a cup of very strong tea. I couldn't refuse: local people would be offended! My stomach hurt a lot!

My husband and I were talking with two Italian women; the younger one, a fat forty-five years old teacher, announced that Arabian males loved women like her very much... A dealer shouted at Roberto: "*Mon ami*, I'll give you something for hot love nights!". Roberto didn't appreciate it.

We visited so many shops! Inside one of these, the clerk, a young boy, said he loved my blue eyes and placed a coloured veil on my head; then, he proposed to marry me in exchange of many camels, but Roberto didn't need camels: "take her for free", he answered... The teacher was jealous of me, thin as I am, and a skeleton, after...the dysentery.

We walked ten kilometres to visit a village named "Inetzgane", such a glamorous name, but a nice Berber man almost forced us to buy a lot of merchandise, amongst which olives, cumin and tuja spices; and, naturally, we had to give a tip to our new tour assistant!

There was a night show for all the European groups together. At the beginning, we ate speciality "nouvelle cuisine": almost nothing in the dishes. There was a performance "en travesti"; the singers were French people, unknown to us, speaking in many languages, but when they spoke Italian... Italians protested! The entertainer, a failed dancer coming from low level nightclubs, could only say "ciao".

The belly dancer smiled at all the males, at my husband too: he was still suffering, but the exotic beauty cured him very well! Drag queens, beautiful girls, but nothing, nothing for women: it's an old story!

Second part of journey: Marrakech.

We saw old motorcycles, vans, bikes, trucks, a bit broken but running more or less; the richest people were driving R4; someone said that almost all the vehicles were stolen ones, often from Italy! Every minute, we were scared by the shouts of the women, with their tongue vibrations.

We were lodging in the Tikida Hotel, downtown, in the middle of a wonderful oasis. We chose it from the Italian advertisement, at the travel agency: swimming pool, shopping centre, smart Arabian furniture... The local assistant, Mohamed, who looked like a playboy, dressed in French style, arrived driving a R4; Roberto wanted to be reassured about the theft risk and his questions immediately offended him. Bad start.

Followed the city tour, with the very thin Mustapha, a rude fellow, envious of Mohamed's wealth; which was really nothing special after all; he mistreated us and the trip was very short. But I wanted to taste the local atmosphere. I had a photo taken with two snakes around my neck, while Mustapha was laughing. Roberto and I decided to take the risk: we wanted to take a look out of the hotel- without assistance, finally! But *rien à faire!* A lot of children were running around us, asking bonbons and coins, throwing stones. We soon came back and were prisoners in Tikida until the end of the journey.

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*"The life of that sea was like the endless destiny of the humans, forever fixed in equal waves, moving within an unchangeable time. And I was thinking with loving pain about that immovable time and the dark civilization that I had abandoned." ("Cristo si è fermato a Eboli - Carlo Levi")*

I'm not a tourist anymore, I don't even know why. Perhaps, because my life has changed so much, I look elsewhere; I'm older, tired, and poorer.

I remember my last travels: the world was ruining itself and I was imagining myself as an old pacifist, a revolutionary woman, fighting against the fast food near the temples, with my sense of guilt: my travels would help the poor- of the world, they work, they earn, thanks to tourists! I also remember the poverty that I saw - you think, I didn't see the worst - and the trouble of the world: children in war, baby whores, illness, hunger, while I eat up my "*croissant au chocolat*", before work. Here I am, not Che Guevara, neither Florence Nightingale, me, just me!

I have to live as best as I can, that's what I repeat to myself every day, it's my right. I forget all around me and I look at the sky. What else? Soon after, I must run, to catch the train, to go to the market, to the hairdresser, to the doctor, I'm in a big mess. I'd like to live in the city of Donald Duck, because now I don't feel good, here, in my country. The new system, the global system pulls me away, it doesn't need people like me. F... off. If only a place, one place, called, telling that it needs me, just me.

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It was the time I believed Africa to be the place of my dreams, but "she" came to me and for now it's enough, but we can move ourselves also without a plane, using our inner strength, our feelings, our will. African pride can be our pride, too, if we can forget, for a moment, the little troubles of every day.

We must remove some behaviour; pity, ideology, legend, space to dream, states of mind good for us, but for them? Africa is not an escape for our daily tiredness; we have to assume it as another reality that belongs to the human gender. We don't have the mission to change it, we must respect it, that's all, without posing conditions... Africa won't change for us; maybe, instead, we will change for Africa.

My logo: I'M AFRICAN.

## ANOTHER IMAGE OF AFRICA



### Expand the Peace Culture! philosophy - join us!

**This newsletter was prepared with the cooperation of:** David Monticelli, Romina Germani, Ezio Caissutti, Enrico Muratore, Elisa Viaro, Anna Ugolini, Carmen Gueye, Anthony Mutua Mutiso, Elija Van den Berg, Mark Dezzani, Father Kizito, Paul Lutah Kongani

**Also thanks:** Alfonso e Ada Coletta, Nelma Gonçalves, Ernesto Sismondini, Duccio Guidi, Gianni Trucchi, Amelia Da Lomba, Castro Camarada, Anna Maria Visone, Nicolò Papa, Mario Ascheri, Marcello Flores d'Arcais, Cornelio Bento, Olivio Gambo, Candido Kopessala, Filomeno Vieira Dias, Niccolò Rinaldi, Tom Brahim, Alfonso Barragues, Paolo Armando, Massimo Spano, Enzo Barnabà, Aimable Mpaymana, Elena Zanardi, Grant Benson, Manoocher Deghati, Beppe Grillo, Vitale "Bunna" Bonino, Stefano Garzara, João Neves, Italo Muratore, Liliana Aproso, Luisa Perona, Alberto Muratore, Olivio Gambo, Cornelio Bento, Candido Kopessala, Alison Campbell, Julius Mwelu, Tiloma Jayasinghe, Boris Biancheri, Christian Swan, Angela Movileanu, Anna Sismondini Don Jayasinghe, Paula Andrea Nascimento Silva, Andrea Lari, Antonio José Inacio, Mahamane Cissé Gouro, Scott Campbell, Arnold Tsunga, Martin Masinga, Nicholas Howen, Valentina Falco, Sisi Shahidzadeh, Maria Grazia Romitti and her tribe and all our tribes and families.

#### **International Group of Artists for Peace . Have joined:**

Native Roots (USA), SR Nascimento (Angola), Euclides da Lomba (Angola), Africa Unite (Italy), The Indians (Italy), Liliith (Italy), Andrea Grillenzoni (Italy), Anthony Mutua Mutiso (Kenya), Carmen Gueye (Italy)

**Peace Culture! Has friends in these places:** Nairobi, Turin, Ventimiglia, Seborga, Genoa, Milan, Siena, Rome, Osimo, Macerata, Kigali, Luanda, New York, Washington, Geneva, Brussels, Paris...

**You too adhere to our Federation of Friends of Peace!**

**Wherever you are, if you also wish to collaborate with Peace Culture!, send us a mail to the following address: [peaceculture@gmail.com](mailto:peaceculture@gmail.com)**