

REPUBLIC OF KENYA



KENYA NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

TENTH PARLIAMENT – THIRD SESSION - 2009

**REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATION,
NATIONAL SECURITY AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES DURING ITS
FACT FINDING MISSION TO NYERI EAST, KIRINYAGA
CENTRAL, WEST AND SOUTH DISTRICTS BETWEEN 8TH AND
9TH MAY 2009, TO ESTABLISH THE NUMBER OF PERSONS
KILLED BY VIGILANTE GROUPS IN THE MONTHS OF APRIL
AND MAY, 2009.**

CLERK'S CHAMBERS,
PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS,
NAIROBI

JUNE, 2009

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PREFACE

Mr. Speaker, Sir,

The Parliamentary Departmental Committee on Administration, National Security and Local Authorities was constituted pursuant to the provisions of Standing Order No. 198 and executed its mandate in accordance with the provisions of the said Standing Order 198 (3), which, among others, mandated the Committee to;

“Investigate and inquire into all matters relating to the assigned ministries and departments as they deem necessary and as may be referred to them by the House ...”

Mr. Speaker, Sir,

On 28th May, 2009, the House resolved that the disputed figures of the number of persons killed by vigilantes in the months of April and May, 2009 be verified by the Committee and a report be brought to the House.

This was as a result of a Ministerial statement that was requested by the Member for Gichugu Constituency on 27th May, 2009 and directed to the Minister of Provincial Administration and Internal Security. The figure that the Minister gave of 26 suspected Mungiki sect members as having been killed by vigilantes was refuted by the MP who insisted that 43 people had been killed. This led to the House resolving that the matter be referred to the Committee to establish the correct figures.

Mr. Speaker, Sir,

The Committee deals with the following Ministries:

- i) Ministry of State for Provincial Administration and Internal Security
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- ii) Ministry of State for Public Administration
- iii) Ministry of the Nairobi Metropolitan Development
- iv) Ministry of Home Affairs
- v) Ministry of State for Special Programmes
- vi) Ministry of State for Immigration Services and Registration of Persons
- vii) Ministry of State for National Heritage and Culture
- viii) Ministry of State for Youth Affairs and Sports
- ix) Ministry of Local Government.

Membership

The following were the Members of the Committee:

The Hon. Fred Kapondi Chesebe, MP (**Chairman**)

The Hon. John Ngata Kariuki, MP

The Hon. Raphael Letimalo, MP

The Hon. Peter Kiilu, MP

The Hon. Mohammed Hussein Ali, MP

The Hon. Cyprian Omollo, MP

The Hon. Joseph Ng'ang'a Kiuna, MP

The Hon. Pollyins Ochieng', MP

The Hon. Mwalimu Mwachima, MP

The Hon. Clement Kungu Waibara, MP

The Committee visited Mathira division in Nyeri East, Kerugoya in Kirinyaga Central and Mwea constituency on 8th and 9th May 2009. The Committee noted that people live in fear of attacks by either Mungiki or vigilante groups. There is a lot of tension, accusation and counter accusations over the activities of the two groups. The Communities

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confirmed that there have been many killings of area residents but it was difficult to establish the killers because those who have been arrested have cases still pending in court.

Mr. Speaker, Sir,

Between 8th and 9th May 2009, seven Members of the Committee set out on a fact finding visit to Nyeri East and Kirinyaga Districts to establish the number of persons killed by vigilantes as directed by the House. They were;

The Hon. Fred Kapondi, MP - Committee Chairman

The Hon. Ngata Kariuki, MP

The Hon. Peter Kiilu, MP

The Hon. Cyprian Omollo, MP

The Hon. Mohammed Hussein Ali, MP

The Hon. Raphael Letimalo, MP

The Hon. Joseph Ng'ang'a Kiuna, MP

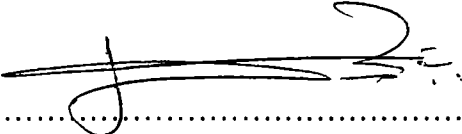
Mr. Speaker, Sir,

The Committee wishes to thank National Assembly for the logistical and financial support which enabled it to perform the tasks before it competently. The Committee is also grateful to the Central Province Provincial Security Intelligence Committee and the Kirinyaga District Security Intelligence Committee for all the arrangements and information volunteered to the Committee during the meeting on 8th and 9th May, 2009. The Committee further wishes to thank all the witnesses who appeared before it to adduce evidence.

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Mr. Speaker, Sir,

On behalf of the Committee, and pursuant to Standing Order 181 (3), it is my pleasure to lay on the table of the House the Report of the Committee on Administration, National Security and Local Authorities on its fact finding visit to Nyeri East and Kirinyaga Districts between 8th and 9th May, 2009, for deliberation and adoption.

Signed.......... Date...25/06/09.....

Hon. Fred Kapondi Chesebe, MP
Chairman, Departmental Committee on Administration, National Security and Local Authorities

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1.0 EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1.1 Objectives and background to the visit

The visit to Nyeri East and Kirinyaga Districts arose from a resolution of the House made on 28th May, 2009. In making the ruling, the Temporary Deputy Speaker thus said:

“ ... I think that the dispute of figures is very clear to the House and we cannot live with that kind of dispute. Therefore, I order that we refer this matter to the Departmental Committee on Administration and National Security ... Let the Departmental Committee on Administration and National Security verify the figures as has been the tradition ...”

The matter over the killings and mayhem unleashed on the people of Kirinyaga had been brought before the House by the Member for Gichugu constituency who tabled a list of 43 people allegedly killed by vigilantes in Kirinyaga. She thus requested a Ministerial statement on 27th May, 2009 from the Minister of State for Provincial Administration and Internal Security.

The Minister of State for Provincial Administration and Internal Security made his statement on 28th May 2009 in which he said that only **26** out of **43** people had died through criminal activities of vigilante groups in Kirinyaga, with **18** having died from other causes in the months of April and May 2009.

It was clear from the debate that ensued from the Ministerial statement that the figures were still in cotelest hence the ruling by the Temporary Deputy Speaker that the figures be verified by the relevant Departmental Committee.

It was against this background that the Committee set out to visit the affected areas of Nyeri and Kirinyaga Districts on a mission to establish the exact figures of killings arising from vigilante groups attacks.

On 8th May, 2009, the Committee held a meeting with the Provincial Security Intelligence Committee where it received oral and written submissions on the circumstances surrounding the killing of 14 people in Kirinyaga, the attacks in

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Gathaithi village in Mathira where 29 lives were lost, and the ensuing insecurity where mobs continued to terrorize people in the districts.

In the afternoon of 8th May, 2009, the Committee heard evidence from leaders and residents of Mathira where accounts of the mayhem of 20th and 21st April, 2009 were given. The witnesses recounted how mobs from Kagumo and Kerugoya in Kirinyaga had descended on Karatina and flushed out suspected Mungiki sect members on 20th April, 2009. The next morning, the Community in Gathaithi woke up to the chilling sight of bodies slaughtered during the night as the village slept.

The Committee Members had the opportunity to visit Gathaithi village and Kiaruhiu centre where the attacks had been carried out.

On 9th May 2009, the Committee proceeded to Kerugoya in Kirinyaga where the Members heard evidence from the leaders and local residents. While the people of Mathira talked of vigilantes, it was a different story in Kerugoya where the residents denied the existence of vigilante groups.

The Committee also visited ‘the Hague’ – the Mungiki sect Kangaroo court located in Thimba River in Mwea constituency.

On its return to Nairobi, the Committee held meetings with the Provincial Administration Permanent Secretary, the Police Commissioner and the NSIS Director-Internal so as to get further clarifications on the matters arising out of the visit.

Also, the Committee conducted further hearings and received evidence from witnesses who had requested to be heard in camera. The Member for Gichugu also appeared before the Committee and gave an account of the circumstances under which she had become concerned about the reckless attacks and wanton destruction of property by wayward vigilantes in Kirinyaga.

The visit presented the Committee with important facts about the origins and growth of the illegal Mungiki sect which are outlined in the body of this report. The Committee considered the report and made recommendations based on the

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evidence gathered in Nyeri East, Kirinyaga Central, West and South Districts as well as on evidence received in Nairobi.

Day 1:

2.0 The Visit

2.1 Meeting with the Central Provincial Commissioner and the Provincial Security Intelligence Committee (PSIC)

Paper laid: Brief on Mathira/Kirinyaga Murders on 20/21 April, 2009

The Committee Chairman read out the mandate of the Committee and informed the members present that the visit was necessitated by a resolution of the House that the matter over the number of persons killed recently in Kirinyaga Central and Ndia constituency by vigilante groups be investigated by the Committee.

During a meeting with the Provincial Commissioner and the Provincial Security Intelligence Committee, the Members heard that;

- The Mungiki phenomenon was not new in Central Province. It is an activity that comes on and off. Sometimes it reaches its peak while at other times it slows down.
- 2006 saw Mungiki activity in Central Province subside and was only felt in bus termini. In March 2007, extortion by the sect was doubled leading to an outcry from certain parts of Kiambu, Thika and Murang'a. The activity peaked between May and June, 2007. During this time, about 20 people had been killed by the sect.
- Between September and October 2007, the activity was subdued by security operations and extortion was prevalent only in bus termini and business premises.
- In mid 2008, Mungiki activities surfaced in Murang'a spreading to Othaya in September but it was brought under control.

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- After Prof. Philip Alston's report on summary executions and extra-judicial killings in which he blamed the police for the misdeeds, Mungiki became bolder and organized themselves into gangs that threatened to paralyze operations in major towns.
- Statements by politicians also exacerbated Mungiki activity and the public seemed to sympathize with the group.
- The response by security personnel forced Mungiki to migrate to relatively quieter zones like Kirinyaga District especially Kirinyaga Central where they sought refuge within the communities.
- However they did not blend well into the social lives of the local residents and soon the extortions started. Extortions ranged from Kshs. 10,000 initial fee for matatu operation, Kshs. 5000 initial fee for a motorcycle and taxi, daily collections of 500, 100 and 50 for buses, *matatus* and motorcycles respectively, Kshs. 500 for a stone house, Kshs. 200 for a timber house and Kshs. 100 for shacks and Kshs. 50 for mud houses. They also charged Kshs. 20 per cow and demanded 5% of milk produced. 5% of dowry paid was levied.
- Other illegal activities perpetrated by the gang included abduction of young girls for immoral purposes, forced female genital mutilation, kidnaps and ransom demands, kangaroo courts (The Hague) for non-compliance of demands, money transfers from *matatu* operators through the phone (M-Pesa), compelling *matatu* owners to employ their own as drivers and conductors, causing husbands to leave their houses so as to rape their women, flogging rebels so as to teach them lessons for defying 'rules', asking men old enough to be their fathers to refer to them as wazees, though they were young men, etc.
- There was a growing disquiet and anger among the locals who felt they needed to stop the extortions. There was a spontaneous reaction from the locals where they organized themselves into mobs to seek out Mungiki adherents flushing them from their rental houses. They burnt down their houses and destroyed their properties.
- At the end of this uprising by the locals, **14** suspected Mungiki adherents had been killed by organized mobs.

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2.1.1 Genesis of the Mathira killings

The Committee was informed that:

- On April 20th 2009, at around 5 pm, a mob of motorcycle riders numbering about 300 from the neighbouring Kirinyaga stormed Karatina Town, forced businesses to close down and managed to corner two Mungiki suspects whom they assaulted, causing serious bodily harm.
- It is alleged that the Mungiki adherents regrouped themselves and unleashed terror on the residents of Gathaithi village in Mathira, killing **25** on the spot while **4** others died in hospital.
- *“Security briefs by NSIS anticipated attacks in Muragara and Kagumo. The attack took place in a different village (Gathaithi)”* - PSIC.

2.1.2 Police response AFTER the attacks

The Committee further heard that:

- Security was mobilized and beefed up in the area of attacks and other trouble zones of Kiambu, Nyeri North, Murang’a North, Gatundu, Murang’a South and Nyeri Central.
- Road blocks were set out and security patrols increased which led to the arrest and prosecution of 29 Mungiki suspects on murder charges. 29 others were charged with robbery with violence while 8 were bonded.
- Between March 1st and April 30th 2009, 300 arrests had been made.
- General Service Units (GSU) were dispatched to Kirinyaga and Karatina in readiness for any further trouble. ASTU and RDU officers were sent to O’lkalou and Nyahururu respectively.
- Meetings were convened by the PSIC where religious leaders from 20 churches were used to preach peace and campaign against criminal activities. The campaign targeted the youth.
- Members of Parliament and political leaders were also involved in the fight to bring the Mungiki menace to a halt but the response from area Members of Parliament was lukewarm.
- Other campaigns involved all the people affected by the Mungiki illegal activities and were aimed at encouraging people to open up and report activities they suspected to being carried out by the sect adherents.

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2.1.3 Allegations over presence of vigilante groups in Kirinyaga

On allegations that the Police were working in cahoots with vigilante groups to hunt down Mungiki sect members, the Committee was told that:

- The Police had never worked with any organized vigilante group and the groups are not recognized.
- The DSIC had however mobilized the local residents in the troubled areas to ward off any criminal activities by Mungiki or any other illegal group.
- The Police lacked adequate capacity to deal effectively with the Mungiki menace. They have inadequate personnel and resources to tackle illegal gangs. However despite these inequities and setbacks, they had managed to make several arrests of criminals.
- Since Central Province did not experience widespread post elections violence in 2007, a lot of security officers had been transferred to hot bed areas leaving the region with bare minimum numbers of security personnel.
- The police stations lacked patrol cars to cover the expansive areas in the region while the existing fleet of vehicles needed replacement.
- There has been lackluster attitude by the political class in the fight against the Mungiki sect. The Communities have been profoundly silent on Mungiki activities probably for fear of reprisals if they spoke out. This reluctance and laid back approach to the fight against the sect has led to the sect activities to thrive in Central province unabated. The attitude seems to be changing of late after the Mathira killings where politicians, religious groups and the community at large are coming out to condemn Mungiki activities.

2.1.4 Proposals by the Police to bolster security in the country

It was proposed for consideration by the Committee to the effect that:

- There is an urgent need to enact legislation to deal effectively with organized militia groups. As of now, the security forces are frustrated in their efforts to fight criminal gangs whom they arrest only for the same to be released by the courts. The law should also empower law enforcers to confiscate properties acquired illegally by militia groups.

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- All recruits wishing to join the forces should be thoroughly vetted to eliminate the chances of recruiting members of illegal gangs into the security agencies.
- There ought to be a sustained campaign to educate the youth about the ills of subscribing to illegal groups.
- Those sect Members who desert the illegal groups should be reintegrated into the society and make them more productive through economic empowerment.
- The Political leadership should cultivate a good working relationship with the Provincial administration for the mutual assistance to help flush out illegal groups in their midst.
- Community policing ought to be encouraged and beefed up.

2.1.5 Remarks by Committee Members

- It was felt that the Mungiki sect was easily capable of moving to new areas and entrenching themselves despite Community policing and Police presence.
- The sect seemed not to have a clear organizational structure with the small cells organizing themselves into bigger cells through recruitment of new members. There must have been confusion in Kirinyaga as the sect meted terror indiscriminately on the community leading to a spontaneous reaction by the equally exasperated mobs who literally took the law into their hands to flush out the extortionists.
- Members of the Committee were concerned about the inability of the Intelligence Service agents to gather information on the intentions and curtail their activities before they could be executed. The Political leaders were blamed for laidback approach to the Mungiki menace. There were also questions about who was funding the sect and who the main ringleaders were and why they have not been arrested despite intelligence reports.

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- The Committee expressed concern that the root cause of the Mungiki menace must be investigated if a solution was to be found. There is genuine concern that despite Government's intervention, the sect continues to grow hence threatening to cripple socio-economic activities. It was noted that the Alston report that blamed the police for extra judicial killings and summary executions could have emboldened the sect to reinvent itself and claim legitimacy.
- The Chairman informed the PSIC that the mandate of the Committee was to establish the exact numbers of those persons killed by vigilante groups. This information should be collaborated with documentary evidence showing the names of those killed and hospital/mortuary records to be availed to show cause of death.

2.1.6 Response by PSIC

- The Committee was informed that when the security is beefed up on Mungiki in its area of operation, the members are forced to scatter to other relatively calm areas where they set base and begin new recruitment exercises. This is how they found their way into Kirinyaga from the larger Central Province. Here, they terrorized residents by collecting illegal taxes. They even set up oathing points and Kangaroo courts popularly known as 'The Hague' where they conducted proceedings to try those who resisted their advances. The punishments were administered through caning, heavy fines and even forcing victims to drink soups made from human parts. Such illegal courts were set up at Kagumo in Kirinyaga Central and in Mwea in Kirinyaga South.
- The Committee heard that there was a profound code of silence by the political leadership in the affected areas in condemning the activities of the sect. This conspiracy of silence posed serious challenges towards the fight against the militia. Were the politicians using the sect for political expediencies? It was posed.

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- The Committee was informed that on 20th April 2009, vigilante groups started as a demonstration group but later changed into violent mobs bent on killing and destruction of properties of suspected sect adherents. The group was intercepted at Karatina and repulsed by the Police but not until they had harassed two suspected Members of the sect.
- Later that night at around 9pm, vigilantes burnt down some houses in Mathira forcing a confrontation between the vigilantes and the Mungiki sect members. The former beat a hasty retreat into Kirinyaga.
- At around midnight on the morning of 21st April, 2009, terror was meted on the people of Gathaithi village in Mathira by the Mungiki members. The attack was swift and brutal. It was executed with military precision. At the end of it, the village woke up to the gory sight of 29 slain people who lay dead on a footpath.
- The police presumed that these killings were out of a backlash by the sect to revenge over the killing of 14 of their members earlier on by the vigilante groups.
- In his wrap up statement, the Chairman said that NSIS owes an explanation to Kenyans as to why it failed to detect a crime of such magnitude. The fact that they were outwitted by a criminal gang posed serious questions as to whether they were well prepared to deal effectively with crimes such as those perpetrated by terror gangs. He took an undertaking that the Committee shall be objective and balanced in its report.

3.0 Meeting with the Mathira division leaders and local residents

The Committee held a meeting with the local leaders and residents in Gathaithi Primary School assembly hall. The Chairman explained to the witnesses why the Committee was sitting in Mathira in Nyeri. The goal was to establish the

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facts behind the killings in Gathaithi; the numbers, the names of those killed, the perpetrators and the reasons behind the macabre deaths.

During the meeting, the Committee received evidence from the following witnesses:

3.1.1 Witness 1

The witness informed the Committee that;

- On 20th April, 2009, he had received a phone call to the effect that a group of armed youths had invaded Karatina.
- Shops were closed and the whole town thrown into panic.
- There were about 300 motorcycles with 3 passengers each.
- On 21st April 2009, he was again called and informed that many people had been killed during the night.
- He henceforth took a helicopter to Mathira and was shown where over twenty bodies had laid before being collected by the Police.
- He went to Karatina hospital where he visited two young men who had been attacked the previous day.
- Back in Nairobi, he had the opportunity to meet the President and informed him of the calamity. What surprised him is that the President seemed to be hearing the news for the first time and looked visibly shaken.
- He wondered how a Police barricade could be removed to allow armed gangs intend on causing chaos to pass through.
- He alleged that vigilantes from Kirinyaga invaded Karatina in pursuit of Mungiki adherents, harassed residents and destroyed property.
- He claimed that there was little Mungiki activity in Mathira prior to the brutal attacks of 20/21 April, 2009.
- He was informed that a total of 29 persons had been killed. Out of these, 14 were from Mathira, 12 from Kirinyaga West while 3 were migrant workers from Kirinyaga Central and Embu.

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- He believes there was complicity by the security agents in the whole saga and that the Police are to blame for failing to protect the lives of those who have died in the hands of Mungiki and vigilantes.
- He exonerated the youth of Mathira from the general perception that they were Mungiki sect adherents.
- He said that no Security personnel should be allowed to stay in one area for more than 3 years.
- He called for the enactment of a law to tackle the menace of illegal gangs.
- The Chief's Act, he noted, should be revived so as to return sanity into the villages in that the Chiefs shall have a firm control over the locals.
- He stressed that security of the citizens was a matter that ought to be the preserve of the Government but should not be left to criminal gangs.
- He beseeched the Government to provide a patrol car to Mathira division to beef up Police patrols.
- He further asked the Government to make an undertaking to educate the children of the 29 persons killed in the Mathira tragedy.

3.1.2 Witness 2

In his submission, he said that;

- On 20th April 2009, at around 5 pm, about 300 motorcycle riders invaded Karatina town. Each motorcycle carried three passengers who were armed with crude weapons such as pangas, machetes, axes, rungas, etc.
- They forced shops to close down hurriedly and attacked two suspected Mungiki sect members.
- There was no presence of police at the scene.
- The following morning, he woke up to the horror of seven bodies at Kiaruhiu and 22 others at Gathaithi villages.
- Before the mayhem, the community had not seen anything so monstrous by the sect members until the vigilantes from Kirinyaga descended upon them and stirred the peace which led to the killings.

3.1.3 Witness 3

Paper laid: Names of persons killed on 21st April, 2009 at Gathaithi, Mathira

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During his submission, he informed the Committee that:

- His brother's house was burnt down on the night of 20th April, 2009 at about 9pm.
- At about midnight, he woke up to see a blazing house belonging to a neighbour.
- In the morning he was shocked to hear 29 people had been killed in the night.
- He paraded his nephew who had survived the attacks but was seriously hurt on the back of his head and had consequently lost his sight.

3.1.4 Witness 4

The witness testified as follows;

- That Karatina town was invaded by about 300 motorcycles on 20th April, 2009.
- That Police roadblocks were cleared for the gang to pass unhindered.
- That houses were torched by vigilante groups at around 9pm on 20th April, 2009.
- ***That the killing of the 29 people could have as well have been done by the vigilantes but not the Mungiki as is widely believed.***

3.1.5 Witness 5

He informed the Committee that there were survivors of the orgy of 20th and 21st April, 2009 and proposed that they should be interviewed as they had facts based on experiences on that night.

3.1.6 Witness 6

He informed the Committee that:

- He was attacked by unknown persons on the night of 20th April and his fingers broken.
- There was no serious threat from Mungiki sect until the vigilantes came to the scene.
- They were informed of the possibility of an impending attack by Mungiki after the chaos during the day.

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- He claimed that the vigilantes had asked them to help identify sect Members two days before the attack and assist in keeping the peace.
- He blamed vigilantes from Kirinyaga for the woes that befell Mathira people.

3.1.7 Witness 7

He told the Committee that:

- He lives at the border near Kirinyaga West District.
- On 20th April, 2009, he was woken up at night and told to join a group of other men to keep vigil since word was going around that Mungiki would strike in retaliation to the attacks by vigilantes during the day.
- As they waited a group of people emerged from the bushes with powerful torches and screams of 'kill' rent the air.
- The killers were asking the victims whether they knew who Mungiki members were before they struck.
- He managed to evade the killers and ran to safety.

3.1.8 Witness 8

He informed the Committee Members that:

- Vigilantes had invaded Muragara town to flush out the sect members.
- He had heard on a local radio station broadcasting in a local language that about 100 pangas had earlier been found in a petrol station in Karatina.
- The night of 20th April 2009 was full of tension.
- A group of people came to his house and called him by name.
- He was herded into a larger group and made to march to a spot where allegedly they would meet another group to help keep guard.
- The group referred to each other as 'Bantu', the code name for vigilantes.
- As they marched, he heard 'alert', then 'kill' and the bloody assault began.
- He was not aware that they were being herded into a death trap.
- The police did not respond until *4am, three hours after the attack.*

3.1.9 Witness 9

In submission, the witness informed the Committee that;

- At about 5pm on 20th April, 2009, he saw a lot of people descend to Igwaki centre with pangas and clubs and other crude weapons.
- A vehicle also drove into the centre with 12 persons also armed with crude weapons.
- The attackers came from Kagochi village in Magutu Location of Mathira Division and unleashed terror on area residents. They were Mungiki sect members who were calling themselves 'Jama'.
- The residents arrested some men and handed them over to the Police.
- He later heard that the suspects were released without charges being preferred against them.
- He said that the problem of Mungiki is exacerbated by the unemployed and idle youth.

3.2.0 Witness 10

The witness told the Members that:

- The vigilantes who descended on Karatina were definitely from Kirinyaga because their accent was not like that of Mathira.

3.2.1 Witness 11

On his part, he said that:

- When the 300 motorcycles besieged Karatina, Igwaki sect members armed themselves to confront the riders.
- They repulsed the group which retreated to Kirinyaga.
- During the encounter, a Mungiki sect member whom he said he could not identify, told him that they were after vigilantes but they attacked Gathaithi and Kiaruhiu instead. They made the attacks ostensibly to punish the Mathira people for collaborating with vigilantes from Kirinyaga and also to avenge for the killings of 14 of their members earlier on.

3.2.2 Witness 12

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- He claimed that he was on the spot as killings happened.
- The extortion by Mungiki had driven people to the brink of desperation and the people took up arms in retaliation.
- Constant threats of beheading by Mungiki if they did not remit collections were a daily affair.
- On the night of the attacks, the village was tense. They were rounded up by a vigilante group code named 'Bantu' and ordered to arm themselves against any would be attack.
- As they gathered to plan how to defend themselves, they were surrounded by Mungiki members who unleashed mayhem on them with swiftness, slashing all present indiscriminately.
- A nearby house was set ablaze and the whole place was well lit, thus making the victims easy targets for the attackers.
- The Mungiki could identify their own members because they wore a white band on their wrists and a scarf around their heads.

3.2.3 Witness 13

- He said that the commotion he heard around midnight on the night of the murders was short-lived and the screams did not last long.
- They woke up to the grief of many bodies that had been killed during the night.

3.2.4 Witness 14

- Recalled Mungiki sect having been outlawed during the Moi era and their activities subdued.
- He could not understand why there was such resurgence at this time.
- He said that Mungiki should be addressed as a social problem that threatens to get out of control.
- The Government's involvement in picking of bodies, taking them to the Karatina Mortuary and later planning the burial points at a reactive system rather than a watchful Government out to protect its citizens.
- He confirmed that Mungiki adherents were present in Mathira and that there are no vigilantes in the division.

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- Vigilantes only existed in Kirinyaga.
- Community policing was practiced in Mathira in conjunction with the security agencies.

3.2.5 Witness 15

During his submission, the witness informed the Committee that:

- Some vigilantes had walked into Kiaruhiu on foot on 20th April, 2009.
- Others on motorcycles had invaded Karatina but retreated to Kagio in Kirinyaga.
- A meeting by vigilantes had also been convened at a house of one of the villagers whose building was later burnt by the sect members.
- The area does not have an assistant chief or a Police post and proposed that these should be put in place to enhance security.
- The presence of illicit brews tended to worsen incidents of crime.

3.2.6 Witness 16

He testified to the effect that:

- Mungiki activity in Nyeri East was subdued and moderate until they were provoked by vigilantes from Kirinyaga. The ensuing orgy of violence was due to a backlash by Mungiki to avenge over the attacks by the vigilantes on their own members.

4.0 Visit to Kiaruhiu and Gathaithi murder sites

The Committee took time to visit the murder scenes in Kiaruhiu centre where 7 bodies were found and Gathaithi village where 22 bodies had laid on the morning of 21st April, 2009. The path where the dead lay was still stained with fading strains of blood despite the heavy rains that had been experienced afterwards. Opposite the scene of murder were ashes where a house once stood before it was razed down by the attackers, burning to death 3 of its occupants. The Committee was informed that the slain persons were herded into the narrow path and crowded together. Unknown to them was a gang of Mungiki sect members hiding in a nearby thicket waiting to attack them. When the attack happened, it was with lightning speed and was executed with military

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precision. A nearby house was set ablaze and it enabled the attackers to see their victims clearly. At the end of the orgy, 29 persons had been slashed to death. The reality on how much havoc terror gangs could cause in a single attack was shocking.

Day 2:

5.0 Meeting with Kirinyaga Central, Kirinyaga West and Kirinyaga South District leaders and local residents

In a meeting held at the Catholic Social Hall in Kerugoya, the Committee received oral and written submissions from the following witnesses:

5.1.1 Witness 17

The witness informed the Committee that;

- The sect members came to Gathuruma area, settled and began their illegal activities.
- They imposed all manner of illegal taxation ranging from collection of protection money per household, cuts from milk sales, matatu and motorcycle riders' fines, sharing of dowry proceeds, etc.
- The worst atrocities perpetrated by the sect included rape of women, caning of people who resisted Mungiki advances and beheading of those who did not fulfill demands made by the sect. The oathing was equally brutal with tales of recruits being forced to drink soup made out of human flesh.
- Primary school drop-outs were the main recruits into the sect.

5.1.2 Witness 18

The witness told the Committee that:

- It was taboo to mention the name Mungiki publicly. People were afraid of dire consequences if found to resist Mungiki demands.
- Illegal taxations lend to pent up frustrations by the local residents who led an uprising against the sect.

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- There are no vigilantes in Kirinyaga. The public have only taken the responsibility to defend themselves as help did not seem to come from anywhere else.
- The Police themselves seemed overwhelmed and less capacitated to deal with the sect.
- The frustrations by the local people were heightened by the ease with which sect members who had been nabbed and handed over to the police were released by the courts without being charged.
- When the violence meted out on the sect members was too much to bear in Kagumo and Kerugoya, the adherents ran into relatively calm areas of Gichugu and Mwea.

5.1.3 Witness 19

During his submission, he informed the Committee that;

- Kamuiru was the epicenter of Mungiki activity.
- A neighbour's daughter had disappeared without trace in the hands of suspected Mungiki members.
- Mungiki had sympathies of politicians. The sect had attained a larger than life image that has threatened the existence of the very same forces that founded it.
- There is no such court as 'The Hague' in Kirinyaga.

5.1.4 Witness 20

The witness testified that:

- There's exists a void in the law to deal with illegal militias.
- The people of Kirinyaga have total confidence with the Security agents.
- There are no vigilante groups in Kirinyaga. Community policing thrives.

5.1.5 Witness 21

The Committee heard that:

- 29 people had been killed in the Mathira attacks.
- A law was required to deal with illegal groups.

5.1.6 Witness 22

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The witness told the Committee that:

- Drugs were a major source of income for the sect. They peddled drugs and also partook in the use of the same.
- Many bars existed in Kirinyaga and these were avenues for increase of crime.
- Politicians used Mungiki as their stepping stone to get into Parliament.

5.1.7 Witness 23

The Committee was informed that:

- The people of Kirinyaga were angry at being referred to as vigilantes.
- They felt that those vilifying them and saying that killings should stop were actually shielding Mungiki.
- Amnesty should be extended to Mungiki deserters and use them to provide information on the sect operations.

5.1.8 Witness 24

The witness told the Committee that:

- Community policing should be encouraged.
- The Security teams should stay on as long as there was insecurity.

6.0 Exhibits of Mungiki paraphernalia by Security personnel

During an interface with the Kirinyaga District Security Intelligence team, the Committee viewed some Mungiki paraphernalia paraded before it. The items included ID cards, recruitment cards, police uniform, bang, pieces of human flesh, a bow, a big photograph of Maina Njenga [the perceived leader of the sect], oathing gear, etc.

The Committee heard that:

- The Politicians were fuelling Mungiki menace by careless comments on the report on extra judicial killings by Professor Alston.
- There were no vigilantes in Kirinyaga.
- The mobs that ganged out to flush out Mungiki were spontaneous groups of frustrated residents who wanted to bring an end to the sect menace. The gangs took the administration by surprise.

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- The District Security team had sought to work with the people in Community policing initiatives that would see to the reduction of criminal activities in the districts.

6.1 Visit to ‘the Hague’ in Mwea Thimba River

The Committee visited ‘the Hague’ located on the shores of Thimba River in Mwea. The Members were told that oathing by Mungiki sect would be done in the river for new recruits of the sect. The river was also used as a kangaroo court to intimidate and torture those perceived to have refused to comply with Mungiki demands. It was said that the victims would be taken to the deepest end of the river and would even be threatened with drowning. Sometimes the victims would be forced to drink soup made from human flesh as part of oathing.

7.0 Meeting with the Permanent Secretary, Provincial Administration and Internal Security, National Security Intelligence Service Director-Internal, and the Police Commissioner

The Chairman informed the Members that the meeting was necessitated by the Committee’s visit to Nyeri and Kirinyaga on 8-9 June, 2009, arising from a directive from the House that the number of persons killed be investigated by the Committee which would report to the House for deliberation and adoption.

He further informed Members that the Committee had held meetings with the Provincial Security Intelligence Committees and other stakeholders over killings by illegal militias in Nyeri and Kirinyaga.

Some of the issues the Committee required clarity were, for instance;

- How the killings in Mathira could have happened despite intelligent reports;
- Circumstances in which the vigilantes went through a police barrier in Karatina and terrorized the town;
- Whether Security in these areas is compromised and whether the Police are working in cahoots with the militias, etc.

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- The number of persons arrested and charged for the crimes perpetrated,
- Mode of recruitment of Community policing groups and their Terms of Reference, etc.

7.1.1 Responses by the Permanent Secretary, the Police Commissioner and the Director-Internal to issues raised by the Committee

7.1.2 The Permanent Secretary

In response to issues raised, the Committee was informed that:

- Mungiki started as a social-economic grouping of unemployed and disgruntled youth whose initial intentions were to help out one another in times of need.
- The group later on mutated into a criminal gang and from then henceforth, their criminal activities became heinous.
- The recent atrocities committed in Kirinyaga ranged from extortions, rape, torture, oathing, killings, etc.
- This heightened fear, tension and frustration in Kirinyaga leading to an uprising by the locals.
- He asked the Committee to assist in bills to deal effectively with organized crime, terrorism and money laundering and other relevant legislations.
- Campaigns against Mungiki by all stakeholders ought to be upped and sustained.
- Mechanisms to de-oath and reintegrate the sect members should be put in place so as to ensure the deserters are not alienated from the society.
- Political goodwill is important if the fight against outlawed groups was to be won.
- Security agencies do not work with outlawed groups as has been alleged.
- All MPs were invited to a stakeholders meeting where 14 resolutions were passed and action plan charted out to confront organized crime.
- The Mungiki threat is real. Their strategy is to front their own to take up political seats in areas where their presence is felt.
- Suggested that the Committee holds a meeting with MPs from the affected areas. The follow up on the resolutions has been wanting.

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- Education has suffered with performances plummeting and enrolments taking a downward plunge.
- Economic production has reduced due to the sect's continued interference with the farming activities.
- There have been attempts by the sect to coalesce with other illegal militias but this has not been successful.
- The Rapid Results Initiative (RRI) was used to reactivate communities to engage in Community policing to weed out criminals.
- The Ministry requests more funds to up the fight against outlawed sects.
- MPs in affected areas must be involved in the fight against sect.
- On whether the posting of D.C. Warfa to Kirinyaga was a coincidence based on his past experiences in routing out the 'Sugu Sugu' vigilantes in Kisii, he said that this was a normal transfer.
- Transfers to and from Kirinyaga were normal.
- The culture of violence, disrespect for life and impunity is shocking.
- Respect for law is waning among citizens.
- No country can allow impunity to thrive and be safe.

7.1.3 The Police Commissioner

The Committee heard that:

- Mungiki is a serious security threat that needs to be addressed urgently.
- It's a social phenomenon that should be dealt with without any side shows or triviality and all should be involved in the fight against organized crime.
- 99% of those affected by Mungiki are Kikuyus.
- The sect began in Nakuru in Rift Valley and spread to other areas like O'kalou and finally Kahuro in Murang'a which has been the epicenter of the sect's activity.
- Vigilantes are outlawed and criminal in that they take law into their hands.
- Our legal systems are weak and cannot effectively deal with crimes by organized groups.
- Stiffer penalties are required to deter crimes of terror by militias.

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- It should not be lost to the Committee that some of the witnesses in Nyeri and Kirinyaga were sect members and caution should be exercised over evidence adduced.
- Police had responded swiftly to the attacks in Gathaithi, contrary to popular view.
- Allegations of a patrol car having been seen in the area before the attack in Gathaithi are not true.
- Vigilantes did not attack Gathaithi. The attack was made by Mungiki.
- Police were able to repulse demonstrators from Kerugoya and Kagumo who had descended on Karatina town.
- It should be appreciated that the Police do not have adequate vehicles to patrol the vast areas affected by the sect.
- There has never been complicity between the Police and militias to terrorize wananchi.
- Asserted that there was a conspiracy of silence from the political leadership especially from Central Province who are not openly condemning the criminal activities by the sect.
- The Police records of the people killed by vigilantes are out of post mortem results and not a concoction of the police as alluded.
- Other deaths are out of other causes such as lynching by mobs for thefts, etc.
- Community policing was an initiative launched by the President on 27th March 2005 to help tackle criminal activities within communities. The communities cooperate with the police in a bid to root out crime. They operate under structured Terms of Reference which spells out their operations.
- A request has already been put forth to the Minister of Finance to factor in Community policing in this year's budget with a view to introducing some tokens to give morale to people involved in the project.
- Crimes by vigilantes and Mungiki's should be dealt with equal measure and ruthlessness.

7.1.4 NSIS Director-Internal

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He informed the Committee that:

- The Mungiki has set up its strategies which include every sector of the Government whether political, social or economic.
- The sect has three wings i.e. political, religious and military.
- The political wing has evolved to form a party called the National Youth Alliance, which is busy recruiting members. Other sect members are affiliated to other political parties in Kenya.
- The Government is faced with serious challenges in its war against Mungiki such as lack of political goodwill, rogue security officers, weak laws against crimes of terror, lack of training for officers to deal with organized crime, media coverage propaganda, etc.
- The NSIS proposes goodwill from politicians, civic education to strengthen Community policing and equipping of security agencies to enhance service delivery in the war against organized crime.
- The Government ought to deregister NGOs that seem to work with the outlawed groups.
- Leadership of the sect is spread all over Central, Rift Valley and Nairobi Provinces with the latter having the biggest concentration of leadership.

7.1.5 Proposals from the PS, Police Commissioner and Director-Internal

It was proposed that;

- Legal instruments need to be put into place to deal with illegal groups.
- More resources should be directed into the Ministry to effectively deal with organized crime.
- The political elite must promote the rule of law.
- Community policing should be strengthened.
- Law enforcement cannot be contested and its application should be on equal basis to all illegal groups, whether vigilantes or Mungiki.
- Vilification of the Police is counter-productive and helps to embolden the criminals.
- Mungiki sponsors should be asked in camera to desist from assisting the criminal activities of the sect.

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7.1.6 The Committee Chairman

He thanked the team for coming to the meeting to share information.

He said the Committee was deeply concerned about the culture of impunity in the country and the growing levels of crime.

The Committee was awaiting the republishing of the Bill on Prevention of Organized Crime, which lapsed in 2007, to be re-introduced in Parliament so as to fast-track it.

8.0 Meeting with more witnesses from Nyeri and Kirinyaga

The Committee received evidence from some witnesses from Nyeri and Kirinyaga who had requested to be heard in camera. The witnesses had asserted that they had vital information that could jeopardize their lives thus the request to appear in camera.

8.1.1 Witness 25

In his submission, he informed the Committee that:

- He heard that vigilantes from Kirinyaga were hunting down Mungiki who had gone into hiding in the neighbouring Mathira division.
- Was shocked to hear monstrous killings had been carried out at Mathira by Mungiki sect members.
- Sect suspects were rounded up by vigilantes and taken to a kangaroo court dubbed 'the Hague', in Kamuiru where they were burnt, slashed or hanged to death.
- Was accused by administration of harbouring a family member who was a mungiki adherent.
- The member ran away for fear of his life.
- On 15th April 2009, a vigilante group invaded his house and demanded protection money.
- The vigilantes are well known to the Police because they operate in small groups.
- Believes administration is compromised.
- Also believes that local leaders in Kirinyaga were sponsoring vigilantes.
- He fears for his life.

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- Was afraid that Mungiki or the vigilantes may attack communities as a retaliation measure after the evidence adduced by witnesses against them.

8.1.2 Witness 26

Paper laid: Persons killed by vigilantes in Kirinyaga between April/ May, 2009

In her submission, she told the Committee that:

- While she had given information to the Committee in Kerugoya, there were some names she wanted to give in camera.
- 21 Mungiki suspects had been killed by vigilantes, according to the list.
- Vigilantes were getting police and administration protection.

8.1.3 Witness 27

He gave evidence as follows:

- He is a motorcycle boda boda businessman.
- They were summoned by phone to assemble in Kerugoya.
- He does not know the person who called him although he has the phone number.
- His motorcycle was fuelled with Kshs. 200 worth of petrol. He could not recall where the money to fuel came from.
- Mungiki killed the people in Mathira.
- He claimed the vigilantes had the blessings of local leaders.

8.1.4 Witness 28

She informed the Committee that:

- Her husband was a victim of the Mungiki attacks.
- They were woken up around midnight and husband ordered to join a patrol group.
- Were asked to switch off torches.
- She could not recognize voices.
- The next morning, she heard of the killings.
- She fainted on arrival at the scene.

8.1.5 Witness 29

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She informed the Committee that:

- Her husband was killed in the tragedy that befell Mathira on 21 April, 2009.
- Her husband was called out to go for patrol.
- They were asked to put off own torch.
- She could not identify anyone.
- She awoke to the horror of the attacks the following morning.

8.1.6 Witness 30

He adduced evidence as follows:

- Vigilantes had burnt a house belonging to a neighbour [name withheld by Committee] near the Rwamuthambi River on the basis that the house owner's two sons were Mungiki.
- Another neighbour's house [name withheld] was also burnt ostensibly to teach him a lesson for his son's Mungiki affiliation.
- After the Mathira killings, vigilantes in Muragara were asking the residents why they let Mungiki kill people.

8.1.7 Witness 31

In his submission, he said that:

- His brother's house was razed down by vigilantes on April 20, 2009 at 9pm.

8.1.8 Witness 32

He told the Committee that;

- He was attacked by vigilantes at 4pm on 20th April 2009 near Rwamuthambi River on account that he was a sect member.

8.1.9 Witness 33

He provided two names of the sect suspects harassed by vigilantes in Karatina on 20th April 2009.

8.2 Witness 34

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He gave two names of persons whose houses were burnt down by vigilantes and another two who were killed by vigilantes.

8.2.1 Witness 35

During her submission, she informed the Committee that:

- She requested the Minister of State for Internal Security to issue a statement over the wanton killings of suspected Mungiki sect adherents by vigilante groups in Kirinyaga on 27th May, 2009.
- The vigilante killings were mostly felt in Kirinyaga-Kutus and Ndia constituency. She had visited the families who had lost their relatives in the hands of vigilantes and condoled with them.
- After the Mathira attacks, 25 people were killed by vigilantes. The killings were by slashing with pangas or machetes.
- 18 other persons had so far died by the time she requested a Ministerial Statement bringing killings by vigilantes to 43. The victims were hanged.
- 54 houses had been razed down during the vigilante attacks.
- Bodies were collected by the police and burials conducted hurriedly. It took a day for bodies to be buried.
- Many more sect suspects continue to be killed every other day.
- The Administration had information about the planned vigilante attacks but failed to act. This laxity by the DSIC to stop killings has continued to cause havoc where many lives are being lost and property destroyed.
- The DC should have been transferred for failing to control criminal activities by 'Kenda Kenda', the vigilante gang that was on the rampage.
- Claimed that the demonstrations in Kerugoya on June 9, 2009 were stage managed. Alleged that the demos had the blessings of high level Government operatives.
- Appealed to the Committee to use the opportunity to come up with the facts over the chaos in Kirinyaga.
- Stressed that each Government employee must be accountable for what they do.
- Said that there is need for serious reconciliation if the mayhem in Kirinyaga was to come to an end.

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9.0 Findings

1. The Committee perused the document laid in the House by the Hon. Member for Gichugu on 28th May, 2009 and made the following observations;
 - a) That the document was not signed and therefore it was difficult to establish its source;
 - b) That 8 deceased persons in the document listed as having been killed by vigilantes appear in the Kirinyaga DSIC list as having died from other causes;
 - c) That the document does not have any documented evidence to support it;
 - d) 27 names on the document are actually on the DSIC list. This figure was nearer to the 26 the Minister of State for Internal Security had provided during his Ministerial Statement as the number of persons killed by the vigilantes in Kirinyaga.

Under these circumstances, the Committee resolved that the document could not be authenticated and was therefore inadmissible and could not be presented as evidence before the Committee.

2. The Committee also looked at another list on killings by vigilantes placed before it by a resident of Kirinyaga and made the following observations;
 - a) That the document was duly signed hence it was valid.
 - b) That 20 of the 21 names in the list were also in the DSIC list.
 - c) That the list had fewer names compared to the DSIC and MP's lists.
 - d) That the remark "...and many more others..." at the end of the list to the effect that other people had been killed was not admissible as evidence before the committee.

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The above notwithstanding, the Committee concluded that the document pointed to the fact that fewer people had been killed by vigilantes.

3. The Committee also scrutinized the document on Mungiki killings by vigilantes presented to it by the Kirinyaga DSIC and made the following conclusions;

- a) That the document was duly signed and therefore its source was credible.
- b) That 27 suspected killings of Mungiki appearing in the DSIC list were also in the MP's list.
- c) That 8 deceased persons appearing in the list died from other causes and not from vigilante attacks, as is alleged in the MP's list.
- d) That there was a double entry in the DSIC list of one Julius Karimi as having died of unknown causes.
- e) That the remaining 6 persons who died of other causes do not appear in the MP's list.

4. The Committee concludes that 28 people were killed and 14 died of other causes bringing the total to 42.

Other Observations

5. A total of 29 persons were killed in the Mathira attacks. 22 of these were slaughtered in upper Gathaithi village near the border with Kirinyaga West (Ndia) while 7 others were killed in Kiaruhiu trading centre.

6. 14 Mungiki sect Members had been killed by vigilante groups prior to the murders of 20/21 April, 2009.

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7. There appears to be a profound code of silence by politicians and leaders from Central Province in their condemnation of activities of outlawed militia groups.
8. Community policing seems to have been taken over by frustrated mobs that have resorted to unorthodox means to flush out Mungiki sect members, kill them while others have been forced to migrate to 'safer' grounds.
9. The frustrated mobs mutated into vigilante groups thus soiling the Community policing initiative to the extent that it is now difficult to distinguish the work of the vigilantes from that of Community policing groups.
10. The people of Kerugoya in Kirinyaga Central District want the District Security teams to stay and have vowed to resist any transfers. They claim they will be vulnerable to Mungiki attacks if there was change of guard among the security.
11. Mungiki sect has subdued the people of Central Province to the extent that they do not talk about the sect openly. The Committee noted that in some areas, it was considered taboo to refer to the sect by name.
12. Since the name Mungiki instills fear in the would-be victims, other organized criminal groups are taking advantage to commit crimes under the guise that these criminal activities are being perpetrated by the outlawed sect.
13. Suspicion and tension remains palpable among the communities living in the areas affected by the activities of the illegal militias.

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14. **There is a general perception from the public that the Government is not committed to fighting organized crime hence the emerging culture of mobs taking the law into their hands.**

15. **The Mungiki sect seems to have grown into a hydra with tentacles spread across all cadres of the society so that politicians, business people, security personnel, etc have representation in the sect.**

10. Recommendations

1. Killings, whether by Mungiki or vigilantes, are unacceptable and should be condemned in the harshest terms possible and tough deterrent measures imposed on the culprits.
2. There is an urgent need to enact legislation to deal with illegal militia groups in the country. The publication of the Prevention of Organized Crime Bill should be fast tracked to deal conclusively with crimes of terror by outlawed gangs.
3. Security personnel should undergo intensive specialized training to be able to deal with organized crime. At present the security apparatus lack the skills and expertise to effectively fight terror gangs.
4. The Minister of State for Internal Security should set up an in-house committee to vet and weed out officers accused of complicity and deemed to be lax in the war against organized crime. Officers who have overstayed in one region should be transferred to new stations.
5. Sponsors and leadership of outlawed militias, who according to NSIS are well known, should be exposed and be held accountable to the crimes of terror and wanton destruction of property and other ills committed by the illegal gangs.

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6. The matter of unemployment for the youth must be placed on the Government's top priority agenda to deal with the emerging trend of youths turning to crime due to idleness and hopelessness.
7. Immediate measures should be undertaken to curtail the activities of illegal gangs. The gangs are a growing phenomenon which if not checked now may get out of control and become a major crisis that the Government may not even be able to deal with.
8. The Government should take advantage of the need driven Community policing to partner with the Police to revitalize and strengthen the concept.
9. The Government should take advantage of the anti-Mungiki mood to deal firmly and decisively with Mungiki and other organized criminal gangs.
10. Politicians and leaders from the affected areas should come out openly and declare their stand over the outlawed gangs. The National Security Council should make a deliberate move to summon MPs who are known to be members of the outlawed Mungiki sect.
11. The Government should operationalize the District Security Intelligence Committees (DSICs) in all the districts afflicted by activities of illegal criminal gangs.

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12. The Government ought to institute a multi-dimensional approach in the war against criminal organized gangs which should include Community policing, de-oathing and rehabilitation of sect deserters, tough legislative structures, civic education to victims of extortionist gangs to resist attempts of illegal fines, etc.
13. The 2006 Witness Protection Act Cap. 16 Laws of Kenya should be operationalized to allow witnesses to open up and provide information while testifying in cases against illegal militias without fear of reprisals.
14. DSICs should be adequately funded to be able to respond to emergencies especially those connected to organized crimes. Such funding should be directed to purchase of patrol cars, training, communication gadgets, etc.
15. Parents, teachers and religious leaders and other stakeholders should advise children of the dangers they could be exposed to by joining the illegal gangs.

APPENDICES

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APPENDIX A

| DOB | NAME | AGE | Loc | SUBV | CHIEF | SUB/CHIEF |
|----------|-----------------------|-----|---------|------|-------|--------------|
| 14/11/09 | PETER HAMMILL | 30 | Kuaiti | | | |
| 6/11/09 | JAMES GIBBER | 32 | NALIA | | | |
| 11/11/09 | ELIYAH MAREKERE NALIA | 29 | MUTIA | | | filled |
| 12/11/09 | DEGAN ROJOJU WINDUWU | 22 | MUKUNE | | | |
| 12/11/09 | ANTONY WACHERA ALHARI | 25 | MULUKE | | | Document for |
| 12/11/09 | OMU MURAMA WACHERA | 35 | MUTIAK | | | Document for |
| 13/11/09 | BOGARI MURAKE KOLEGUA | 32 | WAGUMA | | | |
| 13/11/09 | JOSEPH KIMANI MATONBY | 30 | WAGUMA | | | |
| 13/11/09 | LUKE WACHERA ROJOJU | 32 | WAGUMA | | | |
| 15/11/09 | PETER WACHERA ALHARI | 30 | MALUKU | | | |
| 16/11/09 | BOBIE MAREKERE | 20 | KIMANIA | | | |
| 17/11/09 | ANNA MURUKI WAMUKANDA | 30 | TRITIA | | | |
| 19/11/09 | PETER KUYUA WACHERA | 16 | WACHERA | | | |
| 19/11/09 | STUBSON KUYUA MURUKI | 17 | MURUKA | | | |
| 19/11/09 | JASON MURUKI MURUKI | 16 | WACHERA | | | |
| 20/11/09 | JOSPHAS MURUKI SIMUKI | 23 | MULUKE | | | |
| 20/11/09 | ETIMBA KUYUA | 20 | MULUKE | | | |
| 20/11/09 | JOSEPH MURUKI | 20 | MULUKE | | | |
| 21/11/09 | MURUKI KUYUA | 32 | MURUKI | | | |
| 21/11/09 | IRABE NYAMUKI MATUKA | 51 | KUYUA | | | |
| 21/11/09 | SULIUS WACHERA | 40 | WACHERA | | | |
| 21/11/09 | JOSEPH MATUKA MURUKI | 35 | MURUKI | | | |
| 21/11/09 | STUBSON MURUKI | 25 | WACHERA | | | |
| 22/11/09 | STUBSON MURUKI | 22 | WACHERA | | | |

Document for
 (filled)
 Document for
 (filled)

Ms. WACHERA
 5/2/16
 JS

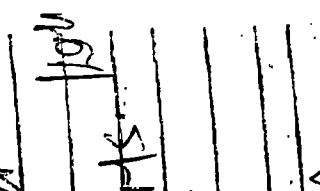
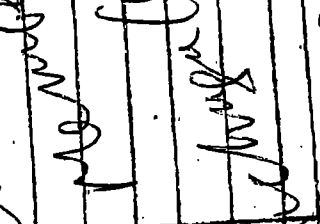

DATE NALIA

ON 11/11/16

| DOB | NAME | AGE | LOC |
|------------|------------------------|-----|-----------|
| 1 11/5/09 | ELIS KIBARA KITHARA | 23 | Milini |
| 2 6/5/09 | PETER WALTER ABEGE | 30 | Komber-ni |
| 3 6/5/09 | PETER MURUTHI | 23 | MULIRA |
| 4 7/5/09 | MURIMI MUTHIKE WILSON | 32 | MULIRA |
| 5 8/5/09 | SAMUEL KABINKI NYAGA | 27 | KABARE |
| 6 9/5/09 | ABRAHAM KINYUO AZEL | 30 | KABAMO |
| 7 9/5/09 | MURITHI HAKI PEIER | 20 | MULIRA |
| 8 10/5/09 | STEPHEN MUTHY | 35 | Gomondo |
| 9 10/5/09 | ROGER MANGI MASUA | 32 | KABARE |
| 10 11/5/09 | STEPHEN MUTHI | 26 | KIINI |
| 11 11/5/09 | JESSE KINYUA KABARAGA | 33 | Gitaka |
| 12 12/5/09 | MARVIN CEFOMAT WATHA | 34 | MUINDUKO |
| 13 21/5/09 | JAMES WESCH DDMOURI | 32 | DEREMBO |
| 14 21/5/09 | JOHN WAMBUMBE | 24 | MURUMO |
| 15 21/5/09 | ELINA MUMBIWA | 22 | KABARAGA |
| 16 26/5/09 | Julius WAMBIRE MUTHURI | 40 | SAGARA |
| 17 6/5/09 | KAMUNOW MARE ADUK | 20 | MURUMBA |
| 18 28/4/09 | UNMURU MARE ADUK | 14 | Milini |









APPENDIX B

SECRET

REPORT FROM KIRINYAGA DISTRICT INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE PRESENTED TO THE NATIONAL SECURITY COMMITTEE ON A FACT FINDING MISSION ON MATTERS RELATED TO KILLINGS IN KIRINYAGA

APPENDIX - I

Death of Mungiki suspects

APPENDIX - II

Other causes of death

Document presented to
the Committee by the Kirinyaga
DSIC on 9th May, 2009 over
Vigilante killings of suspected
Mungiki sect members and other
causes of death of sect members.

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915/09

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APPENDIX - I

DEATH OF MUNGIKI SUSPECTS

| NO. | DATE | NAME | DISTRICT | LOCATION | AGE | CAUSE OF DEATH | INQUEST NO. |
|-----|---------|--------------------------------|-------------------|------------|-----|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. | 12.4.09 | Peter Njogu Wanjiru | Kirinyaga West | Mukure | 22 | Mob injustice | 11/09 |
| 2. | 12.4.09 | Antony Wachira | Kirinyaga West | Mukure | 25 | Mob injustice | 12/09 |
| 3. | 12.4.09 | Elijah Manegene Mugo | Kirinyaga Central | Kanyekiine | 25 | Mob injustice | 10/09 |
| 4. | 12.4.09 | Paul Mithamo Wachira | Kirinyaga Central | Mutira | 35 | Mob injustice | |
| 5. | 13.4.09 | Robert Munene | Kirinyaga Central | Mutira | 32 | Mob injustice | |
| 6. | 13.4.09 | Joffrey Kamau Maundu | Kirinyaga Central | Mutira | 30 | Mob injustice | 37 Kerugoya |
| 7. | 13.4.09 | Luka Wachira Njogu | Kirinyaga Central | Mutira | 32 | Mob injustice | 14 Kerugoya |
| 8. | 15.4.09 | Peter wanjohi Nyaga | Kirinyaga Central | Kanyekiine | 35 | Mob injustice | 15/09 |
| 9. | 16.4.09 | Unknown male adult | Kirinyaga central | Mutira | 20 | Mob injustice | |
| 10 | 19.4.09 | Peter Kinyua Wanjohi | Kirinyaga Central | Kanyekiine | 16 | Mob injustice | 16/09 |
| 11. | 19.4.09 | Rueben Gacoki Muriithi | Kirinyaga Central | Mutira | 17 | Mob injustice | 17/09 |
| 12. | 19.4.09 | Jackson Mwangi Muriithi | Kirinyaga Central | Kanyekiine | 16 | Mob injustice | 18/09 |
| 13. | 20.4.09 | Josphat Muriuki Gichangi | Kirinyaga West | Mukure | 73 | Mob injustice | 20/09 |
| 14. | 20.4.09 | Chomba Karume | Kirinyaga West | Mukure | 20 | Mob injustice | 21/09 |
| 15. | 22.4.09 | Joseph Muriimi | Kirinyaga West | Mukure | 20 | Mob injustice | 22/09 |
| 16. | 22.4.09 | Muriuki Kangati | Kirinyaga Central | Mutira | 32 | Mob injustice | 22/09 |
| 17. | 24.4.09 | jane nyaruwai maina Teacher | Kirinyaga West | Kiini | 51 | Mob injustice | PBC C.R 221/332/09 |
| 18. | 29.4.09 | Driver Josephat Maina | Kirinyaga Central | Mutira | 35 | Mob injustice | 15/09 |
| 19. | 2.5.09 | Stephen Mbeu | Kirinyaga Central | Mutira | 35 | Mob injustice | 31/09 |
| 20. | 4.5.09 | Elvis Kibaara | Kirinyaga Central | Inoi | 30 | Suicide(Mungiki suspect | 25/09 |
| 21 | 6.5.09 | Peter Muriithi | Kirinyaga Central | Mutira | 23 | Suicide (Mungiki suspect | 32/09 |
| 22. | 8.5.09 | Peter Muriithi Kangi | Kirinyaga Central | Mutira | 23 | Mob injustice | 34/09 |
| 23. | 11.5.09 | Stephen Mutahi | Kirinyaga West | Kiini | 26 | Suicide | 18/09 |
| 24. | 18.5.09 | Jesse Kinyua Kabiranga | Kirinyaga West | Mukure | 33 | Murder (Mungiki | 19/09 |

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| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----------|----------------------|-------------------|-----------|----|---------------------------|--|-------|--|--|
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| 25. | 211.5.09 | James Njeru Ndambiri | Kirinyaga Central | Koroma | 39 | suspect | | | | |
| | | | | | | Suicide (Mungiki suspect) | | 27/09 | | |
| 26. | 22/5/09 | Hamis John Wangombe | Kirinyaga Central | Mutira | 24 | Murder (Mungiki suspect) | | 16/09 | | |
| 27. | 24.5.09 | Eliud Wanjohi Kinnya | Kirinyaga West | Kiaragana | 28 | Murder (Mungiki suspect) | | 24/09 | | |
| 28. | 3.5.09 | Antony Njogu | Kirinyaga Central | Kerugoya | 25 | Mob injustice | | 25/09 | | |

APPENDIX II OTHER CAUSES OF DEATH


| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|---------|-------------------------|-------------------|-----------|-----------|--|--|--|--|--|
| 1. | 27.3.09 | James Gitari | Kirinyaga East | Kianyaga | 20 | Mob injustice as a result of stealing | | | | |
| 2. | 4.4.09 | Peter Kimanja | Kirinyaga South | Mutithi | 30 | Mob injustice as a result of stealing | | | | |
| 3. | 17.4.09 | Patrick Manegene | Kirinyaga South | Wanguru | 21 | Sudden death | | | | |
| 4. | 16.4.09 | David Mwaniki Wamugunda | Kirinyaga Central | Inoi | 32 | Suicide | | | | |
| 5. | 21.4.09 | Jeral Muthoe | Kirinyaga Central | Inoi | 20 | Committed suicide | | | | |
| 6. | 23.4.09 | Samuel Gikonyo Karuki | Kirinyaga East | Kiritini | 31 | Took (poison at KTI) | | | | |
| 7. | 23.4.09 | Francis Wambu | Kirinyaga West | Mukure | 38 | Sudden death in a lodging | | | | |
| 8. | 21.4.09 | Julius Karimi | Kirinyaga Central | Inoi | 40 | Natural death | | | | |
| 9. | 7.5.09 | Murimi Muthike Wilson | Kirinyaga Central | Mutira | 32 | Stealing a hen | | | | |
| 10. | 8.5.09 | Samuel Kariuki Nyaga | Kirinyaga East | Kabare | 28 | Committed suicide | | | | |
| 11. | 10.5.09 | Stephen Mubu | Kirinyaga Central | Koroma | 35 | Fought with another young man over a girl friend | | | | |
| 12. | 18.5.09 | Martin Chomba Wanja | Kirinyaga South | Murinduko | 34 | Mob injustice over livestock theft. | | | | |
| 13. | 27.4.09 | Bernad Mwangi Theuri | Kirinyaga East | Rwambiki | 25 | Mob injustice | | | | |
| 14. | 23.4.09 | Unknown African child | Kirinyaga West | Kiini | 1 1/2 yrs | Drowning in river | | | | |
| 15. | 21.4.09 | Julius Karimi | Kirinyaga central | Kiini | 40 | Natural death | | | | |

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SUMMARY

Mungiki Suspects - 28
Other causes of death - 15

TOTAL - 43


S. D. WARFA
CHAIRMAN KRINYAGA DISTRICT
DISTRICT COMMISSIONER
KRINYAGA

SECURITY INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE

C.

Provincial Commissioner
CENTRAL PROVINCE

SECRET

APPENDIX C

| | DATE | NAME | Sub/Location | |
|----|--------|-------------------------|--------------|--------|
| 1 | 24/04 | Jane Nyaruai maina | Kiin | KGB 21 |
| 2 | 21/04 | Jerald muthee Njungi | Inoi | 20 |
| 3 | 13/4 | Luka wachira Njogu | Kagomo | 32 |
| 4 | 13/4 | Robert Murene Ndegwa | " | 32 |
| 5 | 20/4 | Joseph murimi | Mukere | 20 |
| 6 | 20/4 | Chomba Karume | " | 20 |
| 7 | 20/4 | Josiah Muriuki Gatoni | Mukere | 23 |
| 8 | 12/4 | Peter Mithemo wachari | Mutira | 35 |
| 9 | 12/4 | Anthony wachira Njari | Mukere | 25 |
| 10 | 12/4 | Peter Njogu wanjiku | " | 22 |
| 11 | 6/4 | Evan Mwangi | Kanyetini | 25 |
| 12 | 09/4 | Mureithi muthe Njatia | Mutira | 24 |
| 13 | 19/4 | Peter Kinya Wangari | Kanyei | 16 |
| 14 | 19/4 | Reuben Gathoti Muriithi | Mutira | 17 |
| 15 | 19/4 | Joseph Mwangi Muriithi | Kanyei | 18 |
| 16 | 4/5/09 | And Wangari Kinya | Karanga | 28 |
| 17 | 21/5 | James Njemi Ndambiri | Ngunu | 39 |
| 18 | 8/5 | Jessie Kinya Karanga | Mweru | 33 |
| 19 | 22/5 | Ann John Wangombe | Kapumo | 24 |
| 20 | 15/5 | Peter Wangari Nyaga | Kanyetini | 35 |
| 21 | 25/5 | unknown Male Adult | Mutira | 20 |

many & more others....

By C

[Signature]

Paper laid by a resident of Kirinyaga District on 9/5/09 of persons killed by vigilante groups.

[Signature] 9/5/09

APPENDIX D

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Telegrams: "Police" Nyeri
Telephone: 30628/29
When replying please quote



DIVISIONAL CID HEADQUARTERS
P.O Box 34
NYERI

C.I.D/SEC/2/2/12/9/VOLI/169

8TH JUNE 2009

THE P.C.I.O CENTRAL
P.O BOX 34
NYERI

RE NAMES OF THE DECEASED PERSONS MURDERD AT GATHAITHI/KIARUHIU ON 20/21/4/09.

Forwarded here sir receive a list of names of persons murdered at gathaithi/kiaruhiu areas .They are as follows.

1. GABRIEL MAINA KARAI
2. DAVID KABARA KINYUA
3. JAMES MURIUKI NYAGA
- 4 CHARLES WANGURU MURIUKI
5. STEPHEN WAWERU MURIUKI
6. JAMES MURIUKI MAINA
7. ANDRE W WARUI KARANI
8. FRANCIS WACHIRA METHU
- 9 .JOSEPH KINYUA MWAI
10. HESBON MURIMI MWAI
11. MARTIN MWAI MURIUKI
12. DAVID NDWIGA WACHIRA
13. PETERSON THAIRU GICHUHI
- 14 DANIEL MWANGI GICHUKI
- 15 PATRICK WANJAU MIANO
16. DAVID KAROKI MURITHI
17. KENETHI MUNENE MUGO
18. JAMES WACHIRA JULIET
19. NICHOLAS WERU WANJIRU
20. NAFTALI WAICHINGA
- 21 SAMUEL MAINA MURIMI

*Paper presented to the
Committee by Nyeri DS
on 8/5/09 on persons
murdered at Gathaithi/
Kiaruhiu on 20/21 Apr
2009 by suspected
Mungiki sect adheren*

DS 8/5/09

22. JAMES MURITHI THIR WA
23. SIMON MAINA MUDIA
24. DANIEL WERU KINYUA
25. STEPHEN KAGO MUTHONI
26. BERNARD MUTHII MWANGI
27. GERALD MURITHI MWENJE
28. LABAN MUNDIA MUCHIRI
29. JOSEPH MURITHI THINWA


(C.W. CHESOLI)
D.C.I.O. NYERI