

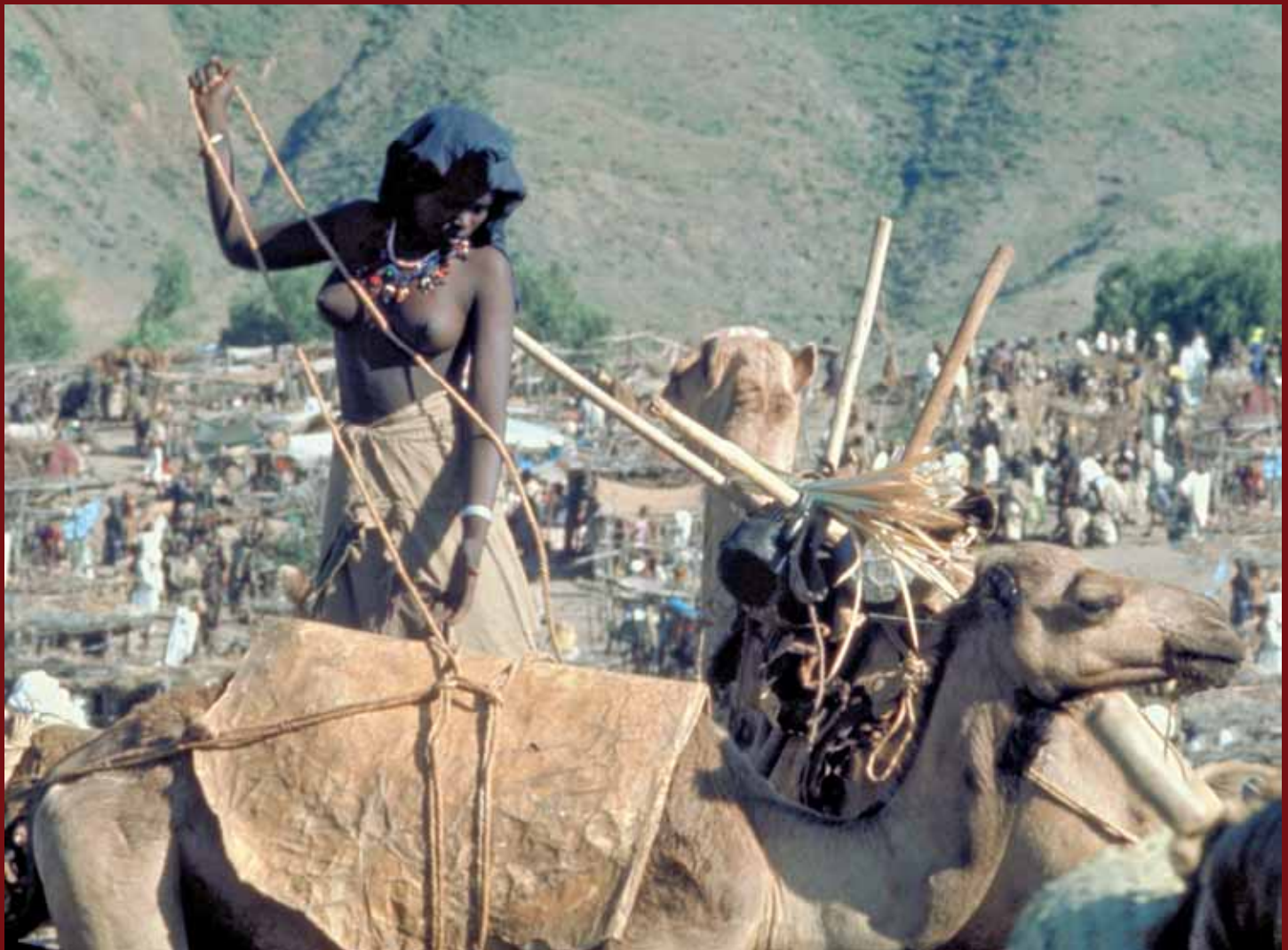
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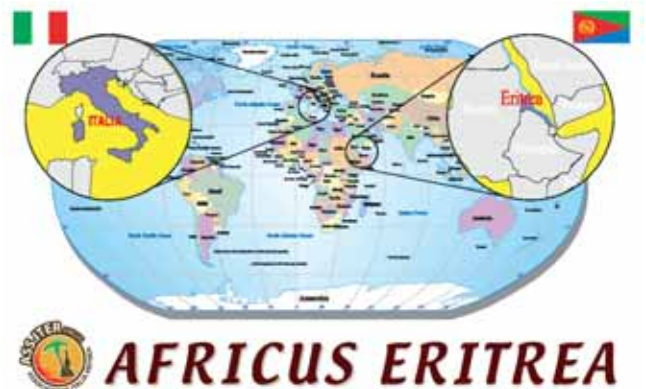
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EDITORIALE

di Lidia Corbezzolo

Carissimi Amici e Carissime Amiche

Il 2014 ci vedrà impegnati in vari progetti:

- **Asmara Benefiting Sport Activities** (Fondazione di un Centro di Medicina dello Sport in Asmara); per questo progetto stiamo preparando tutta la documentazione necessaria per ottenere dal Credito Valtellinese un'anticipazione bancaria sulla delibera del Comune di Roma, perché con questo progetto abbiamo vinto un Bando del C.d.R., per poter acquistare la strumentazione medica necessaria da inviare in Asmara;
- **Smile Elsa Michael**, il progetto porta il nome della signora Elsa Michael, perché è lei che attivamente raccoglie i fondi per poter apportare alcune ristrutturazioni all'Orfanotrofio Governativo di Asmara, in favore dei bambini orfani;

- **L'Eritrea Raccontata dai Lusci**, un progetto culturale per la stampa delle bellissime foto di Ambrogio e Antioco Lusci dedicato al Popolo Eritreo, in partenariato con la Consulcesi Onlus;
- **Comitato Culturale Dante Alighieri Asmara Eritrea**, stiamo lavorando per ottenere i permessi in Asmara per l'insegnamento gratuito della lingua italiana, agli eritrei;
- **Sostegno al Sig. Giuseppe Pratò**, un italiano dalla veneranda età, rimasto solo e senza sostegno ma che ha una fata buona nella professoressa Rita Di Meglio che provvede a Lui con l'aiuto di Assiter.

Tanti impegni, tante responsabilità, ma sempre nel cuore i giovani e i bambini della amata Eritrea.



Un po' di coccole ai bambini dell'Orfanotrofio di Asmara

RAHAYTA SULTANATE: THE SOLE SERVIVING TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY

by *Daniel Semere*



The Afars are people of Kushitic origin with some semetic interception from the Arabian Peninsula. They settled in an area found under three independent states creating a sort of a triangle known as the “Afar Triangle” with its Northeastern tip reaching the Gulf of Zula in Eritrea, southeastern tip extending to the Gulf of Tajura in Djibouti, and its southern limit reaching up to Direedawa in Ethiopia. They are considered to be the earliest inhabitants of this region.

The economic activities of the Afar people depend upon the resources and climate of their territory. Except for those living around the Awash River (Ethiopia), agriculture is not a common occupation for the Afars. Nomadic pastoralism is the main economic activity; they depend on livestock for their survival. In the Danakil plains with its hot climate average daily temperature reaching 40c, and inadequate water, recording only 100-300 ml annually, these people could hardly think of leading a settled agricultural life. They frequently move from place to place in search of grass and water for their goats and camels. For those living around the coastal areas trade, fishing, and salt mining provide the means of living. The Afars lead a communal way of life supporting each other. Individualism is not known that individual matters are dealt with at a clan level. Despite the fact that they share a homogeneous cultural heritage, common language and religion – Islam through which they maintain a strong ties among them all over the areas they inhabit, the Afars are divided in to two classes;

the Adoimara (white men) abd Assaimara (red men). The adoimara who existed much earlier are the commoners, while the Assaimara being the late comers from Arabia who broght some more advanced Sabian culture, make the noble class. Currently this division as nobles and commoners is less pronounced for people belonging to both class share a clan which is important unit of organization in the society.

4.2 Evolution of the Sultanate

The Afars are well known for their unique cultural coherence and highly demonstrated respect and allegiance to their traditional way of life organized on clan lines under a tribal chief. They are characterized by unity and a sense of commonness among members of a tribe. The tribe is the most significant unit in shaping the institutional complex of the social and political organization of the Afar people. Each tribe has a body of council of elders known as the “Makabun” as an administrative body. This council takes the responsibility of the social, political and economic affairs of the tribe. This communal life tied around the tribe is not limited to separate tribal spheres; there is a high degree of inter-tribal interaction. Different chiefs representing their clans and tribes negotiate, interact, and assist one another to solve conflicts and judge cases, respecting each other in order to ensure peace and security.

This system of creating a multi-tribal Makabun from different chiefs representing their respective tribe had evolved over time in a more comprehensively organized political unit called Sultanate. Sultanate is a word

derived from Arabic language which refers to a political organization that rules over an integrate territory and united people belonging to a certain clan or tribe. In the case of the Afars a sultanate is an overall political organization at the tribe level, administering based on the customary law, the “Mad’a”. A “Derder” or a Sultan heads the sultanate. The Derder is assisted by a “Bonoita” (vizier) and the council of elder, Makabun. The Makabun is the body that represents every tribe within the sultanate.

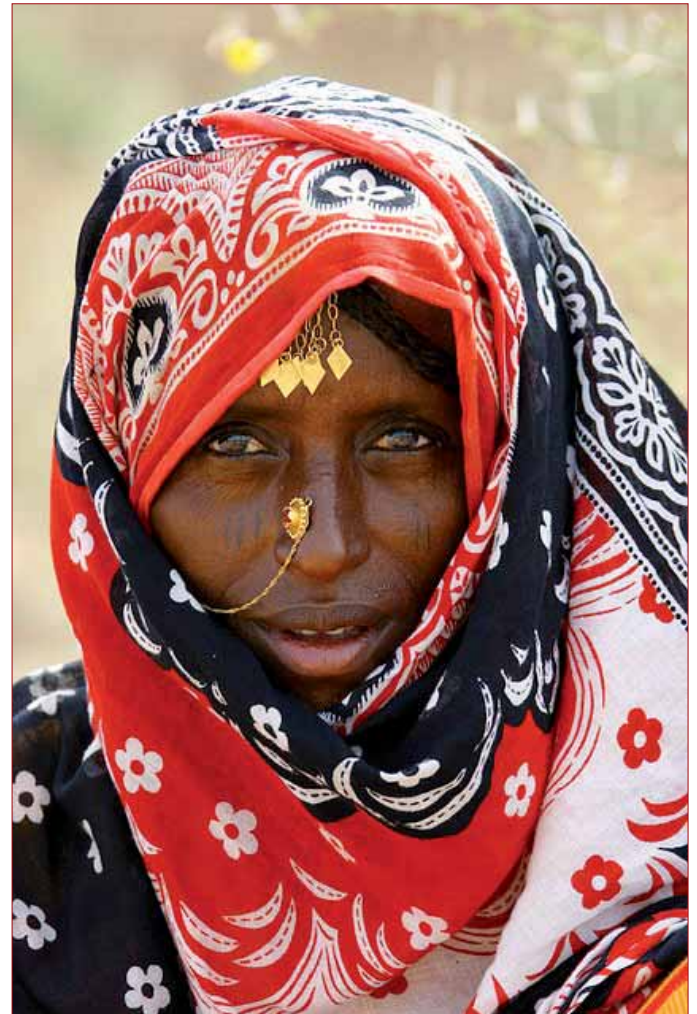
Although there is some oral tradition stating sultanates like ‘Adal’ and ‘Ifat’ as ancient Afar sultanates, the largest and most known sultanate was the Ankala sultanate which had its center in a place called Rahayta. The ruling tribe at this time, the Ankala, was very oppressive and exploitative. Their tyrannical rule undermined the deep-rooted cultural coherence of the people to the extent that they waged wars against each other at a clan level. Not tolerating the chaos that resulted from the unjust rule of the Ankala, many tribes united under Ad Ali tribe to overthrow the Ankala Sultanate some 800 years ago.

After putting an end to the period of social, political and economic inequalities of the Ankala rules by taking the lead in an uprising that brought together thirty five tribes, the Ad Ali tribe replaced the throne in Rahayta. The Ad Ali Sultanate that derives its name from the capital Rahayta appeared to be somehow rational and appeared to have taken a lesson from the former rule right from the beginning for it allowed other tribes that participated in the overthrow of the former Sultanate were represented in the sultanates Makabun as ‘Hululta” (representatives of the respective tribes in the council of elders). Therefore, the Rahayta Sultanate that exists today has thirty five Hulultas under the direct leadership of the Bonoita. Each Hululta has its separate task and role in running the Sultanate.

Up to the five sultanates that emerged eight

centuries back, Rahayta being led by the elder brother and taking the credit for destroying a tyranny, is the most respected one as center of authority and as an example for devolution of power to the other four brothers in Tajura, Goba’ad, Biru (Girifo), and Awsa.

Up to this part of their history the Afars were the sole masters over their territorial belongings and had the absolute right to shape the structure and organization of their social apparatus and political authority. subjected to the impenetrable tradition of lineage based unbreakable unity, the Afars lead a communal way of life where everything is done through agreement and consensus. As a norm there is high degree of consensus among members of the same clan, more over no clan alienates other clans belonging to a common tribe. This demonstrates the deep-rooted coherence of the people as afars in general. Differences among tribes is hardly seen when an issue concerning



From Colonialism to Dependence: Unique Experience

Colonial impact upon the indigenous livelihood of the subjected people was far reaching to the extent of reshaping the natives' life by destroying the old norms and values, people today are dressed with new ascribed identities. As presented in the previous chapter many indigenous administrative systems of Eritrea were either totally destroyed or spoiled by restructuring them to be suited for colonial maneuvering. Although it is part of the country, the Rahayta sultanate appears to escape the fate of the other traditional authorities in Eritrea. The Afars in the southeastern part of the country are unique in many aspects as compared to the other groups. Their socio-cultural organization, historical experience and geographic location provide some reasons for this peculiarity.

The afars are highly bound to cultural norms and values. They are known for their unity and strong feeling of commonness. They lead a communal way of life assisting each other. Although livestock are owned privately, every person contributes the required number of goats or camels to compensate a homicide committed by his/her clan's men. All social ceremonies like funeral and marriage are arranged and celebrated communally, not a single person is worried how to cover the expenses of social obligations. No kid feels orphan if he/she loses his/her parents. An orphan is reared with his/her peer thanks to the norm-abided relatives.

Among the afar society telling one's clan membership is enough for a guest to be welcomed and protected from enemies.

Yet this unity exists along respect for the clan-tribal lines of division. The secret of this strong unity is the people's commitment to their norms and values. Unlike in the case of the highlanders where they have more than twelve customary laws for only the Tigrigna speakers,



the overall livelihood of the people is raised. They withdraw themselves all together from matters they judge unviable, and respond uniformly against any threat.

Recalling the fact that many of the political institution that we are having today worldwide have become viable as a result of long term evolutionary process realized through popular revolutions, the overthrow of the oppressive Ankala sultanate through a popular uprising can be seen as an important event that paves the way towards democracy. Thus the Afar political history reaffirms the truth that almost all of the "modern" political institutions were once in history "traditional". However, unfortunately, like many other African traditional authorities, the development of the Afar political system was halted by the European colonial interventions. The Afars were divided into three colonies to be administered by alien rules.

there is only one Mad'a for all the Afars in the region. Their culture doesn't seem to give room for fragmentation. The oppressive differences of the aristocratic class separations which the Beni Amir had, doesn't get any room among the Afar society. Both the sultan and his people are abided by the Mad'a, although he is respected as a leader, when it comes to justice he never exceeds the provisions of the customary law.

Respecting one's fellow brother as an equal before the law and supporting each other at hard times, where cooperation and coordination dominate the social interaction, characterizes the Afar social life. This admirable culture which proves that unity indeed is strength has enabled them to preserve their tradition well up to the 21st century.

In their history the afars also, though not as impactful as in the other parts of the country, experienced the evil deeds of colonialism. The Turkish who controlled the massawa area and restructured the existed traditional system by creating a new ruling class, the Naibes, and the Egyptians rule that weakened the Beni Amir rule did not have any influence on the Afar sultanates for they did not have any reach in their area. However, when the Europeans came and partitioned Africa regardless of the social-political makeup of the natives and drew political boundaries between and among colonial spheres of control, the Afar traditional authorities faced the worst threat of survival. They were fragmented into three different colonies. The Sultanates of Goba'ad and TAjura fall under the French colony of Djibouti, the Biru (Girifo) sultanate came under Italy's Eritrea and the Awsa sultanate remained under Ethiopia. Rahayta, the core sultanate, was divided into two between Italy and France with the capital remaining in Eritrea Territory, a large portion went to Djibouti.

The Sultanates were an organized means of commonness and authority. they were potential hindrance and threat to the colonial ambi-

tions. Therefore, it was obvious that the colonizers had to follow different policies in order to weaken, destabilize and undermine them. However, since colonial policies were designed to achieve the motive of the colonial power, and implemented in such a way to serve the colonial interest, its effect varied from place to place with respect to these interests.

Even though the region Danakil plain was the entrance of Italian colonization it was less influenced than the rest of the country. This has a big deal to do with the motive of the Italian rule in the colony. As stated earlier the three main objectives of the Italian colonial policy were settlement, exploitation, and expansion which the region could not hold significant importance as to achieve them, as its first colony, Italy wanted to make its existence in Eritrea strongly established and hence reinforced it by huge settlements. But since it has to provide them with cultivable land with suitable climate which the Afar region doesn't possess, the settlement program was restricted mainly in the highlands. The arid land and dry climate made the region invalid for the Italian settlement policy and protected the dwellers from sharing the fate of the rest of traditional administrations. The Italian bias is demonstrated on the infrastructure they left. All the roads, railways and other buildings were oriented to the interior of the country. The southeastern deserts where the Afars live were totally forgotten. As for administration and exercising their authority in the region, they did nothing more than signing treaties with France and





Ethiopia to define the respective borderlines. What all these historical experiences tell is that the most impactful colonial power, Italy, with its longest period of administration in Eritrea had limited opportunities and less interest on the Afar area.

The British rule is known for its divisive policies that resulted in social and political unrest in many parts of Eritrea. As the result of the British administration hatred and conflicts on regional basis and sometimes for racial reasons had destabilized the colony even after the end of their rule.

Coming to the Afars nothing new can be said as different from their Italian experience because the British military administration retained the bureaucratic staff of the former colonizers. The British didn't have visible presence in Danakil area.

The monarchical rule of Emperor Hailesilase has patrimonial relation and due respect to the

traditional rulers all over Ethiopia where Eritrea was the 14th administrative province. The emperor respected the Afar sultanates in Awsa and Rahayta to win their support. Being aware of the already initiated Eritrean nationalist movement, the emperor worked to appease the Afars that Sultan Dawoud, the current Sultan's father was receiving monthly salary. Furthermore the emperor had, in 1972, discussed with the sultan of Awsa for a further autonomous Afar entity in the region at the expense of Eritrean nationalism. However, with the overthrow of Hailesilassie, in 1974, and coming of the Dergue to power things changed. The Dergue who claimed scientific socialism as its ideology formed a highly centralized authoritarian state where the people were extremely suppressed. This oppression by the military government created resentment among the Afars who finally revolted, to face only a more cruel military response. The aggressive nature of the military dictatorship had diminished the role of the traditional authority which the people did not tolerate. Particularly the Awsa sultanate was so seriously affected that the people went to the extent of organizing an opposition army to fight for the establishment of an autonomous Afar state.

As we have seen in the previous chapter the main reason how the traditional system in the highlands was weakened was land related issues. In the highland land was the core element in social life and it was the sources of power in the society. Thus disrupting the land tenure system meant disrupting and weakening the base of the traditional rule. Among the Afars however, the lineage based cultural norms are the criteria for leadership, and consensus among the people that emanates from the united communal life is the sources of power. Land is not the source of power. But this shouldn't mean that land related issues are of less importance. Among the reasons that led to revolts was the land nationalization policy that took several hectares of Afar grazing land

around the Awash River. Here too, the Afar Eritreans were not affected because their area was not agriculturally attractive and their nomadic movement was not exposed to the Dergue policy of nationalizing the land for agriculture.

Rahayta Sultanate as Local Government

Local government is a system that characterizes all primitive societies. It should be considered as an institution which is found only in modern and advanced states or even something imposed upon a state from above. It is the oldest institution in human being's history. Traditionally, human beings were administering and organizing their life in terms of extended families, clans, tribes or religious grouping under chiefs, village heads or some kind of local leadership to govern their local affairs. In traditional administration the chiefly authority of the executive body proceeds in the decision making process. The executive authority of the executive body proceeds in the decision making process. The executive authority is exercised with in recognized kinship grouping and in some circumstances extends to all members of a locality. Among hunter-gatherer tribes, the chief is the head of the tribe directing not only the war operations, but the supply of food, the administration of elementary justice and protection of property and provision of service consonant with the cultural stage of the people.

The council of elders is an elaborated body of advisors and functionaries that must accompany the chief and explicitly regarded as check on the power of the chief. They are also the mouth piece of the people. The chief and his council are supreme leaders not only in political but also in the social and religious spheres. In some societies the local authorities prevent the disturbance of peace though appointed sub area heads or through messengers. In other

societies the local authority has a stand-by army mobilized in times of emergency by call up. Another important duty of the traditional local authorities is their responsibility of legislation, interpretation and administration of customary laws. Customary laws are laws dealing with such matters as marriage, divorce, inheritance, land disputes and other civil cases. Most of the time customary laws are unwritten laws interpreted by the chief and the elders of the community. Collection of tax or tributes is also the duty of chiefs and the messengers.

It is this kind of administrative system that, with the coming of industrial revolution, technological advancement, revolution in communication and transportation that led to sophistication of society, evolved into the modern local government system with complex power structure and various functions.

The Rahayta sultanate traditional administration is based on tribal organization. As stated earlier the sultanate is the highest level of political organization headed by a Derder. He is the top executive in the power arrangement of the Sultanate assisted by the council of elders that represent the thirty five tribes within the sultanate. Derdership is a hereditary rule of succession that rotates between the two families of the Ad-Ali tribe, the Dinite and Burhanto. These two families that claim the throne, share it through a consensus, where the Derder is from Dinitte then the Bonoito, heir to the throne must be from Burhanto, and when the Derder dies then a man from the late Derder's family, usually his son, becomes a Bonoita. We have seen that each and every Afar tribe has its council of elders, the Makabun led by a Redento. Here in the sultanate of Rahayta the thirty five tribes that helped to overthrow the Ankalas create a grand Makabun at the sultanate level by sending their Redentos. Thus there are two kinds of Makabun in the Sultanate. The separate tribal Makabun at the lower level and the

grand Makabun where the tribes are represented as 'hulultas" at the upper level.

The makabun at the tribal level are autonomous and self-governing. As long as the tribal makabun can handle any matter every issue is decided at this level without any interference from the sultanate. Only when issues that are beyond the ability and capacity of the tribal makabun appear, the grand makabun operates. Even for such issues to be dealt with in the sultanate level, the tribal makabun should direct the issue by themselves at their will. In addition to this representative nature of the sultanate, there is also high degree of participation that adds to the feeling of commonness and equality among the tribes. These tribes are traditionally endowed with separate tasks to contribute to the sultanate's survival. For example, a certain tribe is known for dissemination of information all over the sultanate, or in the ceremony of enthroning the Derder each tribe has its symbolic task. The privilege of putting the crown over the head of a new Derder is reserved to a certain tribe, yet some other tribes take the responsibility of washing the Derder, dressing him, etc. this kind of representation and participation fosters a feeling of sharing among the tribes which in turn makes them recognize the sultanate as their own.

The hierarchical structure of the sultanate, parallel to the grand makabun under the direct leadership of the Bonoita, there is a multi-purpose organization, the Fe'ma. The Fe'ma includes all the Afar males in the Sultanate who are above 15 years. They are arranged into two age based categories, Fe'ma Fenteba (juniors), and Fe'ma Reibessi (Siniors).

The Fe'ma is the most active organization encompassing all the young man power of the sultanate. The Fe'ma members enforce law and keep order. They are the defensive, and in old time offensive power, protecting the sultanate from external threat. They play a leading role in the economic life of the people and are the

main social force that actively participates in marriage and funeral ceremonies. Depending on the Fe'ma, that includes all young Afar men regardless of their tribal membership, for all such key functions makes the Ad-Ali authority people's authority and guarantees its survival as a legitimate sultanate.

Moreover, both the sultan and his people are subjected to their customary law, the Mad'a. the people are bind to the Mad'a and the Derder too can never exceed it. Although he has the privilege of giving the final word, it is applied only after a conclusive point of agreement is reached among his Makabun. Nevertheless he has a special power to stop immoral or illegal actions that threaten the sultanate. The magical power that is applied only when a very serious threat occurs is known as the "Maghena". The Derder not only stops dangerous acts by saying this word, but he can also send his word through a messenger who should only shout "Derder Maghena" to the involved persons to stop whatever risky act from happening. Noticing all the Afars pulling their hands away in reply to the 'Maghena' shows how respected the sultanate is. But the 'Maghena' is seldom practices.

As the idea of local government is that every society should be governed at the local level by local authority, the Rahayta sultanate administering a population of about 40,000 both in Eritrea and Djibouti, where the people feel represented, their interests safe guarded, protected and secure, can best qualify as a local government. What the sultanate lacks as a function of local government is service provision, which is a recent phenomenon in the development of local government system that asks huge budgets and complex management. Because the sultanate doesn't levy any form of tax it has no source of income to provide public service. Just like any citizen in the country the people there look to the government for provision of services like health and education. The traditional authorities play a significant

role as a linkage between regional government in Debubawi Keih Bahri zone and the people.

Parallel Administration: Modern and Traditional Local Government

Debubawi Keih Bahri regional administration has, just as stated in the proclamation 1996/86, its own organization, duties and powers for administering the region. It has three sub-regions namely Debub, Ara'ata and Maekel, and the town administration of Assab. Each sub-region is further divided into village administrations, where the sub-regions of Debub and Ara'ata has ten village administration each, while the Maekel sub-region and the town administration of Assab have seven and three village administration respectively.

Different policies of the regional government and directives and plans of the region worked out in the various department and branch offices of the regional administration goes through the sub-region and then village/area administration where it finally get implemented.

The regional administration, as provided in the proclamation, has the power to set plans and decide how, where and when to implement them through the government structures at the lowest level. The Debubawi Keih Bahri region was the most severely neglected region in Eritrea during colonialism when it as far as the provision of service is concerned. It lacked services like health and education, thus the region should depend on the government more than any other region in the country. Based on the government plan allocated budget the regional administration provides services when it is necessary.

Within the administrative structure of the regional administration Rahayta village (the sultanate's territory runs into Djibouti) with two more villages, Gahro and Bore make up the Rahayta village administration in the

Debub Sub-region. Here in Rahayta village administration, just like in the other village administration of the region, all the necessary administrative structures of the government are available. Village administrator and village magistrate are elected. The elected administrators and the traditional structures are performing all the functions of local government except service provision, shouldn't mean that the regional government structures are absent in Rahayta area. The traditional administration was there from time immemorial and still is there preserved and respected by the people, while the regional administration that came with independence is there for the people, as the proclamation provides, to draw up social-economic development programs of the village, ensure peace and order, and provide services. The regional government and the traditional authorities work side by side respecting one another. The government has the budget and power, while the traditional authority has the legitimacy. Legitimacy is the recognition of the right of the ruler to rule in one hand and the commitment on the part of the people to follow on the other. For the people to accept any authority they have to feel represented and their interests are safe guarded. Because the Afars in Rahayta respect their traditional authority as their representatives and protectors, then if they are to accept and obey the regional government, it is only when their traditional rulers are recognized and accepted.

Thus there is cooperation based mutual existence of both sides. The people just like any other citizen fulfill their national duties and obligations, and enjoy their right as citizens. Here the traditional rulers act as a linkage between the people and the government.

The duties and sub-region administration include setting socio-economic developmental programs of the area, and organizing and mobilizing the residents of the area to participate in implementing the programs set. In this

case he/she can set plans and draft projects, but as for organizing and mobilizing the people the traditional rulers hold the power. The Debub sub-region has a strong relation with the Derder of Rahayta and almost everything in the sub-region is carried out with his consent. Respecting the sultanate's traditional way of administration the sub-region coordinates and collaborates with the Derder for its activities. The fact that the Derder and his administration's influence is strong in the sub-region, has made the regional administration's bodies like the village magistrates and communal court almost redundant as any and every case is directed to the traditional administration. This is demonstrated in the result of the village level elections. In choosing their representatives to the village level post of the regional administrative structure, the people vote for their traditional leader. The traditional rulers are trusted by the people and their rule is preferred to that of the government. This is reflected on the annual report of the regional court of the region, where it is unusual to find any afar case. These traditional rulers' effectiveness in conflict resolution is proved that the regional court encouraged individuals to be mediated by the Makabun. It is amazing to see people from other ethnic groups, such as Tigre and Tigrigna going to the Makabun preferring them as just and satisfying. More importantly the Rahayta sultanate with several thousands of residents, which is far larger than some local government units in the country, doesn't have any police station. This shows the effectiveness of the Fe'ma organization of the sultanate.

On providing the services the local government works with the Derder and his Makabun when necessary. For example to enhance the participation of females in education, the Derder could play a great role in convincing the people. This could also be applied when new agricultural projects like the Gahro agricultural projects, which is new experience to the people, need to be introduced. The people's

demands or need for services often come through the traditional Makabun or the Derder to the governmental administration. And because the benefit is for the people both the traditional and regional administrations cooperate.

Although the territory of the sultanate is limited on the Rahayta area, it influences almost all the Afars. Any Afar who killed a person, for example, is forgiven if he takes a refuge under the Derder. If the Derder visits any village he is respected and welcomed as a guest of honor. Not only the people, the government also respect the Derder and recognize his traditional rule. This is clearly manifested in many occasions and instances. According to the local government, the Derder as a respected ruler with allegiance from the people is invited as honorable guest on special occasion like national holidays. Though he is not a member of Baito he is invited in Baito meetings as a guest in case here is a need of guidance from him. On occasions like the president of State's visit to the region, the Derder is one of the foremost figures to welcome him.

In general the sultanate and the regional administration have a cordial and cooperative relations working side by side. The sultanate is best of in the current government than any other previous colonial governments and they have freedom in their affairs within the framework of the country's policies and plans.

According to the current Derder, Sultan Abdulkadir Dawoud, the government keeps its hands off their matter as long as they can settle their cases. The government seems to acknowledge the traditional rulers as their people's representatives; they allocate land for domestic purpose, and present the demands of the people to the government speaking on behalf of the people.

In order to ensure the smooth implementation of its plans, the regional government works respecting the traditional authorities. Thus both sides are functioning parallel. However

this doesn't mean that both sides don't have reservation regarding one another.

The negative side of the traditional administration as perceived by the government is that the governmental structure like the communal court is almost not functioning as they should. But more importantly the status of women in the society is the greatest reservation of the government. Participation of women in the region is among the lowest in the country. Even though the government has made a great deal of efforts for the participation of females in the socio-economic and political affairs, the progress is not satisfying. In the traditional administration women are completely excluded. But now the situation might gradually change as the government policy requires 30% of seats in Baito for women and equal chance

of competing in the rest 70%. In the two elections conducted the elected persons are more or less the same. And tribe seems to be the basic criteria as dominant tribe members in a given area hold the office. As far as the regional government is concerned, this should be changed and election should be based on merit. But there is not much the government can do except to try to create awareness. In such society like the Afar where the traditional feelings are alive and very strong, imposing new ideas is not wise for this might result in resentment. The government's approach of encouraging the good sides of the tradition, like conflict resolution, while working to gradually create awareness against harmful practices by educating the people seems to be timely and preferable.



Foto Lusci

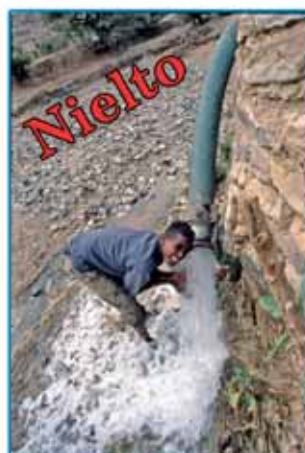


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