



REPUBLIC OF KENYA

IN THE HIGH COURT OF KENYA

AT NAIROBI (NAIROBI LAW COURTS)

Misc Civ Appli 774 of 2003

**IN THE MATTER OF AN APPLICATION UNDER SECTION 84 OF THE CONSTITUTION OF
KENYA FOR ENFORCEMENT OF FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS**

AND

IN THE MATTER OF SECTIONS 3, 82, 74 AND 84 OF THE CONSTITUTION OF KENYA

AND

IN THE MATTER OF THE REGISTRATION OF PERSONS ACT CAP 107 LAWS OF KENYA

AND

**IN THE MATTER OF GAZETTE NOTICE NO 5320 DATED 7th NOVEMBER 1989 ISSUED BY
THE PRINCIPAL REGISTRAR OF PERSONS AND PUBLISHED IN THE KENYA GAZETTE
OF 10th NOVEMBER 1989**

BETWEEN

HERSI HASSAN GUTALE..... 1st APPLICANT

ABDULLAHI MOHAMED AHMED..... 2nd APPLICANT

VERSUS

PRINCIPAL REGISTRAR OF PERSONS..... 1st RESPONDENT

HON. ATTORNEY GENERAL..... 2nd RESPONDENT

JUDGMENT

On 9 July 2003 the Applicants herein took out an application by way of Originating Summons against the Respondents pursuant to the provision 2 of *inter-alia* section 84 of the Constitution of Kenya. The said application was taken out in respect of constitutionality of the Gazette Notice No 5320 dated 7th November 1989 issued by the Principal Registrar of Persons the 2nd Respondent herein and published in the official Kenya Gazette of 10 November 1989.

Under an earlier Gazette Notice Number 5319 dated 7th November 1989 and published in the official Kenya gazette of 10th November 1989 the Principal Registrar of Persons appointed various senior public officers as registrars to verify countrywide veracity of registration documents of all Kenyan of Somali origin. Vide the said gazette Notice No. 5320 hereinafter referred to as "the Notice") the Principal Registrar of Persons required all persons of Somali ethnic community resident in Kenya who were eighteen (18) years and above to attend before the said registration officers at centers specified therein and furnish such documentary or other evidence of the truth of their registration between the 13th November 1989 and 4th December 1989. The said senior public officer constituting the said registrars countrywide came to be known in the local parlance as the Yusuf Haji Special Task Force. (Hereinafter referred to as "the Task Force") appropriately so named against the Government officer who chaired the entire exercise.

The said Task Force proceeded and considered documentary and other evidence available to it and made findings in October 1991. Upon consideration of the said documentary evidence, the said Task Force proceeded and issued special verification certificates to the Kenyan Somalis, confiscated the identity cards of those declared as non-Kenyan Somalis and ordered that they be deported forthwith. The said Task Force also submitted to the Principal Registrar of Persons a list of all persons affected and whose registration records were endorsed as cancelled. Amongst that list were the names of the Applicants herein.

The Applicants have therefore come to the court seeking nine declarations against the findings of the said Task Force summarized as follows:-

1. That the order of the Principal Registrar of Persons under the said Notice is unlawful, illegal and discriminatory on the basis of ethnicity
2. That verification of truth of registration of Somali Community is illegal and discriminatory on ethnic ground.
3. That the order of the Principal Registrar of Persons was biased and discriminatory in demanding documentary proof of validity of registration and subsequently issuing special screening papers.
4. That section 8 of the Registration of Persons Act (Cap 107) does not confer power on Principal Registrar of Persons to demand evidence of proof of validity of registration and issuance of special screening papers and that therefore the said order is unlawful, void and *ultra vires* as it derives its authority from subsidiary legislation
5. That if section 8 of Cap 107 confer power upon Principal Registrar of Persons to require furnishing of evidence, then it is discriminatory and offends section 82 of the Constitution as being *ultra vires*.
6. That the acts or omission done pursuant to the said Notice are illegal, unlawful and void because the order itself was unlawful and discriminatory.
7. That the decision of Principal Registrar of Persons not to issue new IDs to the Applicants is illegal and unlawful because the said Task Force was illegal and unlawful as verification exercise was unconstitutional for being discriminatory.
8. That the Applicants are entitled to the new generation IDs because by virtue of being holder of valid Kenyan passports and old generation IDs they are Kenyan citizens.
9. That the Applicants are Kenyan Citizens and the said Task Force could therefore not declare them non-citizens as it was itself illegal having being established via an illegal and unconstitutional order.

The Applicant's case is therefore that they are Kenyan citizens because they are holders of both the official Kenyan passport, the old generation IDs together with official Kenyan birth certificates. They

contend that they are victims of outright acts of discrimination through' illegal acts of the 2nd Respondent who has since 1996 declined to issue them with new generation IDs. Though the said task Force made its recommendations on 18th October 1991, the 2nd Respondent did not communicate with them until 24th June 2002 when he declined to accept the Applicants application for issuance of the said new generation IDs by reasons of the findings of the said Task Force. They admit to have participated in the screening exercise which commenced on 13th November 1989 and ended on 4th December 1989, and which screening lead to issuance of special screening cards to those who were declared to be lawful Kenyan Somalis. They further contend that lack of new generation ID has caused them considerable inconvenience because such IDs are mandatory items of identification in all official transaction and conduct of other day to day business activity. They therefore feel discriminated by being treated lower than second class citizens. They are aggrieved by the decision of the said Task Force whose findings ended up by depriving them their constitutional rights as citizens of this country.

The said Applicant argue further that the said Principal Registrar of Persons exceeded her powers in appointing the said Task Force and subsequently accepting its findings. This is because the said 2nd Respondent is only empowered to undertake registration of persons and not deprive citizenship. The order of the 2nd Respondent were thus inhuman and degrading besides being ultra vires. The exercise of the said public duty by the 2nd Respondent thus offended the provisions of section 82 of the Constitution. In all, the said screening exercise was therefore unlawful, illegal, void and in violation of the protection to equal treatment provided to the Applicants under the Constitution and thus discriminatory.

In support of their application, the counsel for the Applicants cited various authorities. The said counsel cited the provisions of section 82 of the Constitution and contended the Applicants were by virtue of the said Notice and subsequent screening exercise they underwent treated in a discriminatory manner within the express definition of the said section which define the expression discriminatory to mean;

"affording different treatment to different persons attributable wholly or mainly to their respective descriptions by race, tribe, place of origin or residence or other local connection, political opinions, colour, creed or sex whereby persons of one such description are subjected to disabilities or restrictions to which persons of another such description are not made subject or are accorded privileges or disadvantages which are not accorded to persons of another such descriptions." The said counsel argued that in accordance with the said special definition of what constitutes discrimination, the 2nd Respondent's issuance of the said Notice, the constitution of the said Task Force and subsequent screening exercise and denial of new generation ID cards to the Applicant amounted to discriminatory treatment because the entire process was based on ethnic classification of a community known as Somalis. The consequent declaration that The Applicants were not Kenyan and are not entitled to issuance of new generation ID cards was therefore *ultra-vires* the constitution and hence *null and void*. The said counsel summarized his argument by stating that the conduct of the 2nd Respondent amounted not only to subjecting the Applicants to disability and restriction but to deprivation of their constitutional rights. In support of this contention, the said counsel cited local and international authorities in support of the nine declarations sought in his Applicant's application certifying that his Applicants were unlawfully categorized and classified in manner not envisaged by or justified under the Constitution.

In reply, the counsel for the Respondents vehemently opposed the said application and prayed for its dismissal with costs. She reiterated the contents of both the Replying and Further Affidavits of the 2nd Respondent. She contended that the 2ND Respondent acted within the spirit of both the Constitution and the enabling legislation, and stated that the Applicants were not entitled to be issued with new generation ID because the said Task Force had conclusively established and verified that they were not Somalis of Kenya origin. She further argued that issuance of birth certificates to the Applicants was not proof of their citizenship. She justified the conduct of the 2nd Respondent pursuant to the aforesaid Notice on the then prevailing border security instability associated with illegal uncontrolled infiltration of aliens who subsequently and fraudulent through unlawful means managed to acquire official Kenyan identification documents consequent to which it became increasingly difficult for the Kenyan authorities to

differentiate Somalis of Kenyan origin from other Somali aliens. She contended that the entire resulting screening exercise was conducted in utmost good faith in the interest of insulating bona fide Kenya Somalis and also in the interest of public security. She also argued that the said screening exercise was not isolated in execution because other screening exercise though on lower scale is an ever-going exercise in all border districts and that all Kenyans who live within such district must appear before the respective divisional and district vetting committees for issuance of National ID Identification card.

The said counsel further argued that the 2 Respondent acted lawfully within the confines of sections 4(2) and 8 of the Registration of Persons Act and that therefore in pursuance of S. 82 4 (d) of the Constitution, the said exercise of her legally vested statutory powers were lawfully exercised under the Constitution. Furthermore in view of the fact that the said Applicant appeared before the said Task Force, were heard declared illegal and deregistered and never protested, they cannot be said to have come to this court with clean hands especially after having acquired subsequently, official Kenyan identification papers through unexplained and unorthodox means.

It was the said counsel's contention that the application before the court was defective as it failed to make any specific reference of violation of the Bill of Rights under the Constitution. The said application, she argued, raises statutory matters as opposed to interpretation of the Constitution and enforcement of fundamental rights. Thus the Task Force that conducted the screening process and made findings should be taken to task directly and the remedy sought ordinarily rightly belongs in the realm of judicial review not the Constitution because a Constitutional Court cannot issue an ID card. In support of some of her arguments the said counsel cited various authorities.

The said notice reading is clear and unambiguous, it required and I quote,

"all persons of the Somali ethnic community resident in Kenya who are aged eighteen (18) years and above to attend before registration officers at the centers specified in the second column of the schedule and furnish such documentary or other evidence of the truth of their registration between the 13th November 1989 and 4th December 1989 "

The said notice was issued by the 2nd Respondent in pursuance of powers conferred unto her by the provisions of S.8 of the Registration of Persons Act (Cap 107), which provide that;

"A registration officer may require any person who has given any information in pursuance of this Act or rules made there under to furnish such documentary or other evidence of the truth of that information as it is within the power of that person to furnish."

The applicants did proceed and voluntarily attend the respective Registration officers separately comprising the aforesaid Task Force and which Task Force was constituted pursuant to the appointment made by the 2 Respondent under the provisions of section 4(2) of Cap 107. Accordingly therefore, I find that the said Task Force that proceeded and conducted the screening exercise and made a decision against the Applicants was lawfully constituted and that the Registration of Persons Act (Cap 107) is one such class of law envisaged and given cognizance by the provisions of section 82(4) of the Constitution.

The said notice did however clearly categorize and classify on basis of ethnicity a community of citizens of Kenya known as Somali specifically for purpose of conducting a screening and verification exercise to enable the 2 Respondent issue identity cards against special Kenya Somali verification cards. This no doubt amounted to classification which result, unless justified, has been held to be discriminatory.

In the famous case of ***Regents of the University of California -v-Bakke (438 vs 265, 98 S. ct 2733 L Ed 2d 7501978)*** it was held by Supreme Court of U.S.A that the special admission programme of the Medical School of the University of California, and which programme was designed to assure the admission of a specified number of students from certain minority groups, was invalid under the Constitution because it was hinged on ancestry or colour and that the said Medical School failed to

demonstrate that admission classification was necessary to promote substantial State interest. Said Mr. Justice Powell;

"Racial and ethnic distinctions of any sort are inherently suspect and thus call for most exacting judicial examination " p.498.

The said Court however also held that if such special programme admission programme was properly devised to involve competitive consideration of race and ethnic origin then the State would have demonstrated substantial State interest and thus such programme would not be unconstitutional. Said Mr Justice Powell.

" in order to justify the use of a suspect classification a State must show that its purpose or interest is both constitutionally permissible and substantial, and that its use of the classification is necessary to the accomplishment of its purpose or the safeguarding of its interest. "P. 500

This complex and sensitive issue of classification was at length also considered in the South African case of **Harksen -v- Lane and Others (CCT9/97/1997 (11) BCLR CC 1998(1) SA 349 CC)**.

The said case stipulated the test of what would constitute unconstitutional differentiation or categorization in treatment and held that if such differentiation was upon application of the test found not to be unfair then such differentiation would not be in violation of the constitution. The said test is paraphrased as follows: first, does the provision differentiate between people or categories of people? If there is differentiation does it bear a rational connection to a legitimate government purpose? If it does have rational connection, then there is no violation of fundamental rights; secondly, if the differentiation amounts to discrimination does it amount to unfair discrimination? If such differentiation is on specified grounds then unfairness will be presumed but if on unspecified grounds, unfairness will have to be established by the complainant. If at the end of the two stages differentiation is found not to be unfair then there will be no violation of the fundamental rights.

The above South African experience on differentiation and categorization has broadly also been analysed in Introduction to the Constitution of India by Durga Das Basu at pp82-89. On equal protection of the laws the said writer opines at page 85;

"None should be favoured and none should be placed under any disadvantage, in circumstances that do not admit of any reasonable justification for a different treatment".

In the same page he continues;

"The principle of equality does not mean that every law must have universal application for all persons who are not by nature, attainment or circumstance in the same position as the varying needs of different classes of persons often require separate treatment. The principle does not take away from the State the power of classifying persons for legitimate purposes. A Legislature which has to deal with diverse problems arising out of an infinite variety of human relations must of necessity, have the power of making special laws to attain particular objects; and for that purpose it must have large powers of selection or classification of persons and things upon which such laws are to operate."

The screening exercise was necessitated by extraneous circumstances associated with the gradual social and political upheaval in the then neighbouring state of Somali. Consequently, it was paramount in the interest of good governance and protection of the sanctity of state sovereignty that the Government undertakes the said exercise for purpose of arresting illegal infiltration of alien Somalis. There was need to differentiate and hence classify Somalis of Kenyan origin as against those of other neighbouring regions. There were and have been reported cases of sporadic banditry associated with poaching within the area bordering the then Somali State because of uncontrollable border porosity. In addition, vetting for issuance of new generation ID cards is known to have commenced sometime in 1988 and it is an established fact that special border district vetting committees are in place even presently in respect of all border districts. The said vetting is a continuous process country-wide.

The contents of the said Notice were clear and unambiguous. They classified and categorized but did not in any whatsoever even insinuate intended deprivation of fundamental rights upon those duly entitled to such rights. It did not for instance declare that Somalis in Kenya were deemed as non Kenyan unless proven otherwise and hence not entitled to equal protection. The notice simply called forth members of the Somali community in Kenya to come forward and authenticate their registration papers. The said Notice was not perpetual nor oppressive as it was configured to operate for a very limited duration. Nor, therefore, was the subsequent issuance of special Kenya Somali verification card, it being an expected by-product of the said screening exercise. I thus adopt the findings of Mr. Justice Blackmun in *Bakke's case* (supra) when he said;

" And in order to treat some persons equally, we must treat them differently" p.508 I therefore hold that in applying the internationally recognized South African experience as analyzed by Ziyad Motala and Cyril Ramaphosa in their writer-up entitled *Constitutional Law - Analysis and Cases*, classification and categorization of the Somali Community in Kenya was justified by the existence of "a rational connection to a legitimate government purpose" p. 278.

The test for discrimination as laid out in the said case of *Harksen -v- Lane* (supra) succeeds in favour of the Respondents in that the specified grounds upon which the said Notice was founded were not unfair and did not constitute a violation of fundamental rights as enshrined in the Bill of Rights. The aforesaid writers have after all clearly stated that:

" An essential criterion in many discrimination challenges is whether the fundamental dignity of a human being is affected by the classification." P.259 and that

"when the court finds that the categorization will dehumanize a group or perpetuate and reinforce negative stereotypes, it will rule that the categorization constitutes unfair discrimination." P. 266.

The said screening exercise as aforesaid did not subject the Somali Community in Kenya to indignity nor inhuman treatment. Those who were unsuccessful and including the Applicants would not qualify in claiming unfair and discriminatory treatment especially after having been heard, because of the aforesaid state legitimate purpose. I thus concur with *Sachdeva J. in Mutunga -v- Republic (1986 KLR 167)* when he said of protection of fundamental rights;

" It is I think worth emphasizing that section 70 of the Constitution, with which Chapter V begins makes such rights subject to respect for the rights and freedoms of others and for the public interest and again subject to limitations designed to ensure that the enjoyment of the said rights and freedoms by any individual does not prejudice the rights and freedoms of others or the public interest.... It cannot be stressed too often that such rights exist and are enforceable, only where law and order prevails. Once peace and stability disappear such rights also go overboard without a whipper." P.169/170.

Consequently and by virtue of the provisions of section 8 of the Registration of Persons Act (Cap 107) the provisions of S. 82(1) of the Constitution are duly qualified by the provisions of S.82 (4) (d) which clearly provides that the aforesaid S.82 (1) shall not apply to any law so far as that law makes provision:

"whereby persons of a description mentioned in sub section (3) may be subjected to a disability or restriction or may be accorded a privilege or advantage which, having regard to its nature and to special circumstances pertaining to those persons or to persons of any other such description, is reasonably justified in a democratic society."

I hold therefore that if a State demonstrates as it has done in this case, substantial interest that may legitimately be justified by such factors as security and maintenance of law and order, consideration of ethnicity notwithstanding, whatever actions it takes in furtherance thereto will not be a violation of the Constitution. I further hold therefore that the said Notice was lawfully issued and that the 2nd Respondent acted within powers lawfully provided and by a statute and consequently the resulting screening exercise and issuance of special verification cards was not unconstitutional nor discriminatory. I consequently

decline to grant the eight declarations sought herein. I further decline to grant the ninth declaration herein as the declaration sought there under was not within the purview of the said Notice and the resulting screening exercise nor was the 2 Respondent the authority charged with issuing or granting certificate of citizenship. In the circumstances, the application herein is dismissed with costs.

DATED DELIVERED AND SIGNED AT NAIROBI THIS 24th DAY OF MAY, 2004

P. J. KAMAU AG.

JUDGE