

Boaz Adhengo

TERRAD

**Debating Global Terrorism, Implications for Development,
African Global Ethics, Diplomacy, Insurgencies and Rich
Nations**



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This book is dedicated to my son Jahwar Amber who has experienced a different upbringing from my past. I hope that making you a Muslim will not bring discriminative implications on your international status. Your name was correctly selected and your religion was predetermined. May you live for justice in protection of the best ethical endeavours, may you grow to become a pillar of hope, not only in the Adhengo family, but in this republic of Kenya.

Acknowledgments

The struggle for a united Africa has many a times been branded as useless, out of place and utopic by those who see globalization beyond the realities we suffer as a continent. Where ninety percent survive in less than a dollar a day, five percent leave on a dollar and most probably, the other five percent, who are the political elite, enjoy life abundantly as if it is out of this continent.

The shame by the political elite on the two dollar measure of the poverty line has often resulted to increased food prices, where the African countries try to cost the essential commodities to be above the Bretton Wood description of poverty; they try to create a delusion to themselves, that their citizenry is not suffering, yet, getting even a dollar to buy daily essentials is a struggle. The end result has always been inflation, devaluing of the local currencies and to their surprise, the dollar corresponds accordingly and the two dollar measure remains a norm. for instance, in 1998, \$1 U.S. was equivalent to 56 KSH, and the poverty line was simply 112 KSH. Today, the dollar is exchanging at 98 KSH and the poverty line has been pushed far higher at 186 KSH. This is because, the price of the basic commodities like maize floor, sugar, salt e.t.c. have rocketed. For instance, in 1998, a kilo of sugar would cost 40 KSH, today, the same kilo cost's 200 KSH.

The African man all over the continent is suffering, lacking security into his own future and more so, control of the measures that could govern his income. He has fear of the physical as well as the psychological, he is terrorized in wholesome. He is forced to resort into character acquisition; to forego his ethical creed and protect his living by any means necessary. This man becomes a terrorist, joining other terrorists who have terrorized him before. The community bequeaths terrorism, nurtures terrorism and the state ends up in terror. For lack of mechanisms to control the internal, these activities are transformed into global commodities and exported to other nations in other states to whom culture has been shared in the past or negative competition witnessed. At such a wider level, it is no longer terror but war. This is the typical story of Somalia, the story of Yemen and the story of Kenya. We nurtured Mungiki but we learnt early enough to be able to put the situation at bay; Somali on the other hand, nurtured clientelism of the clan system, became consumed with its own culture until politics was not necessary, for brotherhood destroyed the bondage required for growth. Poverty and a culture of dictatorship as scribed in the holy book (Quran) would result into feelings of guilt, into a quest of the forbidden fruit. And this feeling of guilt would result into sporadic actions; acts of seeking death by the gun, acts of intimidating the innocent exterior citizen, acts of becoming pirates of souls. Simply put, activities of a failed state.

This book is a result of two years of research work during my graduate studies at the United States International University (Africa Campus), I had so much been offended by the ethnic popularity of the *Kalenjin*, a mere minority tribe that dished out its nepotism crookedly and openly, knowing barely that there was no mechanisms for Kenyans to complain. The illiterate got to be called commissioners, directors, honorable and some other major titles. On the other hand, the intellectuals were transformed into criminals, peasantry and refugees. It was called the wrath of *Moism*, and you wouldn't want it to catch up with your naiveté', laws were not understood, and it was abiding by the kale-way, the ways of the *Kalenjin*, these illiterate nuggets who had it all for they spoke the same clan language as the president. But come global pressure and the uprising from cold war failure, democracy was gunning down this nepotism and the end result would be cultural masking, the rebirth of vigilante protection. We had *Sungu-sungu*, *Mungiki*, *Njuri-njeke*, *Laiboni*, *Ingombe* and many more; seen for what they were, ethnic maggots waiting to hatch and come 2008, their incubation was vibrant, a bloody chaos that consumed at least 30,000 lives, with the government doctoring the reports to stand at 200 or so deaths. This home grown terrorism is what drove me into the quest to seek an end to it all, to expose the continental schisms that maintain such immorals in status quo. I need not say more, for the chapters speak louder than this inching. The preface is simply a glance onto what the book entails, a fundamental I have chosen to ignore to be able to cover indepth

research process throughout the readership, exposing the methodology and structure in chapter one other than mere grapple of words as would be squeezed in this paragraph.

This is where one is supposed to appreciate efforts that are other than his, and truly my sole efforts could not have been exhaustive in making this book an academic tool with great relevancy to the growing political disparity that relate to our systems as humans of the world, as beings in quest of Unitarian ideologues. First and foremost, am grateful to Prof. Fatuma Ali for the overt dedication she demonstrated in giving me insight, capacity and encouragement to research on this topic. The one on one approach into getting the correct tone and culture of being able to venture into this delicate research. I take deep note on her dedicated effort to induce proper methodologies in emphasis of a strict scholarly language. This is what has driven this study to its completion.

Of also great importance to my pursuit of this project has been the sincere efforts of Dr. Grace Rawago, Ph.D (Mrs.) who has encouraged me in her experiences and struggles for change; insisted on my continuity of education and monitored my maturity towards critical thinking. Am thankful for your motherly touch that made me wake up at my own pace and read with ease as is not the case with most personalities attempting publications at this level.

My sincere gratitude goes on to Rukia Weisheit with whom I discovered love and from whom I gathered responsible thinking. Am happy to have learnt from you and am thankful for your patience in times that I deliberately diverted my attention from your concern.

May my effort bring you happiness, and may my academic pursuit be representative of your long foreseen interest.

Abbreviations and Acronyms

AU	African Union
CRS	Congress Report Service
EPRDF	Ethiopian People Revolutionary Defense Force
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
IUU	Illegal, Unreported and Unregulated
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
KAU	Kenya African Union
KCA	Kikuyu Central Association
LDC	Low Developed Countries
LRA	Lords Resistance Army
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa Development
NCTC	National Counter Terrorism Center
NIC	Newly Industrialized Countries
O.A.U.	Organization for African Unity
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
RUF	Revolutionary United Front
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programs
SPDF	Sabawoti Peoples Defense Force
U.N.	United Nations
UNCTC	United Nations Counter Terrorism Committee
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
U.S.	United States
WTO	World Trade Organization

Abstract

This research begins with a discussion on the common definitions of terrorism without any subjective preference on any version as best termed. It attempts to involve ethical analysis of conflict in sub-Saharan Africa based on a longitudinal study of the East and Horn of Africa. In line with the critical theory, the historical and social development of Africa is unpacked in terms of poverty. Realism debates the limited chances of consensus in development strategies as the theory of hegemonic stability explores the role of donor dependence in growth and development. The possibilities of terrorism taking a justifiable stand are subjected to scrutiny. Particularly, attention is paid on the post cold war modernization that has become an ideological war of Islam vs. the West, from which point Africa belies a victim of becoming a means to a war.

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Prologue

The Inquiry

Today we live in a world where issues of justice dominate the moral standards that remain essential in determining whether some consequential actions are rightful or wrong. Much has been written on the progress of terrorism¹, little has been learned about the subject in relation to Africa. The major dominant reason for this is that assumptions used to analyse the phenomena are consequence oriented as opposed to the cause. There is need to understand why acts of terrorism take place, more specifically in Africa. Is it because African states are overtly poor and depend greatly on aid? Is it because Africans states advocate for change that is only forthcoming through acts of terror?

Most philosophers have agreed on the notion that experience teaches fools, but the same philosophers claim experience to be the best teacher. Based on these two, terrorism has taken a global dimension to the extent that it is unpredictable therefore omnipresent. The nature of violence and chaos related to events of terrorism have received specialized categorization in battle studies. They have been labeled to be new war, irregular wars, guerilla attacks and even criminal insurgencies. This thesis will concentrate on terrorism as an irregular war and a new war. It will relate revolutionary politics to development; using economic analysis to view growth and development in Africa.

When we think about politics, we implicitly have our model of the sort of politics with which we are familiar in everyday life. Weltmann (1995:2) observes that the modern, territory – based, centralized state that has dominated western civilization for three centuries has come to dominate the rest of the world as the institutions of Western civilization have spread around the globe. We live in a time when issues acquire indirect relations as a result

¹ For the purposes of this study, the researcher has decided to define terrorism as the unlawful use of force and violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives.

of the increased interdependence and interconnectivity of states. Problems affecting one nation will become a responsibility of other states with whom trade or diplomatic relations are established. The geopolitical location of Africa has made it a point of concern in International Relations. From the unique weather patterns, biodiversity and cultural confusion. Africa remains a recipient of every hocus bogus that is invented elsewhere to be tested within its soil. Investment opportunities give hope for continental transformation, simply because shared information results into emancipatory development. The problem arises when countries investing in Africa have tensions amongst themselves or with other nations in different continents. In the colonial days, these tensions resulted to the scramble for Africa. In this present time, it has resulted to a clash of civilization. Alliances have been formed and factions developed. It is all about diplomacy in organizing global violence. The problems imposed by the presence of organized violence intrude themselves with an urgency that requires us to deal with them immediately, before we can have any hope of considering the pursuit of justice². Whoever seeks to legitimize certain acts of terrorism carries the burden of proof, for protection of innocents is indeed an extraordinary precious right and good. To outweigh this right in any particular situation, there must be very good and carefully examined reasons. This thesis is not about legitimizing any kind of acts, more so terrorism, it is about analyzing the impacts of such acts, it is about analysis of the consequences. It directs to address the situation in good time so as to add up to the economic development of Kenya and Africa at large.

Terrorism is not at all the instrument of the weak, as is often claimed, but rather the routinely employed instrument of the strong, and usually only the final resort for the weak. One of the main practices that can be suspected of spreading war is alliance making. Vasquez (1997) holds that there is a growing body of

² Ibid

evidence that supports the conclusion that alliances³ act as a contagion device, making wars spread⁴. That a war begun between two states that do not participate in an alliance has a much lower probability of spreading than if two states with allies begin fighting. The contemporary quest for knowing the root causes of frequent attack on the U.S has made scholars of International Relations concur that global terrorism as propagated by Al Qaeda is a clash of civilization. Simply put as Islam vs. the west. Thus, given the religious orientation of Africa, Islam is everywhere and deeply entrenched in the dominant economies; notably Nigeria, Sudan, Somalia, Egypt and even Algeria, all of whom impact greatly in their instability. The teachings of Islam promote brotherhood where religion is a unifying factor. Africa finds itself habituating global terrorism. Mohammed Abdulmalik was a Kenyan born in Kisumu, but facilitated the implementation of terrorism against the American interests in Kenya and East Africa at large. In a good explanation, Kenya as a republic has no tension with the U.S. and if anything, we share in the same ideological orientation. That of capitalism (man eats man societies). Thus, the August 7 bombing of U.S. Embassy in Nairobi was not done on behalf of Kenyans but for the Al Qaeda who reside in the Middle East. Islamic alliance has enabled proxy war and proxy involvement in creating global tension.

The pure contagion or bandwagon model assumes that once states begin to resort to coercion, there is a tendency for other states also to resort to it. That the use of coercion becomes infectious with other actors now resorting to it in order to gain their ends. This can be regarded as a breakdown of prohibitions against violence and unilateral behaviour⁵. Many states, both totalitarian and non – totalitarian have used terrorism abroad, as a means of achieving foreign policy objectives, in the course of

³ The term alliance is used to refer to a regional body, for this case, the IGAD region which constitutes of Somalia, Sudan, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Eritrea, Uganda, Burundi, Kenya and Tanzania.

⁴ That countries attacked by terrorists usually aim to share the burden of sorrow with those whom they aide developmentally. They involve these countries indirectly into managing their terror strategies thereof.

⁵ Ibid

waging war or as a method of maintaining their occupation of other peoples land.

Harre (2004) distinguishes between a terrorist and a freedom fighter. Thus, a terrorist is a person who uses violence but whose convictions or aims leave no place for a possible shift from violent acts to political negotiation; a freedom fighter on the other hand is a person whose ultimate aim is a political settlement of some passionately held problem. On this note, this thesis argues that one mans freedom fighter is another man's terrorist, which makes no strong criterion on deciding the ultimate basis of what Harre defines. The Mau Mau in Kenya are historically classified as a terrorist group who intimidated the British against their planned lengthy stay. They killed Kenyans who were known collaborators as much as killing the Britons. To Kenyans, the Mau Mau were fighting for freedom but to the colonialists, these Kenyans were terrorists.

One of the major criticism of the inference that poverty⁶ is not a root cause of terrorism because terrorist are likely to come from impoverished backgrounds than their non – terrorist countrymen is that terrorists may act out of concern for their poor countrymen or other disadvantaged groups of population, not of their own personal desperation (Maleckova 2007:30). This does not necessarily imply that the terrorists in many occurrences may be in support for Africa, or representation of the poverty in Africa. Nor may it imply that Africa as a continent is pro-violence, filled with potential terrorist who await influence. The issue of consequential terrorism forms a major part of this study where it analyses the impact as either positive for development or negative. Kenya will be the case in point. One of the major challenges we continue to face at the close of the twentieth century is the achievement of genuine lasting world peace⁷ (Dalai Lama, 1994). Globalization has created interdependence and interconnectivity with which

⁶ The researcher uses the term poverty to imply lack of what is necessary for material well being.

⁷ Written as a forward in Michael Henderson (1994), *All Her Paths are Peace*, Kumarian Press, Connecticut

comes problem sharing. One nation's conflict becomes another nations involvement.

Statement of the Problem

This research develops from a perception that the problem of terrorism is important to national planning and understanding the process of democratization in Africa. The state remains the dominant issue in international relations because of the indubitable practical importance of the state as an organized social group in domestic and international politics and society. This thesis suggests that due to the nature of weak states in Africa, no sincere solutions are achieved in any insurgent activity thus their foreign policy behaviour is largely determined by external forces which add up to greater instability with focus on security and development. Most states in Africa nurture criminals⁸ who add up to the threat of terrorism as they bring new cultures that are justified with their investments. Therefore, as an academic research, this process needs inquisition to understand the underlying features that result into terror activities and subsequently, national calamities as is the commonality with most African states.

Objectives

This book is written with an objective:

1. To examine the impact of terrorist activities to the general development of Africa as a continent with focus on social, political and economic welfare of a people.

⁸ The researcher refers to those individuals who escape from their countries and find safe haven in other areas where they have investments. For instance, the militia leaders of the DRC escaped to Uganda and Rwanda when the government organized a counter attack against their tactics. They usually reorganized themselves in these other countries and attacked with a full burst.

2. To understand the importance of security as a strategy for national development in Africa by looking at the consequences related to terrorist activities.
3. To explore the process of terrorism in Africa and the sustaining forces that make terrorism a justifiable activity.
4. To expose the methods used in conducting state terrorism in Africa
5. To challenge the existing mythology on the irresponsibility of terrorism as a tactic in war by exposing the moral side of terrorism as a rational action and usually a last option to many attempted efforts.

Hypothesis

The hypothesis of this thesis is that due to the high levels of poverty, the domino effect of terrorism results to regional instability which hampers development initiatives within the continent.

Justification

The researcher of this study observes that Africa accounts for 14.8% of the worlds population thereby being the world's second-largest and second most-populous continent after Asia. The culture of aid dependency has affected independent research on key issue areas that affect the livelihood of Kenya as a country, and this trend is widely spread within Africa. This study argues that the dependence on foreign aid not only affects research activities, it also shapes profession of the researcher to be dependent on foreign colleagues at each stage of the scientific research⁹ thus unable to innovatively tackle real issues as they

⁹ These are usually the conditions attached to getting grants on investigating issue areas that are of vital importance to national development. The donor create arrangements whereby whatever gets to be researched is in line with what they intend to know about a certain issue within a specific area of their funding.

are experienced. This anomaly contributes greatly to the lack of documented procedures on the state of terrorism in East Africa; we only know what donor communities have facilitated to be found.

It is important to know that without research on specific issue areas of security, development remains an illusion that will forever evade the planners. Africa needs to face issues that affect their international relations head on. Terrorism affects investment opportunities; it affects infrastructural development and encourages dependency through displacements and refugee situations.

With the increased globalization, interdependency has become a norm to be practiced by many states. We live in a world where we cannot fully be self sufficient in anything we produce; we need to exchange ideas, enhance production and services in order to have harmonious relations. International Relations is therefore becoming an important field in understanding the welfare of the citizens in any country. Even with a continental approach to issues, globalization is becoming a deterrent menace. Regionalism has resulted to special institutions being set up in attempts to put terrorism under control. Counter terrorism initiatives have been discussed at the African Union but little effect is emphasized on how such collaborations would assist in the general economic development and growth at the individual state levels. Still Africa depends on hegemonic influence of the west, even in developing its own security strategies.

Dependence on published materials by donor communities has made governments to be reluctant in analyzing how terrorism¹⁰ really impacts on their development strategies. There is need to innovatively address the issue of terrorism and this depends rarely on chance but scientific analysis of the past and contemporary situations. This can only be done through scholarly

¹⁰ Within this discussion, the researcher tries to view terrorism as a practice of 'Radical Islamism' that is against western countries, mostly the United States of America.

pursuit as this thesis intends to undertake. To this end, the strategic location of Kenya makes it a key element for regional development and the trade relations it has with western countries makes it more vulnerable to terrorist activities that are targeted to these western countries¹¹. It will therefore be most essential case in illustrating, examining and exploring the impact of terrorism in Africa.

Theoretical Framework

This thesis is supported by three theories: Realism, Critical Theory and Theory of Hegemonic Stability

a. Realism

In international Relations, political realism is a tradition of analysis that stresses the imperatives states face to pursue a power politics of the national interest. Although definitions of realism differ in detail (Cusak and Still 1990), they share a clear family resemblance. Realists emphasize the constraints on politics imposed by human selfishness (egoism) and the absence of international government (anarchy) which require the primacy in all political life of power and security (Burchil and others 2001:30). For realists, the state and state systems are real structures whose nature can be approximated through science. The world exists independent of human beings who exhibit unobservable trends that condition socio-economics of the society. Each state has a right to limit itself within specific domain as the pursuit of its own national interest causes it to become. Realism progresses on the assumptions that scientific analysis of events necessitates crisis control through the information so developed. The problem comes when advanced states decline to share their new information with developing nations. Technological transfer in management of conflict and in this case, terrorism becomes a crisis event. Where

¹¹ The research assumes that the terrorists try to destroy the economic networks that their target group has developed. As such, countries that have investments or icons of the western countries remain affected when such businesses are being attacked.

Israel and the U.S. intervene to terrorism in Kenya, simply because their interests are identified targets of Al Qaeda (Paradise Hotel in Kikambala [2002] and U.S. Embassy in Nairobi [1998]). Realism maintains that universal moral principles cannot be applied to the actions of states. Donnelly (2001) emphasizes Morgenthau in saying that the social world is but a projection of human nature onto the collective plane. Ultimately, conflict and war are rooted in human nature. This is further supported by Hobbes (1651)¹²

Men are equal in the elemental sense that the weakest has strength to kill the strongest, either by secret machination or by confederacy with others From this equality of ability ariseth equality of hope in the attaining of our ends ... I am as good as you are and thus ought to have (at least) as much as you. But scarcity prevents each from having as much as he desires – which makes men enemies.

Furthermore, Waltz (1991:29) observes that international structure emerges from the interaction of states and then constraints them from taking certain actions while propelling them towards others. Globalization is a realist endeavour where each state tries to portray itself as strong in the survival at the International system. Anarchy is overtly present where each state views the other in suspicion. Realists maintain that we cannot have universal moral understanding, thus, actions must be judged consequentially upon their impact on human livelihood.

This theory relates well to the main concern of this thesis, increased anarchy amongst African states, from whence suspicion hinders information transfer. This limits preparedness of African states in monitoring terrorist initiatives.

¹² Chapter 13 of Thomas Hobbes 'Leviathan', originally published in 1651.

b. Critical Theory

This theory originated as an attempt to recover a critical and emancipatory potential that had been overrun by recent intellectual, social, cultural, political, economic and technological trends. Essential to Frankfurt school; critical theory was a concern to comprehend the central features of contemporary society by understanding its historical and social development, and tracing contradictions in the present which may open up the possibility of transcending contemporary society and its built – in pathologies and forms of domination. This normative interest in identifying immanent possibilities for social transformation is a defining characteristic of a line of thought which extends, at least, from Kant, through Marx, to contemporary critical theorists such as Habermas (Devetak, 2001:139).

It should be noted that while critical theory has not directly addressed the international level, this in no way implies that international relations is beyond limits of its concern. The main tendency of critical theory is to take individual society as the focus and to neglect the dimensions of relations between and across societies.

c. Theory of Hegemonic Stability

The theory originated in Charles Kindleberger's (1973:305) work on the 'Great Depression' of the late 1920's and the 1930's, in which he argued that "for the world economy to be stabilized, there has to be a stabilizer". Stability in this sense being an international public (or collective) good. Public goods are characterized by the attribute that exclusion of any number of the group from the consumption of the good is not economically feasible. The impossibility of exclusion inherent in collective goods has most important implications for the incentives of (rationally motivated) group members to pay for the good and hence for the likelihood of it being provided in the first place (Hasenclever and others, 1997). There is need to empower people to have socio-economic control of state. This is only possible through appropriate democratic institutions that

represent national interest. Thus, impacts of aid dependence as conditioned by the hegemon who intend to export their ideological orientation could best be put on check if nations only learn to take what is good for their national development.

The theory of hegemonic stability links the existence of effective international institutions to a unipolar configuration of power in the issue – area in question. Kindleberger (1973) observes that at different times in modern economic history, Britain and the United States played this essential part of a leader of the world economy. When the strength of the stabilizer wanes, however, the stability of the system is at risk as well. Due to the hegemonic role of Britain and the U.S. , they enjoyed investment privileges in most Third World countries. This brought change of civilization which challenged the local ethics. There has developed an elitist system of thinking that has taken divergent perspective on the role of hegemon. Middle East has the largest oil reservoir making it a force to reckon with in World economy. American civilization, due to unipolarity, has resulted to a democratic war that is incompatible with entrenched traditions of many states. It is now contested to be a clash of civilization from where Islam as a religion claims hegemonic roles in world politics. Ideological rivalry develops from hegemonic appetites as represented from economics and religion, but put as Islam vs. the West.

Literature Review

The issue of what terrorism really means has been widely debated by many scholars including Jacobins during the French revolution as the first person to correctly use the term and innovatively. Today, no single issue of public concern seems to be quite as widely and hotly debated as that of terrorism. Coady (2006) argues that the threat of terrorism has never been as salient and as ubiquitous as it seems to be at present. He insists that terrorism is violence intended to intimidate and thereby achieve political objectives, political violence that either spreads fear or harms non – combatants. This definition is wanting in explaining the Africa's position; it touches little on the welfare

progress of a people. More so, African systems of government have usually resorted to intimidation in order to achieve their political ambitions. Reports of anti-riot police dispersing peaceful demonstrations against government policies have been frequent in Africa. Using Coady's definition, the government stands a bright chance of being labeled a terrorist organization, which is not usually the case in the Kenyan scenario from whence security terms remain a government portfolio. Terrorism is therefore what the government believes it to be. Coady's analysis leaves loop holes for inclusion of mass riots into being terrorism by the populace against the government.

Although ancient in origin, terrorism has emerged as a weapon of choice for today's militia's (Kronenwetter, 2004:11). Terrorism has more than the ability to destroy the peace of nations; it has the power to unsettle the lives of millions of people. And this becomes a development issue.

Scholars like Laquer (2003) argue that terrorism is a response to injustice, that terrorists are people driven by desperate actions, by intolerable conditions; be it poverty, hopelessness or political or social oppression. Following this reasoning, the only way to remove or at least to reduce terrorism is to tackle its source. By doing this, development is realized as an indirect action of government involvement of the citizens and the private sector in identifying and stemming out these intolerable conditions.

Middleton and others (2001) observe that poverty is a reflection of powerlessness, and the powerful need to be challenged if change is to relieve disadvantage. However, he does not explain how these challenges could be effected. This leaves loop holes for chaotic engagement of the powerful and the powerless. Violence begets more violence as politics underlies the power quest that is seen as a way out of poverty or impoverishing conditions. Poverty is routinely defined as the lack of what is necessary for material well – being. It is the lack of multiple resources that leads to hunger and physical deprivation (Narayan, 2000).

Although every action we experience has justifiable options underlying its execution, morality remains a key concept in our endeavour. The practitioners of terrorism often claim that they had no choice but terrorism, and it is indeed true that terrorism follows the failure of other methods (Machan and others 2008). That terrorism is likely to be a reasonably informed choice among available alternatives, some tried unsuccessfully. To this end, there must be advantages of terrorism as a strategy, instrument or means to an end; which relates well to Neils understanding of a political challenge to the powerful. Assuming that negotiation might have been initiated, violent results as caused by biased mediation that is often provocative and in assurance of authoritative control as practiced by most African governments. Corrupt leadership which refuses to accept democratic institutions of governance leave no option but to be terrorized out of the system. How to terrorise unethical leaders without affecting development priorities of a nation is what remains troublesome to Africa where weak states exist. Some leaders vanish with the whole state as is the case of Somalia. To this end, Neil and Machan need to have involved an analysis of the ethics in doing terror to the government.

Furthermore, very few publications elaborate on the link between insurgencies and poverty, and this is what this thesis intends to develop. Kumar (1987) holds that actual historical change cannot be explained without bringing in conflicts between capitalists and worker, capitalists and landlords, capitalists of the ruling country and capitalists of the ruled nation, and so on. Most African societies are far from developing, given that they produce subsistentially. Africa as a continent depends on agriculture as the major source of employment. Many individuals live in the rural areas while only the young and well read, live in the urban centers where life is expensive. In Kenya, Nairobi has a higher crime rate compared to other provinces, though agriculture remains a dominant employer. The primary reason for their poverty is the absence of significant agricultural surplus over and above survival needs of farmers (Harrison: 1993). Poverty never results from the lack of one thing but from many interlocking

factors that cluster in poor people's experiences and definitions of poverty.

Lewellen (1995:3) gives an historical evolution of the term *Third World* as an innovation of France, dating back to 1952 when it was used in an article in *L'Observateur* by French demographer Alfred Saury to refer to the tiers e'tat – the poor, powerless and marginalized – in France prior to the 1789 revolution. Today, the term has been expanded to mean nations who share some common traits: poverty, high population growth, dependency, urbanization, authoritarianism and soft state. At some extensions, Third World is substituted with *developing*. The good part of this analysis is that such descriptions are invented by the Western scholars and branded to the rest of the world, Africa included. The emergence of elitist groupings from this Third World zone has created a dynamic wave of ideological war which is controlled diplomatically. Religion being the opinion of the masses, to whom poverty is a daily experience, has also produced its elitist class. To them, revolution is the only way out. Africa houses a good number of Muslims dating to the historical days of trade routes that united East Africa to West Africa thus connecting Indian Ocean to the Pacific Ocean. Today, Islamic elite view Western civilization as brainwashing and full of hidden agenda. It is seen as a occurrence to be resisted at all cost, and this thesis intends to debate on how religious orientation of Africa contributes to its chaotic status. All these to be discussed in terms of development.

Ghosh (2002) argues that development is both an esoteric concept as well as an exoteric concept. In the exoteric sense, development constitutes a qualitative transformation from one stage to another, which involves a change in the existing structure of socio – economic relations. In other words, development takes place in a dialectical fashion. In the esoteric sense, development signifies the change within the same system or stage of historical development process. In this sense, development construes some internal change – change within. African states continue to experience internal and external developments that impacts greatly on the domestic and foreign policies as influenced by the donors in the contracted aid relations. How these developments

come about is not explained by Ghosh, neither are the mechanisms of how states could sustain beneficial growth in their quest to develop.

It is therefore true for the researcher to imply that African countries, by being members of Third World, share a set of common characteristics. All of them suffer from some aspects of economic, social and political underdevelopment. Using an example of one country best reflects a shared happenstance in most others but not all.

Handelman (2006:157) suggests that a revolution is a rapid, fundamental, and violent domestic change in the dominant values and myths of society, in its political institutions, social structure, leadership and government activity and policies. In this definition, a terrorist qualifies to be a revolutionist, an agent for change or a reformist. In the Third World, the appeal of revolutionary change has been its assurance of rapid and sweeping solutions to the problems of underdevelopment (Handelman, 2006: 155). It promises to end colonial control, terminate dependency, uphold national sovereignty, eliminate gross social and economic inequalities, speed economic development, politically mobilize the population, and transform the political culture. Often, however, these gains have come at great cost, including political repression and human suffering. To be sure, even the sharpest critics of the Chinese revolution cannot deny that its people currently enjoy better medical care, more education and better living conditions than ever before (Handelman, 2006:156). Kenyans today appreciate the Mau Mau but Britons still curse the date it destroyed their colonial ambitions. One mans terrorist is another mans freedom fighter in this world where the enemy of my enemy is my friend.

Methodology

The researcher intended to collect both primary and secondary data. Primary data was collected by use of questionnaires and minimal face to face interviews. The target groups for this

research were USIU students, humanitarian workers and internally displaced persons in three identified camps in Kenya. Pedestrians at identified roads also served as a target population. Random Sampling and self – selected sample method was used by the researcher to aide data collection (questionnaires and interviews).

This research employs the deconstructive approach in exploring studies on global terrorism and theories which apply to human security. It draws insight from scholars of international relations who have produced critical literature on the America's war on terror. The approach is mainly analytical and explanatory, involving secondary sources such as Journals, edited books, magazines and updated online sources as obtained from the USIU library at the time of research.

As a method of analysis, the researcher will use table and charts to analyze data collected from questionnaires and direct interview. The three theories of dependency, neo realism and critical theory will be used in discussing the research findings. Kenya is used as a case study, to explore the insurgent movement, describe terrorist tactics and explain their impact to development.

Organization of the study

This book is organized into five main chapters with an introduction and conclusion of the themes discussed in every chapter.

Chapter I provides the general introduction; stating the background of the study, statement of the problem, the objectives, hypothesis, justification, theoretical framework used, literature reviewed, and methodology used.

Chapter II, the dissertation explores the definitive terms involved within terrorism, to understand the underlying concepts involved in deciding when an action is considered terrorist. There will be a discussion on the common tactics used by terrorists and the

burdens that the terrorists face in conducting their actions, the moral underpinnings of terrorism.

Chapter III examines the notion of terrorism as an activity of the state. It will also look at the difference between being terrorised and threat of terrorism (threatened) with an understanding of the various forms of government that practice terrorism towards their citizens. The chapter draws aspirations from scholars who have written extensively on democracy and conflict in Africa.

Chapter IV illustrates the process of development thereby attempting to bring about a situational definition that best describes Africa. There is analysis of cost – benefit experiences in Africa from insurgencies, a look at the peace – building process and post conflict reconstruction as issue factors that affect the process of development. This involves the use of case studies from the perspective of Kenya, looking at the 1998 U.S. Embassy bombings, the Mungiki dilemma and the post election violence 2007/08.

Finally, Chapter V gives the general conclusions, the shortcomings, recommendations and the future area of research to be considered.

Chapter One

'UNDERSTANDING TERRORISM'

While all terrorism is the deliberate, politically motivated use, or threat, of violence against non – combatants, there are different kinds depending on facts about the agenda and the modes and mechanisms whereby harm is threatened or carried out. Terrorism is strategic if violence or coercive threat is part of a plan to achieve a political goal, but reactive if it derives only from an emotional response to politically induced grievances, e.g., vengeance. But what constitutes war? Is it an act of planned violence?

Hornquist (2004: 77) observes that the most authoritative definition of just war¹³ was set forth by Cicero in *De Republica and De Officiis*. For Cicero, three causes were required to make a war just. First, it had to be occasioned by a need to avenge an injury; second, it should result from a provocation by the adversary; and finally, it needed to be preceded by a formal declaration of war. That war should be used as a last resort only, since the sole legitimate excuse for taking up arms is the desire to live in peace. Thus, from this conceptualization, this thesis remains in quest to know if terrorism is a type of war or a tactic in war. Nevertheless, the word war touches on both queries and the researcher will embark on its clarification at a later space.

A Policy of War

Machiavelli has preference for war over peace as read on his conceptualizations of historical change. That, since nature does not allow things of this world to remain fixed, they must either rise or fall. In so doing, they are bound to pass from order to disorder, from the utmost perfections (*ultima perfezione*) to the lowest depth (*ultima bassezza*), from good to evil. Virtue gives rise to moments of stability and tranquility, but this peaceful state of affairs is not bliss, since it breeds corruption, disorder and ruin. Therefore, a peaceful existence is to be avoided at all cost. Machiavelli's general position on war and foreign policy comes

¹³ As translated from Niccolo Machiavelli's conception on Empire

from the view that interstate relations are based on a perennial antagonism between what lies inside and what lies outside the state, between us and them, which in the absence of an international court¹⁴ precludes arbitration and justice, implying that moral concerns should have no, or little, direct bearing on the conduct of foreign policy.

Political terrorism has been a concern of national policy for numerous states and received the attention of international bodies including the United Nations. At the same time, it has gripped public imagination, on occasion causing disruption in patterns of transnational tourism or influenced international investment decisions. Political terrorism as the researcher generally conceives it – *violence of relatively low magnitude employed by small underground groups on behalf of the government against civilians for purposes of intimidation, typically practiced to the exclusion of other methods* – has not been a distinct characteristic of political violence in Africa. In this region, terrorism has usually been an aspect of insurgencies, civil wars, communal conflict or government repression.

1. Defining Terrorism

White (1998:3) explains that people rarely agree on the meaning of the term terrorism thus prompting a variety of definitions for it and several classifications systems to describe it. That as much as we can agree that terrorism is a problem, we cannot agree on what terrorism is, simply because it has a pejorative connotation. Main confusion occurs when people intertwine the terms terror

¹⁴ In this chapter, the researcher tries to show the existence of bias in every human endeavour where war and relations at a suprastate level is concerned. That even the international courts of justice serve a few states and are not binding to the diversity of state systems. Sovereignty remains a key concept and foreign policy formulations hamper interference as well as encouraging diplomacy, which is more relative or indirect.

and terrorism¹⁵. Even though terrorism is difficult to define, it has many definitions. Social scientists develop working definitions to fit particular models, whereas philosophers and historians are willing to offer broader definitions. In this thesis, the researcher defines terrorism as the illegitimate use of force to achieve a political objective by targeting innocent people. This is supported by the following points:

1. Terrorism is a tactical phenomenon that fluctuates according to geographical and cultural variables.
2. Terrorism is sometimes a tool for revolutionaries and nationalists, but it is most frequently used by governments to maintain state power (when we consider political terrorism).

Humans live in a constant state of conflict. Indeed, it is impossible to have a human social organization without conflict. Even in the most peaceful community, social organization is maintained because the controlling group can force people to join the organization and force members to obey the organizations rules. Thus, social groups always have the potential to exhibit coercive force to enforce behavior. From which case we take the authoritative perspective or in due terms, examine the political aspects of terrorism. As defined to involve intimidation, the government stands a good chance of being a terrorist organization, especially if its operations are not popularly accepted. The populace is therefore put in a state of fear, through intimidation and illegitimate channels owned by the state, just to make them obedient to the laws as practiced at that time, however stringent the policies are interpreted to be. Acts such as these will receive reaction from the citizens who organize resistant movements or design channels of making the government become more humane. State terrorism begets civilian terrorism and the nation lives in a state of terror.

¹⁵ The objective of military force is to strike terror into the heart of the enemy, and a systematic terror has been a basic weapon in conflicts throughout the history. Therefore, some argue, there is no difference between military force and terrorism.

Terrorism is a form of violent civil disobedience, and it can be placed on a continuum of conflict. At the most basic governmental level, the state faces low – level challenges with ordinary crime. This increases with group violence, then rioting and wider disorders, and finally terrorism. At this point, argues White (1998), military options may be employed as the continuum moves to guerilla war, low – level war, conventional war, technological war, war of ecological destruction, and wars of oblivion. In this perspective, terrorism is simply a form of conflict among social organizations that accept conflict as normal.

Considering that violence becomes an inevitable challenge in Africa, following the predetermined policies by leaders who wish to stay longer in power positions, nationalism becomes a subjective concept. People live in divided modalities in the greatest attempt to survive amidst scarce opportunities that remain unpredictable. The government, being seen as protective of a personalized leadership, often ignores the values of democracy that promote peaceful progress of a people. No where in the world do we find unanimous interest by a people to the divergent policy alternatives that the government holds onto. Africa is laden with rebellious acts, spontaneous violence that erupts from grass root organizations championing for basic involvement in civil leadership at national level. Wilkinson (2000) argues that insurgency is a relatively value – neutral concept denoting a rebellion or rising against any government or the civil authorities. He observes that a study of the chronology of armed conflicts in the period since 1945 shows that the overwhelming majority have been intrastate, and by far the greater proportions of those killed in internal wars have been civilians. Wilkinson argues that ethno-nationalism is the predominant motivation behind contemporary insurgencies. This is because ethnic identity has provided a far more durable and powerful influence on human behavior on the face of all the powerful forces of globalisation. Ethnic distinctiveness remains as important today as it was in the heyday of self-determination movements in the nineteenth and early twentieth century's.

Terrorism is but one of the many forms of armed struggle used by contemporary insurgents (if we consider the earlier concept that terrorism is a form of conflict among social organizations that accept conflict as normal). It finds its place alongside conventional warfare, guerilla warfare and sabotage. Terrorism is the systematic use of coercive intimidation, usually to service political ends (Wilkinson 2000:12). It is used to create and exploit a climate of fear among a wider target group than the immediate victims of the violence, and to publicize a cause, as well as to coerce a target to acceding to the terrorist aims. In Africa, and at the context of this thesis, we could distinctively talk of two types of terrorists: Nationalist terrorists – groups seeking political self-determination - and Ideological terrorists – those who seek to change the entire political, social and economic system, either to an extreme left or extreme right model.

Wardlaw (1989) insists that the aim of instilling fear, as a tactic of terrorism, to produce personal disorientation is, of course, to upset the social structure so that no one knows what to expect from anyone else. This divides the society into frightened groups of individuals concerned only with personal survival. Terrorism destroys the solidarity, cooperation and interdependence on which social functioning is based, and substitute's insecurity and distrust. A responsive action designed without planning due to unexpected outcome or unexpected happening of the instigating tactics, is usually expensive to manage. The purpose of war is to gain victor while the best warfare must be pre-emptive and full of surprise attacks. An enemy attacked in this way is always weak and unable to defend his territory, he must therefore surrender or be killed. From this perspective, insecurity and distrust hinders investment opportunities that Africa as a continent must enjoy. Privatization of development due to the omnipresence of fear results into a divided nation. Supersticion takes the lead into peoples mentality and ethnicity is the only uniting factor that a state refers to. In the case of Kenya, we talk of forty four (44) ethnic units that are cohesive under a single leadership and are interdependent in their survival. The greatest aim of terrorism is to destroy this cohesion, destroy solidarity by creating scattered groups of frightened individuals. Another aim of terrorism, in some

instances is that of publicity, just as observed by Wilkinson above. By staging acts which gain the worlds attention, terrorists are able to gain recognition of their cause and project themselves as a group that must be listened to and taken account of.

One point that has not received great clarification in the course of debating the concept terrorism, as per the findings of this thesis, is political terrorism, as introduced earlier. It must, however, be noted that just as civilians participate in this tactic, governments are also stakeholders of a diverse process, and could also be classified as terrorists in specific occasions. Thus, Mazurui (1968) equates assassination to political murder and insists that it is usually done by the state, thereby an element of state terrorism. Considering that undemocratic systems of government use impunity and coercion to implement policies that never get reorientation, any opposing factors, seen as obstacles must be dealt with accordingly. Many at times, those considered obstacles are bureaucrats bestowed with the roles of implementing the policies. Yet they refute this duty and prompt actions of stemming out similar boldness. An assassination of key bureaucrats has been a common tactic by the government to gain loyalty of its cabinet. In Kenya, this study mentions Tom Mboya and Robert Ouko, whom the government holds deep secrets on their abrupt discovery as dead individuals.

2. Transnationalism

Foreign policy and its major instrument of diplomacy, is an area of activity through which a state relates to international environment (Ghoshal, 1996). It serves as an interface between domestic and international environment with the objective to mediate between the two. Foreign policy does not take place in isolation from the processes taking place within the state. It is bound to reflect the conditions in a state thereby dictating some of the chief concerns of the policy makers. It is a positive instrument in the promotion of the nation's development, or the sustaining of its political system, and is concerned with the vital security interests of the state. For this reason, no state considers itself a source of problem at the

international system, even them who are listed as hubs of terror planning. Foreign policy is never static and is always consequential as moderated by tools of diplomacy. Furthermore, it is through diplomacy that oppressive foreign policies are made acceptable through prolonged consequences that greatly impact the receiving states. America is a realist state with open democracy; its political upheavals match no other state in the world. They have been defined as hell on earth by Islamist groups who saw their lifestyles as profane, yet Bush II defined the axis of evil to be in the Middle East. Maybe too much peace is a sign of laziness as Machiavelli would like the world to believe. Only constant conflict and provocations could necessitate global development.

Intyre (1966) argues from the perspective of Machiavelli, he insists that the study of history yields empirical generalizations from which we can derive causal maxims. The use of these maxims is to influence people. He is therefore committed to the view that consequences are calculable, thus actions are judged not as actions, but solely in terms of their consequences. It is from this line that we can infer activities of terror as having moral justifications underlying their implications, but as put in this thesis, the effects of terrorism depends upon who inflicts the act, who benefits and who suffers. It is a tripartite relation that has utmost consequence. Not only to the state but the citizenry who make up a nation.

In this regard, we may note that in debating issues of war, post-war period should be important in analyzing the cost implications involved in either survival or reconstruction. We need therefore to discuss issues of peace, development, nationalism, globalization as *intradependent* and interdependent on the progress of the state system. Peace building has emerged as one of the most critically important aspects of international involvement in conflict and post conflict situations. Peace-building as a concept and strategy, has been adopted by national governments, non governmental organizations and regional and international intergovernmental organisations as a means by which the outside world can contribute to the resolution of intrastate conflict and to

the construction, or reconstruction, of a culture of peace in post conflict situations (Tom Keating and W. Andy Knight, 2004; xxxi). In the aftermath of war, post conflict peacebuilding might take the form of concrete cooperative projects that link formally warring parties together. These projects would be designed to be mutually beneficial and ideally would contribute to socio-economic development for all parties and to confidence building between former combatants¹⁶.

3. Irredentism

The European colonization of Africa and the proliferation of capitalism resulted in widespread political change. It could be classified as the first phase of continental globalization that was based on military violence, political domination and economic exploitation. Scherrer (2004) observes that ethnic and nationalist warfare started with the decolonization after 1945.

Before colonialism, the number of political systems in Africa was diversified with regions divided into provinces and kingdoms. The colonialists brought social reforms that reduced this diversity, they called this civilization. They implemented these changes through military violence and coercion; all resistance was broken within a short time. The only nation in their view was Africa although nationalism existed at different levels, they merged groups and brought new breed of nationalism as defined through region and not ancestry.

Since the French revolution, the nation has been seen as a horizontal relation of brotherhood. It is this concept that united many during their liberation struggles in post World War II. Nationalism was simply a fraternity in liberty and equality. Many were willing to die in the name of their nation.

However, Africa before this civilization had its own nationhood, it was based on ethnicity. The European concept of nation-state was an amalgam of ethnicities united through a geographical

¹⁶ ibid

confine. This brought problems in realizing post colonial development. In Kenya, concentration camps mixed people of different cultures and ethnic backgrounds, but suffering united people as a nation. The definition of state by Weber recognizes the monopoly of legitimate violence. To this end, the colonial government was the state.

Ethnic communities are historically generated, thus an ethnic community has a distinct name which often signifies a person or people sharing a language, culture and a collective memory. To this end, the colonialists were equally terrorists who pursued illegitimate demands and criminal interests by employing unjustifiable and criminal means that were characterized by serious violations of human rights, even war crimes where fear and horror was spread among defenseless African populations by randomly and selectively targeting civilian victims. On this note, we introduce irredentism.

Opello and Rosow (1999) argue that it is through colonialism that European states transferred the idea of the state to their colonies. A strong congruity exists between the boundary lines of the present system of independent, sovereign states and the boundaries of the administrative units of European colonial empires. Irredentism is therefore a situation where an ethnic group is divided into portions of isolation based on sovereignty but attempts to remain unified. Kenya and Somalia both underwent colonialism under different powers; were built through scramble for and partition of Africa. As a result, the Kenyan protectorate displaced Somali ethnics into new nationalism based on Eurocentric values. They were to acquire new allegiance and cultural orientation but must be different from the original Somali land. As a result, tension brewed between the Kenya government and the Somali republic over territorial configuration. Somalia defined itself to be within the limits of its language, thus Somalis in Kenya were citizens of the Somali republic making the lands which they occupied to be territories of Somalia; which must not be the case. Gans (2003; 67) observes that many national groups interpret their right to determination as a right to independent state-hood, which they in turn interpret as a right to a state of their

own which belongs to their people. This results to massive population transfers as homogeneous strife escalates. There is an opposition on being seen as a minority into becoming of popular influence; what scholars of International Relations call national self-determination. People adhere to their culture and protect the multigenerational dimension of this culture.

Incompatibility of a people to a certain culture can bring implications of discrimination and if violence is involved, terrorism¹⁷. There is need for more clarity on what constitutes a state and what constitutes a nation. Nietschman (1993) insists that only a state can be a nation. He calls this the geopolitical assertion. Thus non-state claims to territory or nationality¹⁸ are illegitimate, irrelevant or irrational. Man is free when he obeys the laws of morality which he finds within himself and not in the external world; the Somalis in Kenya had a right to determine for themselves into which system of justice they developed appetites.

Eritrea is another country in the horn of Africa that colonial construct and establishment of new boundaries failed to recognize. It was a colony of Italy and later Britain. It has nine tribes from its seven provinces who are a collection of the neighbouring countries, that is, Ethiopia, Sudan, Egypt and even Somalia. Due to its geostrategic terrain, Ethiopian identity was imposed on them, thus bringing a new sense of nationhood that would soon culminate to be Eritrea-Ethiopian conflict. Ethiopia justified its hegemonic quest to be based on the right of self-determination, that Eritreans were part of the wider Ethiopian system. For Eritrea, they used the principle of territorial integrity of sovereign nations and launched a nationalist struggle, not based on ethnicity but Eurocentric statehood.

Typically speaking, and with emphasis on this research, it will be rightful to say that African boundaries within their sovereign definitions, still share ethnicities with each other. There are Maasai in Kenya as well as Tanzania; there are Oromo's in

¹⁷ As people feel intimidated, fearful and politicized

¹⁸ As in the case of Somalia

Kenya as well as Ethiopia; there are Somalis in Kenya as well as Somalia republic; there are Luo's in Kenya as well as Tanzania and Uganda. All these limit self-determination as a quest for a state system. Ethnicity is irrelevant in modern peace studies.

Due to globalization, ethnicity holds more weight in the diasporas. A good example is a Maasai traveling to U.K. , in his appreciation of uniqueness, he shares the glory with the Maasai's in Kenya and in Tanzania due to multigenerational connection. However, the utmost glory goes to his state to which he owes allegiance by birth or registration. This same situation translates into an experience for global terrorism...a Kenyan of Somali decent is caught in America, he identifies himself as a Kenyan but the world sees him as a Somali. These catalyses more tension between the Somali republic and the international system. The same used to be of Nigerians naturalized abroad to be of dual citizenship. Wherever caught in corruption or organized crime agendas, the blame did not go to their receiving state or rather destination identity, but their point of origin. Nigeria as a country suffered from acts done by Nigerians of American citizenship.

In this portion of the study, this research has attempted to explore how the issue of irredentism can propel chaos, especially when issues of self-determination based on ethnicity are cited. Terrorism, however, becomes manipulated through irredentism. Cross-border identity brings in illegal immigration and acquisition of smuggled commodities including ammunitions. To address this crisis, a regional approach to governance must be initiated, organizations like IGAD must diversify their mandate.

Morality of Terrorism

Much has been written on what should be considered an act of terror or in vital terms, terrorism. But as argued in the preceding pages, terrorism is not a spontaneous activity, it has a rational side, it is a result of planned processes and is related in a strategic realization of initiatives that are objectively oriented. Though terrorism is considered a tactic by the military, it has grown to develop radical meanings that have ethical implications.

Terrorism is no longer considered a good, but a concept of moral debate. Terrorism has more than the ability to destroy the peace of nations; it has the power to unsettle the lives of millions of people. This has prompted authors like Kronenwetter (2004:1) to argue that of all the problems facing the world in the twenty – first century, few are more frightening or likely to menace us longer than terrorism. That although ancient in origin, terrorism has emerged as a weapon of choice for today's militias.

As if not forgetting the United States of America, we are right to say that the War on Terror is increasingly shaping its strategy in defining what really constitutes terrorism. Section 28 of U.S. code of Federal Regulations (which is in page 5) defines terrorism as the unlawful use of force and violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives. The key words in understanding this categorization are *social and political* objectives. With attempts to globalize the definition, we now understand terrorism as premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience. From this perspective, there is an understanding that terrorism is a planned action (rational) with aims and objectives and it is tactful.

Lacquer (2003) maintains that to understand terrorism, one has to investigate its roots rather than deal with its outward manifestations. Is it an act of religious fanaticism? Is it a result of systemic brain washing? Is it a result of poverty?

It is widely believed that terrorism was a response to injustice and that terrorists were people driven by desperate actions from intolerable conditions, be it poverty, hopelessness or political or social oppression. Following this reasoning, the only way to remove or at least to reduce terrorism is to tackle its sources; which relates terrorism to development. Maybe if the world had no poor or illiterate, then violence and intimidation could be utopia. Fear would be a supernatural endeavour, not to be manipulated for political ends. Terrorism would thus have no meaning. Not even a

definition. The source of desperate actions remains desperate causes that must also be controlled desperately for purposes of protecting the common good of the people.

The term fanaticism comes from the Latin word *fanun* (a holy place) but acquired early on the meaning of being possessed. Religious sources of fanaticism cannot wholly account for contemporary manifestations. The first suicide bombers in the Middle East in the early 1980's were not Muslims but secular Christians. The Tamil Tigers, who produced more suicide bombers in the 1990s, were not motivated by religion. Nationalism, in other words, could produce a fanatical appeal similar to religion. Hence the classification of '*Nationalist Terrorism*'. It will be therefore unscholarly to classify all acts of terrorism as derivatives of religion, though religion is only the social part of it. Lacquer (2003) in his analysis of Africa, takes note that grave economic problems facing countries such as Algeria or even Pakistan, created a fertile ground for terrorist movements¹⁹. Does this mean that terrorism offers employment? Does it mean that terrorism follows inherently without debate on the demographic issue? The researcher believes that terrorism is more than what Laquer observes, but yes, it breeds well in certain conditions. Noting that a fanatic sees everywhere treason, betrayal and the breaking of fidelity, Mahan and Grisett argue that the practitioners of terrorism will always claim that they had no choice but terrorism, that terrorism follows the failure of other methods. They argue that by attracting attention, terrorism makes claim of the resistance a salient issue in public mind. Terrorism can put the issue of political change on the public agenda. This could be viewed as part of the advantage that groups gain in using the tactic of terrorism, but unless terrorism is carefully controlled and discriminated, it claims innocent victims.

Fagothey (1959:113) observes that morality is the quality in human acts by which we call them right or wrong, good or evil. That it is a common term covering the goodness or badness of a

¹⁹ High birth rate and economic stagnation resulting to unemployment, mainly among the youth

human act without specifying which of the two is meant. The opposite of moral is properly non-moral which indicate that the act has no moral significance at all, it cannot be conceptualized as either good or bad. It is therefore logical to classify terrorism as a moral problem, to some extent we can claim that it is evil, it is bad, yet others can say it is Godly, it is good and it is right. This makes it a moral issue.

Though some kind of objective morality is commonly recognized, not all is agreed on its nature, source and validity. Why is a certain kind of act said to be good or bad? Is the act good because it is commanded, bad because it is forbidden? Or is the act commanded because it is good, forbidden because it is bad? This prompts the questions of determinism which this thesis will not debate, but for clarification, it will delve greatly on the issue of morals. An act that is neither good nor bad of its own very nature but becomes so only because it is commanded or forbidden by some law or custom is said to have *conventional or extrinsic* morality, while an act that is good or bad of its own very nature independently of any command or prohibition is said to have *natural or intrinsic* morality. For the purposes of this study, the research sees terrorism as an independent action that is labeled as either good or forbidden depending on the consequential experiences, it is therefore extrinsic or conventional. It can never be natural, and this limits a debate from the religious perspective. Terrorism remains a creation of man, a tool for some specific endeavour, for manipulation and intimidation.

Preston (2001:43) notes that the best known and widely accepted form of consequentialism is *utilitarianism*. As a teleological theory, utilitarianism emphasizes happiness or pleasure or utility as the desirable goal for human choice and action – the greatest good for the greatest number. And in relation to Fagothey (1959) we may distinguish two varieties of utilitarianism: *act utilitarianism* and *rule utilitarianis*. Based on this, in a survey conducted at the University of Nairobi, 70% of the 510 random respondents chosen to fill in the research questionnaire agreed that consequentialism has limitations in analysis of the moral position of certain acts as terrorism. It is not possible to identify, know and calculate all the

consequences of one's actions thus utilitarianism has failed the crucial test. It may not ultimately serve the cause of justice when that cause requires the defense of the vulnerable or the uneconomic, and it may lead to a spirit of cold pragmatism²⁰ which offends our moral sensitivities.

Because the present trends, effects and future predictions of terrorism often lead to alarming conclusions, the fight against this phenomenon has become a priority not least from a European perspective but also for the international community (Taylor and Horgan, 2001:28). One of the major reasons why terrorism has become so ubiquitous in the contemporary international system is that it has proven a low-cost, low-risk, potentially high-yield method of struggle for all kinds of groups and regimes (Wilkinson, 2001). And there is no sign that the ending of the Cold War has eradicated the underlying ethnic, religio-political, ideological and strategic causes of conflicts which spawn terrorism. Research shows that it is usually the grievances of the minorities with concern to political and civil rights which trigger violence. Nevertheless, it is also clear from the history of political violence in the major democracies that much of the success of liberal and social democratic governments in avoiding violent conflict has been due to the introduction of enlightened political and socio-economic reforms. However, it may be foolish to pretend that democratic governments can in some way immunize themselves against the contagion of terrorism simply by pursuing enlightened policies of socio-economic amelioration and reform. Many of the groups involved in terrorism are very small and may be totally divorced from the social movements. In some cases, they may be offshoots of an international terrorist organization directed and funded from abroad²¹.

²⁰ A term used to refer to slow pace of development, challenged ambitions to realize ones own goals.

²¹ It is on this concept that this thesis will debate how terrorism has impacted on Africa's development, whether the warlord entrepreneurs control the act or they influence subsidiary groups under their control.

Common Tactics Used in Terrorism²²

As put earlier in this chapter, terrorism is a pejorative connotation with clarity that it is a tactical phenomenon that fluctuates according to geographical and cultural variables. We have also noted that it is sometimes a tool for revolutionaries and nationalists, but it is most frequently used by governments to maintain state power (discussed in Chapter 3). In this section, the study will develop the two most identified acts of terror and debate accordingly from their respective perspectives, just to know how it is that they are effective, at least from a scholarly perspective.

a. Nationalist Terrorists

These are groups seeking political self determination, usually related to issues of origin. A good example in Africa is the Ethiopia – Eritrea war, considering that both were once united under Mengistu. Eritrea pledged to break away from Ethiopia to become its own, thus resorted to ethnic alignment and transnational organization. They seek assistance from Somalia during Barre's regime, who offered sponsorship and refuge base for planned attacks. The result was independence of Eritrea.

b. Ideological Terrorist

They seek to change the entire political, social and economic system. For lack a better word, they are welfare oriented driven by the Marxist theory of life although it is not right to classify them as Marxist terrorists. Ideologies are a set of beliefs, values and norms that bond people to live as a society comprising of individuals. Ideologies touch on every aspect of individual life, thus terrorism related to ideology is

²² Maybe the heading should have read as the *methodology of terrorism*, but due to its international implications, terrorism has been considered a global problem yet so preserved and persistent. It is for this reason that the researcher sees it as a tactful maneuver, a strategic event with great impact.

of fundamental weight and greatly of danger to the government. Either economically or politically.

All in all, terrorism is terrorism. Only the motives differ. Thus, both categories as discussed above, will aim to gain popular support, such that they are opposed only by the state and not the civilians. Secondly, they will target media for purpose of publicity and lastly, the countryside, for purposes of maneuver and evading security forces from the government. Terrorists never declare themselves openly as such; otherwise, it would be easy to contain their menace. They mix with the civilians and in the cause of their actions and pursuit by state forces, the cause harm to non-combatants. Through this, they manage to meet their objectives and access morale to do it again and again at specific intervals.

CONCLUSION

Sorbo and Vale (1997) observe that Africa has been the site of the world's most deadly conflicts, since the 1970s. Though most of them have been internal conflicts, they have profound effects on neighbours, sub-regions and the continent as a whole. Many of these conflicts take not less than 500,000 lives, either on the battlefield or through war-induced famine and disease. Terrorism is therefore multivariate, a variable that cuts across all systems of Africa's livelihood, a tactic that is practiced both by the civilians and the government. War in this sense has been classified and defined as irregular by Chaplan (2003) who equates terrorism to guerilla warfare for the fact that they target political ends. In this perspective, there from, Africa is a terror laden continent due to the extreme number of guerilla warfare's practiced, almost by every nation defining itself as Africa. Terrorism is a matter of objective definition, dependent on the view of the particular analyst, because of the link that Africa has for dictatorial regimes and a colonial past. Politics is war without bloodshed, while war is politics with bloodshed²³. Clausewitz has become to be a

²³ A good criterion for assumption that terrorism is war with or without bloodshed.

referral point as a German military strategist. According to him, five conditions must exist for successful guerilla warfare:

1. The war is carried on in the heart of the country (as was the case of August 7, 1998 bombing in Nairobi);
2. That the war cannot be decided by a single catastrophe (the bombing was a long-term pursuit that the U.S. had with Al Qaeda and the Bin Laden's);
3. That the theater of war embraces a considerable extent of the country;
4. That the country is of broken and difficult nature (the countryside) either from being mountains or forests;

If terrorism had no political goal, it was bound to fail. Its political objectives must coincide with aspirations of the people and their sympathy for purposes of gaining cooperation and assistance. Terrorism appeals greatly to its psychological aspects, given that intimidation and fear are emotional consequences. It is a warfare which influences people, both politically and psychologically.

While more conflicts have occurred in Africa in the post Cold War era than in any other part of the world region, the continent has received increased marginalization in United States and European foreign policy. This is confirmed by declining resources for engagement, including development aid, which has made it difficult for policy makers to engage in preventing or ending armed conflict. A new problem is demarcating on the root causes of conflict, whether naturally induced or internationally linked or rather, influenced.

Joseph (1997) observes that attempts for international peace, cooperation and security at the end of the Cold War have brought confusion amidst the belief that ideological rivalry became a thing of the past. Africa being the world's poorest region will need no form of conflict; neither should it participate in any form of global conflict²⁴. Terrorism as practiced by its very own citizens deepens her impoverishment and instability that spills across state

²⁴ Bush II innovated Global War on Terror

boundaries. Negotiation has little effect and they say that Africa is in a state of nature. Conflicts in Africa never end due to mutual understanding, but on view that one or more factions that are involved, might have utterly exhausted their resources. Their external financial sources would have dried up and their leaders seize the chance to leave the battlefield with dignity. They leave behind communities destroyed, communities who see within themselves no reason to fight. This is a clear consequence of terrorism on development and economy. Could call it *instigated helplessness*.

Although this study is not about how to mitigate terrorism in Africa, which is seen as part of insurgent movements, the first responsibility of mitigating conflicts in Africa should lie with Africans themselves and their collective organizations. They are the ones to determine which conditions warrant international community to engage in conflict resolution efforts.

Terrorism poses deep threats to the African countries when emanating from the civilian forces. There is the possibility of erosion of state itself (as in the case of Somalia and Liberia) where the government loses legitimacy or even a reduced territory under state control (as in the case with Congo). Terrorism in Africa has been a tactic preserved by the insurgent groups which arise from opposition forces against state leadership. The bandwagon effects often results to more than one group opposing state control or the monopoly of state to use force²⁵.

Kiplagat (1997) however holds a different view. He insists that African governments have been involved either directly or indirectly in conflicts at all stages: pre-conflict, conflict and post conflict. Their role has varied from instigation and support to the resolution of conflicts. Managing terrorism might therefore become a cultural endeavour; for manipulation of power contributes to outbreak of conflict, and these manipulations are

²⁵ Thus, the erosion or complete collapse of African states and the failure of the competing groups to defeat their rivals, are transforming areas of the continent into zones of combat between marauding bands.

endemic in Africa, even with the growth of democracy. African governments have thus sustained conflicts internally or in neighboring countries to serve their own interests. Kiplagat argues that governments in the Great Lakes region play a central role in their conflicts. They fan and fuel conflict for their neighbours where relations are not considered friendly. Thus, potential causes of conflict in one country have easily found breeding grounds elsewhere in the global system. Terrorism is therefore a neighbourly origin, where one government helps the destruction of another's development. In this trend, the region suffers through post war expenses, reconstruction stages and time of regional development which impacts negatively on the cost of living of those represented.

As explained in this study (pg 34), the purpose of political struggle in terrorism is to mobilize and organize people to fight. Propaganda, education and civilian organization become duties to be carried out by the leaders of these groupings. Thus, with reference to Clausewitz, in the context used in this study, this type of warfare requires a base where people can be trained and receive their instructions. It must be strategically located for purposes of training, self-preservation and development. The role of propaganda has a divergent importance which includes:-

1. Winning the masses
2. Attacking the enemy psychologically
3. Maintaining self confidence with political indoctrination

For this reason, terrorists could manage to evolve through stages: First stage involves pre-emptive attack and immediate retreat to enable or make known a set of agenda. This gives time for mobilization and organization into strategic locations/groupings. The second stage is the progressive expansion with suspicion that the state is duly prepared. At this level, only resistance fights are encouraged which demoralize the government and probably makes them relaxed. It is at this stage that full attack is initiated, making it a third stage of terrorist engagement. It involves speedy movement, quick decision, not concentrating on seizing ground

and a strong coordination of all units of the armed forces. This is the standard sequence of how intimidation towards political goals is achieved by the terrorist organizations.

Joseph (1999) observes that transversing the bridge from authoritarian rule to democratic systems that would eventually function on the basis of inclusion, accommodation and compromise has been rendered hazardous by the plural nature of most African societies and the scarcity of resources to ease hardships caused by economic restructuring. War is therefore inevitable in this continent, mitigative measures are all we need to put in place, but first, we need to understand the greatest effects that terrorism has brought to Africa and Africans within the continent. This is the central part of this study.

Chapter Two

A TERRORISED AFRICA

Many scholars agree that Mau Mau was the first ever terrorist group to exist in Africa, and with this, comes the colonial understanding of the continent. This is referred as *White civilization* where settlement of colonial officials was deliberate. In Kenya, this resulted to creation of White Highlands with a complete transformation of the peasantry into a labour force for these alien invaders. A rigid colour stratified society was the ultimate result that accompanied a uniform suppression of one African organization after another throughout the continent. Many of the explorers, who created appetites for those of their kind to travel invasively into Africa, often had stereotyping within their descriptive analysis. They saw Africans as bribe-takers, lazy (except under supervision) with minds as blank as the blue sky above. Many of them were liars and spoke no abstract thoughts. In short, Africans at the time before colonialism were barbaric.

With this kind of settler reasoning, civilization had to come at a cost, that of subjugation. The lack of organized profit making entities qualified Africans as lazy, chaotic with no objectives. Thus, Mau Mau remains a force to reckon with in the world of liberation. It revolted the British public by its terror tactics and use of obscene oaths. They did atrocities to the loyalists of the white settlers. The media fostered emotional reaction in Britain, and fear for loved ones living in Kenya crept this country from abroad. This thesis sees Mau Mau as a group that attempted to resist change through the policy of non-involvement in the culture of their enemies. Worsley (1957) observes that Mau Mau was organized under Dedan Kimathi, into four groups that were subdivided into named battalions under control of Generals. Each military group had specialized committees for providing food and ammunition as well as political education classes. This rebellion was therefore well coordinated, an intelligent entity and committed to realizing the ends for which it existed. Taking oaths amongst other rituals enabled members to die for purposes of liberation; it motivated them to become agents of change, to

tackle the British even though they were technologically advanced. Terrorism had to bring freedom, and in this aspect, terrorism was justified amongst Kenyans as a good activity while the Britons saw it as evil, classified Mau Mau as a cult of religious fanatics who had no moral ambitions. Hence, the popular saying, one mans freedom fighter is another mans terrorist. Africa has been terrified since the coming of the colonial administration, since the scramble for colonies. It is only Africans and Africa as a continent who can mitigate on the chaotic status that we usually find ourselves living within. Our terror tactics are best moderated by our own systems of governance.

Africa has been in a state of terror even before the Al Qaeda and Bin Ladens made terrorism a global dynamic. Understanding what terrorism entails has permitted deep memories that trace towards Mau Mau and the Cold War era.

Managing the Intimidation

Terrorism falls into a broader group of conflicts that although defined as new wars, may also be termed as insurgencies. Governments have tried to tackle the problem of terrorism by stepping up their own domestic security, checking out the capabilities of any emerging insurgencies from within (maybe counterterrorism). Counterinsurgency requires turning societies against the idea that violence can achieve political goals noting that contemporary insurgencies are *complex ecosystems in conflict* in which multiple actors, groups and ideologies pursue their own agendas independently without having a unified organizational structure, or indeed substantive operational coordination. The greatest dilemma any state could suffer is how to harness its own internal efforts against the global jihad. Al Qaeda was once a group of individuals sharing common beliefs and motivated to violently multiply their power and press their political views through instilling fear and awe. Today, it is an international organization.

It must be noted that external connections are present in nearly every insurgency, but these fights will have no significance without the support of local population, solicited through approbation or fear. Security forces are inherently imperfect with reports of torturing suspects even over petty offences. Strategically, keeping these deficits to the minimum is the key to preventing escalation from incident to protest to riot or bombing.

When the U.S. embassy in Nairobi was bombed on August 7, 1998, the researcher of this study was still in high school, and little could be understood by him on why Kenya was a target for malicious violence of international classification. To this date, with this thesis, much is possible in explanation as to why states play host to violence that are not targeted on their causes, yet they suffer consequentially. This, however limits the justifications on global war on terror; the need to play offense and not defense. At this time of action (1998), secretary of state Albright stressed on T.V. interviews that: "...this is war of the future..." while National Security Advisor Sandy Berger stressed that enemies can't be fought on defense, there is need to be prepared for offense. This tact corresponds to the policy shifts from a long term diplomatic, economic and law enforcement approach to relying on engagement of military force and covert operations²⁶ where the most affected states must take the lead.

The main idea behind pre-emptive²⁷ attack is to disrupt the enemy (for this case, the terrorist) – dry up his safehavens, sources of funds and weapons – and limit his ability to operate. This has been recently a practice by the U.S. Government, being one of the greatly affected nations since 1998 – 2001 (famously called 9/11). It has employed a wide array of policy tools to combat global terrorism, from diplomacy, constructive engagement and

²⁶ with the belief that terrorism increasingly poses a threat to all nations though not all nations will equally join in the battle against it

²⁷ This is justified under U.S. Federal Code Section 324(4) of the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996 P.L. 104 – 132 which provides:..The President shall use all necessary means including covert actions and military force, to dismantle, disrupt and destroy international infrastructure used by international terrorists, including overseas terrorist training centers and safehavens.

international corporation to sanctions and military force. There is need to work with other victim states through the U.N. and the African Union. This limits the chances of violating sovereignty of nations with whom U.S. is not at war. In CRS report no. 98-733F, Raphael²⁸ (1998) observes that although a person can be physically assassinated only once, character assassination must involve the media on a daily basis.

In October 13, 2004, Ambassador Cofer Black delivered a heated speech at the Second Intergovernmental High – Level Meeting on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism in Africa. This was in Algiers, Algeria. He took note that United States of America has been struggling against terrorism since the 1970s, recalling the death of Ambassador Cleo Noel who was killed in Khartoum by terrorists belonging to the *Black September* organization and the 1998 bombings in East Africa. Terrorism is a multinational threat that calls for multinational action. Terrorists often raise funds in one country, strategise in another and conduct operations in a third destination – *all while communicating, recruiting and traveling across borders*. Multilateral efforts start at the U.N. through the Security Council Counter Terrorism Committee (UNCTC). Ambassador Black, in his speech at Algiers, noted that there is an initiative by President Bush for East Africa, the \$100 million counterterrorism initiative that provides key states in the Horn of Africa with military training for coastal security programs, aviation security capacity-building, programs to strengthen control of the movement of people and goods across borders and police training.

Other Misfortunes

Terrorism has had a great impact on Africa's development. Though becoming a top agenda, it is not the only priority for consideration²⁹ although struggle against terrorism is also a

²⁸ Terrorism: U.S. Response to Bombings in Kenya and Tanzania – A New Policy Direction?

²⁹ Combating HIV/AIDs, health care, economic development, alleviating poverty are also top agendas

struggle for a better society. Today's international terrorists define no boundary. They respect no law but their own and often attack the easy target. They usually seek out less known locations that allow them to operate unhindered, thus in an instant, one act of terrorism can affect the entire globe. Conditions that favour institutions such as Al Qaeda in Africa are conflicts over natural resources, corruption, lack of government control in vast areas, the emergence of sophisticated organized networks. Failed states or stateless regions are the ideal operating grounds for terrorists who pose significant threat to the stability of Africa.

The mosaic societal structures of Africa are little understood, which makes it difficult for long term policy setting on security. Add to this, the number of failing states in the region, many of which are experiencing civil unrest and the various agendas which the terrorist organizations are pursuing. The situation becomes complex and volatile. Thus, the biggest problem is understanding the dynamics of the situation at national, regional and international level, hence an understanding of the enemy.

No individual, organized groups or governments define themselves as terrorists. Terrorism and its perpetrators are always defined by the adversary. But we agree that terrorism flourishes in environments of despair, poverty, political oppression, humiliation, extremism and human rights abuse. It also flourishes in contexts of regional conflicts and foreign immigration thereby profiting from weak state capacity to maintain law and order. Lack of a clear definition of what terrorism is, undermines the moral and normative stance against terrorism. It is therefore impossible for organizations such as the U.N. to transmit unequivocal message that terrorism is never an acceptable tactic, even for the most defensible causes. A unified antiterrorism strategy is limited and can never be globalised due to unstandardised conceptualization of what terrorism really is. Governments want to have a monopoly of violence and to define what terrorism is within their own realm. The use of violence and terror is part of building and breaking up of states, tracing its first political use in 1793 – 1794 by the leaders of French revolution who waged campaign of terror to purge traitors within its ranks.

Maritime Violence in Africa

Terrorism in Africa has often taken the form of proxy wars, where violence is done on behalf of foreign interests. This is on record to have occurred in South Sudan, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Angola, Mauritania, Mozambique and DR Congo. Even the 1994 genocide in Rwanda had foreign interests implicated. This thesis argues that terrorism is part of the colonial origin and structure of most African states, where the state was not created to serve the people but to control, exploit and terrorise them for the benefit of foreign interests. The state is often seen as violent, corrupt, oppressive and exploitative. Its relation with the people is based on mutual suspicion.

It is evident that the clientele origin of African states made it develop loyalty to foreign institutions rather than its own citizens. Accountability is to foreign institutions, foreign powers and of foreign interests. The state uses nepotism, corruption and coercion as policy options. Furthermore, most of the political violence in Africa is about access to power as a vehicle for access to financial benefits. This same situation was common during the Cold War era, when both governments and rebels were fighting with or for the East or West. At present time within the period of this study, Africa is turning into a battle ground for the U.S. and the Islamist groups from Middle East. On this note, effects of terrorism in Africa have taken the forms of widespread killings, ethnic cleansing, collapsing of states and disintegration of whole societies.

Africa as a continent has been surrounded by a large water mass. Scholars of International Relations define this as a maritime domain, which includes trade routes, natural resources of great importance to the global economy amongst other factors that make it a strategic zone. The vastness of the Indian Ocean and its shorelines provide opportunities for illicit activities. In recent time, the Somali pirate situation has stolen the world's concentration towards the horn of Africa. No single nation can provide for its own security without cooperation of other states with whom it shares the waterway. The maritime environment of

East Africa has vast natural resources that make it a target for opportunists seeking to benefit from illegitimate acts. The maritime environment can generate revenue through fisheries, commercial tourism and potential mineral deposits, including oil. Moreover, Africa being the poorest continent in the world suffers from threats of food insecurity which are catalyzed by lack of proper accountability and control on the available food reserve. Fishing in most countries involves payment of legal fees as revenue to the government, these funds are used to stabilize the national economy amongst other roles. Illegal, unreported and unregulated (IUU) fishing contributes greatly to food insecurity in Africa, and is directly related to rise of piracy in Somalia as well as the Migingo Island controversy between Kenya and Uganda.

Through the water masses, illegal migration and smuggling takes place. This complicates the homogeneity of violence and limits a monopolized use of violence to mitigate upon spontaneous conflicts. Terrorism in itself gets to be multivariate due to the mosaic nature of African states amidst minority interests that form the basis for organized crime. The long term threat is decline of economic development in the continent due to discouraged investment as related to insecurity. The world today is interdependent and interconnected such that all threats are linked within a global scale.

Consequences of Terrorism to Africa

With the eventual spread of terrorism from the Middle East, war related crimes will be on the rise. Animal poaching, deforestation and smuggling already have great impact to the natural environment. The rich cultural biodiversity resource is exposed to destruction thereby pushing the hopeless situation of the continent into real justification. African leaders are jumping unto the war on terrorism for their own selfish interest, that of tightening their grip on power at the expense of democracy and respect for human rights. Other leaders are in fear of being accused to be collaborators with terrorists, thus get into the business of war on terror without a defined agenda.

It is estimated that 25 Africans from 13 different African countries died at the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001. Although many African countries came out strongly to condemn terrorism, in the Somali capital, Mogadishu, thousands took to the streets in celebrations and applaud of Osama Bin Laden, burning American and Israeli flags. Accordingly, Kenya and Djibouti offered their sea and airport facilities for use by the U.S. military. The Congressional Research Service insists that terror groups from the Middle East have established a presence in South Africa, Uganda, Ethiopia, Somalia, Tanzania and even Kenya. This is increasingly becoming an issue of deliberation within the annual AGOA forums, African officials maintain that they require U.S. support in combating international terrorism in their countries because they have suffered economically due to terrorism. To this end, most African countries agree that the war on terror should not be an action of the United States of America through other western powers, it must be guided by the United Nations through the General Assemblée. This is already evident with the establishment of United Nations Counter Terrorism Committee.

Political terrorism has records dating to 1995 when President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt experienced an attempted assassination in Addis Ababa by an Egyptian extremist group. The eleven man assassination team prepared for this assassination while in Sudan, where they had been given a safehaven to the extent of having fake passports prepared in Khartoum. Further into the facts, Sudan has long been considered a rogue state by many for its overt support for international terrorism. According to the U.S. State Department's 1999 *Patterns of Global Terrorism Report*, Khartoum served as a safehaven and training hub for members of the Lebanese Hezbollah, Egyptian Islamic Group, the Abn Nidal organization, the HAMAS and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad. Although Khartoum does not deny the presence of some of these groups on its territory, it rejects Washington's description of them as terrorist organizations.

For the situation in Somalia, it is more detailed than what meets the eye. It traces back to the period before 1991 and the period before the Cold War, with great reference to the collaborative

proceedings shared with Ethiopia. It is argued in this thesis that several Somali groups were created with the help of Ethiopian military and intelligence, being given training camps inside Ethiopia with support of Mengistu. The Barre Government in Somalia on the other hand, provided political and financial support to Ethiopian opposition groups. It is historical that the Somali rebels succeeded in 1991 in ousting the Said Barre regime, while the EPRDF forces overthrew the Mengistu regime, also in 1991. The Somalia has since resulted to a refugee situation.

Though Kenya is home to tens of thousands of Somali refugees (even Sudanese) its border with Somalia was closed in July 2001 due to illegal arms smuggling into the country. It must be noted that the presence of large numbers of refugees has drained the Kenya of its resources. In an article published in one of the American leading newspapers, *Washington Post*, the Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, in 2001, Walter Kasteiner outlined three policy objectives that United States had in concern of Somalia. First, to work with neighbouring countries to make Somalia inhospitable to terrorist groups. Second, ensure activities in Somalia to not spill over to the neighbouring states. Third, work toward ensuring a lasting peace and economic development in Somalia as a republic.

It is also important that within this study we take deep note on the diversity of natural resources that make Africa a unique continent, with possible speculations of being rich yet poor in its own ignorance. From this perspective, precious metals like Gold and Diamonds are said to be part of the African Soil and must be mined whether amidst war or in presence of peace. With endemic rebel movements in all parts of the continent, politics will always be pragmatic and in lack of strategy. As such, insurgents who will need to fund their activities will take deep hold of these spots that hub diamonds and gold. Notably, in Sierra Leone and DR Congo, conflicts have been consistent vis a vi attempts by the United

Nations to offer peaceful resolutions³⁰. This study maintains that global terrorism is well funded from commodities of African origin. Diamonds have been traced to Siera Leone, bought by Al Qaeda agents at sub-market prices and sold in Europe (or elsewhere) at steep profits. On this instance, Charles Taylor is facing trial³¹, owing to deep war crimes. He is allegedly claimed to have facilitated transit of diamonds from Siera Leone into Liberia and sold them at sub-market prices, just to finance his rebel movements knowing that these acts facilitated stability of global terrorism (at least from profits accrued by Al Qaeda on diamond sale). Fodey Sankoh is the known founder of the Siera Leone Revolutionary United Front (RUF) that worked closely with Charles Taylors MPLF, mainly in diamond trade³². The U.S. ranks RUF as a terrorist organization.

Stremlau (2000) argues that warfare in Africa still rages unchecked. That despite occasional burst of aid and attention, the United States and Europe have remained largely disengaged. Maybe because war in Africa never posed a clear and present danger in their interest other than fighting terrorism. This thesis finds it that most African conflicts are fought within, not between states. More so, weak dictatorial governments in Africa lack institutional capacity to manage insurgencies or any factional conflicts. There is need to encourage strong coalition of democracies, to develop strategic partnerships as the foundation for conflict prevention and development in Africa. Poverty and war remain strong realities in Africa with many countries still suffering from internal instability that has propensity to erupt into civil strife's. Preventing such wars does not only protect the state but all the humanity given the rising statistics of refugee situation in Africa. Africa is home to 30 of the worlds poorest countries with an estimate of 400 million Africans surviving on less than one dollar a day.

³⁰ The researcher of this study has put it clearly at the beginning of this chapter, that African states fight proxy wars; are indirectly involved in international terrorism through defined links, notably trade

³¹ As at the time of this research

³² CRS Report for Congress, order code RL 31247 of January 17,2002

External debts, widespread corruption and weak governments complicate efforts to alleviate poverty. All in all, Africa remains the poorest region in this planet called earth. Creation of democracies should be seen as an important initiative with consideration that only lasting democracies (developed and entrenched) will enable Africa to have a realistic chance to conflict prevention which is a step forward in monitoring unethical terrorism.

Terrorism as an Issue of Human Rights

Otto Kinne (2004) insists that humanity can only survive with a new concept of ethics, he defines it as eco ethics, free from religion or any other form of dogma. Adhengo (2009a) develops the concept further into equitable apprehension, participatory roles that the society could play innovatively to promote harmonious relations. Both agree that conflict is a vice while ethics remains a relative concept. Does this also imply that terrorism is a vice? A conflict laden activity? Or does terrorism imply ethical concerns?

Human rights are issues that humanity shapes in daily attempts to reduce chaotic and brutal societies with emphasis of prolonging the life of man. As at the time of this study, life expectancy stands at 40 years in the developed world, it should be even shorter in the less developed or developing nations given the disparities of state system. Ibrahim (2007) takes note that two – thirds of the worlds more than one billion Muslims are currently living under democratically elected governments e.g. Indonesia, India, Turkey, Bangladesh and Nigeria. Hence it would be inappropriate to claim that Muslims are inhospitable to democracy, though terrorists operating at a global level claim that they act in the name of Islam in their volatile deeds. The only problem is that democratically elected rulers refuse to relinquish their position; they have mastered the art of staying in power through authoritarian and totalitarian domination. This brings in the notion of clashed civilizations, the West versus Islam. World definition of democracy must always conform to western interests, mainly if it is an Islamic nation. Algeria is a best example for Africa. There, Islamists won

the nationwide legislative elections in 1991, and the army – with few complaints from westerners in worry of ballot decision – staged a coup d' e'tat and cancelled the results thus prompting an internal war of unbelievable savagery. Maybe in fear of a replica of what Hitler and the Nazis accomplished in Germany in 1933 after a win by plurality yet created a totalitarian and genocidal reich. In this regard, this thesis argues that the Koran and other Muslim religious texts contain nothing that bars liberty or democracy. Freedom of choice is the central value of Islam, even in matters that have to do with belief in God.

From the case of Algeria in 1991, this study argues that democracy cannot be achieved by elections alone, respect for human rights and rule of law are needed. Africa has a greater percentage of Muslims population, and it would be a strategic zone to initiate peace reform against terrorism or in Bush's terminology, *war on terror*. The democratic peace thesis emphasizes that the internal (democratic) characteristics of a state influences its external behaviour, hence the popular speculation that democracies never go to war with each other. Does this mean that democracies will war against non-democracies? As put earlier, the west versus Islam, given that most Islamic nations are overtly authoritarian, less democratic and in serious violation of human rights. Hobson (2005) argues that established democracies seek to confirm their status through reaffirmation at home while promoting democraticness abroad. Though, understanding of what democracy means has emerged from the United States, especially after the Cold War. It is being used in global structures of domination, hierarchy and violence since it is demanded from above, not from below as should be the case.

State-centricism has dominated thinking in International politics, of which terrorism is becoming a thematic issue, thus questions of civilizations receive less attention. Civilisation does not make sense without barbarism with which it is compared and against which it is defined. It has manifested itself explicitly in international politics as a standard which has both defined identities internally and boundaries externally. Hobson (2008)

observes that civilization identifies what characters or attributes define a certain international society and its members as well as demarcating what lie beyond and in the realm of barbarism. That humanity in its present condition divides itself into three concentric zones – that of civilized humanity, of barbarous humanity and of savage humanity. Thus, to be acknowledged as civilized, non European states (on non-western) had to replicate European forms of internal governance. Hence, being civilized means being European in form, at least. This is what the Mau Mau resisted, seeing it as a soft tactic towards gaining control and justifying subjugation of the natives. Africans had to remain different from European, even though emphasis was seen on leadership, black was good. White translates to peace, but these invaders are ruthless in their light skin, adhering to unaccepted moral conducts. Methods of warfare are morally justified (even if barred) if used to an enemy who did not seem to subscribe to the same cultural code. Civilization thus perpetrates systematic process of exploitation, exclusion and imperial violence. Democracy is seen as essential to the full protection and respect of human rights, when such rights are being considered secure when they are not dependent on the benevolence of a not accountable ruler. Notably, democracy has taken on the conceptual characteristics of civilization, associated with notions of progress, peace, modernization, development and a host of other laudable traits. More so, it is considered hegemonic in dependence upon American political science which has great ramifications for the way it is received and interpreted by other actors in world politics (the Anglo – American standard).

Rethinking Terrorism

Franks (2009) observes that the orthodox understanding of terrorism does not provide adequate means in explaining roots of terrorism. Since the September 11, 2001 attacks in the United States of America, the concept of terrorism has penetrated all quarters of international society. It is omnipresent in wars, politics, the media and society in general despite not having a universally acknowledged definition. Terrorism is a contested concept. Many international Relations scholars focus on terrorism from the

perspective of a state (*state centric*), thus defined as an illegal and illegitimate act, the state or political violence against civilians protected by the state. This study, on the one hand, argues that the intention of terrorists is to undermine the security of the citizens by demonstrating that the state is unable to provide adequate protection thus forcing the population to alternative sources such as the instigators of terrorist violence to provide alternative governance. Domestic terrorism is confined within a single state while global terrorism is an attack carried out on international frontiers. To this extent, the role of publicity has greater ramifications in propagating this intimidation and fear to a wider audience. Consequently, war is a result of human actions and human decisions.

Colonial Terrorism

Relating terrorism to the consequential subjugation that most third world countries experienced during the early 19th century is not a contested understanding. It is clear when using the Marxist interpretation of societal development and subsequently, an erupting violence. Kenya and other African nations underwent exploration ever since the 1400s when Vasco da Gama discovered Cape Town which prompted South African qualifies to be used as a point of reference on how de-Africanisation has resulted to globalization, a situation where race no longer defines ancestral origin. In South Africa, the Dutch effected the settler program which proved successful, thereby enabling surplus population abroad to be shipped into new areas that had been colonized. These zones were referred to as colonies, which were required to be points of contact for mother countries. They were to be a reflection of what happened abroad, but more so, act as trade centers for acquisition of raw materials that necessitated industrialization in Europe. The mind of Africans were *tabula rassa*, a situation that resulted to a mature African (an adult) being equated in thinking as a twelve year old European. This must not be seen as true. As Africans, we had value systems that were deeply localized and preserved from global interference. The open society had no place within the African traditional setup. Everything was deliberated suspiciously and religion was a

unifying factor as practiced by all members of the community (even though not worshipping one god).

The history of colonial subjugation is no different in Kenya than it could be analysed in other parts of Africa. Politics touches on every aspect of human life and has been defined as the authoritative allocation of state resources through decisions of who gets what, where and when. These decisions are best appreciated if those who make them are mandated to do so by the populace. The colonial government was never mandated, they simply empowered themselves to act as representatives of the African livelihood. Black is evil and white is godly, dark skin was full of barbarism. Only the white mans efforts could transform the continent from a state of savage into civilization. The price was to learn these foreign cultures and appreciate them forcibly. In Kiswahili, the so called wise men (*wahenga*) declared that "*Mwacha mila ni mtumwa*", emphasizing that learning new cultures was slavery to oneself. The Mau Mau therefore refused this indoctrination in a revolt. The tactics used by the colonial government in Kenya and other parts of Africa qualifies as terrorist methods. There was a political agenda amongst the colonialists, they intimidated Africans, provoked our peaceful existence and made communities live in constant state of fear by enforcing timid penalties on those acts categorized as formidable. The colonized Kenyan at this time was a terrorized individual, who shared psychological trauma by many across the nation. Only a unifying force was required to propel men into actions. Failed resistance in other parts of the continent warranted better ways of dealing with this racial oppression, the game was to use the same tactics to defeat the enemy. The best point and most important to note, is that Mau Mau rebellion took place when the cold war era was still on its opening stages. Capitalism was being challenged by communism.

Imagine paying rent and being displaced from a land that is your source of livelihood. In addition, being taxed and limited in movement. Surely, something had to be done to oppose imperialism, that although no peaceful existence could become a European – Africa relation, at least freedom from draconian rules

was to be experienced. Those who acted loyal to the white settlers had to be seen as betrayers, selfish and inconsiderate of their communities. They had to be attacked and if possible, broken out of existence. Radicalization of the masses towards a unified action was easily achieved due to the commonality of the land problem and the ideological wave of change as propagated by the Soviet Union at this space of the cold war.

On the other side, the colonial government was vigil about this rebellion by the Mau Mau, such that suspects were tortured in ways that terrorized the terrorist themselves. Women had hot knives inserted in their virginals, men had their testicles pressed with pliers, their fingers chopped off and at times, drugged behind land rovers. No one wanted to be caught by the administration as being on the wrong side, yet no one wanted to continue experiencing subjugation that was taking a generic progress through inheritance of suffering. Double terrorism was the case: state terrorism and civilian terrorism.

Given the fact that the media was comprehensively developed during the 1950s, whatever happened within the colonies was broadcasted abroad and vice versa. The Mau Mau revolt globalised fear and doubt to British settlers in other parts of Africa. However, these insurgents lacked safeheavens to recoup, lacked national communication lines to reach their combatants and fought with pseudo-nationalistic passions. This differs greatly to contemporary terrorist groups that base their strategies on updated military education. All in all, Mau Mau had a political objective, hence qualified in deepest sense as a terrorist group.

Appreciating Terrorism

From the told stories of Africans transition to independence, a greater extent of appreciation must and should be given to the Mau Mau movement. Without their terrorist moods, Kenya would still be a colony, Africa would have no comparison and politics was never to be practiced by the thick skinned. Terrorism from this angle is seen as beneficial, a liberation and in achievement of the major political end, self realization.

Although Kenya attained its independence in 1963, it intended the colonial administrative procedures that made the new leaders undemocratic, selfish, nepotistic and brutish towards their own people. The people who suffered to gain back the national freedom that Britain had snatched. It is these inherited public administration systems that have limited national development in all parts of Africa due to similarity of colonial experiences. Terrorism that was once practiced by the colonial government has come to be appreciated by these African leaders who want to tighten their grip on power.

Whether the 2008 post-election violence in Kenya falls under definitions of terrorism is in need of further debate. At least 25% of adult Kenyans were affected, whether loss of dwelling space, business, property or a job. Ethnic cleansing was seen in Rift Valley where most of the Kikuyu communities were forced out. This effect trickled to slum dwellings where the Luo's took vigil of the whole shanty area of Kibera. Kikuyu's were the main victims of this violence. They must have felt intimidated, provoked and put in fear for reasons related to power politics, rigged ballots and shifted presidency. No political violence is ever justified, even if it is for good cause. The progress of Mau Mau rebellion was debated in Britain House of Lords on 21st October 1952 after a state of emergency had been declared in Kenya. More military forces were ferried to the country for purposes of containing the tension. In the same way, post election violence was discussed in the State House of Kenya and more police forces were deployed to the streets in attempt to contain the violence. In both instances, state terrorism is taking a upper hand.

Africans must appreciate lessons learn't from the Mau Mau Revolutions, the aftermath and celebrate wisely by making correct policies. In Kenya, October 20th is a national holiday that is celebrated, and this date coincides with the launch of Mau Mau attack on white settler or rather the colonial administration. This proves for a fact that Kenya appreciates terrorism as post-dated to 1952. However, contemporary terrorism has taken a different agenda, no day can be celebrated as a date for terrorism.

Instead, we mourn in appreciation of our loved ones whom we lost in such attacks. August 7 and September 11 are clear dates for Kenyans and Americans. For a fact, they will never receive equal treatment as October 20th that is full of merry.

Kenya appreciates the Mau Mau ever since 1963 and it takes this opportunity to showcase its military might, perhaps to act as deterrence on potential colonizers or terrorists. However, new wars have taken a different shape, land is no longer an issue and politics takes vengeance by other means. Ideologies and civilization have form the basic course of action with no clear ends identified. Today's terrorists can never be appreciated for they keep shifting their political ends.

One Day of Global Peace

The end of the cold war and the rise of superpower hegemony has resulted in a dramatic increase for multilateral management of a growing range of transnational problems. United Nations is the world's only universal membership and general purpose international organization, it therefore has to reform its institutions to cope up with the changing tensions. That though the only recommended body to address global terrorism, it is not an all inclusive organization in its veto decisions. Non balance in continental representation has been witnessed for decades where *Third World* countries get no influence but brainwashing positions of total power that can be vetoed an nullified. This is the seat of Secretary General.

Good governance is the ability of a ruling body to deliver political and economic goods to those under its jurisdiction. This ability is deeply curtailed in Africa due to insecurity, weak institutions and the global political environment. More often, conflict in Africa results to the refugee problems which are seen as transportation of the effects of bad governance over national borders. With these comes the proliferation of firearms in the sub region. The firearms become easily available due to weak state administration and human insecurity, finding their way to the hands of private

citizens and criminals alike. This results to weapon-related violence that is a threat to human security and generates fear – keeping children from school, farmers from their land, markets inaccessible. This makes sustainable development impossible.

Organized crime has been seen as the new angle of terror within East and Horn of Africa. Civilians arm themselves for economic, political and cultural reasons³³. African security forces having been politicized by their respective governments become incapable of protecting the citizens thus forcing residents to assume responsibility of protecting themselves. This brings a divided approach to national development. It increases suspicion, fear, intimidation and an element of state terrorism. Nationalism becomes disintegrated into ethnic clouts.

On the 17th September 2009³⁴, the Al Shabaab group in Somalia organized two suicide bombs to target AU officials in Mogadishu who were on peace keeping mission and have been since the beginning of Transitional Federal Government of 2006. The bomb exploded injuring 17 soldiers of Rwanda and Uganda nationals citing revenge as the legitimacy for their attack. They wanted to avenge the death of a Kenyan born Al Qaeda operative, Saleh Ali Nabban who was killed in Southern Somalia on the 14th September 2009 by United States Special Forces. The suicide bombers drove in the United Nations marked vehicles to the AU Peacekeeping Force Headquarters before blowing up the peace-keepers. This was to serve as deterrence to other African nations who had intentions of deploying peace-keeping to Somalia.

It is claimed that Somalis in the diasporas are responsible for running the conflict in Mogadishu as well as sustaining the Al Shabaab. Some travel from as far as North America, Australia and the pacific. Due to the effect of self-determination, Ethiopia and Kenya are vulnerable to Al Shabaabs influence, given that both countries have a significant Somali population besides

³³ Especially in pastoral communities

³⁴ Translated to be 27th day of Ramadhan in the Islamic calendar

having porous borders. There is need to promote good governance through regionalism.

Mr. Aeneas Chuma, the Resident Representative of UNDP in Kenya notes that the United Nations International Day of Peace is marked every year on the 21st September. This day helps nations to highlight the efforts to end conflict and promote peace. Thus, United Nations Development Program (UNDP) has identified conflict management, small arms and light weapons control as one of the development priorities in East Africa. An interview with Mr. Chuma reveals that UNDP has program areas in peacebuilding, conflict transformation and reconciliation, all of which are to integrate conflict prevention into development programs. Terrorism is also a form of conflict with the greatest of disorder. However, talking to Prof. George Saitoti³⁵ brings a different view all together. He observes that peace and security are the foundations of good governance, individual social welfare and economic development. Saitoti admits that proliferation of small arms and light weapons has made conflicts to be violent and bloody, thus, the one day of global peace should be a ceasefire, a non violent date that provides citizens with hope in a crisis of conflict and terror. Kenya's post election violence saw the G.D.P. drop from 7.1. in 2007 to 1.7. in 2008. If conflict is well managed, development cannot be affected. Lack of proper control is what escalates and worsens the situation.

There has to be an international day of repentance, when all terrorists feel remorseful for their acts, when all those who have been intimidated gain hope to have new beginnings. The United Nations must empower regional initiatives; a day of peace is effective if facilitation is put in place, if institutions are reformed to adjust accordingly, when cross-border initiatives are of mutual benefit. This requires training and capacity building for the various actors involved in conflict.

Kenya is a country endowed with wonderful natural resources, a country with immense potential for all its people but still

³⁵ Minister for Provincial Administration and Internal Security in Kenya

experiencing many different types of conflict: from ethnic clashes, organised crime and political violence. Kenyans must find a peaceful way of dealing with these pro-conflict challenges, only then can development be less affected. Even with terrorism.

CONCLUSION

Terrorism in Africa is here to stay. The vulnerability of the continent will make an hotspot for proxy wars that are increasingly defined as irregular or new by many scholars of International Relations. The conflict laden situation in all corners of the continent, from East to West, North to South, makes global terrorism a hard problem to solve. The long term effect is unstable economics, hampered development and shattered efforts of poverty alleviation. Terrorism is a human rights issue, while Africa is a continent full of human rights violations. Colonial heritage has not been put on archives as it still influences policy making in African governments. Even the Organization for African Unity has failed to promote democracy amidst interest to preserve Africanity. The state believes to be the custodian of peoples interest, thus coerces action towards unwanted parameters. Governments keep on pocking their business on issues that are of no national interest to them, regional security is challenged due to hypocritical leaders who fuel chaos in neighbouring countries. Without national developments there is no regional development. There is need to contain conflict in our own countries to avoid spillover effects which include refugee situation, smuggling and uncontrolled crime. These are the roots for transnational terrorism.

The rise of global terrorism is blamed on the stagnated role that America, as a world hegemon, failed in formulating policy priorities. Those who influenced the August 7 bombings in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam were born Americans, notably, Wadi al Hage, who managed Bin Ladens financial dealings. Their contact with the horn of Africa dated back to the early 1990s from where they financed Islamic extremist groups in the Middle East. Sudan was one such location before shifting to Afghanistan. According to Osama Bin Laden, killing Americans was a duty of every Muslim

who could do it in any country. Kenya suffered due to the conflict status of Somalia. The U.S. used Kenya as a base for mitigating the Somalia crisis, the so called *Operation Restore Hope*. At the same time, Bin Laden shipped weapons and trainers into the country. It was a clash of civilization simply put as Islam vs. the west. In East Africa, only the Embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam had strategic roles. Thus, attacking these bases would have paralyzed American involvement in policing East and Horn of Africa that was increasingly becoming a financing region for Middle East extremism. The insurgent groups who opposed American efforts to restore hope in Somalia often ran into Kenya for hiding. The refugee problem promoted regional insecurity, preserved terrorism and served as hindrance to economic well-being. In addition to this, Nairobi has high street crime in mix with domestic political violence. The global pan-Islamic terrorism still has great stakes in Kenya, but as long as African governments refuse to understand this threat, no amount of physical force will ever be enough to mitigate potential consequences. You can't fight what you do not know.

Chapter Three

GLOBAL AFRICA

The interdependence and interconnectivity of states has made it easier to share problems with those who have best potential in producing improved results. Africa has been a donor dependent continent for decades now, which hinders innovative economic progress by the public service. Donors produce aid with conditionalities which interferes with the domestic political patterns. To this end, implementing their whims often results to authoritarian forms of government, even in situations where democracy is deeply entrenched. Kenya is one such country.

While the west is known to allocate aid in condition that democracy prevails, strategic location of nations has been seen to influence the duration of such partnerships. Countries that uphold virtues of democracy never experience internal tension, as the governance is by the people and for the people. Hence, representing national interest at the global front is genuine with little improvising. In this chapter, this study views such philosophical concepts as the African time, African development and terrorism from the traditional context of its use during the Cold War period. Nothing that in this same era has Africa got into committed reforms popularly known as Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs). Amidst geopolitical reasons, Africa has remained important to the whole world. The post – cold war period has constrained the space to balance preferences as aid comes from one major body, the World Bank – *which is pro American*. This is what promotes global terrorism as a new force develops to counter the greater harmony that United States of America enjoys in exporting its democratic principles which might be of advanced status, or maybe incompatible to the Third World. For lack of communism, the Islamic wave serves as a check in point and revamps the ideological war. It is no longer East vs. West, but Islam vs. the West, noting that mosques are everywhere in this world.

Islam is a universal religion with the best ethical principles that if properly applied catalyses development. These teachings define democracy differently from how America perceives it to be. Socialism cannot be integrated into capitalism. These differences are what political Islamists have used to initiate radicalism amongst their masses. Groups like Al Qaeda have benefited greatly on the Islamic channel that they use to justify their activities. This makes non – Muslims wary about religion of Islam.

Aid from the Western hemisphere is united under the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) who have been applying sanctions towards African countries that exhibit undemocratic traits. The end of the Cold War was followed by economic crisis that forced African nations to adjust their systems towards OECD priorities.

The concentration of oil in the Middle East brings a shift in donor balance. Third World countries consume less oil than they have in their reservoirs. In view of poor conditions that cut across the Islamic nations that make up 70% of the Third World, Africa relates well to the influential forces that add up to global terrorism. The international donors often threaten to withdraw aid to African countries if their said conditionalities are not met. The dependency on aid and need for continuity in this trend is what opens up government policies to investors from everywhere, who have links with Al Qaeda or with radical extremist involved in insurgencies elsewhere. In this situation, strategically located states in Africa must become victims of terrorism, especially now that global war on terrorism is taking an ideological drive.

The Business Sector in National Development

The colonial patterns of administration left behind structures that represented them even after independence of most African states. Political scientists have often called this trend, neo-colonialism. Lack of innovation by the African leadership to improvise institutions that best protected the citizen's interest has failed to see any light. The vicious cycle of underdevelopment has

affected the living standards of Africans to the extent that Bretton Woods's analysis estimates the poverty line to be two dollars. Africans in most parts of the continent still live below the poverty line, to sustain themselves in less than a dollar per day. Socio – economic development is a major component of political stability, which is often lacking in most African states.

The non-governmental sector can impact greatly and positively on national development. Delivery of goods and services, wealth creation and availability of employment opportunities are ingredients for fighting poverty and vulnerability of state towards donor aid conditionalities. These are avenues through which the private sector can get involved in public policy. Neo-colonialism is connected to capital flight, and this is impoverishing. The private sector has the possibility of attracting investment opportunities which protects the state from donor dependency or aid conditionalities. Kenya is one such country where the business community has managed to fulfill this role.

On the contrary, ethnicity constraints economic growth and development. The Kikuyu are the largest ethnic group within the Kenyan multi-tribal country. It is also the Kikuyu who organized well against the British colonialists and surprisingly, it is the Kikuyu who own majority of the business. They have a major political influence which promotes the ethnic bias in national policy. The Mungiki is a Kikuyu setting, getting out of hand to bring national terror through organized crime. Surely, reforms must be initiated to check the transnational business of exploitation by a business community that represents ethnic nationalism. Conflict is inherent within our states, we are our own enemies. Al Qaeda and other terrorist groups only assist Kenyans to propagate this rivalry through enactment of mutual crisis in their bandwagon catalysis. It is the private sector that suffers in case of bombings or erupting violence in a country. Profits go down and their contributions to policy formulation are hampered as the cost of post conflict reconstruction impacts on the cost of living of a nation.

State terrorism in a bid to maintain political power often curtails the democratic space; this begets civilian terrorism that targets access to public resources and equal opportunities. The only way out in such situations, is negotiation or power sharing as was the case in Kenya during the post election violence of 2008. Terror management in a nation helps to protect the economic development and growth as vandalism are contained within status quo. Africa needs the intervention of the business community in its development plans, noting that nepotistic representation of ethnicities should not be encouraged. For instance, Kikuyu in Kenya own the best business ventures that have been successful and stable over time, they must therefore not take political leadership positions at national level but encourage the minority tribe to contest for presidency. This is the system in Tanzania which is one of the most peaceful countries in the world. Access to state resources and economic opportunities will always remain an issue to worry about in Africa.

Most African countries depend on the manufacturing sector to propel their economies. Africa is sustained on extractive economy due to the rich mineral deposits it has. Terrorism affects tourism and the manufacturing industry, which takes time to recover.

Impacts of Globalisation

There is a shift in relationship among various kinds of creation or species if you like (i.e. fish, humans, plants, et cetera) which is considered of higher order than changes in relations among groups of the same kind. Those considered unimportant occur beneath our reach and affect our welfare in surprise. This is compared to issues of global security and national interests which add up to conceptualize as global governance in International Relations. This thesis, in the preceding chapters, has argued from definition to chaotic relations that explain terrorism to be what it is. At this point, need is to explain what is important and what is not in discussion of development from a security perspective. In this regard, the researcher looks not at the consequences of human activities but at the ecological peculiarities that prompt catalytic effects of small events whose effects are felt later by we humans.

Terrorism is thus best analysed from an ecological perspective, as a characteristic of life in one part of the world attempting to be influenced upon another through contingent measures. We become aware of security upon its absence, yet throughout our livelihood, it remains the most contested concept of International Relations. The increased interconnectivity between even larger components of International Relations makes it impossible to overlook the effects of randomness and unintended consequences, which Kavalsi (2008) calls the biological turn in the study of world affairs.

The structures within which globalization takes place allows for individuals and communities to link up from different points of the world, it creates shared life of shared history with people's perception as citizens of the world. To this end, globalization is a cultural factor that does not eliminate the local but makes it compatible if not integrated to the International Relations. Conflict no longer becomes a monopoly of the state, nor is war neither peace. They take new connotations that are different from how they are manifested at the state level.

However, it is not logical to debate globalization without a look at its origin. Without sovereignty, it is impossible for societies to interact internationally, though non state actors are frequently challenging the necessity of state autonomy. This debate traces to 24th October 1648, after Munster and Osnabruk, the Westphalian peace treaties were concluded. It gave states autonomous capacities to enter alliances with other states but the power of coordination hitherto exercised by an empirical army. The legitimacy of power came from religion as professed by the regional monarch, that states were united by God, hence globalization was a unified culture, practiced regionally. But soon, all these were to change with the technological revolution and its applications to industry. The perception of reality changed under the influence of secularism as romanticism provided a fixed point assimilable to state religion, that of ethnicity.

With Romanticism taking shape, religion no longer became a necessity, states became interconnected in isolation, that is, through similar styles of formation or ethnic lineage. The elites became directly globalised and their working classes ideologically internationalized while the rural masses extremely localized. Globalization thus depended on whichever cultural or political power that dominated the world scene at any given time, be it France, Spain or Britain. In other parts as Africa, states were not existent, not until after colonization. The relations came about after direct contact of the center and a variably distant periphery within the state. In this present day, globalization is now organic, arising from functional interpenetration of states. Political independence is sacrificed for the sake of economy, consumption and lifestyles.

Gasparini (2008) observes that international organizations undermine international law that is based on national sovereignty, eroding absolute power of the state. Anarchy emerges from politics as controlled by non-state actors.

Achieving Global Peace

In this world, people of different values co-exist, be they ultimate or radical. Modernization has brought about the formation of new values as much as the stabilization of intermediate values between two extremes. Opposing trends cope up with conflict which is more complicated if the context in question is international. Noting that each value under scrutiny has a different conception of peace, which even produces more conflict.

The peace of a traditional society represents the ideal of stable equilibrium, where everything is predictable and widely accepted as perfect. Tradition generates a strong bond and overlaps between values thereby enhancing capability to produce interpersonal relations that deviate from expectations, given that we look at things as post-modern. From this perspective, the stable equilibrium is utopia, unachievable. In other words, it shifts to different levels. Peace is therefore a perpetual process; which follows the development of society, democracy and governance.

In contrast, the western world is overtly peaceful, but attaining global peace is incompatible with the west, given the split in elitist views of what constitutes peace. It is no longer a deterrent trend, Cold War politics hold more influence but no consequences. The clash of civilizations puts emphasis on what we conceptualize as peace. African elitist now feel globalised to fit within the same brackets as the elites from the west. Islam as a religion has also produced its own elitist view which equally matches global concerns. However, the Muslim elite are unable to stabilize their areas of operation to match the western secularized world. They are frustrated because they cannot build a modern Muslim world amid the wealth of Islamic palaces. Terrorism is seen as the only attempt to shift the equilibrium, from secular to religious shift.

Globalization therefore produces different effects and problems according to whether its dimensions are regional or worldwide. At a regional level, it is controllable, effective, easy to achieve, shared and lasting. It is spread through railways, roads, administrative procedures, dissemination of standard economic models, technology and so on.

Age of Terror

Since events of 11th September, the word terrorism has taken a global perspective and seeped into every aspect of human life (with consideration to economy, government, media and transportation). It is thus important to develop socio-scientific understanding of this change that has no limitations or immunity. In Africa, the crisis of terrorism is represented by the large scale of damage, breakdown in social structures and increased suspicion at regional level. Terrorists have depicted themselves as freedom fighters, protectors and martyrs for a cause. They live in troubled circumstances where they acquire values and tactics of terrorism, starting with minor security breaches or system malfunctioning to updated military education.

The crisis that terror events has caused to Sudan, Kenya and Tanzania could be said to be expensive, affecting future generations, bringing political setbacks as well as economic loss.

Greatly argued is that its cause belies poorly understood ideologies of the Islamic world that brings a culture clash with the Western world. Although the most viable and traumatic loss from crises are human deaths and injuries (August 7, 1998 at the Cooperative House in Nairobi), emotional depth of these losses affect innocent bystanders who may not even be related to the victims, but patriots at heart. This means that the economic losses from such events are incalculable.

Terrorism has heightened the cost of doing business in Africa due to added security costs, business continuity and asset duplication for dealing with uncertainty. In this regard, poverty is an ever growing challenge that encourages proxy involvement of citizens into terrorist groups of international aggregation. Those who committed atrocities in Kenya during 1998 and 2002 were nationals of Kenya with relatives elsewhere, including Al Qaeda.

Simon (1997) insists that we live in an age where everything goes owing to the effects of post cold war modernism that encouraged contradictory theories and modes of analysis. Dependencies are created through structural adjustment and economic recovery programmes that are woven with aid conditionalities. Africa in the scene of change is disengaged from practicing development at all, but social cohesion is the real alternative for collective rationality of identified social interest – poverty alleviation. Development in another context is seen as a vehicle for postwar western economic and geopolitical imperialism that is propagated through ideological shifts. In this regard, this thesis defines development as the process of enhancing individual or collective quality of life through access to basic needs in a satisfactory manner that is environmentally, socially and economically sustainable with the assumption that the people concerned are empowered in social control. This control is represented in institutions of governance as democracy. People are simply concerned with their well-being not only at present time, but for generations to come. Development is therefore a continuous process of building, accumulation and control. It works well in confident societies, where intimidation or terror does not demoralize people's social control.

During the cold war, conflicts were spawned by superpower rivalry. They were widespread, in destruction of physical and social infrastructure with disruption of social programmes. The most recent trend is falling of school enrollment levels and access to health care facilities due to diverted state budgets. This goes in line with incidences of increased superstition³⁶. Development is seen as a grass-root strategy, a bottom-up model of progress. As such, its effects must be seen in the lifestyles of the rural masses who linger in poverty but make a great percentage of the population. Development in Africa gets meaning when looked and analysed from the post colonial perspective, at the beginning of civilization. Today, we talk of not only development but also growth, where we look at national policies; who makes them and the resulting implementation.

As argued earlier in this thesis, terrorism has delved into every bit of life, such that it is impossible to strategize development without concern on terrorism at international level. Africa needs investors, yet terrorism is equally defined by economic analysts to be an all rounded pursuit that targets political ends in its dependency of economic resources. Economics is the superstructure without which politics cannot be developed. If achieving some set of political ambitions implies destruction of economic resources, then Africa's future is doomed to fail. Global terrorism depends on Africa for its economic needs. Resources from Africa are used to finance chaos elsewhere. Osama Bin Laden had business ties with Sudan, Al Qaeda bought diamonds from Siera Leone's RUF. Monies gathered from trade in Africa's resources could finance Islamic extremism in the West, which in turn took a global perspective, attacking their enemies through Africa. What a paradox. African leaders ought to take control of their national wealth and use it for internal development of their states. Proper public policies are getting space in the Africa Union (AU) which advocates for standardized patterns of growth and development

³⁶ In the past, malaria caused a lot of fighting because people thought it was a result of witchcraft. Today, modernity creates illusion on what causes intimidation and fear in great extent that it affects intellectual development of sub-saharan states.

to help Africa rise an extra mile. That is why NEPAD (New Partnerships for Africa's Development) have proven to be sensitive on national policies within the continent. Growth being a major component of development has prompted countries to embark on privatization, retrenching public sector and liberalized trade. The developing world is emerging with open and competitive economies with fewer restrictions on private sector activities, lower inflation, smaller governments and more market-based financial sectors. Not forgetting that systems of governments are getting democratic during the decade.

As economy grows and develops and expands its stocks of physical and human capital, its opportunities of trading will inevitably increase. People believe that democracy brings better leaders into power and the wider the wave of democracy the better improvement on decision making and economic performance. Sustained growth process is based on capital accumulation, technological progress, equitable distribution and efficient use of resources if not income. These functions of growth are best achieved by countries that have macroeconomic stability and openness to international trade³⁷. Assessment of external sustainability requires knowledge of a countries exposure to the rest of the world where information on the composition of international portfolios is the key to understanding interdependencies among countries as well as fiscal vulnerabilities. Lane (2006) observes that internationalization of portfolios implies that shocks in one country are transmitted to foreign holders (or investors) of financial instruments issued by that country. This creates global imbalances where the developed becomes endangered while the developing takes position of being a creditor. Look at the Asia and oil exporters ousting the United States of America of its hegemonic roles.

According to International Labour Organization's analysis of 2005 on the world's labour force, almost half of the worlds unemployed are under 25 years of age and agriculture still accounts for forty

³⁷ Lightning may start fire but where the fire goes and how it burns is determined by conditions of the forest, or rather, conditions at the ground.

percent (40%) of global employment. Global war on terrorism has to look on these statistics for effective strategy on not only making people peaceful and ethical, but equal in relations of trade as naturally endowed by our own independent capabilities, of course with adequate redistribution of global wealth.

The 9/11 event was the most glamorous of terrorist attacks with unpredicted results ranging from casualties to associated financial losses. Financial consequences were particularly on the airline industry, tourism and insurance. This thesis argues that this event set bar for future attacks as terrorists will try to outdo the magnitude of past attacks in order to capture and maintain media attention. Nations that support a *prime target nation*, such as United States of America or Iraq, may themselves become a venue for terrorism. Terrorists will respond to security upgrades in one country by finding less secure ventures in other countries. In this era of the millennium, terrorists employ a wider range of intimidation tactics to their audience, including assassinations, kidnappings, threats, skyjacking, bombings, diseases and many more. Transnational terrorism poses interesting political economy issues when counterterrorism strategies for one country may have externalities to the political and economic environment of another, as has been frequent for many African countries.

Lubeck (1992) observes that African institutions reproduce societies that are resistant to state-centered development. Unprecedented crisis has been created by political paralysis, duration of economic decline and institutional decay in sub-Saharan Africa. All these coupled with ecological degradation boils up a non dimensional debate on Africa's development. Lubeck (1992) still notes that the largest number of refugees (over 5 million), the world's highest ratio of external, most public debt to GNP (115%), world's highest annual population growth rate and a continent in requirement of more than 18 billion worth of food imports for food deficits is a description of what Africa really is. Besides effects of global terrorism, the continent of Africa is conflict laden, robbing affected regions of their productive capacity. More than 70% of Africans live in rural areas with agriculture, herding, crafts and migrant labour as the viable

source of earning a living. Given that any successful insurgency begins from rural areas, any solution to development crisis must then begin in the countryside. The organizational capacity of African states combined with weak authority relations of governments to the civil society is a major impediment to the resolution of development crisis. African states are viewed as clientelistic, distributing personal rule without culture. The state in Africa has failed to capture its peasantry who are gaining global dimensions of existence, they are vulnerable due to extended dependency on foreign welfare systems thus habituate terrorists who enable proxy preparations for international attacks. There is need for state system in Africa to develop structural roots into the societies by undermining personal rule through civil democratization.

Trade of Terrorism in Africa

Lubeck (1992) argues that with the trend of economic declination and rising population, income levels cannot rise without a shift in Africa's terms of trade. The end of cold war has reduced support for tyrants and dictators thus increasing the potential for democratization, a method of having accountability in economic administration. Enthusiastic promoters of globalization argue that international trade will be an avenue for conflict between the developed and the developing countries. The United States within its hegemonic strategy tries to maintain an unchallenged monopoly of power in every region within its endeavour to promote American democracy worldwide.

In this present world, the Leviathan as authored by Thomas Hobbes has taken deep criticisms into being used as a foundational strategy for organized systems, whether internationally or nationally. We all depend on the constitution as a legitimizing document that justifies actions as sacred or profane, ethical or non hedonistic. It is from this document that issues of civilization and ideology form the basis of their influence. The political consequences of a constitution have derived mixed opinions; and at an international level, the conflict of interest calls for domestic actions which in turn restructure the global wave of

welfare. Each state will therefore align its operations towards polar zones that best support its own internal ambitions. Civil wars at many a time stand to be extensions of global wars. During World Wars I and II, definitions of war prompted the elitist thoughts, with ideological factions taking charge. War was the inevitable product of the last stages of capitalism, an international competition for new markets and raw materials from colonies. The relation between law and society, between inner and outer operatives of the state is maintained by history. It is from the past that better strategies of the future can be debated and represented within constitutional forms that set new criteria for legitimacy. Popular vote and widespread civil acceptance of policies is what gives legitimacy to any set of constitutionalism, whether viewed from historical perspective or futurist; thus the directions for change depend on what happens presently. In this regard, global terrorism has brought the welfare dimension to adjust accordingly, with artificial financial crises that are mosaic in causation, the global recession. Everything is thought on strategically, what Palit (1966) argues to be interpreted differently in conflict laden situations but in consideration of economic, social, psychological, political, moral and technological factors. It is the art of mobilizing and channeling state resources, including armed forces, to safeguard and promote national interests against actual and potential enemies. In this study, strategy is equated to tactics and policies.

According to Machiavelli, war is an important activity in political life with an aim to totally defeat the enemy. In this regard, wars must be sharp and short. There should be no rules to determine success on the battlefield, many ideas in war lead to success, simply because war takes on different shapes; just as the debate has it on war on terror. It will therefore be pejorative or absurd for states to talk of a grand strategy on combating terrorism. Not at this time when it is ubiquitous to identify the center of gravity for the global terrorism, given that proxy involvements are a case for Africa. After all, Clausewitz clearly put it that war is a continuation of policy with other means. For Clausewitz, real war comprised of

three elements that he refers to as the remarkable trinity³⁸ (a) the people – representing passion, popular will and violence (b) the army – representing interplay of chance and uncertainty and (c) the government – representing the importance of politics in selecting ends and allocating means. It is therefore non strategic or rather, less scholarly to study war without reference to Clausewitzian trilogy.

Terrorism is shrouded in ambiguity, uncertainty and chance that promotes friction of global governance through fear, stress, suffering and confusion. It cannot be discussed scientifically as is the case with consequential acts witnessed by it. That is why Sun Tzu advocates for indirect methods of fighting so as to attain victory, that is, striking what is weak, practicing deception, having speed, emphasis on maneuver and avoidance of attraction. Terrorists remain intelligent, rational and in understanding of the principles or fundamentals that are relevant in keeping them in business.

Indirect approach of war, as employed by terrorists, is mainly concerned with exploitation and dislocation but guided by a number of maxims including: prediction of the enemies' strength and weakness; adjusting ones ends to his means; taking a line of operation that offers alternative objectives; never attacking an enemy on guard and never launch an attack on the same lines. Thus, the enemy will not be sure what you are going to do next. All these, in the words of Sun Tzu *"If you know the enemy, know yourself; your victory will never be endangered. Know the ground, know the weather; your victory will be total"*. Following this tactic of indirect approach, George Bush II decided to initiate pre-emptive attacks to the hot spots that were confirmed as terror hubs (or axis of evil) by the United States. Intelligence Units. The importance of indirect approach lies in its emphasis on psychologically and physically dislocating the enemy, preferably before the start of the battle. Though there is no known world battle, there has been a recorded indirect attack from no known instigators (*but what this thesis will call agents of terror*). It is

³⁸ Seen as the main areas of action by different segments of a society.

therefore not clear how to retaliate, given that these terrorists do not wish to disclose to whom they owe their allegiance, other than God; who is omnipresent. Thus terrorism becomes an omnipresent endeavour. Bush II therefore declares war on terror but attacks before the real battle is confirmed by the United Nations, a tit for tat or using the game theory, we could quote popular Swahili saying "*dawa ya moto ni moto*".

Bringing the debate closer to the topical concern of this study, the researcher focuses on the Somali pirate situation of 2009. Accordingly, the Maritime theory in security studies assumes that control of the seas will ultimately determine decisions on land. Given the strategic importance of ports and sea routes, choke points enable forces afloat to exert direct pressure on government forces in the mainland by means of naval blockades. Maritime theory consists of control of the sea and use of this to establish control of the land through exploitative mechanisms. This includes interference with regional trade through piracy, kidnappings and constant request of political changes that correspond to groups' objectives.

Scholars of battle studies in different arguments end up agreeing that man does not enter into a battle to fight but for victory. Since arms are similar in present time, we need not look for adversaries but victims to be surprised and assassinated, simply because a surprised man needs a short time to strategize himself. During this time, he is killed if he does not run away. Just like in the state of nature, where might is right, a difference is seen on intellectual progress that is in line with moral developments. Europe is seen to be in decay due to classical ethnicism while Africa is said to be a revamped zone of primitivism and tribalism. Thus, with the presence of United Nations as an intergovernmental organization and the unipolar emphasis of United States, it is now possible to contain violence into confined zones or regions. To this end, we witness the violence in Somalia as happening within the horn of Africa without controllable spill over effects to neighbouring states. Although the U.N. attempts to provide a balance of power in matching the hegemonic endeavours of the U.S., U.K. and now China, little could be done in terms of international welfare without

domestic involvement. War is seen as an instrument of politics in the International arena, an affair between states.

Mary Kaldor (2004) defines war as a conflict between politically organised groups involving large scale violence. More so, war as fought in contemporary time is not of the same ambitions during the pre cold war decade, including the two great wars³⁹. These wars are contained in time and seen as extreme compressions of war. New wars have diversified consequences and should not be analysed in terms of victory or defeat. These are colonization, population displacement and even ethnic cleansing. Terrorism is an example of new war, all of which share in destruction that involves widespread physical destruction of homes, economic centers such as factories and power stations, even cultural buildings that hold religious and historical values. These wars, according to Kuldor (2004), pre-date the end of cold war and they need no state system to take place. Africa remains a fertile ground for emerging wars that have taken the name of global terrorism. The increased loss of legitimacy of political institutions results into a bandwagon effect of disintegration or erosion of state structures within the continent, which also involves the break-up of the monopoly of violence; fragmentation of armies and police forces.

Organised Crime in Kenya

Groups that engage in profit driven domestic criminal activities are seen as organized towards such achievements. In Kenya, a typical example is the Mungiki menace that could fall in the same category as the Japanese Yakuza or the Colombian drug cartels of Medellin and Cali. Organized crime groups share the following characteristics: (1) they operate essentially with national context, thus identifiable as of particular space (2) they are criminal in nature (3) they have highly centralized and hierarchical internal organizational structures of control under a single leader (4) hierarchical obedience is expected from members (5) their ultimate goal is economic gain, either through unlawful or violent

³⁹ World War I and II

means (6) membership is selective with secretive initiations (7) the group has direct impact in society around it, usually relative to the size of the group⁴⁰.

It is observable that organized crime has taken advantage of the opportunities provided by globalization to take a transnational turn. Thus, regional crime is the case and at the time of this study, Mungiki has roots in Tanzania and Uganda. It is said that political upheaval and dislocation has provided an environment in which criminal groups not only operate with impunity, but become exploitative of possible economic enterprises. However, to categorise these groups as terrorist organizations based on their consequence to civilians will be unacademic. Organized crime and terrorism must be viewed as different phenomenon although there could be similarity between violent strategies and tactics adopted by the two. The fundamental difference between them remains: terrorist groups are ideologically and politically motivated while organized crime groups are profit motivated. The distinction lies in politics and economics as specific ends.

As much as the issue of organized crime is resulting into a global phenomena, equating the tactics into defined terrorism is logically unsound. However, argument could develop that organized crime assists in the development of terrorism through the resulting confusion of justifying what is logically controllable to what needs risk sharing or rather, what needs global attention. Thus, the Mungiki dilemma in Kenya is still wanting in clarification, as much as its transnational involvement is escalating, their shared opinion on international insurgencies adds them to potential terrorist organizations if left unchecked.

Whenever we talk of terrorism, we involve the need assessment of the risks emerging from the analysis. Whether political risks (to politicians) or life risks (to combatants and civilians), the process of managing risks is all about transferring them or rather sharing. At this present time, war is never an option between states not

⁴⁰ This study also adds the mafia as a group of organized criminals.

unless it interferes with the global peace, which is considered a fundamental threat. To this end, if the Mungiki situation becomes unmanageable by the Kenya government, the threat involved to regional neighbours must prompt them to share in the management of Mungiki as organized criminals or as potential terrorist grouping⁴¹. Therefore, war on terrorism must be limited geopolitically in its domestic, political, social and economic ramifications. These eruptions must be contained through regional involvement to make them lesser wars, so as not to risk the stability of the national economy, civil society or political system.

Ethnic Crime – Man Eat Man Societies

Africa is an amalgam of multi-tribal social systems where Marxism has taken deep roots into description of how development and growth is to be viewed from a global perspective. The multi-ethnic nature of the continent brings a shared trend of dominant tribal systems as classified through their wealth orientation. In Nigeria, the Yoruba and Igbo are the poorest tribes that rank low in the echelon of appreciation. In Rwanda, this dominance led to division and attempted retraction of what natural selection had made irreversible. The Hutu and Tutsi had been integrated through marriage and co-existence until political ambitions dictated the future well-being. These ambitions boil towards power politics and tribes tried to outdo one another which resulted to genocide, ethnic terror and today termed ethnic cleansing.

Within Kenya, the Kikuyu are the largest tribe who add up to 44% of the 41 million citizens united under the Kenyan flag. In addition, they own the most successful business initiatives within Kenya, most vital to policy planning. History has it that the White Highlands was a Kikuyu zone, who was forced out into concentration camps by the colonial government. Thus, the Kikuyu began political organization of themselves decades earlier than contemporary problems of organized crime. Mau Mau rebellion was the climax of the Kikuyu political ambitions.

⁴¹ Considering the socio-economic effects of such transnational growth

Recalling organizations as the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA), Kenya African Union (KAU) amongst others that politicized colonial suffering.

A view at economic crimes committed by fraudulent acts to the Kenyan citizen, still puts Kikuyu on the lead. 70% of University students sampled for a view on Kikuyu agree that this ethnic orientation is capitalistic, they are money driven and bourgeois.

This study classifies Kikuyu as agents of exploitation, for they do not exploit for their own betterment, they promote neo-colonialism and capital flight to the most industrialized countries in the use of their business endeavours to deliver goods that get little turnover rates on national policies. A survey on crime cases still places Kikuyu on high alert. Maybe it is fate, but scientific analysis has it that this ethnic group is all rounded, from politics to socio-economic concerns.

Land is a contentious issue in Kenya, whoever owns land will have ultimate control of other aspects of production. Kenya being a capitalist state has received criticism from Tanzania concerning its welfare policies that were Western and inconsiderate of those to whom they were applied. Kenya was branded a *man eat man society*. In retaliation, they branded Tanzania a *man eat nothing society*. Man eat man is vulnerable to conflict as might is right. Terrorism becomes a channel of achieving this might, thus terrorism is endemic amongst Kenyans who govern. State terrorism has been preserved for decades, taking its greatest peak during the Moi regime.

For having a representative at Presidential level, the Kalenjin community was empowered to be of choice for state policing. They were the implementing organ of government priorities. However, the Kikuyu were deeply entrenched by business and prior political control. Phasing Kikuyu out of government would have been chaotic, given that they form 44% of the population and had been in government since independence or before (*as collaborators of colonial governance*). The only alternative was to form partnership thus widening the ethnic bias to be of Kikuyu

and Kalenjin. Areas such as Nakuru, Molo and parts of Rift Valley were open for habitation of the Kikuyu⁴². This happened due to missing institutions to promote democracy.

In 1992, Kenya began enjoying multi-party politics, a new era of diversity and an opportunity for democracy. The only problem was increased state terrorism to the institutions of democracy which paralysed their output. 2007 becomes a point of change as ethnic bias meets the elitist bias which is pillared on equality. The Kikuyu are chased out of Rift Valley thus becoming victims of violence, terrified within their own setting. They are internally displaced and neutralized for change. They are missing in government action as this civilian terrorism is widely publicized through media. Mungiki can therefore not use this displacement of Kikuyu as a route to organize crime. Counter terrorism strategy from the government is limited, simply because human rights have been widely interpreted to be understood by many, even the illiterate.

Corruption

Part of the description of Africans by the first group of explorers was that Africans are lazy, liars and corrupt. They were simply crude and unethical. Apart from this, Africa is full of superstition which adds up to slow development on what we do things considered as sacred and cannot be done. Intimidation and fear from witchcrafts adds up to terrorism if progressed by a faction of the community who have political ends in mind.

Corruption has led to inequitable allocation of state resources, especially when ethnicism is the defining factor. Poverty is a man made endeavour, a method of subjugation by dominant group who use public wealth to effect private ends. State terrorism takes place within a corrupt environment from where cases of assassinations frequent breaking news. The ethical components

⁴² Others found their ways to these regions through the colonial policies of concentration camps that displaced them from the White Highlands to places as far as Nyanza province.

of public governance are eliminated to pave way for ruthless appointees who demonstrate greed and partiality. For fear of being eliminated, senior officials find themselves working in ways that are in line with the presidency, even if it interferes with their patriotic ethics. They are therefore indoctrinated into being terrorists by being terrorized themselves. State terrorism cannot survive within a justice oriented nation.

Africa is made up of the most corrupt nations in the world besides being poor. It will take much more for justice to be deeply entrenched on systems of governance. Only then will terrorism become history, when government does not practice it towards the citizens. Dealing with the Al Qaeda terrorism adds nothing to the development of Kenya or Africa. What we need is to secure our internal territory by increasing citizens' socio-economic control, which is only possible in a society free from corruption.

CONCLUSION

Impunity is gaining relevance in scholarly work related to crime and International Relations. State terrorism is lengthy, the best and most precise word is impunity. A condition where perpetrators of crime are not held accountable by the law of the land. This is a common trend in Africa, coupled with a situation where citizens know that giving a tip – off to the police on crime perpetrators are dangerous for law and order. Citizens remain scared and suspect that the government can never protect them. Social change becomes hard to achieve, not without global intervention. Yet, open policies proliferate state policies into being conditioned by known hegemony. The government in protecting the Mungiki allegations has always involved the Kenya Human Rights Commission to advocate for justice and limit state prosecution towards members of this sect. could it be that Mungiki in Kenya serves as a tool for state terrorism? Is Mungiki an organized crime group that promotes the Kikuyu business community?

Perhaps the general understanding of terrorism amongst most Kenyans is what August 7 bombings holds in history. State

terrorism is not prioritized in citizens description of terrorism, it is often covered in use of terms like state oppression, dictatorship or fascism. Africa needs to wake up and see the delusion! Humanity can only survive with proper ethical principles that are based on pragmatic means and not traditions.

In order to tackle the global terrorism agenda, the Kenya government has attempted to draft an anti-terrorism legislation which was rejected by the parliamentarians for failing to comply with Kenya's international and constitutional obligations. Kenya subscribes to the International Law by virtue of being a member to the United Nations. Thus, its strategies of fighting terrorism must comply with international human rights obligations which delimit state terrorism (prohibition of torture, degrading treatment or punishment in all contexts). Counter terrorism measures have in the past involved arrest and removal from Kenya of suspected criminals to be involved with Al Qaeda. Some of those affected have been potential investors or owners of vital businesses such that their arrest and detention results into scarcity of basic services⁴³. This happens while Mungiki still roams large, being protected with U.N. conditionalities that in some aspect, limit justice to the Kenyan citizens.

Terrorism is a human rights issue because it infringes on peoples ability to make rational choices. The August 7 bombings of 1998 has made Kenya accent to participate at the fore front of the global war on terror. Thus, on 3 January 2007, Kenya closed its border with Somalia arguing that its internal conflict might result to members of Al Qaeda entering Kenya. This meant the refugee status was to be put on check as those escaping Somalia had to look for alternative hubs. Those responsible for global terrorism within Kenya were Kenyan nationals. Notably, Mohammed Abdulmalik; but suspicion has been projected to the global community. Terrorism is bred from within as influenced

⁴³ Between December 2006 and February 2007, 21 nationalities were detained in Kenya. These were Canadian, Comorian, British, Ethiopia, Somali, Eritrean, Jordanian, Kenyan, Omani, Moroccan, Rwandese, Saudi, Sudanese, Tanzania, Tunisia, United States, Yemeni and UAE nationality.

elsewhere. Governments in Africa have to resist this breeding process by encouraging their citizens to have social-economic control of their own affairs. This will need trusted governments to whom tip-offs can be confided.

The geographical proximity of Kenya to Somalia makes it more vulnerable to Al Qaeda terrorists. Somali is a failed state that is pro-conflict in addition to the previous terrorist attacks on U.S. and Israeli interests in Kenya. To this end, Kenya has a project that could assist in management of global terrorism within its soil. The Kenya National Counter Terrorism Center (NTCT) that is coordinated by the Office of the President has a long term objective to reduce incidences of terrorism, terrorism financing and money laundering in Kenya. This could assist in national development if proper legislative procedures are followed; thereby empowering the implementation of counter terrorism with respect to civil liberties and human rights.

As much as organized crime has taken a new strategy in Kenya, the trend is possibly similar in many African nations following shared boundaries and cross cutting cultures. Information sharing and coordination serves as an important step towards managing the development crisis that has been in Africa since the dawn of industrialization. Partnerships for development can only work if we have peaceful borders, thus the NEPAD initiative still stands a greater chance in influencing ethical changes and lasting growth mechanisms within the continent. Poverty remains a basic issue that will need domestic policies that best localize the global opportunities available at present time. Globalization is here to stay, and global terror is omnipresent. We need to be prepared for counter measures, we need not blame the terrorist for their actions for they might be representing endeavours that are for the general good of the Third World, which is inclusive of Africa. If we view negatively on terrorism, so will the negative effects impound our innovative capabilities. We need not collaborate with the terrorism but we need to isolate from any conditionalities that are of little national interests.

Chapter Four

Epilogue

This book has represented a triological perspective of what terrorism entails through its analysis of state terrorism; civilian terrorism and global terrorism. This has been explored using domestic and international perspectives which are highly dependent on moral implications as embedded in (a) the root causes of terrorism (b) conflict situation of Africa (c) Alliance formation that enable bandwagon effects of terrorism at a global level.

The main argument in this research is that global terrorism, if well analyzed, has moral justifications underpinning its occurrence. Amidst an estimate of over 100 scholarly definitions of what terrorism really is, this thesis finds them to be campaign oriented than an aid to thought due to their broad nature. Narrowing these definitions to be consequence oriented brings the moral question at hand. Whether terrorists are revolutionist or whether terrorism is a tactic, is what this research has debated within its pages.

Chapter I has outlined the dichotomy of terrorism into being state driven on the one hand and non – state forces on the other. To this end, the state uses terrorism as a tactic in achieving some set of political goals while non – state agents reverts to terrorism in an effort to bring an ideological change. Kenyans regard the bloody Mau Mau rebellion as justified and so never attempt to label insurgent groups within its territory as terrorists. Mungiki has never been branded as terrorists but understood through state propaganda to be a religious sect, which increases their chances of having a justified political violence against the government. The U.S. government considers Kenya to be of strategic importance in its global war on terror. This is because Kenya's geopolitical proximity to Somalia in world affairs. America being a major investor in Kenya's development has taken it upon themselves to condition state response on terrorism. There is a need to have an

open definition of terrorism that encourages non-terrorist revolutionary violence to take place and be morally justified.

As noted earlier, terrorism classifies as a tactic or an ideological pursuit, all of which relate politically. In this present day (2009) and with memories of 1998, terrorism has taken a religious version. Its purposes are religious other than political. All in all, the topic of terrorism remains more relevant to be analyzed econometrically given that all wars result in a paradigm shift. Terrorism is seen as a new war or an irregular war due to its multidimensional objectives that attempt nationalistic progress. With this, it impacts greatly on development policies and state priorities all over the world. Africa as a continent has not developed early warning systems than can best preserve its growth levels. Development is therefore unpredictable due to high costs involved, including insurance and security. A utilitarian look at the impact of global terrorism puts Kenya on a responsible platform. The emotional consequences of terrorism that are shared by observers increase the unhappiness and sympathy involved in moral analysis of terrorism. The illiteracy level of the African continent is too low that traditions and superstitions still gain relevancy in analysis issues of development concern. The people remain dormant to take socio-economic control of their nation, and this encourages oligarchy, fascism and growth of clientelistic relations between citizens and their government. Psychological impacts of terrorism remain deeply entrenched in Africa; that development is a confused quest. There is need to encourage peoples confidence through education on civil liberties as much as campaign against traditional ethics, which is not dynamic. We live in ecosystems where everything changes, everything flows. Ethics must also change with time.

The Westphalia treaty introduced the idea of sovereignty and nationalism. Thus, every state is entitled to protect itself against those trying to harm its interest, whether these attempts are morally legitimate or not. The post cold war period has given new perspectives on war. Deterrence is practiced overtly through terrorism with hopes that conflicting states will appraise their strategies.

America intends to spread its democratic values through modernization. This has not been easy in the Asia continent, especially this time when the World Trade Organization (WTO) has received control of the Third World, who seem to have realized their power to control industrialization. American civilization is viewed with suspicion and seen as a confusing maneuver. Only religion can unite the masses and preserve their ambitions. Christianity is of Western origin and represents a Western agenda. Islam is entrenched in the Middle East with socialist. This brings forth a clash of civilizations, a contest of America vs. Islam, a deterrence approach that involves violence, intimidation and fear towards non-combatants. Africa divides itself into three categories of: French speaking; Arab speaking; and English speaking. It is thus a collection of Western financed states who have no sense of internal control, can do nothing with their independence or colonial freedom unless investment from the west continues. The struggle for dignity will forever remain a quest of the Third World, more so, Africa, due to extreme poverty. Neo-colonialism is here to stay amidst terrorism from the Middle East.

Africa's economic growth and development has performed poorly than other regions, this is because of a rising trend of conflict which limits political stability that is a driving force in a society. Most rebellions in Africa have resulted from greed, where groups develop organized crime against the civilians and state resources. In some special situations, rebellion has been motivated purely by grievance, in demand for justice. These two traits have been classified as domestic terrorism with great understanding that finance is the only binding constraint, without which these groups cannot survive. The only way for governments to reduce domestic terrorism is through financial monitoring as discussed in Chapter IV. In anyway, Chapter II of this research has shown the conditions that make domestic terrorism a success, thus, as much as they cannot be managed (i.e. weak African states and geographical conditions that make it difficult for governments to defend their national territory) due to naturalness, mitigative adjustments could be made.

Africa's economy is basically agriculturally oriented which means that the continent depends on primary commodity export (which other scholars call raw goods). These include oil, coffee, tea, rubber and even horticultural products. These commodities depend on manual labour and population diversity. With conflict and terrorism, the ability to produce is limited and this impacts negatively on the gross domestic product (GDP) of the nation. Africa states remain poorest in the world in addition to becoming vulnerable for proxy wars. The Transnationalism of production and finance are the heterogeneous processes of globalization; which forces Africa to open its market so as to allow for more investors and secondary commodities. Manufacturing industries in Africa and Kenya for this matter, produce goods that get low returns in international markets. Africa does not need aid but empowerment to innovate progress in development. At some extent, this need for investors and open market puts Africa in a more vulnerable state of global terrorism as investors promote their ideologies through their individual businesses.

In Chapter IV of this wonderful book, terrorism has been discussed as a human rights issue and from a critical theory perspective, terrorism is a security issue. History forms a dominant feature within the International Relations literature, thus the construction of the Third World has been a construction of history; through the dialectical process. In this case, dependency and underdevelopment. This research has argued that the end of the Cold War brought an end to the *Second World* thereby creating a distance between the First and the Third Worlds. This ordering of countries is a result of the Gross National Product (GNP) which prompts further distinctions as less developed countries (LDCs) and newly industrializing countries (NIC). Important to note is that some third world countries have weight and influence in international politics by virtue of their size, such as China, India, Indonesia or Brazil. While others have been dominated by foreign powers throughout their history so as to have little power. These realizations are what bring potential conflict at the global level, which takes the shape of terrorism. Africa as part of the third world ranks poorest. There is need to

reject this image of Africa as *Weberian* ideal of poverty, political cleavages, low economic clout and poor political prestige in favour of greater complexity in analysis. We need to know what security means for Africa, for whom or what and which implications might be worth securitizing as issues. Africa at this present day of the millennia still depends on traditional methods of security as inherited from the colonial systems of government. One of the failures of traditional security discourses in the contemporary international environment has been an inability to incorporate how people mediate, negotiate and participate in copying strategies to reduce the insecurities faced in day-to-day life. Land loss, hunger and malnutrition are common problems in Africa, as well as poor access to education and health services. In all its might, the African elite still look westwards for solutions. Chapter V has recognized the role of non-state actors in International Relations. This research observes the global consequences of terrorism to be state's withdrawal as the primary agent in national welfare due to a restructured role in poverty alleviation in contemporary global political economy. We live in neo-liberal times where ideological dialect becomes a major avenue for war.

The tropical concern of this thesis is impact of terrorism on Africa's development. We can never talk of development without an analysis of national GDP which introduces poverty as of major concern. Development is basically concerned with poverty alleviation, which becomes impossible amidst terrorized governments. Globalization has reduced the powers of the state. The state has ceased to be the main actor in development; to be a political structure for the effective operation of capitalism. We need not concentrate in protecting our borders but also the citizens of the nation. Africa needs to develop ways to understand the complexity of security relationships between the state and its citizens as a prominent issue on the list of priorities. Africa is a continent where social unrest can erupt due to food shortages. Thus, in this sense, we talk of food security. Terrorism is thus an alert on the priorities to be considered. Given that terrorism has a political end, its means are not political but economical; which has adverse effects on the general security profile of the state.

There is a connection between poverty, nature, development, security, identity and strategies of resistance. The state is connected in all these at some point thus negotiation of control must be the correct approach. Democracy is best earned through volunteer initiative and not implications from the state itself. The people need to be empowered to have socio-economic control through grass root organizations and participatory community development strategies of NGOs, state and international bodies. This enhances development as possible risks are put in control and at manageable wave length. Africa still suffers greatly on the negative effects that terrorism brings to globalization. Financial crisis in the U.S. has affected the Kenyan economy, all this due to hegemonic dependency. When the great economies wane, so do the African nations remain affected. Africa needs sustainable development strategies which take regionalism into consideration. Due to rapid globalization, regional cooperation remains vital if states are to cope up with the increasing market competition for trade and investment. Development must be seen as a means to an end, and this end is poverty alleviation. Noting that this research has been concerned on how terrorism impacts on efforts of poverty alleviation in Africa. The hegemony of globalization has taken a shared perspective; it is no longer U.S. but China, India and even Brazil who are equally as influential though categorized as Third World. In this case, hegemonies theory could give room for other non-state actors; it is no longer a preserve of the super power. Whether global terrorism is an attempt to bring a balance of power has not been discussed in this research.

Issues like organized crime have impacted greatly on the socio-economic development of Africa. At least two organized criminal organisations operate in every African country. In Uganda, we cite the Lords Resistance Army (LRA), in Kenya we could mention the Mungiki and the Sabawoti Peoples Defense Force (SPDF). These groups hinder regional development through their impact on economies. As such, African economies fluctuate amidst open market systems. Terrorism will therefore affect countries greatly even in the presence of early warning system and risk management centers. Africa needs to stabilize its economies

through socio-economic empowerment of the people. This will need transformation of the systems of government into becoming democratic institutions that can best facilitate this change. Although terrorism is a principle problem in concern of Africa's development, the economic recession and corruption still impact greatly on the people. Safety, peace and political order are important resources for poverty alleviation, where African nationalism is classified as organic and not voluntary. People are born into the societies, they have little influence to command change. For volunteer nationalism, as is common in the Western countries (e.g. America), people own the right to chose which nation to belong to, the right to define the national interest. In most African countries, national interest is not a collective representation but an individual perception of the bourgeoisie class. There is need to challenge this practice by facilitating democratic institutionalization. Continentalism should be seen as the ultimate regionalism, Africa must constitute itself as a nation, to understand that poverty is widely shared, colonial history is widely shared. There is need to develop institutions that will assist in realizing economic growth and assured security.

Recommendations

With increased interconnectedness and interdependence, there is need for African nations to establish channels of cooperation in order to secure peace and economic stability. It is not only the threat to terrorism that is a bother to African countries; illegal immigration, organized crime and money laundering pose as proxy risks that need full attention. It is a vicious cycle of problems that becomes complicated with the issue of terrorism. African countries need to open up their policies and adopt regional strategies within a continental framework. The African Union (AU) must spear head the goal of democratization, good governance, rule of law and externalization of regulatory responsibilities. This will enable sustainable development as well as socio-economic growth. Terrorism cannot be solved through multi-lateral agreements but through bilateral arrangements of the affected countries. Kenya needs to enter into a bilateral treaty with Somalia as well as Tanzania so as to empower the armed

forces into legitimate action of territorial protection. This brings functional interdependence between the partners into an assured mutual development as realized from effective cooperation. One country can therefore enter into bilateral agreements with many states given that unilateral arrangements promote more chaos and anarchy due to divergent interests. Kenya is in a bilateral arrangement with the U.S., it has an agreement with the TFG of Somalia and in a number of international conventions. This guarantees its effectiveness in combating terrorism, which makes the government ignore other sectors. It is easy for Africa nations to realize development which is measured through poverty alleviation, if and only if they enter into individual arrangements with the investing countries and neighbouring states. This brings control on arms trafficking, custom control on imports/exports as well as exchange in information concerning cross-border flow of goods and people.

Fight against illegal economic activities and corruption will act as deterrence to those investing in terror activities. Besides being a continent of most poor countries, Africa also lists the most ranking corrupt countries, notably Nigeria and Kenya. This means that illegal activities easily get their way. African governments need to develop effective strategies for addressing corruption. Thus, although the issue of irredentism is assumed to be under control, African leaders must know that political influence from irredentism adds confusion on national policies or rather foreign policy projection. Terrorism in Africa is related to state building and not democracy. Nationalism has transgressed to be cross-continent alignment. It is all about civilization. The best way to realize development and control the impacts of global terrorism is through the policy of non – alignment. This must have worked best during the cold war, but in this time of irregular wars, you never know who your investor affiliates to, you only need to concern yourself with safety and pragmatic policies. Non alignment is the best way to go.

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