UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

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(IDIS)

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE CAUSES OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM. A CASE STUDY OF KENYA'S RESPONSES 1998- 2006

BY

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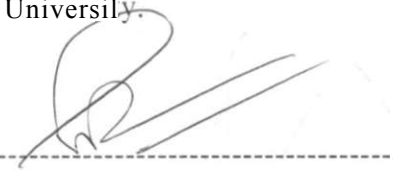### Supervisor

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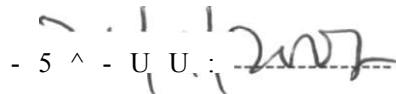
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DECLARATION.

This research paper is my original work and has not been presented for a diploma in any other University.

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PROFESSOR NYUNYA.

DEDICATION AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First and foremost, I would like to thank my wife Jane Mumbo and my children Linus, Auatha, Vera, and Kelvin, who have endured long periods of loneliness without me. From the bottom of my heart I dedicate this work to them.

I would also particularly like to express my sincere gratitude to Professor Nyunya for having guided and assisted me as an academic advisor and sponsor. His concerns and genuine support are highly appreciated.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

ABSTRACT

Past and recent international terrorist attacks have been focused on the west, their allies and interests. This paper examines the genesis of international terrorism, its links, if any with religion, psychological make-ups, and the West's hegemonic influence on the world society. It looks at possible causes and measures collectively taken to combat terrorism.

Of particular interest is the advancement on terrorist activities with modern technology. Methods of perpetrating terrorist activities are highly technical and not merely bombings and high-jacking. The internet and cyber terrorism are with us. The fear of terrorist getting access to weapons of mass destruction is becoming more real with every stroke of a second.

Global anti-terrorism in will have to address the following: the role of the mass media in articulating the necessary democratic values that world should pursue, the role and responsibility of the religious leaders and teachers of Islam as to what to teach and what to refrain from teaching. The aim should be to stick to non- violence, peace, tolerance, and the promotion of a progressive society ideals in their sermons and teachings. You cannot teach violence, champion a hatred campaign and bigotry in the Madras's and

live in peace and tranquility with all your neighbors, enemies and friends. Violence begets violence, the rule of law and fighting corruption in government will have to be addressed even if it means instituting some legal reforms. A comprehensive legal framework that deals with terrorist groups, those who harbor them, their financiers, should be fully addressed.

This will be a bold decision for all counties without which objectives will not be met, and the war against terrorism will not be worn.

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1.0   INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Terrorism has been defined in many ways by various people. The American government defines it as the pre-meditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience[9]. The United Kingdom government defines it for purposes of legislation as, terrorism is the use of violence for political ends, and includes any use of violence for the purpose of putting the public or any section of the public in fear'. These acts are committed by groups or individuals. The League of Nations 1937, defined it as follows; all criminal activities directed against a state and intended or calculated to create a state of terror in the minds of particular persons or a group of persons or the general public. An Iranian religious leader defines it, as an act carried out to achieve an inhuman and corrupt objective and involving threats to security of any kind, and in violation of the rights acknowledged by religion. Working or seminar definition goes thus[10] : is a threat or use of unlawful violence by anon-state actor with the intent to intimidate or coerce a group, population or government in furtherance of political, social or religious objectives. Why so many divergent versions? It is because of state sovereignty, desire for freedom of action over repressive action and violence as a means to an end.

[9] Leonard Weinberg,(Global Terrorism, One world Publication,2004 England)p 112
[10] Federal Research Department, Countering Terrorism, (Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data, 2004 Washington)

Terrorists attempt not only to sow panic but also to undermine the confidence in the **government** and political leadership of their target country. Terrorist groups generally have few members and limited resources. Therefore, they rely on dramatic and often spectacular bloody and destructive acts of hit-and-run. Terrorism is not a new phenomenon, rather it has along history. Modern technology may suggest that terrorism is a new phenomenon. In the first century we had acts of terrorism by the Zealots and the Sicarii, in the 11th century we had the Assassins, in the 18^{lh} century, we had the French revolution, in the 19th century we had the Anarchists, in the 20th century we had, Algerian National liberation Front, The Irish Republic Army, and Italy's Red Brigade. In the 21 century we have Abu Sayyaf of Philippines, Aum Shinrikyo of Japan, Tamir Tigers of Sri Lanka, Interahamwe of Rwanda and A1 Qaeda, who were responsible for the terrorist attacks on the World Trade centre USA, American Embassy Kenya 1998, 2000 US Cole bombing Yemen and the most recent 11 Sep2001, Twin Towers in New York where 3000 died from 37 countries.

The Zealots of Israel used it in 66-77 AD against the Roman rule in Judea. And to attract a large audience, the Zealot-Sicarri-as they were called, used to stab their victims with daggers during major gatherings. It was also used during the French Revolution of 1793-1794.Acts of terrorism that have created most international attention have both religious and political motives. There are stories of attempted assassinations of leaders like Napoleon 1 11, in 1856, and the Prussian prime minister in 1866.

The 20th century saw improvements in terrorist tactics, mainly directed at prominent personalities such as world leaders. Then a rose those acts associated with liberation movements, such as the Palestine Liberation Movement (PLO) involved with kidnappings, bank robberies, and more advanced methods of killings especially in the Middle East; Beirut and Lebanon. Early 70s was associated with hijackings, suicide bombers targeted at western interests especially, businesses, embassies, and citizens. Acts of terrorism have virtually occurred at every part of the world. September 2001-the Twin Towers -New York, 1998-American Embassy Nairobi, Indonesia, Japan-sarin gas subway poisoning, Spain and Britain-subway attacks, In the Middle East almost on daily basis focusing mainly on Israel, Egypt, Algeria, Russia and China. No place or country is free of terrorist activities.

1.2 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

In the 1970s and 1980s, it was commonly assumed that terrorist use of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) would be counterproductive because such an act would be widely condemned. "Terrorists want a lot of people watching, not a lot of people dead," Brian Jenkins (1975:15) opined. This was based on the assumption that terrorist behavior is normative, and that if they exceeded certain constraints and employed WMD they would completely alienate themselves from the public and possibly provoke swift and harsh retaliation. This assumption does seem to apply to certain secular terrorist groups. If a separatist organization such as the Provisional Irish Republic Army (PIRA) or the Basque Fatherland and Liberty (Euzkadi Ta Askatasuna—ETA), for example, were to use WMD, these groups would likely isolate their constituency and undermine sources of funding and political support. When the assumptions about terrorist groups not using WMD were

made in the 1970s and 1980s, most of the terrorist groups making headlines were groups with political or nationalist-separatist agenda. Those groups, with some exceptions, such as the Japanese Red Army (JRA-Rengo Sekigun), had reason not to sabotage their ethnic bases of popular support or other domestic or foreign sympathizers of their cause by using WMD.

Trends in terrorism over the past three decades, however, have contradicted the conventional thinking that terrorists are averse to using WMD. It has become increasingly evident that the assumption does not apply to religious terrorist groups or millenarian cults. Indeed, since at least the early 1970s analysts, have predicted that the first groups to employ a weapon of mass destruction would be religious sects with a millenarian, messianic, or apocalyptic mindset.

Beginning in the early 1990s, Aum Shinrikyo's group engaged in a systematic program to develop and use WMD. It used chemical or biological WMD in about a dozen largely unreported instances in the first half of the 1990s, although they proved to be actually less effective than conventional weapons because of the terrorists' ineptitude. Nevertheless, it was Aum Shinrikyo's sarin attack on the Tokyo subway on March 20, 1995, that showed the world how dangerous the mindset of a religious terrorist group could be. The attack provided convincing evidence that Aum Shinrikyo probably would not hesitate to use WMD. Recent trends show that technology, and professionalism has infiltrated the terrorist groups. The terrorist is now aiming at mass casualties, and destruction. Good example, being the 11 September, 2001, where over 3000 lives were lost, and property

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worthy billions destroyed. The other example is the bombing of the American embassies

in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998, where over 3oo lives were lost, for no apparent reason, and many more world wide. Is there anything the international community can do to avert such similar incidents in the future? The answer to this is part of this study".

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM.

The world has been faced with a wave of terrorist activities of various magnitudes. Although all or most of them are targeted at western world interests and allies, many innocent nations and their citizens have fallen victims. Terrorism of high technology is now in place. The fear is that weapons of mass destruction may land into the hands of the terrorists. The possible consequences will be misuse and possible destruction of the whole world. With the indiscriminate nature of their actions, nobody or place is safe from terrorist activities. In their pursuit of American interests, they have attacked third world countries with devastating effects. Claims for their actions are diverse and mostly unachievable. Such claims include; causing anxiety and fear among people. Others include, attracting attention and publicity through the use of mass media. It is said that countries which have strict controls of their media have fewer cases of terrorism. Such countries include Russia and China. The terrorist may want to provoke an over reaction by the authorities for example, the indiscriminate reaction by the authorities may help popularize the terrorist group and help it win new recruits. Due to financial constraints, they may carry out bank robberies, and kidnap wealth individuals for ransom. Others are for hire with the sole intention of raising funds for their organizations. The terrorist strikes in Kenya and Tanzania radically changed the attitudes of Africans and non-

[11] Rex A Hudson, Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, Wsshington, DC, 1999

Africans alike toward networked or transnational terrorism in the continent. The extent of the bloodletting shocked the world. Nobody expected the carnage and brutality that followed the bombings. Worse still its perpetrators have never shown any signs of remorse. Is Africa capable of coping with such terrorist networks? This paper seeks to try and seek a solution to this problem. With this in mind there is an urgent need for all nations, individuals or organizations to unite and co-operate on global war against terrorism.

1.4 OBJECTIVES

The study seeks to find,

a   Causes of international terrorism,

b   Kenya's counter-terrorism measures,

c   Kenya's collaboration with other international actors on war against terrorism.

1.5 HYPOTHESES

Causes of terrorism are said to be multi-dimensional. On many occasions; no direct factors have been associated with terrorist activities. A single contributing factor—such as personal religious conviction, widespread poverty, or an oppressive government—is not likely to result to the formation of terrorist organizations[12]. However, the current body of research on terrorism suggests that a combination of factors will, in most cases;

James J F Forest, The making of Aterrorist,Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Data 2006 London, p 197

result to some form of terrorism. This combination differs widely and involves, political, social, and economic causes, personal dispositions such as psychological and religious orientation, and family background, educational status, community history, and a positive criminal record and clashes of civilization. The paper is to establish linkages, if any, between various factors and terrorism by going through the existing literature.

1.6 LITELATURE REVIEW.

The writers' books mentioned in the fore-going are in the bibliography. Terrorism;_a challenge to the state, by Juliet Lodge. Juliet Lodge's version of terrorism in this book states that terrorists' belief that they are revolutionaries seeking the overthrow of corrupt governments by non-governmental people in pursuit of political ends of the revolutionary or anarchist mould. She further argues that terrorist activities in societies constitute criminal rather than political offenses. She notes that the violence of the terrorist is illegitimate and not proportional to their cause. She alludes that causes of terrorism, like, many other scholars, lie with one or a combination of factors such as, psychological, economic, political or social factors. She beliefs that enough research has not been done on this subject, and I fully agree with her that there is still more to be done in terms of research.

The Axis of Evil; here, Paul has looked into terrorism by compiling various contributions from prominent personalities, including top military and civil leaders, on the new wave of terrorism, including, the 11 September 2001 bombing of the twin towers and the Pentagon. Prominent personalities like Rumsfeld Donald, the United States air force and the Navy's sea lords, as well as former British Chief of Defense have contributed to the

current state of war on global terrorism. Iraq's Prime Minister, Tariq Aziz has also contributed on war against global terror. They all agree that terrorism has taken anew dimensional approach and collective responsibility is the key counter it, be it at individual, national, regional or global levels. Every one has apart to play in counter terrorism.

Leonard Weinberg in the book; Global Terrorism, talks of advances in terrorist tactics since the 1960s.In the 1960s terrorism was involved with revolutionaries and was more active in Latin America and the Middle East. The main means of Carrying out their activities then were, kidnapping for ransom, assassinations of prominent personalities, and limited bombings. Since then, terrorists have changed their ways of operations with high technology. This can be attributed, partly, to the involvement in terrorism, of highly educated personnel in various fields. She talks of the first wave of terrorism from the 196s0 to 1980s, then the second wave between the 1980s to the 1990s which witnessed skyjackings and bombings as their main methods of terrorism. This was more marked in the Middle East by groups such as the Hezbollah, Palestinian Liberation Organizations (PLO), and in North Africa especially Algiers and Egypt, and also South East Asia, the Philippines and Indonesia. She further talks of the third wave which is currently on where the terrorists aim at causing maximum damage and injury indiscriminately. They use all possible means at their disposal. They are attention seeking especially through the mass media such as the Television (TV). Their main grievance is the oppression imposed on those minority and the weak by the Western world as the hegemony. The imposition of western culture and civilization on the Muslim world, the exploitation of the third worlds' natural resources by the Western world, and the contamination of the Holy Muslim places

in South Arabia by the American troops and her allies. Other grievances include the occupation of the Arab land by Israel, and some Arab states led by false Muslim leaders such as Egypt and South Arabia who are considered to be sympathizers and moles of the West world.

An article by Colonel Susan Maybauwienski, Dr Joel Goldberg and Dr Caroline Palma in the publication, 'the National Defense University, Fort McNair, Washington DC (2003-2004)' examines ways of countering terrorism by focusing on Pakistan as case study. The scholars stress on the need for states* co-operation on combating terrorism by targeting the root causes of terrorism. In Pakistan the main factors associated with terrorism are Islamic fundamentalism, poverty due to the un equal distribution of the national resources, hatred among various ethnic groups, corruption by the government officials, mismanagement of public resources and lack of democracy. The Islamic fundamentalism and the instability in Afghanistan have also led to good breeding grounds for terrorism in that country. The effects overflow to the neighboring Pakistan. The invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union in 1978 led to the formation of many terrorist groups which exist to date, such as the Al Qaeda. The formation of the Taliban in 1993-94, introduced Wahhabism teachings, and together with Al Qaeda, has made Afghanistan home for the terrorists. As part of counter measures they suggest the following issues to be addressed; the role of mass media in propagating terrorism, the roles and responsibilities of religious leaders in propagating terrorism, the rule of law and corruption in governments, and a comprehensive legal framework to deal with terrorism which is missing in many countries in the world including Kenya.

A report in the publication, 'the Federal Research Division Library Congress 1999-the Sociology and Psychology of Terrorism" by Rex A Hudson and Helen Metz (Washington DC[13]), refers to the nature of terrorism of the 1970s-80s, as being milder in form than the current forms. They argue that the uses of weapons of mass destruction were counter productive, and nobody thought of using them. However, current terrorism stresses more on mass victimization and media attraction. Current terrorism has taken a different dimension, especially for the religious terrorists and the millenarian cults who assist their followers to commit suicide with the belief that they will go to heaven after the deaths. They compare the terrorists of 1970s and the current ones, who are bent on using weapons of mass destruction. Aum Shinrikyo of Japan used Sarin gas on the subways killing many people on 20 March 1995.Osama bin Laden of the A1 Qaeda group, and his associated bombing of the twin towers in America on 11 Sep 2001 are examples. They are of the belief that psychological factors have a role to play in some cases of terrorism.

According to the psychologist; Jerrod M. Post (1970) most dangerous terrorists are the religious ones especially the Muslims, they commit terrorism in the name ot Allah. Another psychologist, B.J.Berkovvitz (1972, described various types of personalities that are likely to use weapons of mass destruction as being either, paranoid, paranoid schizophrenics, or those with aggressive personality disorders. He argues that Sociopaths are the most likely people to use weapons of mass destruction if they access to them. Although nuclear terrorist expert, Jessica Stern 1995 disagrees with these findings as there are no concrete grounds to support this. She argues that more research needs to be

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[1]" Rex A., Helen Metz, Psychology of Terrorism, Federal Research Department,Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data, 1999.Washngton DC

done on these personality disorders to support the findings. Other scholars have also **attributed** paranoid schizophrenia and socio-paths with minds of destructive nature. One case which does not seem to have any link with personality disorders is Ramzi Yousef, the mastermind of the26 Feb 1993 bombing of the World Trade Centre in America. He is **a** religious fundamentalist. The report recommends more studies on the subject.

Dynamic Terrorist Threat; this was a paper presented to the strategic planning, Defense Head Quarters of the United States in 2004. by Kim Craig and Sara A. Daly. The paper was to assess group motivations and capabilities of terrorists in the changing world. The research for this report was conducted as part of the tasks on the terrorist threat assessment globally. It assessed the threats the terrorist groups posed to the United States of America and on her interests overseas by proposing a frame work for evaluating their relative motivations and capabilities. They found out that different terrorist groups have different skills, capabilities and intentions. They named three main groups as posing the greatest danger to the world and the United States in particular. They are the A1 Qaeda, the Lebanese Hezbollah, and the Revolutionary armed Forces of Colombia (RAFC).They divided the tools that the terrorists need to sustain or increase their capabilities broadly into two groups, Organizational tools which include, ideology, recruitment pools, publicity and leadership. The second group was the operational tools which Include, Command and Control, Weapons, operational space, Intelligence, technical expertise and specialists, Sanctuary, money and deception skills. In this context, ideology means the consensus of grievances and objectives that a terrorist group is trying to address through violence, such as religion, political, and self determination for independence[14]. The

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Hamas base their ideology on religion and nationalism, while the RAFC claim to fight for control of Colombia and take power and institute socialist reforms. It is a guerrilla organization that uses terrorist tactics to achieve its Marxist-Leninist ideology. On this basis, they found out that A1 Qaeda was the most dangerous of the three groups, and has multiple objectives. All the groups want no American influence in the Gulf States, they want to eliminate corruption in South Arabia, and they also want to kill all American citizens in South Arabia and re-establish the Caliphate. A1 Qaeda has commingled religious and political stains within its ideology. It is a pan-Islamic presenting the different groups with a common enemy that is America. They concluded that terrorist groups are well organized with a command structure, with highly specialized members in their specialties who are highly motivated.

John Baylis in his contribution to counter-terrorism, in the book; 'Strategy in the contemporary world' has this to say. "Guerrilla war is the extension of politics by means of armed conflict. Technology and ideology have transformed terrorism from an act designed for political effects to wanton destruction. The author states that factors such as family history, social cultural and economic factors shape irregular conflicts including terrorism".

The 1994 Rwandan genocide was a form of terrorism, widely attributed to be evidence of the dominance of multiple cultural factors. The ethnic cleansing which is very common in most African countries has led to much other genocide in the horn of Africa. Whereas in America, many westerners were shocked that terrorists were willing to sacrifice their own

lives and of others for their religious beliefs after the 11 Sep 2001 bombing of the twin trade tower centers. Terrorism does not result to political change on its own, but is undertaken to provoke a response. The author argues that, hijackings, remote bombings, assassinations are criminal acts in a civil society, but when conducted by terrorist in the name of apolitical cause, that generates domestic and international sympathy, the legal status of such crimes becomes a matter of debate. Without external sympathy, support, or sponsorship, a terrorist cause is usually doomed. Clausewitz, for example, suggested that support in the form of public opinion, was one of the centers of Gravity in a popular uprising (Clausewitz, 1993, p720). According to the terrorist expert, Robert Thompson, the most important phase in counter terrorism is to recognize the existence of the terrorist threat. Terrorism can be starved off, with early warning intelligence gathering. This requires a supportive populace at all levels. Gathering such information about terrorists can be daunting given the desire of most subversives to keep organizations small, stealthy and secret. Robert Taber believes that the only way of defeating a terrorist who will not surrender is through extermination, but others believe that incentives, promises of amnesty and money for weapons exchange, sanctions on states sponsoring terrorism may be tried several times. I believe the most effective way of counter-terrorism is to identify the root causes and deal with them.

Effects of terrorism can be limited through bringing terrorists to justice for crimes committed. There must be a political will to sustain the struggle against terrorism and non-compromise to core societal values. Walter Laqueur suggests that the threat to western democracies is growing acutely because certain religiously motivated groups

might use weapons of mass destruction and even Nuclear weapons to achieve their ends. **The** congruence of religion, weapons of mass destruction and millenarians portends a **frightful** and very real apocalypse now than ever before. With advances in technology, current terrorists will become cyber terrorists through the world-wide web. Serbia and Indonesia's hacking of opponents' websites is a recent example interpreted by some as evidence that cyber war is a reality. With a computer and a connection to the internet, an individual can do more damage than an armed terrorist cell. Computer technology will make the control of terrorism very difficulty as highlighted next.

Terrorist recruitment is a continuous process. Various methods have been used including the internet. The great virtues of the internet, that is, easy to access, lack of regulation vast potential audiences, fast How of information, have been turned to the advantage of groups committed to terrorizing societies in order to achieve their goals. All active terrorists have established their presence on the internet. The American, Adam Gadahn, now 25 years, joined A1 Qaeda through the internet, and is stays in AfghanistanOther facilities in the net include e-mail, and chat rooms, e-groups, forums, virtual message boards that are used by the terrorists. The would-be recruits use the internet to advertise themselves to terrorist organizations. Most of these websites target children, with stories and cartoons for children, The Hezbollah and the Hamas are notorious for this. The websites frequently modify their formats, and swiftly disappear, or change their online address but retain much of the same content[16].

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[15] Ibid p 59
[16] Ibid p 64

The internet also serves as useful tool to reach the media, TV, radio, press. The recent wave of hostages, beheadings in Iraq was followed by posting gruesome footage of the killings on the websites.

James Forest in his book: The making of a terrorist volume one, says that there has been an increasing involvement of female bombers, from five in the 1980s to 60% of the suicide bombers in the 1990s. This increase has been more marked in countries such as Palestine, Chechnya and Uzbekistan. The reasons for the increase include; the concealing of explosive device in a fake belly (utilizing the women's ability to appear pregnant), the strong message such a move sends to followers and supporters, triggering a guilt trip among men that they are not doing enough to fight the enemy and strengthening the pressure for more. The only exception to this is the A1 Qaeda who has no female terrorists in the group. Islamist organizations in general, are rather slow to overcome their own ideological restraints on using female operatives. As part of deception, some terrorist organizations have shown a sufficient level of flexibility (with regards to violating their own belief systems) in order to succeed operationally. A1 Qaeda has been the most flexible in this regard; her members shave beards, wear western clothes, drink alcohol, and even entertain women with questionable morals to survive in the land of the enemy. This suggests that, even A1 Qaeda will resort to the use of female suicide bombers at some point in the future, to coincide with the perceived need to introduce another element of surprise[17].

[22] Ibid p 218

James further says that terrorism is a method of violence with ancient historical roots. But the trends are first changing. The First World War was triggered partly by an act of terror. The assassination of Franz Ferdinand, Archduke (1863-1914) and heir to the imperial throne of the Austro-Hungarian Empire on June 28.1914, sparked the world war 1.What is new about terrorism in the 21^{s1} century is that technology has been put into the hands of destructive groups and individuals.

Technology has rendered modern societies very vulnerable to large-scale attacks. This is why transnational terrorism has become very important today. The September 11, 2001 terrorist attack on the United States and the global reverberations it triggered made it categorically clear that even the mighty are not safe anymore. This was the worst crime in the history of America. It rendered the conception of national geographical space obsolete, more so after it was carried out by a non-state actor. It has changed the foreign policy in America and many other states. The Pentagon is the symbol of America's military might, and the world trade centre a symbol of its income might. Criminal and cruel as the action stands, the accused A1 Qaeda cave-dwellers picked on the super-rich and the mightiest military power in the world to challenge, and he succeeded. There has been an increase of the phenomenon internationally recently. The organizations have demonstrated an increasing ability to mount suicide operations outside their common area of operations. They include Hezbollah in Argentina and Panama, Chechnya in the Russian capital, and A1 Qaeda in various continents. The second trend is the high synchronization of suicide bombings, with the clear intention of causing as many casualties as possible. Thirdly, there has been the addition of chemical materials into the explosive devices in Israel, where traces of pesticide and even cyanide have been

detected on the remains ol bombs used in Hamas suicide attacks . Fourthly, attacks **anainst** hard surfaces or targets have seen the introduction of suicide truck convoys, **which** include suicide shooters or bombers whose role is to clear the way for the suicide truck in order to facilitate the explosion of the primary device as close to the bombs as possible. Lastly, the detonation of the bombs, carried by the suicide bombers on foot has increasingly been insured by the inclusion of a remote detonation mechanism. The trainings of the terrorists are normally carried out in some of the failed states, where there is no authority.

A failed state is where there is failure to sustain a central government authority that controls and polices all of its territory. While failed states usually have lost control of some of their territory, collapsed states are typified by a more or less complete absence of government authority, the classical example is Somalia. Since the end of the cold war, we have witnessed a wave of democratization and a proliferation of states, especially in the third world. Many of the states are weak; a few are failed, while others are collapsed and incapable of exercising any control over their territories. They have become haven to terrorist groups.

He goes further to state that formation processes are often accompanied by widespread organized violence, including terrorism. New states often have legitimacy problems, which may cause intrastate conflicts and domestic terrorism. Further, proliferation of weak and collapsed states will generate more transnational terrorism as weak states are incapable of suppressing insurgents and terrorists present on their territories and denying them sanctually or transition. Even the continued existence of relatively small number of

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[22] Ibid p 218

weak and collapsed states will ultimately cause higher levels of transnational terrorism[19]. Trends in state formation and state performance are useful indicators of future patterns of terrorism. Political instability, economic disruption and new intrastate violent conflict are all familiar features of the painful processes associated with the creation of new states. New states usually go through along period of state-building and internal consolidation. Most of them are small, lack resources and are plagued by political unrest and civil violence. A good example, being Eritrea, which has problems with Ethiopia over border disputes. The policing of their newly erected national borders presents a serious challenge for new states. Weak and non-existence policing of borders makes it much easier for transnational terrorists to operate.

These states are characterized by high crime rates, political violence, loss of control over their borders, civil wars, weak institutions, high levels of corruption, collapsed health systems, education and general welfare systems, such as basic foods shortages[20]. Bosnia-Herzegovina descended into civil war after being hastily created in the wake of the demise of Yugoslavia. Some of the failed states in Africa include Sudan, Angola, DRCongo, Somalia, Liberia and Sierra Leone. The recent rise in the number of failed states is partly due to superpower support withdrawal following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the bipolar world order.

Globalization has created a greater potential for lucrative illegal or semi-legal transnational trade, which weakens the state economically vis-a-vis sub-state actors. In many parts of the world, there are numerous states where central governments exercise very limited or virtually no control. The Pakistan central government exercises little

[19] Ibid p 65
[20] Ibid 69

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formal authority in the tribal areas in the North-West Frontier Province. Similarly, lawless coastal areas in the archipelagic states in south-east Asia have fostered the proliferation of numerous pirate gangs, turning the area into the world's most pirate-infested waterways, where almost one-third of all reported pirate attacks take place.

James goes on to say that there appears to be a significant likelihood of new failed states and collapsed states in the future; while many existing failed states show little sign of recuperating. Even without any increase in the number of failed states, the globalization process will probably aggravate rather than a meliorate the consequences of existing failed states due to the broadening scope for transportation and interaction across borders and geographical distances due to globalization. The fact that failed states have become so closely associated with transnational terrorism in view of A1 Qaeda's training bases in Afghanistan and Somalia has increased significantly the international will to forestall and prevent state failures. The international community seems more willing to assist governments in restoring state control throughout their territories[21].

Weak states such as those in Africa, fail for many reasons: Some have been torn a part by civil wars, and others by external aggression. Some have foundered on unresolved conflicts based on clan or ethnicity. Drought and grinding poverty have claimed still more. All have the potential for destabilizing their neighbors. Prominent among these destabilizing characteristics is an infectious ideological vacuum, which terrorist seek to fill by exploiting radical political religion, which is the least understood among all religious ideologies. Included in these cults are the 2000 millenarian and the invasion of

[21] Ibid p 72

Afghanistan. James Forest in the book, the making of a terrorist, volume two, associates **terrorism** with religious cults.

Fundamentalist terrorism is on the increase, in Hinduism, Judaism, Islam and Christianity. Christian fundamentalism refers to any form of Christian millenarian theology, or, to any movement preoccupied with events surrounding the prophesied thousand year of Christ on earth. It is especially concerned with the culminating event of tribulations, the war of Armageddon between the sons of darkness and light.

Christian fundamentalism refers to any form of Christian millenarian theology or to any movement pre-occupied with events surrounding the prophesied thousand-year reign of Christ on earth (the millennium). 'Ihe earliest manifestations of Christian fundamentalism in history occurred in Europe prior to the reformation. The first notable case concerned a Christian guerrilla militia known as the Taborites who nourished in Bohemia. Other non-American examples of the same phenomenon are the English revolutionaries known as Levellers, the Dutch theocratic tyrant, and Jan Bockelson. Whenever and wherever it arises, it is associated with smoking ruins and bloodshed".

Like it's Jewish, Judaism, Muslim, and Hindu counterparts, Christian fundamentalism is rooted in logical dislocation. In the modern era, the primary source of dislocation has been modernization. By modernity is meant the material instrumentality of the modern world, to include things such as cell phones, World Wide Web, and modern weaponry. Like fundamentalism elsewhere, Christian fundamentalism enthusiastically adopts these tools to promote its mission of world redemption. Modernism, in contrast points to a particular kind of intellect and moral sensibility, one mirrored in notions like individual

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[22] Ibid p 218

riuhts. equality, rational law, pluralism, separation of church and state, and scientific doubt[23]-

Christian fundamentalists are believed to be mentally stable and not people with mental **derangements** as used to be said. Research on radical Christian fundamentalists residing in the greater Idaho area during the 1980s found that 23% of them reported having **oraduated** from college, as compared to only 17% of white Americans. Most of them majored in arts and sciences, education, business, and religion. These facts show that psychopathology and idiocy are not the key factors associated with fundamentalist.

Several theories have bee developed, including social disorganization, economic deprivation, status displacement, socialization and the multistep theory of recruitment. The social disorganization theory argues that naturally human beings are social animals. When traditional family and community bonds are loosened, due to rapid social change those left in its wake search for something with which to replace them. They sometimes find these in gangs, cults, or in radical religio-political movements such as fundamentalism[24].

For example, there was fair a mount of talk that the end of the world had come in the year 2000. Some cults advised their followers to commit suicide in order to be saved. The churches started acts of terrorism in order to accelerate the battle of the Armageddon[2]\ They hopped to save the human race by killing as many of their followers as possible. This act of terrorism has persisted to date in various Christian cults in various parts of the

[23] Ibid p 219   *
[24] Ibid p 223

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world, thus religion inspired the new wave of terrorism[26]. Forest says that Muslims have been responsible for most of the terrorist activities in most parts of the world. Moreover, the invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union led to a declaration of the Jihad on the

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Russians by the Muslim community" . Many volunteers trained as terrorist Guerrillas for the Jihad. The Soviets withdraw from Afghanistan in 1989 after the war. Most of these terrorist migrated from Afghanistan to the Middle East and to other Arab countries where they continue with their terrorist activities. Osama bin Laden was one of thenr[8]. His activities still exist globally. The 1979-80 Iranian revolution has also contributed to the current wave of terrorism[29]. After the overthrow of the Shah in 1979, and the installation of Ayatollah Khomeini, there was an increase of terrorist activities against the West, especially the Americans. Khomeini trained and sent revolutionary guards to Lebanon to carry-out terrorist activities against the peacekeepers that were stationed between Israel and Lebanon. These later became the famous Hezbollah. It is dedicated to liberating Jerusalem and eliminating Israel. It has formally advocated ultimate establishment of Islamic rule in Lebanon. It has been involved in many anti-American and anti-Israel terrorist activities, including the American embassy and Marine barracks attacks in Beirut in 1983. To date they are a major terrorist group in the Middle East. In view of the above, we can say that the causes of terrorism are multi-factorial and there is no single theory that covers all types.

Poverty per se is not a direct cause of terrorism, according to James Forest. Macro-studies show that terrorism can occur anywhere, but is more common in developing societies,

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*   James F Forest, The making of a terrorist, Library of Cataloging-in-publication Data 2006 London p 240
~[9] Ibid p 304

rather than in poor or rich countries, and is most likely to emerge in societies **characterized** by rapid modernization. Economic change creates conditions that are **conducive** for instability, the emergence of militant movements and extremist ideologies. **In** the Islamic world, the more traditional segments of the population are disoriented by **sweeping** socio-economic change, and are susceptible to movements that, strengthen threatened identities, provide explanations, and give believers a sense of empowerment. A pervasive risk factor in developing societies is," the youth age bulge, that is' a substantial increase in the proportional size of the young male population facing insecure employment prospects.

Within countries, the groups that support and give rise to terrorist movements usually are relatively disadvantaged because of class, ethnic, or religious cleavages. At the individual level, the leaders of movements are better educated and of higher status than most of the population from which they come. This is true of leaders of almost all political organizations. A significant number of activists are similarly well educated, even though many face uncertain employment opportunities. Recruits are often drawn from among poorer and less-educated youths because they lack opportunities to complete school or find jobs. Militant movements frequently draw in people motivated by social needs and pressures and chances for personal gains rather than ideology.

Extremists of varying or even opposing ideologies often co-operate closely. Islamic fundamentalist terrorists are comfortable working with individuals considered among their archenemies, including Jews and radical feminists, as long as they are fighting a

common enemy. A good example is the case of Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, the Egyptian **Islamic** Jihad who was the spiritual leader of the 1993 world trade centre bombers, and was represented by a Marxist lawyer. All terrorists are comrades in arms.

In volume two. James says that extensive studies have associated prisons with terrorism. Prisons have been breeding grounds for political extremists of practically all ideologies Prisons around the world remain fertile breeding grounds for political extremists and terrorists [0]. Foreign governments and organizations have been producing or subsidizing large quantities of inflammatory literature for prisoners in the American prisons. They are usually smuggled in using chaplains and other religious personnel. Congressional investigators in 1973 found extremist literature covertly funded by the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, including a weekly paper named the Guardian, which was subsequently revealed as having received covert funding from the KGB.

Foreign states and movements have been funding the promotion of Islamism within America's armed forces and prisons[31]. Most of the money come from the Wahhabi states of Saudi Arabia and Qatar, though some is believed to come from Gulf States and Libya.

It is also believed that the Islamic affairs Department of Saudi Embassy ships out hundreds of copies of the Quran, as well as religious pamphlets and videos, to prison chaplains and Islamic groups who then pass them along to inmates. Imprisoned radicals recruited the alienated and angry criminals to join their ranks and fight back at the society

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[30] James Forest, The making of a terrorist, library of Congress Cataloging-in-publication Data,2006, London p 23

[31] Ibid p 37

that locked them up. This is atypical reaction from individuals having feelings of **dejection** by the society. Some of the most powerful and violent political movements of the 2oth century have been fueled and led by hardened cadre who had been recruited, **indoctrinated,** and trained in prisons. For example, in the prisons of tsarist Russia, a **renegade** seminarian who later changed his name to Josef Stalin enlisted and organized murderers and other criminals who, once freed, led the Bolsheviks and their ruthless cheka secret police. Similarly, in 1911, Benito Musolin spent time in jail, where militant socialists recruited him into apolitical career that he later built into the Fascist party[32]. Again Adolf Hitler, serving a prison charge for treason in 9123, used his imprisonment as an opportunity to take a break from the day-to-day pressures to develop his political ideology and strategy in mein kampf. Even the Irish Republican Army fighting against the British crown in Northern Ireland, made use of prisons not only as places from which to recruit new terrorists but as centers of political warfare to inspire support and collaboration.

James further says that state sponsored terrorism was common, especially during the cold war. During the course of the second half of the 20th century, various countries began to use terrorist organizations to promote state interests in the international domain. In some cases, states established puppet terrorist organizations, whose purpose was to act on behalf of the sponsoring states, to further the interests of the states, and to represent their position in domestic and regional fronts[33].

"" James F Forest, The making of a terrorist, Library of Cataloging-in- Publication Data 2006 London p 25
   Tatah Mentan, Dilemas of weak states, Ashgate 2004, p 68

, 7 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The limited time available for writing this paper necessitated the desktop approach taken in the research. Much of the information used in this paper has been acquired from previous books and other works published on international terrorism. The internet also served as a key information resource as many scholars and researchers post their works on the web for easy of public access. As the bibliography section will attest, the authors discovered numerous web sides dedicated to the study of international terrorism, especially from American research centers.

The foregoing limitations not withstanding, all effort has been put to ensure that the research is as thorough as possible, and that the information used in writing the paper is relevant to the stated objectives. Much effort has also been put on finding the possible causes of terrorism as the preceding chapters will show.

CHAPTER TWO

CAUSES OF TERRORISM

2.0 Introduction

There has not been a single form of terrorism, but many, often with few traits in common. What is true of one variety is not necessarily true of another. In the past one could justify or at least find mitigating circumstances for certain terrorist acts, but not currently, where genocides and indiscriminate murders en mass is the order of terrorist. The amount of suffering and the number of casualties they cause is totally out of proportion to their cause.

Terrorism has been associated with many causative factors, either singly or in various **combinations.** Among the factors that have been associated with terrorism **are** poor **governance,** poverty, fanaticism, prison as breeding grounds, academic status, group **dynamics,** revenge, hopelessness, land as in the Middle East, Zionism, ideologies, hegemonism by some countries, globalization and many other factors as we shall see in **this** chapter. This chapter will try and examine some of the possible causes associated **with** terrorism and the theories in support of them. First we look at some of the concepts **of** terrorism.

Terrorist attacks are often aimed at causing maximum fear and wide publicity. They often use explosives, poisons and sophisticated weapons including those of mass destruction. They methodically plan attacks in advance and may train participants and even raise money through organized crimes. They use both modern communication technologies and the old-fashioned methods to maintain a sophisticated network of communication. They are highly deceptive in their planning and the execution portion of the whole plan. Time is the limiting factor in all terrorist activities'[4].

2.1 causes

Broadly the causes of terrorism can be grouped into: political oppression, cultural factors, economic exploitation, ethnic discrimination, religious persecution and those which fall on neither of the above mentioned groups. Perceived inequalities in the distribution of national wealth and political marginalization have led some terrorists to attempt to overthrow even democratically elected governments. National governments have at times

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John Baylis, James Wirtz, Eliot Cohen, Colin S Gray Strategy in the contemporary world An "ntroduction to strategic studies Oxford University Press,2003,pg 213

aided terrorist to further their own foreign policy goals. This is termed state sponsored **terrorism.** It was common during the cold-war period, but still exists in diminished amounts. Despite the end of the cold war, terrorism still poses serious threats to many countries. How do we explain terrorism both at individual and at group level?

Terrorism is a multifaceted phenomenon, and theories and hypotheses explaining its occurrence and resilience are necessary components of any prognostications about it. The commonly associated factors are: relative deprivation and inequality, there is widespread perceptions of deprivation and inequality especially among culturally defined groups, which serve as the basic condition for participation in collective civil violence. Terrorism may be part of this violence. Terrorism by spoilers, peace process based on negotiated settlements is frequently accompanied by increased levels of terrorism by projectionist groups. The contagion theory; the occurrence of terrorism in one country often leads directly or indirectly to more terrorism in neighboring countries.Terrorits learn from one another, and new tactics are usually quickly emulated and Spillover may occurs. Terrorism and mass media, paradigmatic shifts in modern mass media appear to influence patterns of terrorism, by enhancing its agenda-setting function, increasing its lethality and expanding its transnational character[35]. Rapid modernization makes societies more exposed to ideological terrorism. Societal changes associated with modernization create new and unprecedented conditions for terrorism, such as a multitude of targets, mobility, communications, anonymity and audiences. Socially disruptive modernization may also produce propitious conditions for terrorism, especially when it relies heavily on natural

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[49] Ibid p 69

resources export, causes widespread social inequality and environmental damage and **creates** mixed market-clientalist societies.

poverty, weak states and insurgencies; poor societies with weak state structures are much more exposed to civil wars than wealthy countries. Economic growth and development undercut the economics of armed insurgencies. Economic growth and prosperity also contribute to lower levels of transnational terrorism[16]. Democratization-states in democratic transition are more exposed to armed conflict and terrorism than democracies and autocracies. Because of pervasive state control, totalitarian regimes rarely experience terrorism. States with high scores of human-rights standards and democracy are less exposed to domestic ideological terrorism. Levels of transnational terrorism also seem to be highest in semi-authoritarian states, especially when undergoing democratization processes. Political regime and legitimacy-terrorism is closely linked to asset of core legitimacy problems. Lack of continuity of the political system and a lack of integration of political fringes tend to encourage ideological terrorism. Ethnic diversity increases the potential for ethnic terrorism. A high density of trade-union membership in a population has tended to contribute to a lower level of domestic ideological terrorism. The ecology of terrorism: technological developments offer new and more efficient means and weapons for terrorist groups, but they also increase the counter-terrorist capabilities of states. Transnational organized crime and terrorism are partly inter-linked phenomenon, and growth in transnational organized crime may contribute to increased levels of terrorism. Hegemony in the international system: an international state system

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characterized by strong hegemonic' powers is more exposed to international terrorism

[36] Brynjar Lia, Globalization and the future ot terrorism. Rout ledge, London 2005 p 16

than a more multi-polar system. High levels of bipolar conflict in the world politics invite

•he use of state-sponsored terrorism as a means of war by proxy. Economic and Cultural

globalization: economic globalization has mixed impacts on transnational terrorism,
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depending on how globalization is measured. Cultural globalization, measured in the rate

of international NGOs, tends to cause higher levels of transnational terrorism, especially

against United States targets. On-going and Past wars: while terrorism in some cases is

an armed conflict in its own right, terrorist motivations are often rooted in ongoing or

past wars in one way or   another. Armed conflicts also have various facilitating

influences on transnational terrorism[17]. Psychological derangements have been associated

some types of terrorism as argued below.

2.2 TERRORIST PSYCHOLOGY AND GROUP TYPOLOGIES.

International terrorism can be grouped under any one of the following four designated,

arbitrary typologies: nationalist-separatist, religious fundamentalist, new religious and

social revolutionary. This group classification is based on the assumption that terrorist

groups can be categorized by their political background or ideology. The social

revolutionary category has also been labeled "idealist." Idealistic terrorists fight for a

radical cause, a religious belief, or a political ideology, including anarchism. Although

some groups do not fit neatly into any one category, the general typologies are important

because all terrorist campaigns are different, and the mindsets of groups within the same

general category tend to have more in common than those in different categories. For

example, the Irish Republic Army (II£A), Basque Fatherland and Freedom (Euzkadi Ta

[49] Ibid p 69

Askatasuna-ETA), the Palestinian terrorist groups, and the L I TE all have strong

nationalistic motivations, whereas the Islamic fundamentalist and the Aum Shinrikyo

groups are motivated by religious beliefs. To be at all effective, counterterrorist policies

necessarily would vary depending on the typology of the group. A fifth typology, for

right-wing terrorists were responsible for 1995 Oklahoma City bombing.

Terrorist psychology and motivation is poorly understood. Indeed, terrorist scholars have

regularly emphasized that the outstanding feature of terrorist is their normality. Members

of terrorist groups, usually lead an underground life, and are not readily available for

interviews. And, when they are in custody and are interrogated, the interrogations are

characteristically geared at obtaining operational intelligence, rather than understand

what makes one a terrorist. Various researchers interviewed some terrorist prisoners

incarcerated in Israel jails for terrorist activities, with the aim of assessing their socio-

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psychological status   . Most of the interviewees agreed growing up in villages or refugee

camps that were extremely active in the struggle for liberation from Israel dominance.

The early exposure to the Israel/Palestinian conflict made the struggle more personal and

became a source of honor to fight the injustice done to their families. No scholar came

across any terrorist prisoner who portrayed symptoms of mental disorders. However, one

case study of a prisoner in an American jail showed some association of terrorism with

psychological disturbances.

In 1997, the United States Department of justice brought to jail a man named Omar

Rezaq, an Abu Nidal terrorist who had played a leading role in the skyjacking of an

Egyptian Air passenger jet in which more that fifty men and women lost their lives

James Forest, The making of a terrorist, Library of Congress cataloging-in-publication Data,2006 ,p 15

durinu the skyjacking .Rezaq epitomized the life and psychology of the nationalist-separatist terrorist. He did not believe that what he had done was wrong, as from boyhood, he had been socialized to be a heroic revolutionary lighting for the Palestinian nation. His early childhood was the same as many of the other terrorists who had spent their lives in refugee camps. He was taught that the only way to become a man was to join the revolution and regain the lands stolen from his parents and grandparents by Israel. This is one case we can categorically say that he was psychologically disturbed and had a strong psychological motive for terrorism[39].

The psychological evaluation at the individual psychology level believes that terrorists are psychologically sound people. This is because during recruitment they are normally screened for any mental handicap and subsequently are regularly observed for any acts portraying abnormal behavior. The Child terrorists are the most preferred because they are easy to handle, easy to train and can be used for deception[4"].

What can be done to reduce people's motivations to join terrorism? From the perspective of "terror management theory"(Ppszczynski, Solomon, and Greenberg 2000), aggression, human conflict, and war are rooted, at least in part, in the threat posed by those with different beliefs and values to the psychological security and protection from anxiety that are provided by one's own beliefs and values. Although economic, military and other concerns certainly play and important role in international conflict, this theory proposes

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[39] James J Forest, The making of a terrorist, library of Congress Cataloging-in-publication Data, London, 2006 p 28

[40] Ibid P 105

that it is the ideological threat posed by a worldview different from one's own lives in an attempt to destroy those who pose such psychological threats. According to this view, therefore, terrorist violence is rooted in the failure of a culture to meet the psychological and physical needs of its members, and the displacement of the fear and anger those results from this thwarting of needs onto a more powerful culture whose beliefs and values pose hatred to one's own cultural worldview[41]. Equally important as a cause of terrorism is fanaticism.

2.3 FANATICISM

Terrorists in general have more than average education, and very few Western terrorists are uneducated or illiterate. Russell and Miller found that about two-thirds of terrorist group members had some form of university training. The occupations of terrorist recruits have varied widely, and there does not appear to be any occupation in particular that produces terrorists, other than the ranks of the unemployed and students. Between 50 and 70 percent of the younger members of Latin American urban terrorist groups were students. The Free University of Berlin was a particularly fertile recruiting ground for Germany's June Second Movement and Baader-Meinhof Gang.

Fanaticism emphasizes the terrorist's rational qualities and views the terrorist as a cool, logical planning individual whose rewards are ideological and political, rather than financial. This approach takes into account that terrorists are often well educated and capable of sophisticated, albeit highly biased, rhetoric and political analysis.

[1] Chris E Stout, Psychology of terrorism, Westport, Connecticut, London, 2002

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Notwithstanding the religious origins of the word, the term "fanaticism" in modern usage, has broadened out of the religious context to refer to more generally held extreme beliefs. The terrorist is often labeled as a fanatic, especially in actions that lead to self-destruction. Although fanaticism is not unique to terrorism, it is, like "terrorism," a pejorative term. In psychological terms, the concept of fanaticism carries some implications of mental illness, but, Taylor (1988:97) points out, it "is not a diagnostic category in mental illness." Thus, he believes that "Commonly held assumptions about the relationship between fanaticism and mental illness...seem to be inappropriate." The fanatic often seems to view the world from a particular perspective lying at the extreme of a continuum.

Prophet Muhammad was born in a feuding, polytheistic tribal society. In order to forge a unified monotheistic community under his leadership he prescribed a comprehensive set of rituals and practices, a meticulous code of moral-ethical behaviour and strict ground rules for the running of a political state. His revelations of the word of God, the Quran, and his personal practices, sunna, became the foundations for the ordering of the Islamic umma.

By advocating strict adherence to the Quran and Sunna, Ali came to represent the idealist polarity in Islam. The pragmatist polarity was represented by those who succeeded Muhammad as Caliphs. The caliph, Uthman, stretched pragmatism so far as to trigger off a determined campaign by groups of militant soldiers against him, ending in his assassination. With this, Shiat Ali partisans of Ali, became the first fundamentalist in Islamic history. Ali's son Hussein took up arms against Yazid, an unjust ruler, even though the odds against him were desperately high. He thus turned the concept of Martyrdom ii>to tact to achieve an ideal Islamic order. Thus the origins

[42]* Dlip Hiro, War without end, Routledge, London, 2001 p22

34

of **Islam** fundamentalism can be traced to the early days of the prophet Muhammad. The teachings of strict adherence to the Quran, as it were originally written by Allah[43].

Fanaticism is a typical feature of small terrorist groups. In Greek, it refers to people who experience a state of ecstasy in holy sites. Although it is associated with religion, fanaticism is not confined to religious spheres only. It is not quite the same as fundamentalism because the fundamentalist is bound by the holy texts, whereas the fanatic frequently feels to provide his own interpretations. Fanaticism can turn inward and express itself in asceticism or self-flagellation, as it still happens among the Shiites. More often, it shows itself as hostility towards an outside enemy, an unwillingness to compromise, and an eagerness not just to defeat the enemy but to destroy him[14]. The modern fanatic is more eager to castigate the flesh of others than his own.

Fanaticism has been interpreted as a sadomasochist fixation, as a compulsion, as a paranoid delusion, and as over stimulation of certain parts of the brain. Religious fanaticism can also be interpreted as a defensive strategy to keep out foreign influences and to preserve the purity of the believer's way of life. It appears is a secular form, or as a mixture of religion and politics. In the earlier days, the Irish terrorist, who starved themselves to death, believed as following the traditions of religious Martyrs. Offensive and defensive fanatics, religious believers, and political soldiers all have in common an absolute certainty as to the justness of their cause, the legitimacy of their leader, the inability to recognize other moral values and considerations, and the abdication of critical judgment.

These preconditions apply to members and candidates of violent sects despite their level of education. Their knowledge becomes compartmentalized, they do not forget their academic •earning, but it is kept quite separate from their cause. They can function, do their jobs, and lead

[43] Ibid p 29
44 waiter Laqueur, The new terrorism, Oxford University press, 1999

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reasonable family lives. It is only when demands are made on them by the leader, on behalf of the cause in which they totally believe that the inherent dangers in fanaticism come to the fore[45].

Ethno nationalist and powerful reward mechanisms have been invented in order to strengthen the resolve of prospective recruits. In the Islamist context, a system of rewards has been developed to encourage martyrs, which promises eternal life in paradise. This is **described** as a place with rivers of milk and wine, services of seventy-two young **beautiful** black-eyed virgins, and the privilege to "reserve a place" in heaven for seventy relatives. This is the promise for the young, prospective males. For women, this dimension has been modified to promise them even greater beauty and the ability to among the available husbands in paradise. The sexual dimension can be an important component, as there has been at least one reported case of suicide bomber who was wearing a towel as a loincloth to protect his genital for use in paradise[4,1]. This is a very attractive promise for young males from refugee camps, whose hope of getting married is very slim. Further, in the Palestinian context, one of the incentives for martyrdom volunteers has been the financial rewards of between $ 12,000 and $20,000 given to their families for their sacrifice. But this is not enough reason for their motivation, as some of these suicide bombers come from very rich families. In any case the mount that actually reaches their families out of this total sum, is negligible. Children have been known to join terrorist groups for three main reasons: religious motivations, that if they die their sins and those of their relatives will be forgiven,[47] and they will go to paradise with their relatives if they die for a religious cause. In Sri Lanka, the prestige and glorification of

H Ibid p 100   *

   James Forest, The making of a terrorist, Library of Congress cataloging-in-publication
Data,2006,London,p 160
   Ibid, pi 10

those who sacrifice themselves is preserved by annual celebrations of the "Martyrs Day", along w^h   buildings of monuments.

In Iraq, parents are paid up to American dollars 25,000 by the government for offering their children to suicide bomb the Americans. The Hamas pay parents American dollars 5000. And in addition their families are given either foods or good housings. Another factor that motivates children is social motivation. Children from refugee camps- in Palestine prefer terrorism due to the squalid conditions their parents lead in those camps.[48] Israel has taken up the land that could have been occupied by these refugees. The pathetic refugee camps are totally de-humanizing and Israel is blamed for all their sufferings.

Women recruitment as terrorists has been on the rise as from the 20[lh] century. Some of the reasons given for joining the group are: Society discrimination on gender, social misfits' and lack of marriage. In the Middle East, lack of education, lack of employment and family problems are other factors which make women to join terrorist groups. All these factors are attributable to Arab-Israel conflicts, which is unlikely to end in the near future. Strong urges for revenge by the Palestinians exist in all age groups.

2.4 REVENGE AND HOPELESNESS

Trauma comes from a Greek word that means "to wound or pierce" Traumatic events generally involve a threat of injury or death that causes the victim to feel intense fear, helplessness, loss of control, and impending annihilation. Trauma can occur following the

[48]James Forest, The making of a terrorist Library of Congress Cataloging-in-data,2006 London, pi 10

ₑxperience or witnessing of terrorist incidents. They cause physical and psychological injury that produces mental and emotional stress. The emotional symptoms of traum^ include sadness, depression, anxiety, fear, irritability, anger, guilt and self-doubt. Victim^ may develop phobias, and sleep disorders. Victims may also experience mental confusio^ and become emotionally impaired and socially dysfunctional[49].

The salient characteristic of post-terrorist traumatic events is that they cause helplessness and terror. The terror, rage, and hatred of the traumatic moment lives on in the minds o^ the victims for along time. Many injured victims describe a need to avenge their hurt b^ retaliating against their assailants with even more violence than the victims experienced This urge for revenge has been characterized as a basic human need to satisfy the victims Traumatized people imagine that revenge will bring relief, even though the fantasy Of revenge simply reverses the roles of perpetrator and victim, thus continuing to imprison the victim in horror and degradation.

Robbed of meaningful social roles, status, respect, and identity in the broader society^ some disenfranchised individuals turn to violence and terrorism to satisfy their needs Some of the basic human needs include identity, material well-beingᵥ stimulation/creativity, self-actualization, self-determination, and security. These ar^ assumed to be inherent in human beings. Identity or personality disorders resulting froir^ terrorist acts motivate trauma victims and others to committee violence. For example^ malignant Narcissism personality organization develops as a defence adaptation t^ childhood hurts and humiliates experienced during terrorist acts. The malignant

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[49] Ibid p 69

Narcissist hurts or kills others in order to feel good for the revenge[50]. Some of the most villainous leaders of modern times have been victims of personal trauma of various origins, including terrorism. Politicians such as Joseph Stalin, Adolf Hitler, and Slobodan Milosevic had childhood experiences that rendered them damaged despite their rise to power afterwards. Adolf Hitler was abused, shamed, and humiliated by his father, who was described as a clinical alcoholic who tyrannized his family. Adolf stayed in his parents' bedroom until he was six years old. He was subjected to, "the common trauma of witnessing parental sexual intercourse in the shared bedroom" (Redlich, 1998, p 14).

Timothy McVeigh, the Oklahoma City bomber, committed the greatest act of terrorism ever perpetrated against Americans by an American. On April 19, 1995, McVeigh killed 168 people and injured 642 others when he blew up the Murrah Federal Building with a truck bomb. He had suffered war trauma during military service in the Gulf. He was also a victim of bullying and humiliation in his childhood. He further sustained psychological scars from his parents' three separations, the last one ending in a divorce. While on death row, he called himself a patriot who was fighting for the greater good against a bullying government. He got his final wish on June 11, 2001, in an execution chamber at the federal prison in Terre Haute, Indiana[1]. No wonder these people adopted some form of terrorism in their later years. Many other acts of terror can be traced back as forms of revenge.

On April 20, 1999, Dylan Klebold and Eric Harris shot to death 11 students and a teacher and wounded 24 other students at Columbine High school in Colorado. They then killed themselves. The two 18-year-old gunmen were filled with hatred and an urge to revenge

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Ibid p 74
[51] Ibid p 84

for the bullying they were subjected to. They planned the shooting as a suicide mission driven by their indiscriminate and their intention to wipe out most of their classmates and

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teachers. Both of them were bullied, ostracized, and alienated by their schoolmates' . Other terrorists use various methods of terrorist acts to revenge, including biochemical weapons.

The importance of biochemical and radiological attacks may go undetected for sometime, therefore reducing the chances of reacting first to the attacks. Due to easy accessibility to transport, the number of casualties may increase due to the movement of infected people. In a biological attack (anthrax, plague, small pox), there are very few preventive measures apart from vaccination. A high efficiency particulate air Filter (FIEPA) mask, however, may be used as a preventive measure. Considering the immediate undetectable nature of such an attack, a mask may be ineffective, time would be crucial. Further more, masks do not fit children and where they may fit, they have the potential to make heart and lung conditions worse. Some of the common biological agents include:

Small pox, which is a highly infectious disease affecting various systems of the body. It is transmitted from person to person through respiratory droplets released from the infected individuals through coughing and sneezing. Individuals may also be infected if they have direct contact with contaminated clothing, bed linen, or blankets. It ca be fatal in a high percentage of cases. Symptoms of the disease include high fever, exhaustion, headache, abdominal pains, backache, rash and pustules. Vaccination and avoidance of contact with the infected persons are the best preventive measures.

[52] Ibid p 86

Anthrax **is** another biological agent and can be spread in three ways: by skin contact, by ingestion, and by inhalation. Individuals can acquire anthrax by handling items that **contain** anthrax spores, an infected animals or products of infected animals such as meat **and milk.** During the September 11, one of the anthrax incidents involved an individual who opened an envelope containing anthrax spores. It is not highly contagious, but can be fatal if left untreated. Symptoms include diarrhea, vomiting, loss of appetite, raised itchy bumps with a characteristic black centre, swollen lymph nodes, and inflammation of the intestinal tract. Treatment is by vaccination and antibiotics[3].

Chemical agents' can occur in three forms, gaseous, liquid, and solid forms. Chemical agents can be transmitted in three ways, by skin contact, by ingestion, and by inhalation. Symptoms may by detected in hours or take days. Quantity and concentration determine the severity of the effects on humans. Examples of these include, nerve gases (VX and Sarin).They mainly disrupt the body's nervous system from functioning efficiently. Symptoms include, running nose, tightness in the chest, nauseas and vomiting. Others include choking agents such as chlorine and phosgene, which attack the respiratory system, causing coughing, tightness in the chest, rapid breathing, shock followed by death if no treatment is available. Blood agents (cyanide), reduce the oxygen carrying capacity of the red blood cells. Symptoms include violent fits and cardiac arrest. Blister causing agents (mustard gas), attack the skin and eyes and causes painful skin blistering. Symptoms include irritation of eyes, skin, throat and lungs. Others include redness and blister formations of the skin, incapacitation and death. Other indications of chemical attack include, coloured residue on the surface, dead foliage, strong odour, and dead

[53] Ibid p 226

insects/animals. Treatment is by use of anti-dotes to reverse or weaken the effects of the agent. Avoiding contaminated areas is a good protective measure.[54]

Auni Shinrikyo cult members manufactured the nerve gas sarin and used it on two **separate** occasions (1994 and 1995) to kill a total of 19 people and injured 5500. Members of the cult with advanced training in organic chemistry and related subjects from various Universities helped to produce the gas. Islamic fundamentalists are the most likely to get and use these weapons of mass destruction. Others include Christian and Zionist fundamentalists

2.5 ZIONIST TERRORISM.

Terrorism in the Middle East has always been associated with Islamic fundamentalists and Palestinian groups unwilling to achieve some form of reconciliation with Israel. However, often under-reported, and also a serious threat to the peace prospects in the Middle East, is the Jewish/Zionist terrorism, which has a very long but less well-known history. For example, the young man, Amir Yigal, who murdered former Israel Prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, is believed to be a Jewish terrorist. After the murder, he was hailed as a hero by many, not only in Israel but also in America. The assassination of Rabin was just one of many acts carried out by individuals whose beliefs closely mirror those of Yigal Amir under the Zionist group.

This religious Zionism or terrorism has been growing in Israel since the 1967 six-day war. The philosophy holds that God gave all the historic 'land of Israel' to the Jewish

[54] **Ibid** p 228

The victory in the 1967 war was a miracle which was to usher in the messianic era and that it would be sinful to return any Israel land, not even a single inch, to the Palestinians. Traditionally, Orthodox Judaism held that only the Messiah could bestow **Jewish** sovereignty on Palestine. When Yitzhak Rabin signed the Oslo accord with **Yasser** Arafat in 1993 to return some of the annexed land to the Palestinians, the Jewish **settlers'** wrath shifted from the Arabs to Rabin the "traitor." Rabin's proposal to evacuate a small settlement enclave in Hebron, and considered especially vulnerable to Arab attack, provoked a defining crisis, and this led to his murder".

In what is perhaps the landmark example of Jewish terrorism in Israel, the assassination of Prime Minster Yithak Rabin, all of the various ultranationalist elements and philosophies came into play. According to Spinzak, Rabin's assassination did not take place in a vacuum. Although Amir acted alone, his act should be viewed as the culmination of a process of delegitimation of the Israel government by Israel's ultranationalists. The 1993 Oslo Accords triggered the renewed radicalization of the right, but the final countdown to the assassination had begun in the aftermath of the 1994 Hebron massacre[56]. A group of Orthodox rabbis gave religious sanction to the murder of Rabin.

Rabin's assassin, Amir, explained that he killed for the sake of the Zionist Jews. This is just what an average Jew thinks of anon-Jew. That they are superior to non-Jews, and that the biblical land of God is theirs because they are the descendants of Moses. This means that the struggle of the Palestinians to liberate their land from the Israelis is futile. There

James J.F. Forest, The making of a terrorist,(Library of Congress Cataloging in-Publication Data, 2006,London)p 260
[6] Ibid p 270

• no foreseeable peace in the Middle East. I he Jihads will continue, the suicide bombings will continue, and terrorism will never be countered in the Israel-Arab conflict. \Vhen the terrorist will have an upper hand over Israel, they will wipe them out, may be **with** weapons of mass destruction. In the meantime, the thousands of Palestinian refugees **scattered** in the Middle East will continue to languish in poverty, as the international **community** closes an eye on their plight, and the Palestinians will continue with the **struggle,** using all means, including suicide bombings.

2.6 SUICIDE TERRORISM.

Lebanon's Muslim militants were the first to resort to suicide bombing. They did so in the 1975-90 civil wars in Lebanon against American, French, British and the Italian forces who had intervened on behalf of the Lebanese Christians. However, suicide bombing is not a monopoly of the Muslim fundamentalists. By the beginning of the 21st century, it had been adopted by ten organizations, both religious and secular.

Suicide, both of individuals and of groups en masse, has played an important role in a number of religious sects and terrorist groups. It has many psychological causes. And in some instances it may be the result of a rational decision. The indoctrination of the positive value of suicide has been especially intense in Sri Lanka where almost all the candidates among the Tamil Tigers are in the teens. This commitment to self destruction is combined with training in the commission of acts with the greatest cruelty. Some of the families of suicide bombers in the Middle East accept the fate of their dead heroes and accord them with the highest esteem.

Most of the suicide bombers are below twenty years, although there are older ones too. There main motivation is religious, and only secondarily do they act as patriots and Arab nationalists,

jgh Islam does not recommend suicide and the liberation of their homeland is not a religious

for Islam does not recognize homelands.'

The role of a leader is important in amalgamating together alienated, frustrated **individuals** into a coherent organizational structure. They provide sense-making, unifying **massage** that conveys **a** religious, political or ideological goal to their disparate individuals, who may be discontented and aggrieved, but who, without the powerful presence of the leader, will remain isolated and individually aggrieved. This is **exemplified** by Osama bin Laden who has become appositive identification object for thousands of alienated Arab and Muslim youths. For his followers, bin Laden serves as the heroic revenge, with the courage to stand up against, America, the only superpower.

Suicide terrorism is a function of a culture of martyrdom, and there is the organizational decision to employ this tactic to achieve the end state. There is a supply of recruits who are always willing to give their lives in martyrdom operations' . Social-psychological forces are particularly important, leading some scholars to speak of suicide terrorists' production line.

A comparative analysis of different terrorist organizations reveals that the training process is conducted in two separate dimensions. The first one is focused on giving the suicide bomber the basic operational skills for executing his attack. This includes an introduction to basic military techniques and knowledge on how to penetrate security,

58 'bid p 101
 James L F Forest, The making of a terrorist, Library of Congress cataloging in-publication Data 2006 London p 151

approach the target, operate the explosive, and avoid being detected, as well protocols of **operation** for specific situations that might be encountered during the attack"[9].

The second dimension of the training process is focused on developing the appropriate **mental** mindset of the perpetrator. The organization's main concern is to make sure that the potential bomber does not back down, a move that would not only jeopardize the **specific** mission but could also disclose organization members and tactics. The two processes can run concurrently, when there is urgency, or separately, when there is amble time to prepare.

In the Chechnya organizations, the majority of the suicide bombers have been women, and the training period of preparing these females for suicide missions has been minimal, just a few weeks. Some of these women are drugged during the mental preparation process, while others are tortured to harden their resolute. It seems that the method of using drugs has worked quite well for Chechnya, and many other organizations have adopted this style.

There are many indications that since the American invasion of Iraq, the use of drugs as part of the preparation of suicide bombers has increased. Some take anti-psychotic drugs during the training process and before setting out on their mission. Terrorist organizations always try to mobilize the society and political cultures to support their acts, especially if they claim to be fighting for the oppressed. Achieving this goal will facilitate their ability to mobilize and recruit suicide bombers. Suicide bombers have been recruited mainly trom lower social classes due to economic deprivation, but a few cases have come from more affluent homes. So, one may ask, in what conditions will economic deprivation lead to the emergence of suicide terrorists?

[59] Ibid P 156

There are four factors which facilitate this: a review of the countries where suicide terrorism has emerged shows that economic deprivation, when combined with violent conflict against a stronger adversary, has been the cause of much suffering, a predicament that generates frustration and results in the dehumanization of the enemy. This dehumanization, together with the long period of suffering from the conflict, facilitates the emergence of people seeking mainly to harm members of the opposition, to get the vengeance and use the suicide mission as a way out from on going political frustration. Societies that perceive themselves as weak and feel hopeless and oppressed by a powerful enemy have seen suicide terrorism a tool to empower that society. Suicide terrorism is encouraged by the terrorist organization through disseminating a "culture of death" offering themselves as Martyrs. During the 1990s the terrorist organizations were furious with Israel for not implementing the Oslo Accord, and with the Palestinian Authority for not improving the lit of the average man in the street. These two facts caused a lot of frustration, and went along way towards propagating the death culture and acquiring volunteers for suicide missions[60].

2.7 POLITICAL CAUSES

Terrorism has been known to be politically motivated. It is a strategy rooted in political discontent, and used in the service of many different beliefs and doctrines that help legitimize and sustain violence. Ideologies associated with nationalism, revolution, religion, and defence of the status quo have all inspired terrorism. One has to look at the

James Forestm, the making of aterrorist, Library of Congress Cataloging-in-publication Data, London,2005

opportunities, intentions, and perceptions of actors for whom terrorism is useful to intimidate opponents, communicate goals, advertise the cause, recruit followers, and mobilize popular support. Hamas and Hezbollah are political movements which occasionally use terrorism as a means of pressurizing the government on issues which the government does not what[61]. Some movements for self-determination have been termed terrorist movements like the Mau Mau of Kenya during the liberation time. Some groups have employed terrorism methods to force governments to change leadership, especially for democratic change. Some regimes are more prone to terrorism than others. Lack of democracy is not the only cause of terrorism, some democracies experience terrorism more than others. Not all democracies are equally inclusive or pluralistic or respective of minority rights. Elected majorities may discriminate systematically against minorities.

However, democracy per se does not guarantee immunity to terrorism. Established liberal democracies with long traditions of freedom of speech and tolerance to dissent have been the targets of both domestic and international terrorism. America, Britain, Germany, Spain and France are a few examples of old democracies where terrorism is still common. The causes espoused by the groups resorting to terrorism are varied, and include ethno-nationalism, separatism, revolution, religion, and rightwing extremism. The degree of social, ethnic, and political heterogeneity or fragmentation within the state appears to be a critical contributing factor. Highly contentious policies and divided societies are likely to be associated with greater risks of terrorism. Transitional or new democracies are the most fragile, because their authority is weak and the legacy of past oppression may be strong. A good example is the transition from the military rule to

James F Forest, The making of a terrorist Library of Cataloging-in-publication Data 2006 London p 181

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•en10Cracy in countries in Latin America which were jeopardized by terrorism, such as **Argentina,** Chile, and Uruguay. Some militant groups choose terror tactics in anticipation that governments will increase repression, leading to a shift in public support from the **government** to the terrorists' cause.

Radicalization and a wave of terrorist attacks also may result from a specific hostile event that calls for revenge, such as the "bloody Sunday" shooting by British Soldiers in Derry-City in 1972, Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's visit to the temple Mount-Al-Aqsa Mosque in 2000, and the American-led invasion of Iraq in 2003. Occasionally, radicalization is the result of the spill-over from conflicts in neighboring countries. This is common in states which are unstable, and which act as safe havens for terrorists. Having seen the causes the next chapter will look into ways of countering terrorism.

2.8 conclusions

From the aforesaid it is evident that the causes of terrorism are varied. More often than not the causes are multi-dimensional, and any efforts to counter terrorism must be broad-based, and target the root causes. Terrorists have always recognized the importance of manipulating the media in their favour. The media cannot ignore terrorism, but society would certainly be better off if the media were not driven by sensationalism, and portray a negative resentments on terrorist acts.

Breeding areas should be targeted in rooting out terror. Collapsed states ,poorly governed states, and undemocratic states should be assisted to achieve recommended status of
stability and good governance. *

CHAPTER THREE

COUNTERING TERRORISM

3.0 Introduction

Countering terrorism is one of the biggest problems the world is facing today. It has become less successful for a variety of reasons. Modern technology can not keep track of the movements of single individuals in towns carrying miniaturized bombs. The only effective weapon against terrorism in the modern world has been the infiltration of their ranks and the use of informers. Globalization has made the world a small village, through communications and internet. This has made it difficult to trace and track terrorists and their activities. This chapter addresses the issue of countering international terrorism.

3.1 THE WEST'S COUNTER-TERRORIST MEASURES

Terrorism is an asymmetrical war employed by the weaker against the stronger. Most international terrorist acts today are aimed at the United States and allies. This is why the West has taken a leading role in fighting international terrorism. West's response to terrorism has changed markedly since the 11, Sept, 2001. America and allies have formed working strategic assumptions to help in counter-terrorism. They include the following: that the United States officials, facilities, and citizens will remain high priority targets of terrorism; therefore, they should be given extra security, especially their embassies. International co-operation to combat* terrorism will continue to increase, so, third world countries need funding for their participation and co-operation. The number of

international terrorist incidents will continue to decline, but terrorists will seek to increase **casualties** and damage by using more lethal means, so, we must be alert and **keep-up surveillance** all the time. The danger that terrorists might employ bio-chemical or nuclear **weapons** will grow, therefore we should prepare for these types of attacks. Terrorists will **attack** less-protected targets, including vulnerable communication systems and **infrastructure,** so, all these must be protected. In order to reduce the illicit drugs trade, it **is** necessary to reduce foreign production, so, **we** should weed-out any local production of the drugs. We should aim at destroying the source of the supply, especially where they are manufactured or grown.

It is clear that the Western strategic thinking is at an impasse in the wake of Sept 11 2001, over the nature and course of Western grand strategy in response to the terrorist challenge presented by A1 Qaeda and its extremist Islamic allies and supporters. Grand strategy is a state's ability to project power and force in international relations and its overall strategy that informs and underpins this. Grand strategy deals with military power and other areas such as, international institutions, non-governmental bodies, private business, and multinational corporations which in many cases play a more significant role in international politics than many states[02].

The first grand strategy is mainly concerned with a balance of global military power and it is concerned with the adequate projection by the State's military force to secure its long-term security. The second grand strategy is orientated towards working through the Bretton Woods institutions such as the World Bank, and world trade organizations. The United States faces the prospects of imperial overstretch if it seeks to take on by itself a

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global war against terror without bringing its allies on board as well. It may use a limited

[62] raul B Rich, Grand strategy in the war against terrorism, University of Cambridge, 2003 p 4

form of deterrence strategy against states that harbour terrorists while, similarly, it will need the support of global economic institutions to rebuild failed states. Before the death of Saddam Hussein of Iraq, some critics saw the United State's war on terror as really hiding a wider imperial grand strategy that was aimed at overthrowing the Iraq regime, and tiain control of the oil reserves of the Middle East[6]".

The United States has also devised a special operations force to counter terrorism. The force comprises of specialized units with different roles, but sometimes with overlapping capabilities. The special operations' forces include, army, special units known as the green Berets, the rangers, special mission units, and the special operations Aviation regiment. Others include civil affairs and the psychological operations forces, the navy and the air force special tactics teams. These forces perform two types of tasks: those involved in direct tasks such as rescuing hostages, and those involved in indirect tasks such as reconnaissance in gathering important intelligence. For example, during the 1991 Gulf war, Special Forces hid behind enemy lines in Iraq in order to monitor road traffic and troop movements. They played a great role in gathering intelligence that helped defeat Iraq in a short period. Both the two teams place an absolute premium on stealth, speed and accuracy[64]. They can be deployed anywhere to monitor terrorist activities and gather intelligence.

This is the direction Kenya should take on measure aimed at counterterrorism. To establish a reasonable force to handle terrorism and other disasters. Maintain proper

[63] Ibid p 46
[64] Ibid p 81

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surveillance at the borders, all exits and entry points. Already trained members of the ofined forces, the police special units, members of the civil society, and medical **personnel,** should form the core of this force. This force should be formed through an act **of** parliament, and not just ad hoc selections when there is a disaster. **The** force should be highly trained, and be stationed at various strategic locations within the country. For them to get enough experience, they should take part in rescue missions in areas which have **experienced** calamities, including outside Kenya. Special equipments should be in place **to** assissit during operations. A system of continuously informing the public as to what to **do** during such emergencies should be in place, such as radio broadcasts on particular days.

International terrorism is highly adaptive and based on networks that are global. It may make use of particular countries, such as Afghanistan, Sudan, Iran and Somalia as their bases. Therefore, any strategy against terrorism must be global in nature. The earlier this is done the better, because no area is safe from terrorist activities. The world must be united towards this goal. During the 20th century, there were few cases of terrorism in Africa targeting foreign investments and interests. Many African countries never saw the need to put counter-terrorism measures in place. Currently, terrorism is with us. Almost, each country in Africa has experienced some kind of terrorism, international or domestic. Africa must join the rest of the world against global terror. Conflicts in Africa, collapsed states in Africa, and poor-state management of resources have led to wars in the continent. Conflicts create unstable states where terrorist gangs train and perpetuate their activities else where. All collapsed states have become safe havens for terrorists and other criminal gangs. Thus, we have states such as Somalia, Iraq, Palestine, Afghanistan, Some

Latin American countries, and others in south East Asia, which have been unable to **achieve** political stability. Many criminal gangs have formed training cells there, and the **areas** have become supply factories for terrorism. They should be assisted to democratize, **and** have stable and responsible governments, which will improve their security. This is **vvhat** the United States is doing in Afghanistan and the horn of Africa. It should be **extended** to Somalia and the Darfur region of Sudan.

From the global context, successful regimes have tried to address and root out the evils of terrorism in various ways. The latest efforts are being spearheaded by the United States of America. Fighting terrorism has become the facetious culture of a seemingly uni-polar world. In this uni-polar world, one is either with terrorists or against them. More often than not, the causes of terrorism are ignored in the battle against its manifestations. We always think of terrorism as being both political and irrational, however, it can also be thought of as a rational act conducted specifically because of the impact it will have, such as fear, submission and casualties. We need to view terrorism within the context of the modern nation-state.

Following the tragic events of September 11, 2001, fighting terrorism became a worldwide priority because millions of people felt at risk of future similar attacks. Strong demands for anti-terrorist educational tools and information resources have emerged for organizations, local governments, corporations and citizens throughout the world. The destructive capabilities of technology, once reserved for governments, are now at the reach of many, even the most elusive enemies of mankind, the terrorist.

Understanding terrorism is the first step in successfully combating it. **It** is often said that **terrorist** violence must be fought with equal, if not greater, state violence. However, Juliet Lodge argues, "that the more stringent anti-terrorist measures a state introduces, the more **terrorist** groups would be able to claim that such measures are proof of the state**'s** devious and fascist intentions". The west balances military-security anti-terrorist measures by **judicial** and political controls. International anti-terrorist conventions are both difficult to **formulate** and often hampered by lack of ratification and non-implementation by other states. They provide a practical example of the existing tension in the international **community** between state sovereignty and international law"\

Terrorism is a collective threat that requires a collective response. The west believes that terrorism has undemocratic values that require a democratic response. The west has come up with the law that allows terrorists to be extradited from their countries and be tried in any of the countries where the crime was committed. The law is referred to as, "the European convention for the suppression of terrorism". There is no single method that can claim to prevent terrorism by itself. The following anti-terrorist measures have been put in place in Europe: universal screening of all airline passengers for metallic objects, and any electronic devices, and x-raying luggages. Others include, tightening of security at diplomatic institutions, watch list of terrorists and their photos at borders, and measures to sow dissension within terrorist groups through operations, and pursue the terrorists to their hide-outs. Should keep watch on the internet for communications among terrorist groups, and speeding up trials of terrorist crimes by emergency Procedures. Provide law courts greater scopc to intervene in a wider range of crimes, and

[65] A'ex Schmid and Ronald, Western responses to terrorism, Frank Cass, Ltd 1993,London, p 249

allow judges to retain in custody those charged with terrorist crimes until necessary additional information is obtained. Authorize the police to carryout postal intercept and **wiretapping** of persons suspected of terrorist activities. Other measures include the **freezing** of assets believed to belong to terrorist groups, and co-operation between states and other organizations globally on anti-terrorist matters[66].

The Horn of Africa is viewed as A1 Qaeda's second theatre of operation after Central Asia, in particular Afghanistan. All those areas suspected to be breeding grounds for terrorism have been targeted by Washington as part of the war against global terror[17]. After years of being ignored by the West, Somalia is now being scanned by the United States spy satellites and high-altitude surveillance flights for terrorist activities. The Germans and French frigates routinely patrol the coastline of Somalia in search of pirates, drug traffickers and money launders. All are watching to see whether members of Osama bin Laden's al Qaeda network, escaping pressure across the seas in South Asia, turn up again in their safe haven, Somalia. For example, off the Indian Ocean just south of Somalia, a flotilla of 3000 US Marines and sailors routinely conduct intensive ground and air maneuvers in search of the Al Qaeda members. The most recent anti-terrorist activity was the American assistance to Ethiopian forces to route out the Islamic-sponsored pundits from Somalia. Many Al Qaeda members were either captured or killed during this operation. America helped Ethiopia to install a coalition government in Somalia, which is currently experiencing insurgencies from the Islamic fundamentalists. With time, we hope this government will make Somalia a stable and a terrorist-free state.

" Ibid p 125
[67] Ibid p 302

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|n Afghanistan, the Americans and the British are fighting the Taliban insurgents who are believed to be fighting together with members of the A1 Qaeda group. The allies have **installed** an anti-Taliban government in Afghanistan and hope to route out Osama and his \\ Qaeda members. This operation started after the simultaneous suicide bombing of the **American** embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in August 1998. In reiteration, the **Americans** bombed several suspected A1 Qaeda hide-outs in Afghanistan with the hope of **discouraging** terrorist activities against America. This was not the case. Despite firing seventy five cruise missiles into Afghanistan, and arresting its members world-wide, the bombing of USS Cole in Yemen, in 0ctober2000 and the multiple bombing of the twin towers in 2001 could not be prevented. This demonstrates the capabilities of terrorists and the difficulties the war against terror is facing.

A1 Qaeda is a conglomerate of groups spread throughout the world, operating as a network. The constituent groups of the network have their command, control and communication structures. But whenever there's need, these groups interact or merge, ideologically, financially and operationally to achieve a common objective. Interruptions of telephones and other massages have also been stepped up. North Africa is another terrorist prone area. The West has also assisted these countries financially and technologically in their war against terror. The countries most affected include Egypt, Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia.

In Egypt, terrorism is a crime punishable by death, the military has powers to do security sweeps of Cities, raid suspected buildings, leveling of terrorist homes and shoot to kill[68].

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The non-military component of Egyptian repressive counter-terrorism include imposing

[68] Ibid p 323

f $_{clir}$fevvs and travel restrictions, closing ot suspected institutions and schools, and **disconnection** of telephone services for those suspected to be involved.

Money laundering is one of the ways of raising money for the terrorists. Without money, terrorist activities will come to a halt. The west has tried to block this source of money. According to the United Nations convention against illicit traffic in narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances of 1998, Money laundering involves the conversion of illicit cash to another asset, the concealment of the true source of the illegally acquired proceeds, and the creation of the perceptions of legitimacy and ownership. That is, it forever hides the source of income from the prying eyes of the internal revenue service, the drug enforcement administration, and other regulators. Cash is now the most common form of currency flowing through the financial Laundromats. But how does the money trail lead to terrorism?[69]

Organized crime groups have long been at the centre of the laundering process. Most laundered money is tied in some way to ventures of drug cartels and large criminals' organizations. Some wealthy individuals have accumulated their fortunes through connections with organized crime. Money is critical for terrorist operations of any scale. In particular, large terrorist organizations operating with minimal or no-state sponsorship usually require substantial sums on regular basis. Some of the funds are derived from narcotic trafficking. The drug trade generates the largest amount of contraband cash of any single type of activity ($400 billion world-wide or more each year)[70].

[69] Green E Sschweitzer, A faceless enemy, Perseus publishers, Cambridge, 2002
[70] Ibid p204

flie technical problems of intercepting illegal electronic money transfers by thieves or **laundrymen** are enormous, and the volume of such e-cash out of the United States dwarfs the amount of money carried across the border. Bank policies that dictate knowing the **customer** and reporting to government authorities large or suspicious transfers are difficult to implement in wired world. As more customers have on-line access financial institutions and as voice mail replaces telephone conversations, the opportunities to know **the** customer decrease. The tremendous growth of international trade and business transactions also results in ever-increasing automation with less interaction with customers.

Many banking institutions with no mandatory reporting requirements are now involved in transfers of funds, as well as in barter arrangements. Their legitimate lines of business are frequently used as covers for illegal transfers, particularly in locations where it is necessary to service large immigrant populations. Well-financed and technologically adept criminals are using myriad avenues to subvert the financial systems that are the pillars of international commerce. Despite the strict rules imposed by the banking institutions on money laundering, they are not water-tight. Large sums of illicit money still find their way to the terrorists. This is because of, failure to consider money laundering as a serious crime by some countries, rigid bank secrecy that cannot be penetrated for authorized law enforcement investigations, minimal identification requirements to conduct financial transactions, lack of effective monitoring of currency movements, no mandatory requirements for large cash transactions, no mandatory requirements for reporting suspicious transactions, use monetary instruments payable to bearers, well-established non-bank financial systems, especially where regulation and

monitoring are lax, limited narcotics and money laundering enforcement and **investigative** capabilities, countries with free trade zones where there is little government **presence,** patterns of official corruption or a laissez-faire attitude toward the business and **banking** communities, countries where there is significant trade in or export of gems, particularly diamonds.

The above loopholes show that control of illicit money to the terrorist is not an easy task. Due to the advanced technology, and the liberalization of markets, money laundering will always be a problem. This has been complicated with the advent of globalization, which has made travel and money laundering much easier for terrorists.

3.2 Globalization

Globalization is a process that dates back to before the industrial revolution. Globalization refers to the integration of the world economy at the global level. Its consequences have come to be seen as one of the major determinants in any future socio-economic and political world order . With globalization came worldwide interdependence and the consolidation of the free-market system, the strengthening and spreading of the ground rules for economic activity. Whereas trade in goods and services and the internationalization of production are trends that date back to the 19th century, the greatly enhanced financial capital mobility is a novel development. Various definitions have been advanced. It can be defined as how events occurring on one part of the globe can affect and be affected by events occurring in other distant parts of the globe. It is closely associated with increased transnational interdependence and trans-boundary

orynjar Lia,Globalization and the future of terrorism. Routledge, London 2005 p 18

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movement. According to Holm and Sorensen, globalization is the intensification ot **economic,** political, social and cultural relations across borders. This process is facilitated **through a** technological revolution in the fields of telecommunication and transportation **and** in the formation of global financial markets made possible by geo-political and **political** changes, foremost the collapse of the Soviet Union and its satellite states.

Therefore, the increasing tlow of information, products, people, money, technology and expertise across national borders and its consequences may be viewed as core aspects of the globalization concept. It can be further viewed as a process of de-territorialisation and **of** expanding relations between the people. Another view of globalization focuses on the transformation of perceptions of time and space produced by innovations of information technology. According to this view, key characteristics of globalization are the speed of communication and the compression of time and space produced by electronic communication technologies and other means   .

Most trade takes place among multinational corporations that are an enormous part of the economic activity of the world (Dr Ian Linden). There are three elements of globalization process; intensified globalization of production, which is the key element, intensified globalization of finance and globalization of macroeconomic policy in the impoverished and oppressed nations, or (the virtual takeover of the national management of third world economies by the International Monetary Fund and the World bank and the imposition of neo-liberal policies and restructuring). It is a more recent development than internationalization. It represents the heightening of some of most essential features of

[72] Ibid p 18

Imperialism[73]. The results of globalization include the subjugation of entire nations, the vvars. the crises, the famines and the exploitation of billions of people. It **is** both an active process of corporate expansion across borders and a structure of cross-border and an **economic** linkage that has been steadily growing and changing as the process gathers steam. It is an ideology, whose function is to reduce any resistance to free trade by making it seem both highly beneficent and unstoppable.

Weak African states cannot cope with the demands of globalization. Weaker states cannot control internationalization. Globalization renders territoriality irrelevant and weak states tend to fail because they cannot cope with it. The weak states cannot afford the means to bring under its control the illegal activities of various transnational crime syndicates, drug dealers, arms traffickers and other cross-border criminal activities. The weak African states cannot compete with wealthy multinational corporations, violent non-state actors such as transnational terrorism, violent speculative markets which can be destructive to fragile economies, and the vast arms trade facilitating warlords and conflicts.

Globalization has a great potential to provide economic benefits that can be realized by disadvantaged groups and provides openings for the incorporation of women, thus avoiding gender discrimination. Yet, the process of globalization has also vastly increased incentives and opportunities for terrorism and makes it easier to organize, finance and sustain terrorist strategies[74]. A number of African and Muslim countries have steadily deglobalized over the last 25 years. The general effects are an increase in

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?3 Tatah Mentan, Dilemmas of weak states, Asligate publishers, London, 2004
James F Forest, The making of a terrorist, Library of Cataloging-in-Data,2006,London p 290

inequalities and social polarization among states. Such growing inequalities may lead to **terrorist** acts justified by the perpetrators in the name of a more equitable distribution of wealth- The permeability of cultural boundaries and the global spread of market culture are interpreted by some militants as the infiltration of a lien and corrupt culture which is then used as a justification for nationalist and radical religious movements that aim at cleansing their societies and cultures of foreign influence. These are the feelings of most Muslim fundamentalist groups towards western influences and cultures. Globalization facilitates movements of workers and refugees across borders, leading to new minority groups in settled societies, many of which are linked politically to terrorism. Globalization increases opportunities for militant and terrorist groups to get information and money across borders with easy.

Socio-economic inequalities inside states will remain or become larger. Inequality between the rich and the poor countries are likely to continue to grow. Disparities in wealth will become more visible, and in many Western countries, inequality patterns will have a more pronounced ethnic dimension. This may result to resurgence of anti-globalization ideologies which might translate into transnational terrorism. Domestically, increased inequalities are likely to generate more civil violence, possibly including terrorism, especially with other aggravating factors such as discrimination. Globalization advocates have argued that open economies benefit the poorest countries, because they lead to increased investment and trade, which in turn generate growth and development. Foreign direct investment has almost tripled in the period 1981-96. However, only 1% of

the FDI goes to the 48 least developed countries. The countries also fail to derive benefits

from liberalization of global trade[75].

Rising income inequalities among states is also strengthened by differences in education

and access to information. Manuel Castells argues that polarization and inequalities are at

the very heart of information capitalism, its logic leaves entire populations and regions

out of the loop of economic growth, rendering them unproductive and irrelevant. This is

the pessimistic perspective on modernization in the digital age where the growing

importance of technology, knowledge and expertise means that skilled labor will be

relatively more important and well-paid than unskilled, causing further growth in wage

gaps between the rich and the poor and increased brain drain in developing countries[76].

The current level of brain drain is already very high, with loses of highly skilled of up to

30% or more in some countries. The sector hardest hit in Kenya is health, where both

doctors and other Para-medics have found greener pastures in the west. This contributes

significantly to the positive economy in the North, but less so in the South.

In labor, technological development reinforces the trend towards less emphasis on the

production of physical goods and more on information, services and non-repetitive tasks

which favor the west.

3.3 IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION

Globalization has wide-ranging political, economic, social and cultural implications on

third world countries. The effects of a growing deregulation of international trade and

Ibid p 100
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Ibid p 100

finance markets and its effects on national economies are particularly in focus, especially the economic marginalization of third world countries. Equally important are the **transnational** sub-state actors in the international politics. They include terrorist groups **such** as the Al Qaeda who have forced America to declare war on global terror. The **9/11 attacks** were a powerful demonstration of the ability of a sub-state organization to effect **profound** changes in international politics. Countering globalization-induced terrorism **will** be a tall order.

3.4 TERRORISM AND TECHNOLOGY

Terrorist groups will become increasingly adept at exploiting information technology in a growing number of fields. Multiple coordinated attacks on many targets at many different locations will be easier to carryout. Critical infrastructure targets, operated by information technology systems are likely to be targeted more frequently and more seriously than before. Most of the states in the developed world depend heavily on information technology. Their infrastructure facilities, such as telecommunications, energy production, and supply systems, air, rail and road transport systems, banking and financial services and water supply are all heavily interconnected and based on interdependent information systems which are linked directly to the internet. [7]

Advanced IT is used on the battlefield, in military operations, and in sustaining critical military infrastructure. Therefore the growing reliance on IT and the interconnectedness and complexities of modern information systems make modern societies extremely vulnerable to cyber-terrorism. The growing interdependence of both commercial and

[77] Ibid p 172

government information systems, suggests that sophisticated co-coordinated attacks may have unforeseen and large scale cascading effects, with paralyzing effect on society. Although there has not been any case of cyber-terrorism, there are possibilities that this technology might be a target for terrorism. The real value of the internet to terrorists lies in the realm of propaganda and secure long-distance communication. There is little doubt that al Qaeda has used the internet for operative communications, illustrated by the 9/11 bombing, and many other related attacks coordinated through e-mail. Now terrorists and criminal groups are increasingly becoming more adept at using advanced equipment for reconnaissance and intelligence purposes. The new communication devices will also make terrorists more skilled at launching simultaneous attacks at various places miles apart.

Dual-use technology and improvised weapons are other means accessible to terrorists for misuse. The use of surveillance technology highlights a key aspect of globalization in the sense that it permits commercialization and proliferation of technologies, resources and possibilities that previously were available only to governments. As a result, it has been observed that the telecommunications and logistics infrastructure of drug traffickers, counterfeiters, or smugglers of people is often more superior to that of the regulatory and law enforcement agencies of most countries[78].

New aerosolisation technologies in various paint and pharmaceutical industries represent another dual-use non-conventional threat to the world. When it comes to weaponisation ol biological and chemical-risk agents, aerosolisation is one of the most critical technical hurdles for sub-state actors. The proliferation of new technologies in this area represents

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[114] Ibid p 270

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therefore a potentially new dual-use threat[7]\ Unmanned air vehicles, (UAVs), are another dual-use challenge which is now in the market for commercial use and which can be **abused** by terrorists. They can be used as delivery systems for explosives, and biochemical agents. Other remote-controlled vehicles are also potential delivery **mechanisms** for terrorist weapons. **Aum** Shinrikyo employed remote-controlled **helicopters** to spray dangerous chemicals from the air, while experimenting on his biological agents.

Huge investments will have to be made in technologies specifically designed to serve counter-terrorism purposes. These will include explosive detection, "taggants diffusers". These super cede X-ray for scanning luggage and packages. Thermal neutron analysis has also been developed. It is capable of analyzing the chemical composition of a target and thus directly detecting the presence of an explosive. The other methods now in place include magnetic resonance imaging (MRI), and acoustic resonance techniques [80].

Biochemical weapons detection/protection is not common among the terrorist groups due to their complexities in development. In the field of nanotechnology, new technologies such as miniaturized intelligent sensor systems, for detection of **CBW** agents, nanofibers for protective clothing and new ways to disrupt **BW**-agent viability. New vaccines against bioterrorism are also being developed based on gene-transfer technology.

Take the example of Anthrax as a possible biological agent. Debora Mackenzie, author of the article "Bioarmagedon[1]' (1998 p 42), offers a response to anthrax bio-terrorist attack;

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[79] Ibid pi 79
[80] tJrynjar Lia, Globalization and the future of terrorism, Routledge, 2005, London p 183

^ terrorist group declares that unless its demands are within 48 hours, it will release **anthrax** over San Francisco. Two days later, a private plane Hies across the Bay, **spreading** an aerosol cloud that shimmers briefly in the sunlight before disappearing. **Thousands** are killed in the panic as two million people flee the city. Another 1.6 million **inhale** anthrax spores. Antibiotics are rushed in, but the Hospitals are overwhelmed and $_n$ot everyone receives treatment. Most of the country's limited stock of anthrax vaccine has already been given to the soldiers. Emergency crews provide little help as there are only four germ-suits in the whole city. More than a million people of the Bay Area's 6.5 million residents die[81]. This is the scenario one can expect in a bio-terrorist attack. In developing countries, it will be much worse; it will claim many more victims due to poor preparedness, and lack of means to detect the problem early. This is why we need good surveillance methods for any such eventuality.

More effective and smaller digital video-camera surveillance systems will be available for the monitoring of public space in urban areas, border and coastal areas. New software allows security agencies to track an individual's digital persona through their use of tele-communication services, and transactions. New biometric technologies for identifying impersonation are in place.

They include six key areas; fingerprint, hand/palm geometry, iris, retinal, facial and voice recognition. The other protective measures against terrorist attacks include the use of sensor technologies, where various sensory-enhancing technologies ranging from ambient light magnification, audio amplification and infrared light to more sensitive

' Chris E Stout, Psychology of terrorism, Westport, Connecticut, London, 2002 p8

radars allow operators to integrate these impulses, the activities inside the perimeter of a hostage crisis. Sensor technology, including special electro-optical systems combined with satellite communications can be used against suspected guerrillas and terrorists without the use ot ground torces.

3.5 THE WORLD ORDER

During the next two decades, the world system will remain basically uni-polar, although there's a possibility that regional power centers will grow stronger and contribute to a relative decline in America's global hegemony. Any return to an intense bipolar military and ideological rivalry is unlikely. State-sponsored terrorism will not increase but will remain a factor in regional conflicts. Anti-hegemonic transnational terrorism will continue arid possibly increase.

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, the United States of America has enjoyed a period of unparalleled global preponderance, controlling a greater share of global power than

any other state in modern history . No any other great power has enjoyed such formidable advantages in military, economic, technological, cultural or political capabilities before. We live in a one superpower world and there is no serious competitor in sight, there are several reasons to expect a gradual decline of US hegemony as regional powers develop their economies and seek to assert their influence. The fact that the dollar is the world's primary reserve currency especially with regards to the oil trade, is often said to allow the US central bank to "print gold", ensuring the US position as the world's

^ Ibid p 184
  Brynjar Lia, Globalization and the future of terrorism, Routledge, London 2005 p40

predominant economic power[s4]. It is unlikely that the US dollar might be replaced by another currency in the near future. The late president Saddam Hussein tried to replace the dollar with the Euro in the year 2000, but failed. Many terrorist organizations use America's hegemony as a cause to attack it.

In October 2003, Russia's president Vladimir Puttin stated that Russia was considering pricing its crude oil in euro rather than dollars, while Iran, the second largest OPEC producer has also discussed switching to euro for its oil exports. For various technical reasons, the shift away from dollars towards the euro seems unlikely.

The long-term challenge to American hegemony also comes from the expectation of a continued sharp economic growth of the Asian economies. The World Bank and the organization for economic cooperation and development (OECD) have predicted that by the year 2020, China will have the world's largest economy. According to a policy report by the OECD secretary-general on future economic developments, economic growth is expected to be far more dramatic in the non-OECD world and their real GDP in 2020 would be around 270% above the 1992 level. So, there would be a global shift in economic weight towards Asia. This prediction is also supported by CIA's global trends2015, which predicted emerging Asia to be the fastest growing region in the world, led by China and India[85].

As Asian economies expand, political influence and ambitions are likely to grow, and one may expect an increasing Asian assertiveness in global politics. The European Union's f

" Ibid p 125
[67] Ibid p 302

expansion, its continued economic growth and moves towards an even closer integration **also signals** its transformation into a more global power, more willing to disagree with challenge the United States. In the military arena the USA currently has tremendous **technological** edge and spends more money on the military than the combined expenditure of many industrialized countries. In contrast to the bi-polar system of the **cold** war, the uni-multipolar world system is inherently unstable as the United States **would** prefer a unipolar system. The major regional powers would strive to create truly multipolar system, as they feel threatened and constrained by America. The biggest **challenge** to the United States now is global terrorism.

The image of the United States around the world has suffered tremendously as a result of **the** Iraq war which is perceived by many as being aimed at toppling Saddam Hussein. It is being viewed as an imperial power; it attracts opponents rather than allies. A Harvard conference studying elite perceptions of the United States in 1997, found that the elites in China, Russia, India and the Arab/Muslim world viewed America as the single greatest external threat to their societies, and unanimously agreed that American hegemonic unilateralism must be resisted through terrorism. This is complicating the war on global terrorism.

3.6 Conclusion.

The west has an elaborate mechanism in place to counter terrorism. Whereas these mechanisms may work in developed countries, they are not affordable in third world

countries. There is a need to assist third world countries financially and technologically to be able to put in-place measures to counter terrorism.

The Arabs and other minority groups feel America is using its hegemonic state to oppress **others,** and it should be subdued by all means possible. The war on global terror calls for **unity** of all nations. This American oppression makes the world not to be united against **olobal** terrorism. The third world and the Arab world feel the USA is exploitative, and **that** most of the problems facing the world today are as result of its hegemonic attitudes. Where does Kenya stand on this anti-terrorism quagmire? Can Kenya face the challenges imposed **by** current terrorist? Are the current plans adequate to face any terrorist threats? **The** next chapter reviews some of the counterterrorism measures in place in Kenya and future plans.

CHAPTER FOUR

KENYA'S COUNTERTERRORISM MEASURES.

4.0 Introduction.

Like the west, Kenya is also faced with the problem of terrorist threat due to its location, both as tourist destination and its geographical position in the Morn of Africa. Equally important is the fact that the west has a lot of investments in Kenya, which are high value targets and very attractive to the terrorists. This puts Kenya at a strategic position for terrorist acts. The media plays a big role in enhancing terrorism.

The role of the mass media in articulating the necessary undemocratic evils of terrorism, the rule of law, fighting corruption in governments, comprehensive legal framework that deals with terrorist groups, those who harbor them, their financiers, both in the country

al id elsewhere, should be fully addressed. This will be a bold decision **for** Kenyan **authorities** to make in the war against international terrorism. Various strategies have been put in place to counter the threats of terrorism.

4.1 Strategies

Three strategies of counter-terrorism currently dominate the terrorist literature: a theory of repressive counter-terrorism, an accommodative theory, and that advocating a more passive strategy. These 'abstract' theories are important because they serve as the foundation for governmental policy. Some argue that repressive strategies are the best ways of combating terrorism because these tactics deny the terrorist the political benefits they seek to gain from committing terrorism in the first place .

This policy is based on the premise that terrorism is a rational, utility maximizing political objective by undermining the political fabric of the county. Hence, instead of rewarding the terrorists through passivity or accommodation, advocates of this approach argue that governments must be firm and respond with force and repression (Netanyahu 1986 and Laquerur 1986). This viewpoint is representative of the 'political causes' theory of terrorism that regards terrorism simply as a rational and deliberate political strategy employed by political extremists who want to change the present structure of the international system.

Others argue that accommodative and passive strategies are the most efficacious strategies for dealing with terrorism. Accommodation strategies revolve around the notion that terrorism is not simply a rational decision, but rather a reaction to miserable

[86] Ibid p 321

economic, political, and social conditions. The terrorist are conceived of as turning to

terrorism out of desperation. [R7]

Still, others argue that pro-active measures, whether repressive, or accommodative, are ineffective because they serve to legitimize or reward the terrorist. They further argue that governments should follow a passive strategy consisting of defensive measures deigned to prevent the occurrence of terrorism.

Both theories argue that terrorism is not only as a result of political dimensions, but also due to, cultural, economic and social factors. This is based on the assumption that terrorism is largely the product of grievances arising from the heightened awareness of rapidly deteriorating cultural, social and economic conditions. These measures cure the causes of terrorism because the measures reputedly ameliorate the motivations of terrorism.

Terrorism is one of the irregular wars that has increased in intensity and technology and has called for world attention in what is termed as 'war against global terrorism'. High technology and the easy availability of weapons of mass destruction have complicated the issue of terrorism. Kenya has had four attacks of terrorism, at the Overseas Trading bus terminus Nairobi (OTC) in 1975, at the Norfolk Hotel Nairobi in 1981, at the American Embassy Nairobi in 1998, and at Kikambala Hotel in Mombassa 2000.Kenya has, therefore, joined the rest of the international community on war against terrorism.

In order to combat terrorism the United Nations and the world at large have put measures in place to ensure the war against terror is worn at all costs. Kenya has put the following

[87] Ibid p 323

measures in place. The surveillance to reduce terrorist acts has been stepped up. This

involves surveillance of both information Hows, (electronic and physical) and that of

personal movements including entries and exits, monitoring of resources' transferring

and especially money laundering, immigration surveillance involving tightening of Visa

rules and computing pass-ports checks.

Kenya is a member of the international community and coalition against terrorism.

Kenya is also a member of Inter-governmental Authority for Development (IGAD), and

has ratified the Algiers 1999 convention on countering terrorism. Kenya has spearheaded

regionalism on terrorism, as a signatory of African Union and United Nations. Kenya is a

lead nation in regional counter terrorism efforts; it is cooperating with and participating

in all international and regional partners and initiative, thus, ensuring safety of life and

property against terrorist threats and violence and providing for the regional Fusion

center.[88]

The formulation of the national counterterrorism strategy to guide on war against

terrorism has been completed. The establishment of the national counter Terrorism center

(NCTC) to coordinate counter terrorism efforts and resources, and the Creation of the

national anti-terrorist police unit have been completed and are now operational. The

military has also formed an anti-terrorist unit which is currently based at Embakasi

Garrison. The first group of the core elements was trained in Israel, and it's the group that

is conducting the rest of the training. They are assisted by other experts from Israel. We

belief that Israel has enough experience that it can share with us.   The enhancement of

[8] Muriuki, Countering terrorism ,National security intelligence services, Nairobi ,2007

border control and surveillance through implementation of the personal identification **secure** comparison and evaluation system (PISCES) is also now operational. The **establishment** of a regional fusion center which coordinates intelligence and operations on terrorism in the region and among international players is also operational. The **establishment** of a well equipped forgery detection unit at immigration department, and the development of the standing operations procedures (sops), for **border** control points are equally operational. Kenya's active participant in the formation of African center for study and research on terrorism based in Algiers with national counter terrorism centre as focal point and the ratification of the twelve United Nations and two African Union Conventions in regard to security and terrorism is commendable.

Counter-terrorism prosecution counsel has been established at the AG chambers to deal with prosecution and advice the government on legal matters pertaining to terrorism cases. The publication of anti-terrorism bill should not take ages. Kenya should handle the problem of terrorism with speed, and enact it. All the other countries in the region are far a head. Enact the anti-money laundering bill and promote the sharing of information and cooperation through, Eastern and Southern Africa anti-money laundering group. There should be close co-operation among the East Africa Heads of Narcotics and Drug committee protocol, and the East Africa Police chiefs.' Cooperation between security organization and Interpol should be encouraged, and regular meetings should be held to share updates information on terrorism and other related matters. The deportation procedures should be simplified so that terrorist can be dealt with in the shortest time

possible. Some procedures are too long and tedious to follow. Plastic explosives are difficult to detect. They should be marked for easy detection.

Kenya should not cooperate with countries sponsoring terrorism in terms **of** trade and **other** spheres. In case of a terrorist attack in Kenya, the citizens should be assisted to sue **terrorist** states for damages a rising from terrorist-related activities. All airlines using Kenyan airports must adapt international security standards to avoid access to terrorism [89].

Upgrade airport security through new devices for screening carry-on and checked baggage, new technologies for inspecting international air cargoes, additional canine teams, better passenger profiling, and expanded security forces. There should be improved bomb detection through studies of the feasibility of tagging. Better physical protection of gathering places such as hotels, tourist sites and clubs. Expanded efforts and improved coordination among intelligence collection agencies. The agents should work together and share information. The police and the military should share any relevant security information. Before the 11, September 2001, it is claimed that various security agents In the USA had useful prior information, but there was no communication among them.

The general principles which have the best track record in reducing terrorism are: no surrender to the terrorist, and an absolute determination to defeat terrorism within the framework of the rule of law and the democratic process, no deals and no concessions, even in the face of the most severe intimidation and black mail, an intensified effort to bring terrorist to justice by prosecution and conviction before courts of law, tough measures to penalize the state sponsors who give terrorists movements safe haven, cash

[89] Ibid ₚ 255

ₐnd moral and diplomatic support, determination never to allow terrorist intimidation to block or derail international diplomatic efforts to resolve major political conflicts in **strive**-torn regions, such as the Middle East. The public has been engaged in the war **against** terror. The public now knows that the threat from terrorism **is** real and **it** should play an active role in counter-terrorism. The public is aware that terrorists live among them and they should be on the look out and report any suspicious individuals and their activities. They know how to respond to an attack of terrorism. Despite all these advances, Kenya still lags behind in counter-terrorism legislation and the publication of the counter terrorism bill. Kenya is further faced with the problem of balancing safety and liberty on human rights, and the misconception that war against terrorism is anti-Islam.

Despite the measures indicated above, there is still a lot to be done to achieve what the west and other countries have so far achieved. The security at our airport should be tight and maintained on 24 hour basis. The pass-ports should be electronically scrutinized to detect any tampering or fake ones. The legal security measures against terrorism must be in place to deal with such cases. It is not enough just to arrest terrorist and then hand them over to the United States, because we have no laws to that effect[90]. The laws must be tough enough to deter the would-be terrorists. In 1993, the government of Egypt created series of tougher anti-terrorist laws in which membership in a militant terrorist organization was rendered a crime punishable by death. In the same year, fourteen terrorist were executed under this law, and this has reduced the prevalence of terrorism in

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[90] Tatah Mentan, Dilemmas of weak states, Ashgate publishers, London, 2004 p323

that country[91]. The powers of the security forces were also broadened under the 1981 emergency decree, which included the right to detain people without trial. These days, we hear of only sporadic cases of terrorism in Egypt, because of the deterrent laws. Kenya should follow suit. After all the would be terrorist, terrorizing innocent Kenyans, are never Kenyans as we have seen from previous records.

The other component that the Egyptians legalized was the use of the military. The use of military forces to destroy or damage the facilities or supplies of a target group became common place. It included; security sweeps of cities, raids on buildings suspected of harbouring terrorist, the leveling of their homes, shot-to-kill the terrorist, and the occupation and control of areas/buildings suspected of harbouring terrorists. The best example is in 1993, when the police lobbed tear gas grenades into a mosque in Aswan and killed seven terrorists as they tried to escape the fumes. The Holiness of the mosque was overlooked in favour of national security[2]. The terrorists thought they were safe in the mosque. This is what we want enacted in Kenya, Suspected people, organizations, whether Christians or not, should be investigated. Some of the terrorists in 1998, were in Kenya as member of NGOs at the coast and North Eastern provinces. There should be no safe haven for terrorists in Kenya. Before the 2002 general elections, we were told that a certain prominent politician at the coast was hiding criminal gangs, who were terrorizing people from up country. This should not happen in a democratic country.

[96] Ibid p 200
[97] Ibid p 202

jsjot only can the military solve the problem ot terrorism. Ihe non-nnlitary component ot the Egyptian counter-terrorism included general curfews, disconnecting telephones **services** purging government institutions and public schools suspected of suspected **criminals,** deportations of suspected individuals, and closing down business of suspects. The system has worked well because all the loop holes have been closed. Kenya must follow-suit. We do not want criminals from Romania to come to our airport, terrorize workers, break all Kenyan laws regarding the possession fire arms, and just walk away. Some of the cases below illustrate the possibility that bio-chemical weapons can be used, **if** they land in the wrong hands. They have been used before during the period (1970-90): Palestinian terrorists, supported by Iraq, poisoned exported Israel citrus fruits with Mercury, a carbanate pesticide was found in the coffee in a military dining hall, rodent poison was in drugs in Jaffa, Palestinian workers contaminated food articles with the pesticide parathion in A Jerusalem mini-market, contaminated bottled drinks were reported in a factory near Tel Aviv, cyanide-laced Tylenol capsules were discovered in **the** United States, during the second world war, Japanese military forces contaminated Chinese water supplies and food items with several agents and disseminated fifteen million fleas, infected with plague-laden rats, over several Chinese cities., and during the Second World War, Germans polluted a large reservoir with sewage.

4.2 Terrorist weapons

Planning for wide-scale weapons of mass destruction, biological, chemical, and radiological attacks should be guided by what we know about human behavior in such
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situations. Keep panic in check. The general public should be viewed as a capable

partner, so that civic institutions and neighborhood groups are used to assist with information dissemination, outbreak monitoring, and medical treatment and distribution, plans should be in place for treatment of people at home to easy congestion at public institutions. This will also reduce the technicalities of transporting patients who may be paralysed. This could be in form of mobile clinics to specified areas on specific dates. By definition, hospitals, clinics, and even mobile medical care facilities will be incapable of handling all those who are in need. Emergency plans need to include how to disseminate information about outbreak, nutrition, sanitation, infection control, and how to care for the seriously ill. Plan to create stockpiles of vaccines that are likely to be in short supply. The public should be engaged in the planning process. Many issues can best be dealt with before an attack occurs. These include decisions about quarantine (should children be separated from parents?) and setting priorities for the use of scarce medical resources. We need to recognize the value of the distributed response systems.

Mobile emergency response teams and incident command centers will not be able to take advantage of what has been shown to be the most effective disaster response, which is the community of people who surround the victims. These are the people who have the greatest information on local customs, organizations, infrastructure, and special needs, and who will act most effectively if they can respond to immediate problems and challenges in creative and individualized way[9']. There should be in place ways of managing victims of the terrorist disasters, For example, in consideration of the long-term psychological impact of terrorism, what can be done to help cope with the ongoing threats of terrorism? Security of" vital areas should also be taken care or these include

[93] Ibid p 18

buildings with large numbers of people, and critical infrastructure. Reduce accessibility to these areas, selectively institute more security precautions at major buildings against conventional explosives, protect key nodes of electricity grid, place chemical sensors at **reservoirs,** improve security of e-mails, improve cyber security, improve airport security, improve Amtrak security at tunnels, place chemical weapons sensors at public sites such as railways, and airports, and surveillance of all points of entry and exits.

Following an event, people are initially dazed, stunned, and in shock. The shock may last minutes, hours, days or even months before a more intense emotional response to the event is developed. It is estimated that, 12-25% will remain cool and collected during the actual impact of a disaster, 10-25% will develop post traumatic symptoms that will usually dissipate within six of the incident. (Those who immediately develop post traumatic stress disorder {PTSD} will recover within three months of the trauma}. 15-25% of disaster victims will not display serious symptoms until three months after the trauma. 80% of the victims of traumatic catastrophic events are able to successfully cope and recover from the trauma, but, 10% are at risk for developing serious long-lasting psychological disorders, which include, insomnia, impaired concentration, hyper vigilance, and exaggerated tartle response. Terror Management Theory (TMT) is a psychological theory of how people cope with their a awareness of the inevitability of death, and how a core fear of human mortality and vulnerability leads to a need for self-esteem, faith in a cultural worldview, and hostility towards those who hold different cultural worldviews.(Pyzzcynski et al.,2002).[94]

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[94] Ibid p 28

4.3 Poor infrastructure

Kenya's North Eastern parts are relatively underdeveloped. The communities living in these areas feel neglected or marginalized. Since independence, no meaningful developments have been carried out in these parts. The infrastructure is totally wanting. Communication is just limited to a few earth roads which are impassable during wet periods. The only all weather road terminates at Isiolo, which is hundreds of kilometers away from the furthest town, Moyale. Poor health facilities, lack of water, unfavorable weather conditions, and lack of general infrastructure make these areas inhabitable and difficult to operate in. The people feel they are not part of Kenya. And this is why non-state agencies are always acceptable there whenever they offer any type of assistance to the local people. Most of these non-state actors come in form of humanitarian assistance, through religious organizations.

The activities of these organizations are not only limited to charity work, but have long term terrorist plans. The same with the Northern parts of coast province. It is poorly developed and non-state activities are always welcome. This is why the perpetrators of the paradise hotel bombing in Mombassa, had easy access to the hotel. They came to the coast as business people, settled, and inter-married with the locals, and then bombed the hotel when time was ripe.

We must develop these areas, and make the inhabitants feel they are part of Kenya, and report any abnormal activities in their environment. Good roads will help the security elements to patrol the areas and be able to respond to any distress calls for help. We

should open up the area by upgrading the shopping centers and health facilities which are well manned and equipped. The insecurity in Somalia should be taken seriously because of the spill-over effects, and the terrorist training cells already established there. Many youths from the North may get easy access to these training cells. The border must be patrolled and protected. The same situation applies to our coastline, especially along the Somalia border. It is very easy to infiltrate the coastline because currently, there is no enough security. We cannot depend on other people to man our waters, as they have their own agendas. We have to invest in security if we hope for any meaningful development.

For a terrorist to succeed, he must get some local support, either from the local agents or the indigenous people. Terrorists belong to organizations with a recognizable structure. These organizations have goals beyond reeking havoc on their enemies. They require safe havens in which to train and plan operations, states or elements within them provide these havens by allowing clandestine organizations to blend with the general population, tacitly if not actively supporting them. As part of countering terrorism, it is important to break this link between the "hosts" and the terrorist. People must know their guests well. They should know their neighbors well; they should be sensitized on the need for general security. Kenyans are known for their don't care attitude towards issues that are not personal.

Why should one not report a suspicious gang of foreigners in his estate? We always wait lor disasters to happen, then we are very willing to tell how every one was not comfortable with them, and yet no one even whispered to the police. How does one make a five hundred-kilo bomb in the city and nobody can see. Definitely he was being assisted

by Kenyans. A suspicious mind can always suspect suspicious character and his actions, patriotism can create a cohesive society, where my problem is my neighbour's problem. Divided society is a dead society. Poverty and disparities in in-come can make citizens, disown and sell their countries to foreigners at any cost. This is what the terrorist capitalize on: disunity, and disparities in living standards. Some people welcome acts of terrorism, especially if the acts have caused massive damage to buildings of senior and rich people. They feel the money used to construct these buildings, must have been looted from the government, at some stage. So, it is like a punishment from God for stealing what was entrusted on you for safe custody. These kind of people will always be willing to assist criminal acts, including, terrorism, at some fee, which the terrorist is also willing to give. There is no way we all can claim to own Kenya, when the gap between the poor and the rich is astronomical. There is no way a security agent can guard the boss effectively, when the agent can not take his kids to school, because of school fees. He will definitely look elsewhere for top-up. And this is the problem facing many people in many countries.

Most people see Europe and America's riches as having origins in the underdeveloped countries. They stole our natural resources and went to develop their own countries. They even took our people, as slaves, to work and develop their countries instead of Africa, Kenya included. The same countries are the same ones giving us impossible conditions to meet before we get any help from the Bretton Woods institutions. So, it is very easy for a university graduate, without a job, to be recruited as an agent of a terrorist group and sell his own country.

4.4 THE ROLE OF RELIGIOUS IDEOLOGY IN COUNTERTERRORISM

There are many reasons why religion is so adept at mobilizing its followers and inspiring them to fight, to the death if necessary. Religion persuades people that it is worth both killing and dying for a course. So, what kind of individuals joins terrorism for religious reasons? And can knowing this help us counter terrorism?'^

While mainstream religions are faced with falling numbers of worshippers, many young people who are angry with society, disillusioned, or under stress tend to turn to more alternative groups that are more in line with their own rebellious thinking. Instead of adopting a liberal and mainstream perspective on life, they turn to a more radical view, with the result that, fundamentalist groups, sects, and cults gain more followers. These groups espouse violence or provide justification of violence rather than condemning it. Although "cults" are not necessarily religious terrorist groups, it may be argued that religious terrorist groups are always "cults."

Various religious ideologies may be conducive of recruitment appeal to different types of potential recruits. For example, a well-educated and materially well-off individual may renounce these riches and whole family structures for more spiritual attainment or self-fulfillment. For the others it is exactly the opposite of this. Today, turning to terrorism is more often the conscious decision of educated and strong-willed people who want to make a difference and effect change in society. Often, they have tried other methods before turning to violence, and when they do, religion offers everything they need, from

justification to legitimate targets, tactics and methods. They often feel oppressed frustrated, and disillusioned[96].

School, churches and colleges and Mosques are the perfect places for young people who show the potential of becoming terrorists. Views as to why these young and intelligent people join these groups vary, and include, feminist views, psychological perspectives, economic standpoints, and political angles. Other scholars have attributed terrorism with sexual dysfunction in some of these youths. Anthropologists, sociologists, theologians, and jurists offer viable and often very interesting approaches to why an individual turns to terrorism.

The range of religious ideologies that play arole in modern terrorist recruitment can be arrange in three categories; purely religious ideologies which are either by divine mandate or which only serve to benefit the religion directly, what the individual is likely to gain, both spiritually and materially, The last category includes the social or the societal ideologies, which may benefit the group, society, or the community[97].

All religions are theologically supremacist, which means that all believers assume superiority over non-believers, who are not privy to the truth of the religion. Religion inspires a feeling pf ecstasy and enthusiasm not possible through perceivably lesser systems. The potential candidate will be told that he is the chosen person and that God is on his side, thus affirming his place in the group. Most religious traditions affiliate with some kind of final-day scenario, be it judgment day, doomsday, or rapture. Others it is

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[96] Ibid p 200
[97] Ibid p 202

the battle of the Armageddon. These are powerful images, and allow for easy recruitment of those who fear their fate on this final day.

While these ideologies may seem overly Western, in their ideology, other ideologies are decidedly Eastern, like the krrmic retribution. Theological justification of violence often include some concept of the insignificance of ordinary life, for example that it is impossible for a human being to kill other human being, as only God can give and take life. Normal secular questions of life and death become futile. Ordinary life may be

completely devalued and an individual maybe seen as fatalistic .[98]

Where an individual is emotionally stable and has support from family and friends, as well as material well-being and a solid career, they ma still feel that something is missing from their lives. Such individuals may turn to religion, non-mainstream religions that receive them with open hands and offer an alternative to the secular, material way of life. Religion offers the potential recruit a chance of self-fulfillment that may not have a secular alternative. Religious ideologies thus also provide a role for individuals whose life otherwise seems to have no meaning or purpose. This role may be to fight the infidel, change the status of the oppressive world, or end the cause of suffering. This makes sense to some youths. Take the case of the Palestinians who were forced out of their land by the Israelis, and forced into filthy refugee camps in the Middle East. They have been denied all their universal human rights. They are treated as third grade citizens in their land. Quality education, health care, clean drinking water, good sanitation, have been denied to them. Diplomacy has failed to solve the problems. The only super power in the world is protecting Israel against the poor Palestinians, and there is no foreseeable end to this.

Solution is to fight and liberate themselves. After all, even the Kenyans fought the

98 Ibid p 205

colonialist and now we are free. The very powerful oppress the less powerful, and the weapon of the weak is violence in all its forms".The ideology provides the individual with a choice; either join the group, or be castigated as an enemy and face the consequences. That is to say, convert or die, which is a common practice around the world, even in the most liberal societies In most religious systems there is the promise of salvation. To show his ultimate belief and gain the favour of God, an individual may choose to sacrifice his life. When an individual has led a particularly sinful or non-religious life, joining a religious terrorist group to fight for the cause and religious ideologies may be seen as the ultimate purification for the sins committed. Research indicates that many terrorists swing like a pendulum from one extreme to the other, for example, from sexual overindulgence, alcohol, and drugs to fundamentalist religion. This is why the government has the responsibility to safeguard its people from religions which have dubious motives.In Kenya today, there are stretch religious organizations which have come up. Others led by criminals who have confess that they repented and now righteous.

A man swindles the government billions of money, but when the state is about to catch up with him, he becomes "saved" and in less than two months, he has formed his own church where he is the "pastor". The same man now wants to contest parliamentary seat, with the aim of becoming the President of Kenya, one day. These are the religions of Devil worship, and should not be allowed to flourish in Kenya, whether there's freedom of worship or not. The innocent citizens are being cheated in broad daylight. Now all the leaders of various religious denominations have abandoned their spiritual obligations, and

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want to be members of parliament to satisfy their satiety ergo to eat.

[99] Ibid p 207

V^here believers perceive society to be immoral, decadent, in decline or secular, religious ideology may justify violence to bring about a better world. Where and individual is **faced** with difficult choices, religious ideologies explain what is not permissible. For **individuals** struggling with day-to-day life, and not being sure of when it would be beneficial to oppose the enemy or how, religious terrorist groups provide the answer. All **terrorist** perceive themselves, as altruists in that they want to make the world a better place[100].

4.5 IDEOLOGY AND TERRORISM

Terrorists do not perceive the world as members of governments or civil society do. Their belief systems help to determine their strategies and how they react to government policies. As Martha Crenshaw (1988:12) has observed, "The actions of terrorist organizations are based on a subjective interpretation of the world rather than objective reality." The variables from which their belief systems are formed include their political and social environments, cultural traditions, and the internal dynamics of their clandestine groups. Their convictions may seem irrational or delusional to society in general, but the terrorists may nevertheless act rationally in their commitment to acting on their convictions"".

According to cognitive theory, an individual's mental activities (perception, memory, and reasoning) are important determinants of behavior. Cognition is an important concept in psychology, for it is the general process by which individuals come to know about and

[100] Ibid p 210
[101] Rex A Hudson, The Federal Research Division, Library Congress, Washington, DC, 1999

make sense of the world. Terrorists view the world within the narrow lens of their own ideology, whether it be Marxism-Leninism, anarchism, nationalism, Islamic fundamentalism, or some other ideology. Most researchers agree that terrorists generally do not regard themselves as terrorists but rather as soldiers, liberators, martyrs, and legitimate fighters for noble social causes. Those terrorists who recognize that their actions are terroristic are so committed to their cause that they do not really care how they are viewed in the outside world. Others may be just as committed, but loathe to be identified as terrorists as opposed to freedom fighters or national liberators.

Kristen Renwick Monroe and Lina Haddad Kreidie (1997) have found the idea that we all have a view of the world, a view of ourselves, a view of others, and a view of ourselves in relation to others—to be a very useful tool in understanding fundamentalism, for example. Their underlying hypothesis is that the perspectives of fundamentalists resemble one another and that they differ in significant and consistent ways from the perspectives of no fundamentalists. Monroe and Kreidie conclude that "fundamentalists see themselves not as individuals but rather as symbols of Islam." They argue that it is a mistake for Western policymakers to treat Islamic fundamentalists as rational actors and dismiss them as irrational when they do not act as predicted by traditional cost/benefit models. "Islamic fundamentalism should not be dealt with simply as another set of political values that can be compromised or negotiated, or even as a system of beliefs or ideology—such as socialism or communism, in which traditional liberal democratic modes of political discourse and interaction are recognized." They point out that "Islamic fundamentalism taps into a quite different political consciousness, one in which religious

identity sets and determines tiie range of options open to the fundamentalist. It extends to all areas ot lite and respects no separation between the private and the political."

Existing works that attempt to explain religious fundamentalism often rely on modernization theory and point to a crisis of identity. It explains religious fundamentalism as an antidote to the dislocations resulting from rapid change, or modernization. Islamic fundamentalism in particular, is often explained as a defense against threats posed by modernization to a religious group's traditional identity. Rejecting the idea of fundamentalism as pathological, rational choice theorists, point to unequal socioeconomic development as the basic reason for the discontent and alienation these individuals experience. Caught between an Islamic culture that provides moral values and spiritual satisfaction and a modernizing Western culture that provides access to material improvement, many Muslims find an answer to resulting anxiety, alienation, and disorientation through an absolute dedication to an Islamic way of life. Accordingly, the Islamic fundamentalist is commonly depicted as an acutely alienated individual, with dogmatic and rigid beliefs and an inferiority complex, and as idealistic and devoted to an austere lifestyle filled with struggle and sacrifice.

In the 1990s, however, empirical studies of Islamic groups have questioned this view. V. J. Hoffman-Ladd, for example, suggests that fundamentalists are not necessarily ignorant and downtrodden, according to the stereotype, but frequently students and university graduates in the physical sciences, although often students with rural or traditionally religious backgrounds. In his view, fundamentalism is more of a revolt of young people caught between a traditional past aind a secular Western education.[*] R. Euben and Bernard

Lewis argue separately that there is a cognitive collision between Western and fundamentalist worldviews. Focusing on Sunni fundamentalists, Euben argues that their goals are perceived not as self-interests but rather as moral imperatives, and that their worldviews differ in critical ways from Western worldviews.

By having moral imperatives as their goals, the fundamentalist groups perceive the world through the distorting lens of their religious beliefs. Although the perceptions of the secular Arab terrorist groups are not so clouded by religious beliefs, these groups have their own ideological imperatives that distort their ability to see the world with a reasonable amount of objectivity. As a result, their perception of the world is as distorted as that of the fundamentalists. Consequently, the secular groups are just as likely to misjudge political, economic, and social realities as are the fundamentalist groups. For example, Harold M. Cubert argues that the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), guided by Marxist economic ideology, has misjudged the reasons for popular hostility in the Middle East against the West, "for such hostility, where it exists, is generally in response to the threat which Western culture is said to pose to Islamic values in the region rather than the alleged economic exploitation of the region's inhabitants." This trend has made the PFLP's appeals for class warfare irrelevant, whereas calls by Islamist groups for preserving the region's cultural and religious identity have been well received, at least among the no secular sectors of the population[102].

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[102] Ibid Washngton DC Article, 1999

4.6 THE TERRORIST LIFE CYCLE

What initially attracts a potential terrorist to the terrorist group differs from what he or she experiences in terms of radicalization and consolidation of group and collective identity. Likewise what makes the terrorist carry out acts of violence is different from what leads a terrorist to become disillusioned and leave the group. The process of becoming a terrorist involves accumulative incrementally sustained and focused commitment to the group. For the majority of contemporary terrorists, there is an early entrance onto the pathway into t e r r o r i s m In particular, there is a continuing reinforcement by manipulative leaders, consolidating the collective identity, as well as externalizing, justifying and requiring violence against the enemy. Once a youth is embedded within the group, his extremist psychology will be continually reinforced. The power of group dynamics is intense, and once an individual is in the group, it is very difficult to penetrate his psychology and extricate him.

Terrorist groups may adhere to the same underlying ideology but differ remarkably in their organizational structure. Thus, while Hamas, Islamic Jihad and A1 Qaeda all find justification in the Koran for their killings in the name of God, the organizational form of Hamas and Islamic Jihad is traditionally more hierarchical and authoritarian. Their followers are directed from higher organizational levels and they have a limited say in the conduct of operations. A1 Qaeda has a much looser organizational form with distributed or decentralized decision making. This decentralization was further intensified following the effective destruction of A1 Qaeda's command and control headquarters in

[114]   Ibid   p   270

Afghanistan in Sep 2001 following the twin tower attack. Following this, some terrorist **experts** thought that A1 Qaeda in its traditional form was functionally dead. What has been termed the new A1 Qaeda is considered by many to be an ideology rather than an organization. They prefer to work in small pockets which are very difficult to destroy.

4.7 DEMOCRACY AND TERRORISM

Democracy is the rule by the majority while respecting the right of the minority. Terrorism is an instrument of rule of tyrannical minority whether in or out of power[104]. Democracy involves respect for rules when engaged in disputes and conflicts, whereas terrorism's strategy is based on transgressing the rules of civilized conduct. By tolerating the intolerant, democracies allow terrorists to plan and prepare their strikes, and by combating* them with measured, rule-based force, democracies are at a tactical disadvantage in the conflict with an anonymous opponent showing no restraint. The least democratic region of the world is the Middle East and North Africa. Most terrorist threats to Western Europe come from this region.

In well established democracies, cases of political terrorism are very rare because, rulers can be removed without the use of violence in the process of forming new majorities through free and fair elections. The need for political violence to bring about change is therefore greatly reduced, rulers can be criticized openly and protest can take the form of demonstrations and accusations in the media which are free, courts are impartial and independent from the authorities. Minorities can get their rights through courts if the majority will not listen. This reduces the need for violence. In countries where elections are not fair, where courts and the police are not impartial, or media cannot ventilate the

[104] Alex PSchmid and Ronald, western responses to terrorism, Frank Cass,Ltd,1993, London p 14

feelings and grievances of the populace, terrorism becomes active mechanism of resentment[107]. To prevent domestic terrorism, strong emphasis has to be placed not only on the majority rule but also on minority rights.

Democracies can have their own dangers. Freedom of movement found in democracies can offer infrastructure to international terrorism. Porous borders offer terrorists free passage of international boundaries with their armaments to their destinations. The other danger is the freedom of association. Citizens want their privacy protected. This also provides the potential terrorist with a freedom of association and a freedom of movement no found in authoritarian states. The other weakness of democracies is that terrorists find an abundance of targets in open societies. Target-hardening of all possible terrorist targets becomes an impossible task. The constraints posed by the legal system constitute the other weakness of democracies. For example, the legal system of western democracies requires solid proof of a person's guilt before he can be tried. The sophistication of terrorist organizations in their operations makes it difficult to convict seasoned terrorists than common criminals. The evidence that there is against terrorists sometimes does not stand up in court.

The dilemma of Western multinational corporations operating in non-democratic states is that they are obliged to collaborate with authoritarian and oppressive regimes to protect their investments. They tend to strengthen such regimes, although, they might be agents for destabilizing such regimes. Past association with non-democratic regimes by this multinationals found support from powerful Western governments embracing any regime which was anti-communist no matter what its human rights record. With the end of the cold-war, this attitude has changed.

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[105] Alex P Schmid and Ronald, western responses to terrorism, Frank Cass Ltd, 1993, London p 17

The other weakness is the free market societies in the West. Whole factories for the waging of chemical and bacteriological warfare have been sold to unreliable and unpredictable Arab states. Example is Libya's poison gas, hexamethylenetetramine by Germany, Iraq's biological weapons by Germany and many weapon types from former East block countries. The media offers terrorists an avenue for good news in that it offers live drama and compelling pictures. Terrorist news items tend to be over-represented in news programmes. The media should condemn the violence and do much more than just report what happens in the world. Televisions should be against terrorist producers of violence for media-based manipulation. Nations should strive to achieve democratic governments in order to reduce the chances of terrorism.

4.8 Conclusion

Kenya is a democratic state and offers both the advantages and the disadvantages to terrorism, as seen above. So, all the measures in place must be actively working if they have to make any impact on counterterrorism. Terrorists are continuously finding alternative ways to by-pass the legal systems, and on many occasions they have succeeded resulting to disasters. So, what are some of the effects of international terrorism on Kenya? The effects have been highlighted in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

EFFETS OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM ON KENYA

5.0 Introduction.

Terrorism continues to pose a threat to the national security and economic wellbeing of Kenya. The bombings of the US Embassy in Nairobi in August 1998, the paradise Hotel in Mombassa in November 2002 and the failed attempt to down an Israel airliner confirmed Kenya's vulnerability as a target for international terrorism. Although the targets for the terrorist attacks were clearly external they had grave economic, political and social implications to Kenya. Principal economic sectors such as tourism were almost paralyzed because of travel bans imposed owing to the threat.

A number of reasons make Kenya a principle target and vulnerable to terrorists. They include porous borders with neighboring countries where there is internal strife making maintenance of security difficult and therefore leading to a huge influx of refugees that has a direct bearing on Kenya's security, Kenya's geographical location in the horn of Africa near the Arabia peninsula and Somalia, which are the sources of many of today's Islamic militants, our cordial relations and the notable investments by the Western Countries especially the United States of America, the United Kingdom and Israel, the cosmopolitan nature of the Kenyan society and the infrastructure that facilitates ease of communication

The effects of terrorism may be broadly categorized as, either long term or short term. They could be economic, where the economy of the state is severely affected by lack of foreign investment due to the fear from terrorist acts, or, destructions caused by terrorists

as when huge buildings are brought down, or when transport is severely impaired by sabotage. This is best demonstrated in de-railments, blowing up bridges and airports. Lose of life through indiscriminate terrorist acts is one of the worst effects of terrorism in any country. The death toll from the 9/11, which claimed over 3000 lives, was among the worst in the history of mankind. The 1998 American embassy bombing in Nairobi claimed over 250 lives. Thus the impacts are many and varied as we shall see in this chapter.

5.1 Impact on Economy

Kenya has a fragile economy that relies heavily on Agriculture and tourism. Tourism in particular had a substantial contribution to our GDP. However as we all know, this is an industry that reacts spontaneously to any signs of instability in a state. The terrorist attacks in Kenya and consequent travel advisory bans on Kenyan tourism had devastating effects in the Kenyan economy particularly in the tourism and horticultural industries. A study conducted by the ministry of foreign affairs in Kenya detailed the negative impact of these bans on Kenyan tourism. The study estimated the direct impact of the travel ban imposed by the United Kingdom Government alone, coasted the economy an equivalent of 108 million UK pounds. This is an equivalent to 1.6% of Kenya's national wealth. The direct impact had been mostly felt at the coastal region where the hotels suffered massive losses of bookings resulting into approximately 10,000 employees being laid off. This extrapolation in the African extended dependency system assumes an even bigger magnitude. The impact of these bans and which was further exacerbated by the United States travel advisory which slowed further the recovery of the industry that had already started showing positive signs of recovery. The ban equally caused a serious loss of

revenue to the Kenyan wildlife services (KWS) estimated at nearly 7 million UK pounds. This is the Government Parastatal that oversees the national wildlife heritage. The study also showed that, the horticultural industry lost 3.5 million UK pounds, as a result of being not able to export fresh produce due to cancellations and the expenses associated with premium freight costs. The local people cannot go about their work in big towns because of fears of terrorists. Going to some of the big hotels has become increasingly rare. Hotel owners are going through a lean period due to the perceived insecurity.

The effects of terrorism are much more hurting to the underdeveloped countries than to the developed ones. Kenya lias had adverse effects emanating from terrorist attacks, which were aimed at American and Israel interests. The effects may be categorized as long term and short-term. Short-term effects may also be referred to as immediate. They include the loss of property, such as buildings, vehicles, airplanes, and equipments. The 1998 bombing of the United States embassy in Nairobi, resulted to several collateral damages of other innocent adjacent buildings such as Ufundi house, a five-story, non-reinforced structure housing a secretarial college, and the adjacent and reinforced cooperative house. Loss of property of worthy millions was lost. Some of which was not even insured. Some families were reduced to beggars after they lost all their life-time savings.

Others were insured but not against terrorist acts and therefore could not be compensated. Others had taken huge loans which they cannot service. Loss of human life is the worst calamity that can happen to any one in the present world. More than two hundred and fifty people lost their lives in Nairobi's embassy bombing. People died of causes least

understood to them, a grave crime against humanity. Some single mothers and fathers died in that blast, leaving behind orphans who will never lead a normal life for the rest of their lives. They will never enjoy the company of their lovely parents because of terrorism. The compensation of whatever magnitude will never fill the vacuum left by loss of a member of a family. This is why terrorism must be fought by the whole world, because no one is safe. The horrible experience lingers in peoples' minds for a long time, especially the nasty ones. For example, the loss of family, friends, community, or any combination, calls for the total destruction of terrorism. Whereas the innocent victim lives in misery, the terrorist lives in a state of joy after a successful job. He does not perceive any wrong in pursuing equal retaliation in the form of physical destruction and loss of life. Annihilation is a deserved reaction, one that is justified and warranted in the eyes of the terrorist. In comparison, the USA spent a substantial amount of money on security, after the 9/11 attacks.

Following Septemberl 1, the United States Congress allocated $ 60 billion to counterterrorism; this is five times more than the previous year. Homeland security is expected to average $ 150 billion over the next decade. Areas to be protected include nuclear power plants, vaccicine stockpile buildings, and infrastructure. The critical infrastructure include, the electric power system, gas and oil, telecommunications, emergency services, (such as medical the police, fire), and continuity of government services. Threats to these are of two types; physical threats and cyber threats, (electronic, radio-frequency, and computer-based[106]).

Loss of skilled manpower following terrorist attacks is a major challenge to any nation, Kenya inclusive. In situations where terrorist attacks are aimed at Commercial, Economic or Industrial centers, as it happened in the 11 September 2001 Terrorist attack in New

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[106] Tetah Mentan, Dilemas of weak states. Ash gate, 2004 p 118

York where more than 4,000 people lost their lives. Also when the US Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in Aug 1998 when over 300 people were killed.

Medical treatment expenses emanating from injuries sustained by survivors from such acts are a drain to the general economy. In some countries such as Kenya, specialized treatment has to be done abroad which is a further drain to already meager resources.

Reconstruction and rebuilding of destroyed property and infrastructure is another economic drain on a country, especially on third world countries in the East African region. Most of the properties destroyed are not insured, the owners have to pay for the reconstruction work.

5.2 Impacts on social liberties

Equally important is the threat to and loss of civil liberties. Abandonment of civil liberties is another price to be paid by a society attacked by terrorists. This includes, authority to wiretap phone calls, intercept mails on the internet of ordinary citizens. This was not the case previously because of respect for individual's privacy. Citizens may never know who might be accessing their personal and business e-mails, their internet usage, their medical and financial records. These effects are more felt by the third world countries which have limited resources to deal with after mass terrorism, and limited technology to prevent high technology methods of terrorism.

Problems of poverty, conflicts, natural calamities, refugees, and general insecurity are priorities to deal with in the third world, but not terrorism. However, the world being a global village and anti-terrorism being a global war, it must be fought by all within the village. Under the banner of the global fight against terrorism the world's leading powers

are preparing nothing less than the re-organization of the world through the imposition of military power. But terrorism is a non-conventional war; it has no fronts, no armies, and no battle fields. The solutions will come from new approaches that address the whole person, not just the political and economic components. This is about individuals, their cultures, their values and aspirations, and the recognition of their causes for terrorism and the measures to counter it[1117]. Counterterrorism measures must take all these into account as we shall see in the preceding chapter

5.3 Crime escalation and misuse of technology.

The development of a symbiotic relationship between terrorism and transnational crime poses a serious security challenge globally. Transnational criminal networks are rapidly replacing state sponsors as the preferred means of support for international terrorist groups by providing access to small weapons and other instruments of terror. These close ties between the two are also helping criminal networks to become more sophisticated and deadly, thus posing greater challenge to traditional law enforcement measures. As long as both terrorist groups and criminal elements perceive mutual benefits of a close working relationship, they are likely to continue to expand their sinister partnership.

Terrorism is evolving constantly to overcome governmental countermeasures designed to defeat it. Terrorism thus involves an ongoing search for new targets and un-identified vulnerabilities in its opponents. This quest also raises the possibility that terrorists may pursue un-conventional means of attacks such as; biochemical, radiological and nuclear weapons. Nuclear terrorism is the use of nuclear devices to cause mass murder and

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wanton destruction. It may involve attacking a nuclear facility with conventional

[107] Ibid P 120

weapons hence posing a serious threat to the population. Similarly biological terrorism is the use of various microbes such as anthrax and small pox or toxins such as botulinism to cause diseases and death in high population areas[108]. On the other hand chemical terrorism involves the use of chemical agents such as sarin gas to cause body injury.

Cyber-terrorism involves sabotage using computers to destroy network systems. It is easily achieved and has serious effects on security. It is swift, wide-reaching, and free of institutional controls. The internet is easily accessible, portable, easily implementable remotely and exceedingly difficult to control. Virtually all of the systems on which people depend in their everyday life are interdependently run by computer network systems. These can be easily knocked out, as shown by the computer student in the Philippines who wrecked havoc world-wide by crippling e-mail systems costing billions of dollars[109]. Electi•onic warfare targets critical infrastructure, such as power facilities, military sensitive documents, banking systems and travel systems[110]. Although Kenya does not depend on advanced technology, the few it has can be crippled.

5.4 Long term medical effects.

The psychological impact involves short-term and long-term trauma, especially in children who are vulnerable to all types of terrorist traumas. Stress counseling becomes of paramount importance, especially on children who are vulnerable to all types of terrorist traumas.

[10X] Baylis,J op. cit, Strategy in the contemporary world(,Nevv York; Oxford University press,2003), p279
[109] James F Forest, The making of a terrorist, Cataloging-in-publication Data 2006 London p 40
[1,0] Ibid p 92-96

Effects include, various permanent injuries sustained during the bomb blast. We know of people who are still blind after the 1998 incidence, others are missing various parts of their bodies; while others are permanently on treatment for various post-traumatic injuries. People who used to be depended upon are now dependants on others. There family life-styles changed completely after the attacks. They will have to live with those injuries for the rest of their lives. Those without medical schemes cannot afford the huge medical expenses, which they incur on daily basis. The western media has portrayed East Africa and the horn of Africa as a haven for terror gangs. Post-Traumatic Stress Disorders (PTSD), result when an individual has been exposed to a traumatic event in which two elements are present; the person experienced, witnessed, or was confronted with an event or events that involved actual or threatened death, or serious injury, or a thread to the physical integrity of self or others. The person's response involves intense fear, helplessness, or horror. The same traumatic experiences can be persistently re-experienced in the following ways: recurrent and intrusive distressing recollections of the events, including images, thoughts, or perceptions, recurrent distressing dreams of the events, (in children, there may be frightening dreams without recognizable content), feeling as if the traumatic events were recurring. These may include a sense of reliving the experience, illusions, hallucinations, and dissociative flashback episodes, such as those that occur upon a wakening or when intoxicated. There are feelings of psychological distress when exposed to internal or external cues which symbolize the previous traumatic events. An individual with this problem will typically seek to persistently a void stimuli associated with the trauma and will demonstrate a numbing or

general responsiveness. This leads to diminished interest or participation in significant activities. These individuals need long-term treatments from professionals[111].

5.5 Capital flight.

Lack of investment in the country can lead to the collapse of a country's economy. Many of the multinational corporations tend to invest in host countries. But, this can happen only if they are assured of security of their capital and those of their workers. Where there is state instability, they tend to take all their profits and invest in countries where security is guaranteed. Various companies dealing with petroleum products have relocated to other African countries due to the terrorist threats within the East African region. As a result of the terrorist connection to Kenya, many restrictions have been imposed to Kenyans on traveling to Europe and America. Visa tickets are tedious to get, especially for the students studying in these countries. Before the terrorist attacks, traveling, say, to Britain, one did not need a visa. Now it is difficult to obtain one within the time it is required. It mesmerizes one when we hear of even senior government officials failing to attend functions because, they did not apply for the visas in good time.

5.6 Bilateral trade

Trade between Kenya and the West has been affected since the terrorist attacks in Nairobi and Mombassa. Perishable foods from third world countries are claimed not to be safe. The west claims that terrorist can gain access to these foods and lace them with poison. Those affected, include horticulture, mushrooms, and fisheries. This is a lame excuse for denying the third world their quarter sells, as these poisoning can also be done even in the

[111] James Forest, The making of a terrorist, Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data,2002005

West. We have not had any cases of anthrax poisoning in Africa, but many cases have been reported in more developed countries, including America. In any case, most of these commodities are grown, packed, and exported by people from the West, so they can take the necessary measures to limit such slim chances of poisoning.

Soon after the attacks, and may be due to the contribution from the media, all international conferences, which used to be held in Kenya, were suspended. There was even talk that they wanted to move the headquarters of some of the World organization bodies, based in Kenya to some safer places. As far as I am concerned, there is no safer place, when it comes to terrorism. Even the mighty are not safe, in any case the attacks experienced in third world countries are aimed at them, and others are just collateral casualties. All communications from Kenya to the rest off the world is filtered, or tapped. There is no privacy; it is like every one in Kenya is a suspect.

Since the terrorist attacks in Kenya, most of the foreign investor relocated to the Seychelles Islands. They have hugely invested in tourism and thus creating job opportunities for the local people in the tourism industry. The tourism industry in Kenya has dwindled, and this is why we have gone to the East to advertise our tourism. At one time we even wanted to sell our unique species of wildlife to Thailand, as away of persuading them to come to Kenya for tourism.

Our expenditure on security has bee expanded to enable Kenya establish anti-terrorist
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machinery in the country. May be this money could have been better spent. It is claimed

that some rescuers of the 1998 bomb attack were infected with HIV/AIDS, true or not, God knows. But it is true that some families lost some of their members in the blast. It was also reported that there were cases of abortions associated, resulting from the blast. Thereafter, and out of frustration, some changed their lifestyles, indulging in immoral activities. They now have the virus, and who should be blamed for the sudden change of one's dignity after he or she has lost the beloved one at a very crucial stage in life? Early this year, the international community wanted to deny Kenya a chance of hosting the World x-country championship due to the security threat from terrorist in Mombassa. The event went on well without any disruption

5.7 KEY PLAYERS IN COUNTER-TERRORISM

Due to the nature of international terrorism, the fight against this Scourge must be multi-faceted with the involvement of government security organs and the citizenry. In order to implement the counter terrorism strategy, the Government must establish the national counter terrorism center, which will provide a centralized and coordinated approach to counter terrorism activities for key national players. The focus of National Security Intelligence Services in the war against terrorism is the collecting, collating and analyzing information, and ultimately disseminating intelligence on all aspects of terrorism. The Police undertake the surveillance, detection, investigation, apprehension and prosecution of terrorists. The department has established the Anti Terrorism Police unit to deal specifically with terrorism related matters.

The Armed Forces is the principal guarantor of peace and security in the nation from external armed threats. The military undertakes active and passive surveillance, intelligence gathering, physical patrols and protection of borders and other likely terrorist targets. It has the capability to undertake long range pre-emptive strikes or apprehension of imminent terrorists attacks. Others include the following:

Appropriate and effective security measures, which would deter, detect and deny terrorists and their accomplices from being able to execute attacks. The Authority addresses any existing or emerging terrorist threats to the airports by providing security to the airports and the customers. The role of the Kenya Civil Aviation Authority in the war against terrorism is the surveillance of the Kenyan airspace and to secure all air traffic control facilities and equipments against sabotage, destruction or misuse by terrorists that may jeopardize safety of aviation operations. Their role is to secure all seaports and port facilities against sabotage, destruction or misuse by terrorists and to guard against illegal entry of undesirable materials or personnel through the entry points. The Departments undertake measures against illegal entry and residency of aliens and undesirable immigrants and terrorist suspects. The Department has a central role of ensuring goods and equipment that can assist terrorists do not enter the country.

5.8 COUNTER TERRORISM MEASURES UNDERTAKEN

Following the 1998 and 2002 terrorist attacks in the country, significant measures towards developing counter terrorism capacity and capability were instituted. These measures include: collaboration between the police and the Attorney General in relation to handling terrorism related cases have been enhanced. A number of new police units

have been formed, such as the anti terrorism police unit (ATPU) and the tourist and marine police units, that have a direct bearing in dealing with international terrorism. This is a reform process aimed at making the police more responsive to the security needs of the country. All intelligence agencies of the Kenya Government have taken measures to develop more capacity for counter terrorism intelligence collection. Several physical and electronic security measures have been undertaken by the Kenya Airports Authority to strengthen aviation security in the airports. The Kenya Ports Authority has reinforced standing procedures for screening employee's vendors, port users, ship crews, and visitors' access to the ports. Vehicles and personnel are thoroughly searched at all entry and exit points.

The Department has introduced the personal identification and secure comparison and evaluation system, (PISCES) a computer system for fast capture and comparison of passport information. It has been installed at the major airports and will be networked to all Border Control Points and some specific stakeholders. Customs and excise department has acquired scanners that will enhance screening of goods passing through entry points. A snifter dog unit is in the process of being set up. Kenya has been at the forefront on the fight against proliferation of small weapons and light weapons. It hosts the Regional small arms and light weapons secretariat in addition to several seminars to stop the illicit activity. A total of seven suspects were arrested are facing charges related to the 2002 Paradise Hotel terrorist attack.

5.9 THE SUPPRESSION OF TERRORISM BILL, 2003

 The Bill was tabled in parliament in 2003 but due to the vibrant climate of democracy that had emerged in the country, there were some contentious issues during its discussion.

Opponents of the bill are mainly human rights activists who feel that the bill might interfere with individual rights to freedom and some Muslim religious leaders who argue that the bill is likely to alienate and marginalize the small Muslim community seeing that all terrorist activities in the country have had complicity with Islamic adherents. Subsequently, the Bill lapsed and has to be published afresh. The process to have the proposed Bill revised is in progress, and it is expected to be re-tabled in the 9th Parliament.

5.10

5.10 COUNTER TERRORISM CHALLENGES

a. High levels of poverty in the society creates an enabling environment for terrorist operations e.g. recruitment of the vulnerable operatives, planning and financial transactions through business companies, NGO's etc.

b. Travel advisories issued by the US and UK governments against the country have played into the hands of the terrorist by giving bad publicity to the country and curtailing tourist movements which adds to the vicious circle of poverty.

c. Terrorists has embraced technology to make their networking more effective.

d. Absence of a structured regional intergovernmental coordination mechanism.

e. Lack of reliable data on individuals, organisations, companies etc with suspected terrorist links.

f. Instituting anti terrorism measures in some cases cause disaffection to sections of the population especially with lack of legislation.

g. Scepticism, mistrust and failure to appreciate the seriousness of the threat hamper efforts to enjoin the public in efforts against terrorism.

5.11 COOPERATION WITH THE UNITED KINGDOM AND USA

The west has continued to extend its cooperation and assistance to Kenya in its war against terrorism. The areas of cooperation include: The British government through its liaison service has continued to exchange information and intelligence on terrorism with the Kenya government; the British government has provided a number of terrorism related courses to various Kenya's security organs. It has embarked on a crisis management programme facilitated by the Cranfield University, under its Counter terrorism assistance programme, the National Counter-terrorism Centre has received an intelligence analysis computer software and hardware package, which has proved quite useful in dealing with counterterrorism.

CASE STUDY ONE.

5.12 Bombing of the American embassy in Nairobi in 1998.

At 1037 hours, on Friday 7 August 1998, a 3.5 ton truck carrying 240 kilos of tri-nitro-toluene (TNT) mixed with aluminum nitrate, entered abruptly the rear backing of the American embassy in Nairobi, and detonated the explosive, killing 216 people, 12 of them Americans and the rest Kenyans. The truck was being driven by Azzam, with co-driver, Owhali. The vehicle forced its way with O whali armed with hand grenades and other weapons. Azzam blew-up the vehicle and the blast flattened the Ufundi house and other adjacent non-reinforced buildings. Majority of the occupants of those houses were killed, from the rubble, falling glass, and the blast itself.

Among the dead was Azzam, but not Awhali. On his way to the embassy, Owhali, carrying three hand-made stun grenades taped to his belt and a pistol in his jacket pocket, had taken off his jacket and kept it on his seat, to make it easy for him to reach the grenades. But in his haste to jump off the truck at the embassy, he left his jacket and the pistol behind. Once the plan of driving the truck to the ground floor of the embassy had failed, Owhali decided not to commit suicide and took off. He returned to his room at the Hill-top lodge. He was picked up after five days for lack of identification documents by both American and the Kenyan security personnel and confessed to be one of the terrorists.[112] Earlier, his co-conspirator, Sadiq Odeh. who had been running a fishing business in Mombassa, Kenya, for the past three years, was arrested at Karachi airport as he arrived there from Nairobi hours after the embassy blast[1 L\]

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[112] Dilip Hiro, War without End, Routledge, London,2001 p268
[113] Ibid p 269

Owhali was born in Liverpool, UK, where his father had enrolled at the local University for his master's degree. Owhali spent two years at Imam Muhammad ibn Saud Islamic University in Riyadh, studying fiqh. He later joined the terrorist camps in Afghanistan, where he eventually met and joined Al Qaeda. He fought along side the Taliban in their offensive in the North, and eventually finished his training in surveying and video cameras.

As a rule, the suicide bomber is supported by an operational cell which provides accommodation, transport, food, and security until he reaches the target. This cell of legal residence of a country and provide them with jobs and families. In the case of the Nairobi bombing, this procedure was followed by those who planned the attacks, except that Owhali chose not to commit suicide. Also, Odeh got caught outside the targeted country, Pakistan. Following this, Washington wondered how a man living as a refugee in Afghanistan can sponsor bomb attacks in distant Africa. This is a clear indication that globalization has reduced the world into a small village. With the availability of air transport, and easy communication, terrorist can cause untold damage. The easy with which a truck-load of explosives can be transported within the City center, without being detected sends chills in one's spine. This is lesson that should have thought us that not every volunteer is genuine. They came to the coast of Kenya and opened business in order to assist the poor Kenyans. They ended-up killing many, and destroyed property. All NGOs must be screened continuously and their activities assessed secretly. This work

should not be left to the Police as has been. The military should be involved in the surveillance of these people. Their technology is beyond the police capability[114].

The American embassy was bombed on the 7th August 1998 around noon. The character behind the bombing was the A1 Qaeda group. They started planning for the act in 1993.The following were the main actors, some of them dead and others serving life sentences in American cells, while others are still at large; Wadi, El Hage, Eig, Fazul, Abu Abdurrahman, Abdullah Saleh, Abu Ubeida, Abu Hafs, Odeh, Owhali,and Azzam.

In 1993, Wadi relocated to Kenya from the Sudan where he was staying and doing various businesses, including NGO. He set up business companies and charitable organizations at the coast. In 1994, Eig identified all western interests, among them the American embassy. This was tentatively given first priority for bombing. In 1997, they purchased large quantities of the explosive TNT. Several members of the group arrived in the country and started training on the use of the explosive. More targets were surveyed but the main was the embassy. In the same year, one of the key members, Wadi was arrested and deported to Pakistan for involvement in terrorist activities. In 1998, Fazul enters Kenya and rents house number 43 at Runda estate. Among the inhabitants of the house was Abu Abdurrahman. He was in-charge of training cell members on explosives and mines. The final target was chosen as the American embassy. Senior A1 Qaeda members visited the country and reconnoitered the embassy and confirmed it as the target and left the country soon-after.

[114] Ibid p 270

In July 1998, Abdurrahman assembled the bomb at the Runda estate, packed it into wooden crates and packed it at the rear compartment of the truck. In early August 1998, Odeh, Fazul and other members converged at the Hill top Hotel for final discussions. Fazul had sneaked into the country after the deportation. They reconnoitered the embassy and finalized the plans. On the 5^{lh} August 1998, Abdurrahman made the final connections between the bomb and the detonation device. All the members held their final meeting at the Hill top Hotel and left for Pakistan. They left behind Fazul, Owhali and Azzam. These three proceeded to the embassy on the 7th August where they detonated the bomb.252 people died, and 5000 others sustained various injuries. Property worthy millions was also destroyed. Some of the terrorists were later arrested in various parts of the world and are serving life sentences in America, including Odeh, Wadi, and Owhali. Fazul is still at large and said to be in Somalia.

CASE STUDY TWO.

5.13 HOTEL PARADISE IN MOMBASA 2002

The main actors during this attack were, Fazul, Issa Osman Issa, Abdul Malik, Omar, Samir Ba'amir, Fumo, Saleh, Nabhan, Harun Bamusa.The remnants of the 1998 embassy bombing formed the core of this team with Fazul leading.Fazul moved to Somalia in late 2000 and early 2001 to plan the attack. He was joined by Malik Abdul and Suleiman in the Somalia cell and embarked on the job planning in 2002.Between August and September 2002,Fazul, Issa, met frequently at the Mombassa polytechnic Mosque to further their plans. They hired a house at the Tudor 4 estate where Issa, Salleh, Fumo, and Samir stayed. Between 22-23 November, Omar scouted and found an escape boat, the mv

sauda. Nov 23 they moved missiles and explosives into their residence at Tudor and started assembling the bomb. Nov 28, Saleh Nabhan and Issa Osman fire two missiles at an Israel commercial plane but misses. They escape in vehicle driven by Malik. Fumo and Harun Amuse drive an explosive laden vehicle into the paradise Hotel and die together with 13 other guests and workers. They disappear to Somalia using the mv sauda escape boat from Lamu Island. This terrorist bombing was carried out by the Al Qaeda group of Osama bin Laden. The paradise Hotel is frequented by tourists from Israel and America.

From the two case studies in Kenya, it is evident that Kenya has no firm security arrangements to deter terrorists. The terrorists walk in and out of Kenya, disguising themselves as, either tourists or members of NGO groups intending to help suffering Kenyans. The security situation in Kenya cannot manage fully the terrorist tactics, which are highly of high technology. Both the two attacks show a security lapse, where, it was either inadequate or sub-standard. Vehicle full of explosives cannot gain access to guarded places without detection. We need proper surveillance and well trained people to manage terrorism. We need sensitization of all people that terrorism is real, and that it can be carried out at any place any time.

Africa is the soft underbelly for transnational terrorism. The bombing of the American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998 as well as the Paradise Hotel in Kenya in 2002 demonstrates that anti-American and anti-Israel terrorism is alive and well in Africa. Al Qaeda and other terrorist cells are active in East, North, Southern, and West Africa.

These cells plan, finance, train for, and execute terrorist operations in many parts of the continent, and not only in Sudan and Somalia. They seek uranium, diamonds, chemical weapons components and tooth-comb the continent from North to South in search of renegade nuclear, biological and chemical weapons experts[1]

They take advantage of Africa's porous borders, weak law enforcement and security services and nascent and inefficient judicial institutions to move men, weapons and money around the globe. They take advantage of poor disillusioned populations, often with religious/or ethnic grievances, to recruit for any jihad against "infidels and crusaders' [16]'\

The bomb attacks on United States embassies in Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam killed 224 people, most of them Africans.

The attacks on the two embassies and the paradise Hotel confirmed an emerging trend in terrorism; the infliction of mass, indiscriminate casualties, striking far beyond terrorism's traditional operational theatres in Europe and Middle East. By contrast, terrorism in the past was generally practiced by individuals belonging to an identifiable organization, who had a defined set of political, socio-economic objectives.

5.14 CONCLUSION

Kenya's cooperation with the British government and the rest of the western world has made the country a target of international terrorism. Nonetheless, the country is

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[115] Ibid p2
[116] Ibid p 3

committed to the global war against terrorism and has the will to work with like-minded countries.

Kenya is thankful to the UK Government for the continued cooperation in the exchange of terrorism related information and intelligence, and the capacity building and material assistance granted. This however is way below what the Kenya Government has invested. The effects of terrorism on Kenya have been mainly on, the economical, social liberties, crime escalation, medical disorders, capital flight, and loss of bilateral trade with the west.

CHAPTER SIX

6.0 Summary

We have seen terrorism defined in various ways by different governments. The Americans, the British both define it with their main emphasis on the use of violence for the purpose of putting the public or any section of the public in fear. The League of Nations defines it as all criminal activities directed against a state and intended or calculated to create a state of terror in the minds of particular persons or a group of persons or the general public. Various other governments define it as a threat or use of unlawful violence by a non-state actor with the intention to intimidate or coerce a group, population or government in furtherance of political, social or religious objectives.

Chapter two reviews the factors mostly associated with terrorism. Terrorism is an asymmetrical war waged by the weaker against the stronger. From the review it is evident that the causes of terrorism are many and varied. More often than not the causes are multi-dimensional, and any efforts to counter terrorism must be broad-based, and target

the root causes. The media plays a big role in propagating terrorism. Terrorists have always recognized the importance of manipulating the media in their favor. The media cannot ignore its positive effects on terrorism and society would certainly be better off if the media were not driven by sensationalism, and portray a negative resentments on terrorist acts. There are known breeding areas for terrorism. Some of these areas have no stable governments. In rooting out terrorism, these breeding areas should be targeted and destroyed completely. Collapsed states, poorly governed states, and undemocratic states should be assisted to achieve recommended status of stability and good governance.

The west has an elaborate mechanism in place to counter terrorism. Whereas these mechanisms may work in developed countries, they are not affordable in third world countries. There is a need to assist third world countries financially and technologically to be able to put in-place measures to counter terrorism.

The Arabs and other minority groups feel America is using its hegemonic state to oppress others, and it should be subdued by all possible means. The war on global terror calls for unity of all nations. This American oppression makes the world not to be united against global terrorism. The third world and the Arab world feel the USA is exploitative, and that most of the problems facing the world today are as result of its hegemonic attitudes.

Kenya finds herself completely entangled in terrorism due to its geographical position, and being allied to the west. Kenya must have proper counterterrorist measures to deal with terrorist acts. The establishment of the national counter Terrorism center to coordinate counter terrorism efforts and resources, and the Creation of the national anti-

terrorist police unit are a good step forward. The military has also formed an **anti**-terrorist unit which is currently based at Embakasi Garrison.

Kenya is thankful to the UK Government for the continued cooperation in the exchange of terrorism related information and intelligence, and the capacity building and material assistance granted. This however is way below what the Kenya Government has invested. The effects of terrorism on Kenya have been mainly on, the economical, social liberties, crime escalation, medical disorders, capital flight, and loss of bilateral trade with the west.

6.1 Conclusion

While there is no firm agreed-upon definition of the term, it is most commonly used in today's mainstream press to describe acts of politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by sub national groups or clandestine agents. The global war on terrorism is a major concern to all nations the world over. Kenya is particularly vulnerable due her friendly policies to the west. As a result it has suffered three major terrorist attacks. The main causes of terrorism are as many as one can envisage. All revolve around issues on politics, oppression of the disadvantaged, world hegemony by the only superpower, interference with socio-cultural values of other peoples, and religious differences.

This social inequality has resulted into the formation of gangs aimed at terrorizing the rich and the powerful. In the process many innocent lives have been lost, both the rich and the poor. The weak cannot face the powerful for a conventional war; they have resorted to all sorts of means to inflict pain on the oppressor. They have used all available

weapons, and are likely to pursue their cause further. From the available evidence, they are likely to acquire weapons of mass destruction in the future and use cyber-terrorism. They don't work in a vacuum; they must get support before they can effectively carry-out their activities, state terrorism. Some countries have become sanctuaries for them. These are mostly the collapsed states, and also those with insufficient security to control their countries due to conflicts. These countries must be assisted to form governments to take care of their own securities, and good governance.

The threat cannot, therefore be wished a way or be ignored. Hence, all efforts must be employed in order to protect the citizens of this nation against terrorists. We have examined the capabilities and gaps in combating terrorism and put forward proposals for an action plan to acquire new equipments, training of personnel and all other measures which will help counter this formidable threat.

6.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

East Africa as a region has suffered a lot from Terrorism Acts .There is need for the region to come up with more effective ways and means of dealing with the threat. Although the existing laws address terrorism, there is need to have a uniform or effective policy in place that does not have any ambiguity and addresses the issue directly. Kenya for example has a pending Anti-Terrorism to address the issue. In order to be effective, all the three states should have similar laws so as to be able to complement each other. The following are the recommendations:

a.   The laws to be enacted should define acts of Terrorism specifically so as to remove any ambiguity.

b.   Regional bodies such as EAC should be more pro-active in combating regional conflicts such as the conflicts in the Great Lakes region and the Horn of Africa.

c.   The formation of an effective security framework to specifically address the problem of terrorism would allow proper policing and surveillance aimed at tracking terrorists and also be able to share in exchange of information and intelligence.

d.   formation of a regional Anti-terrorism Centre to regulate training, like the one in Kenya.

e.   Immigration and border control regulations should be harmonized as a way of properly vetting immigration entry points in the line of European Shenegan provision. This will in effect assist and monitor any suspected terrorist acts in the region.

f.   Establishment of secure and faster means of communications to facilitate the timely apprehension and prosecution of potential terrorists group and their sympathizers

h.   Terrorism thrives in a chaotic situation. Under these circumstances, there normally is inadequate policing and surveillance by security personnel. In order to deny potential terrorists use of such areas as safe havens, for their clandestine operations, there is need for the East African Governments to consider developing infrastructure. They should also uplift people's standards of lives in marginal areas by offering them

necessary support. This will alleviate attempts by saboteurs to subvert those hence

enabling security mechanisms to operate in these areas with ease,

i.   The East African Countries should identify terrorists and go after them,

j.   Citizens of the region need to be educated not to respond in vigilante fashion by

attacking innocent people, and creating enemies in their own communities. They also

need to be educated not to let terrorists succeed in their goal of creating panic. Panic not

only causes   emotional disturbances but also leads to economic damage. People

therefore need to go   about their businesses as before, denying success to the terrorist in

creating terror and damages to the economy.

k.   Furthers training is needed to equip the citizens to be able to prevent terrorist acts

         even at some danger to themselves. These might involve facing up to the terrorist

in case of need to prevent great danger.

1.   There is need for the East African countries to establish a more just order, where

people everywhere have a stake in the national resources and services and can live in

reasonable dignity. They should have access to good education and should be able to

find productive employ

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