

International Terrorism in East Africa: The Case of Kenya¹

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Abstract

International terrorism is a significant threat to world peace and security, and as such remains high on the agenda within policy and intelligence circles. In Africa, the notion of terrorism itself can be traced back to anti-colonial struggles whilst the more recent terrorist attacks in Kenya and Tanzania give some indication of the severity of the threat of terrorism in the Horn of Africa. Terrorist attacks in Kenya, both those which may be described as 'domestic' as well as 'international' appear to be associated with some of the country's Muslim population as well as with Kenya's political relations with the US and its allies. Following the collapse of the Soviet block, the US re-oriented the objectives and course of its foreign policy. This re-orientation helped the US to realize its contemporary interests and aspirations at the new global level in which it has become the world's only superpower. America's new global foreign policy has brought it into Conflict not only with specific 'regimes of terror' such as Iraq or North Korea but also with relatively amorphous groups/individuals whose attempts to challenge America's geo-political hegemony has led them to be regarded as the new menace of international terrorism. Kenya is closely allied to US and Israeli interests, acts of terror in Kenya appear to be an indirect way of attacking the US and Israel. Details of major terrorist threats and attacks in Kenya are described in the main body of this paper and in the light of this account; I suggest that in order to deal with international terrorism in Kenya, its root causes must be addressed. In this paper I propose that we can best understand the problem of international terrorism as played out in Kenya, by looking at both the internal socio-economic conditions of Muslims in Kenya as well as the external situation of Kenya's international relations. As a prelude to this I allude to the need for a common working definition of terrorism and in conclusion I give some indication of further lines of inquiry to be pursued in research of this kind.

Introduction

Today, international terrorism has created unstable political situations and unexpected economic losses at the global level. The tragic event of September 11, 2001 has demonstrated the scope and new sophistication of international terrorism (Barak, 2005:5). Karmon (2001:30) has argued that "international terrorism of the second half of the 1990s has diminished in quantity of incidents while the quality of the attacks and their lethality has increased dramatically with possible use by terrorists of what is referred to as 'weapons of mass destruction.' Graham and Hussbaumjeff (2004:239) claimed that to understand the devastating threat of terrorists one should accept the fact that even a non-nation state can challenge the United States.

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Geographically, the Horn of Africa consists of Ethiopia, Somalia, the Sudan, Kenya, Eritrea, and Djibouti. According to the U.S. Institute of Peace (2004: 2-3), countries such as Kenya, Ethiopia, and Somalia have recently been especially prone to attacks by terrorists, being one of the most fragile regions in the world and characterized by regional civil wars (Debiel, 2002:12). Protracted war and declining economic situations are possible reasons that help to create a fertile ground for international terrorism. This region is yet to stabilize itself (ibid.).

According to the United States Department of State, (2003:6) several factors make Somalia especially prone to international terrorism. These include: a lack of a functioning central government, prolonged state of instability and violence, a long coast line, porous borders, and proximity to the Middle East. Besides the contemporary focus on Al-Qaeda needs to be broadened to encompass the Al-Itihad. As Medihane Tadesse (2002:75-79) argues, Wahhabi was planted in Somalia in 1947 and Wahhabism has created a fertile ground for Al-Itihad Al-Islami (AIAI) to flourish in Somalia.

AIAI is a group of Islamic cells with sympathies and links with a radical anti-western agenda. Woldeslase (2004: 21-22 cf; United States Department of State, 2002:6) has argued that AL-Itihad has grown in the past decade in stateless Somalia with support from abroad and has launched attacks on Ethiopia. AIAI was originally formed in the early 1990s with the goal of creating an Islamic state in Somalia. Some of the perpetrators of the bombings of the U.S embassy in Nairobi escaped to Somalia where they may have joined AIAI members in Mogadishu.

Al-Qaeda network has been of special security concern in this region (Wyckoff, 2004:1). In 1991, Bin Laden settled in the Sudan with the approval of Sudanese National Islamic Front NIF leader, Hasan al-Turabi. With NIF leaders, he built a network of businesses including an Islamic bank, import-export firm, and firms that export agricultural products (A. Clarke, 2004:147). He has also used his family connections in the construction businesses in the Sudan. In May 1996, following strong US and Egyptian pressure, Sudan expelled Bin Laden. Nevertheless, Al-Qaeda cells have been identified and others are suspected to be in Somalia, Eritrea, Kenya, and Ethiopia (ibid.)

The link between the Horn of Africa and international terrorism is also evident in the London bombings of 21 July 2005 where several of the suspects arrested in connection with the attack were identified as individuals born in the Horn of Africa. The Ethiopian-born Hussein Osman, one of the suspects in the operation, was arrested in Rome. Two other suspects, Yassin Hassan Omar and Ibrahim Muktar were born in Somalia and Eritrea respectively (Williams, 2005:1-3). Again these are some of the indicators that individuals in the Horn of Africa are attracted to International terrorism.

In Kenya British authorities first used the term 'terrorism' to refer to the activities of the Mau-Mau, who are nowadays widely regarded as freedom fighters. Kenya gained political independence from Britain on 12 December 1963. After its independence there were international terrorist operations in Kenya. In 1981 a radical Palestinian group claimed responsibility for bombing the Norfolk Hotel in Nairobi. Another attack that occurred on August 7, 1998 was the bombing of the US Embassy in Nairobi. Again in November 2002, the Paradise Hotel was bombed and an attempt was made to shoot down an Israeli Airliner with a shoulder-held surface-to-air missile near Mombassa in Kenya (Otenyo, 2004: 2-6). Together,

these attacks were some of the indicators that the threat of international terrorism is a cause for concern in Kenya today.

Defining Terrorism

Some definitions of terrorism focus on the terrorist organization's mode of operation while others tend to focus on the persons involved in terrorism rather than the factors that give rise to acts of terror. In general, the definition of terrorism raises considerable controversy among academics and other professionals in the field. Academics, security experts, journalists, institutions, and politicians have tried to define terrorism in their own different ways. It is difficult to understand terrorism today without an historical perspective. According to White (2002:67), the term 'terrorism' first appeared during the French Revolution; there terrorism referred to the slaughter of the French aristocracy including their families and sympathizers.

Hoffman (1998:14) also defines 'terrorism' in relation to the French view of the term i.e. "government by intimidation as directed and carried out by the party in power in France during the revolution of 1789-94". Bruce claims that the term 'terrorism', at that time, had a positive connotation. White (2002:73) asserts that the Russian Revolution utilized terrorism in a way that had an impact on how People in the twentieth century viewed the phenomena. Lenin believed that terrorism could be used as an instrument for overthrowing middle-class, or bourgeois governments (ibid.).

Johnson (1986:31), describes, modern terrorism, dates from the middle of 1960s when the PLO formally adopted terror and mass murder as its primary policy and whereas White (2002:3) has argued that the nature and meaning of terrorism has been changing over the course of history. Benjamin Netanyahu (1986:27) depicted terrorism as a deliberate and systematic murder of the innocent to inspire fear with the aim of promoting political ends which for him is an unacceptable means of political struggle. Laqueur and Yonah (1987:4) define terrorism as the use of violence against random civilian targets in order to intimidate or create a generalized pervasive fear for the purpose of achieving political goals. Others define terrorism in relation to religion. For example, Mia Bloom (2005:2) has attributed terrorist operations of the last ten years to Muslims.

The majority of the terrorists in the world are Muslims though not all Muslims are terrorists. But there is no doubt that the majority of those who carried out suicide operations against different targets around the world, in the last ten years, happen to be Muslims. Islam has suffered an injustice at the hands of the new Muslims.

National and international institutions also define terrorism in different ways. The U.S. State Department uses the term terrorism to mean, "premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against a non-combatant target by sub-national groups or clandestine state agents intended to influence an audience. International terrorism is terrorism involving the citizens or territory of more than one country, Holms and Tom (1994:13)". Terrorism is the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, with political or social objectives (ibid.). The United Nations for their part, defined terrorism as "an anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by semi-clandestine individual, group or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal or political reasons...the direct targets of violence not the main targets..." (2006:1).

The Cobra Institute (1998:6) defines the terms 'terrorism' and 'international terrorism' as follows:

Terrorism is premeditated violence, or threat of violence against non-combatant targets by sub-national or clandestine agents calculated to create an atmosphere of fear and alarm to bring about political or social change or to coerce a government, the civilian population or any segment of the society. International terrorism means terrorism-involving citizens of more than one country.... This includes incidents in which terrorists go abroad to unleash violence or they select targets within their own country that have connections with a foreign state or create international incidents by attacking foreign visitors, airline passengers, personnel and equipment. Domestic terrorism is violence carried out by terrorist within their own country against their own citizens.

Politicians define terrorism based on their perceived national interests. For instance, President George W. Bush, immediately after 9/11, articulated the causal link between poverty and terrorism when he declared "We fight against poverty because hope is an answer to terror" (M'ernan, 2003:123). The South African President, Thabo Mbeki, at the General Assembly of the United Nations, two months after 9/11, stated, "The fundamental conflict in the world today is the deprivation of millions coexisting side by side with islands of enormous wealth and prosperity. This necessarily breeds a deep sense of injustice, social alienation, despair and willingness to sacrifice their lives among those who feel they have nothing to lose and everything to gain". The British Prime minister, Tony Blair, provided similar commentary in his speech to the Labor Party Conference in October 2001.

It is quite obvious from the above review that the literature on terrorism is varied; whereas some governments are trying to label all violent acts committed by their political opponents as terrorism, anti-government movements frequently claim to be the victims of State Terror. Terrorism thus seems to depend on one's perception of the act but the fact remains that terrorism involves the deliberate use of shock tactics or intimidation against victims in order to compel a targeted audience to do something to change its political attitudes and policies with respect to specific issues.

The Political and Religious Context of Terrorism

It is important to point out the close connection between, religion and politics as factors in terrorism. Political ideology and specific political tactic can influence terrorist activities. To borrow Crenshaw's argument terrorism is unjustified violence against a democratic state that allows for effective and peaceful forms of opposition. In this connection, "a black activist who bombs a police station in Apartheid South Africa is not a terrorist whereas the Provisional Irish Republican Army [IRA] bombers of British military barracks are." Crenshaw believes that terrorism can contribute to change in some areas such as sharing political power and improving government policies in relation to civil liberties and claimed that terrorism can be judged at two levels: the morality of the ends and morality of the means.

The goals of the terrorists might be democratic or undemocratic; to create or perpetuate a regime of privilege and inequality, to deny liberty to other people on the one hand, or to further justice, freedom, and equality on the other. Hence the act of terrorism is a deliberate choice by

a political actor. Terrorism is interpreted as a response to external body, particularly government actions.

According to this perspective terrorism is a means to achieve a political end. Kolakowskil (1986:48) explains the politics of terrorism as follows.

Defining terrorism clearly so as to distinguish between terrorist acts and justified political violence is often difficult today. Nowadays, no one admits to being a terrorist, just as no one admits to opposing freedom, peace, and democracy.

From the religious angle Laqueur and Yonah (1987:7) define terrorism as a manifestation of religious protest in the wake of political revolt and social uprisings. Eric Otenyo (2004:4) summarizes contemporary terrorism as "associated with the struggle against Zionism and American interests". For Pape (2005:80) terrorism is not primarily a product of Islamic fundamentalism but an extremist strategy for national Liberation. Karmon (2001:32) recognized the role of religion, as an instrument for political protest and cited the assassination of Israel's Prime Minister Itzhak Rabin by an extremist Jew as an example. Bloom (2005:84) argued that the ultimate and real target of international terrorists are Western, "democratic countries".

Whatever religious connection there is with terrorism, singling out one religion, as the sole perpetrator of terror would be to distort historical records and contemporary reality, as well as to misjudge the extent and the complex nature of the problem of terrorism. According to M^cterman (2003:1), there are currently numerous conflicts in different parts of the world in which "adherents of all the major world faiths can be involved thereby justifying atrocities on the grounds that their cause is righteous". All of them hold in common the belief that those who die defending their religious objectives and values are martyrs. From Indonesia to Northern Ireland, the Middle East to Kashmir, India to Nigeria, the Balkans to Sri Lanka, Christians, Buddhists, Jews, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs justify the use of violence on the grounds that they are protecting their identity and interests.

Suicide Terrorism

Terrorism existed in the past in varying forms and degrees of severity. Some authors believe that suicide terrorism is the highest form of terrorism that requires the death of the perpetrators. According to Crenshaw (2001:21) "Suicide attacks represent the intersection of separate historical trends in terrorism". Although the tactic may present itself as unique and innovative, it is a combination of familiar motives, targets and methods. Thus the tactics used by international terrorists have varied over time. Lipkin-Shahak (2001:5) explains suicide terrorism as "perpetrated by certain terrorists, motivated by desperation". Suicide bombing is currently a major strategy of international terrorist organizations such as Al Qaeda, whose objective is to expel U.S. troops from the Middle East and the Persian Gulf (Pape 2000:16).

Suicide terrorism is a coercive strategy directed against a more powerful enemy to force it to change its policies and to evacuate a homeland territory under its control (ibid.). This argument implies that suicide terrorist campaigns are primarily nationalistic responses to foreign occupation/ domination; Pape suggests that suicide attacks are not necessarily religious, and are certainly not particularly Islamic. Pape argues that suicide attacks are to be best

understood as an extreme form of resistance and, that there is little connection between terrorism and Islamic fundamentalism.

As shown by Pape's database, the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka professing Marxism-Leninism are the leading instigators of suicide terrorist attacks and that groups opposed to religion committed 76 out of the 315 incidents (Pape, 2005:21-23). Anderson (2001:49) identified historical suicide campaigns attributed to the ancient Jewish Zealots, the eleventh and twelfth century assassins, and the Japanese Kamikazes during World War II. Suicide terror is a practice undertaken at individual, group, and state levels. According to Anderson, the considerations are efficiency, ease of delivery, and precision in targeting.

Thus suicide terrorism should be interpreted as one form of terrorism and shares many of the elements of general terrorism. The motives for suicide terrorism do not appear to differ from the motives of terrorism in general, but what distinguishes a suicide terrorist is that the attacker does not expect to survive a mission whose accomplishment requires death. Arad (2001:18) has looked at suicide terrorism in history which in the case of Japan, had "a tradition of glorifying suicide; the training of Kamikaze began at the outset of the war" and the Japanese used suicide bombing against American military bases. America was made desperate by Japan's suicide attacks and as retaliation, bombed Japan into submission.

Terrorism in the Horn of Africa

Africa has been suffering from the effects of both domestic and international terrorism. As Rice points out (2001:7), Africa is the world's soft target for global terrorism and Al Qaeda and other terrorist cells are active throughout the continent. Cilliers (2003, 94-97) has explored a part of the historical development of terrorism in the context of Africa. In which he says that after the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan in 1989, the returned veterans speeded up terrorist acts particularly in Northern Africa. From 1986 to 1989, between 600 and 800 Algerian veteran nationals returned home. They provided a nucleus for a terrorist movement that came on the scene. It soon affected Algeria, Egypt and the Sudan. In Africa, the spread of radical activism was first financed from Saudi Arabia and later by Osama bin Laden and other private financiers (Hussien and Botha, 2001:5).

As Hussien and Botha further observed, Africa witnessed an increase in the number of terrorist attacks:

From 1995 till 2001, 8% of international acts of terrorism were committed on Africa, making it the fifth most targeted continent after Latin America, Western Europe, Asia and the Middle East. The cost of terrorism in terms of loss of human life, Africa recorded 5932 casualties out of 194 acts of terrorism between 1995 and 2001, making Africa the second continent, after Asia. Direct costs, in terms of devastation to infrastructure and indirect costs, through the "withdrawal of investors and tourism, one of Africa's biggest industries, cannot be calculated.

There are some indicators that African and Middle Eastern terrorism are interconnected. According to Mazrui (2002:4-5), international terrorism is one more area where the policies of the Middle East and the politics of Africa are intermingled. Before the end of colonialism and Apartheid in South Africa, what was described, as 'terrorism' was as common in Africa as in the Middle East. Terrorism in the context of Africa targeted Europeans and other colonial

powers and had produced good results at the end for Africa. Ali Mazrui seems to suggest that terrorism is a means of political struggle against domination in general and against colonialism in Africa in particular. "Much of the old anti-colonial and anti-apartheid terrorism in Africa, during the second half of the twentieth century targeted Europeans and the colonial powers. Much of the Middle Eastern terrorism of more recent times has targeted the United States and Israel (ibid.). The linkage between the Horn of Africa and the Middle East terrorist groups make the threat more sophisticated.

Since 1991 there were protracted terrorist operations in the Horn of Africa region. Otenyo (2004:4) describes terrorist attacks in the Horn of Africa in the following manner: In 1993, 18 American soldiers were killed in Mogadishu, Somalia. Five years later, terrorists struck the region again, bombing American Embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. In November 2002, suicide terrorists attacked the Israeli-owned hotel in Mombassa, Kenya. Simultaneously, the attackers shot at an Arkia Airline taking off from Mombassa International Airport for Israel. Another case of terrorism that may be related to the Horn of Africa is given by Paz, (2001:86-87) who discusses the June 1995 attempt on the life of the Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

There are different views regarding factors, which have placed Africa as a target of international terrorism. To Shinn (2004:8), Islam plays an important role in the politics of Africa in general and the Horn of Africa in particular. Wahhabism embodies a fundamentalist philosophy whose adherents are more likely to be attracted to terrorism and Jihad. According to West (2005:7), "Wahabism is a stream of Islam native to Saudi Arabia that links religion and political action. Furthermore West claims that Wahabism is expansionist and the most intolerant and inflexible version of Islam." Shinn (2004:10) asserts that Saudi and Gulf state funding has been able to penetrate East Africa and the Horn. "Saudi Institutions had trained 28 Kenyans in Wahhabi ideas by 1982 and the number tripled by 1995. In the early 1990s, The National Union of Kenyan Muslims requested assistance from Saudi Arabia to establish an Islamic University on the Kenyan coast". The intention might be to create a conducive situation for the terrorists.

Kinfe (1998:9) suggests that the denial of freedom of worship has historically led to religious intolerance leading to politicization of religion for strategic, economic and political control as in the context of the Arab-Israeli conflict of the Middle East, which has persisted for over half a century. Whether it is denial of freedom of worship or interpretation of denial of freedom of worship, the fact remains that it becomes politicized in due course of time as in the case of Hindu-Moslem conflict in the Indian sub-continent and the North-South conflict in Sudan. In a different context, the United States Institute of Peace (2002:12) substantiated this view by claiming that the EPLF in Eritrea rejected Islam as a social identity, which prompted Muslims in Eritrea to participate in Eritrean Islamic Jihad movement – EIJM. Others have different views concerning the sources of terrorism in general and in the context of Africa in particular. For example Rice (2001:8) states that: Africa, its poor, young, disaffected, unhealthy, uneducated populations often had no stake in government, no faith in the future, and an easily exploitable discontent with the status quo. And, perhaps, that is part of the reason why we have seen an increase in recent years in the number of African nationals engaged in international terrorism.

West (2005:19) came to the same conclusion. "Unemployment rate is greatest in the Horn of Africa as well as in the continent". Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia and the Sudan that constitute the Horn of Africa sub-region have become potential hostages to terrorism that may affect the security of the whole continent. Their largely unsecured territories provide a platform for terrorists, and their internal conflicts and weaknesses create potential breeding grounds for current and future terrorism. According to Cillier (2003:96), the general weakness of African governments, as well as the civil strife, which exists in several countries, makes parts of the continent highly susceptible to terrorist activity.

Terrorism in Kenya²

Kenya is bordered to the north by Ethiopia and Sudan, to the East by the Indian Ocean, to the West by Uganda, and to the South by Tanzania. Its capital city Nairobi covers an area of about 583,000 sq km, which includes around 13,600 sq km of Lake Victoria. It is divided into seven administrative provinces, namely, Central, Coast, Eastern, North Eastern, Nyanza, Rift valley and the Western province. Kenya's population is estimated at 34,707,817 and made up almost entirely of Africans, with a small (although influential) minority of Asians (about 80,000), Arabs (about 30,000) and Europeans (about 30,000) (Bindloss et.al).

The population growth rate currently stands at around 2.57%. Kenya is home to more than 70 ethnic groups. Major ethnic groups include the Kikuyu (22%), Luhya (14%), Luo (13%), Kalenjin (12%), Kamba (11%), Kisii (6%), Meru (6%), and other African (15%), non-Africans like Asians, Europeans, and Arabs (1%). According to Bindloss et al. (2003:25), most Kenyans found away from the Coastal and Eastern provinces are Christians, while most of those on the coast and in the East of the country are Muslims which account for 30% of the population (ibid.).

Today, Kenya suffers from a huge unemployment rate and severe poverty. As Barrie Anthony asserts (2003:32), there are 2.6 million unemployed youth who are high school and university graduates in Kenya. Every year, this number swells by an extra 600, 000. Currently, it is estimated that about 15 million out of a total of about 34 million live below the poverty line. Part of Kenya's socioeconomic deprivation may be related to foreign domination, which despite independence remains in various forms, throughout the country. Barrie Anthony (2004:34) writes that most accounts assert "Kenya was from the outset integrated into Western economic structures as a member of the bloc's ideological axis". President James E. Carter procured a military agreement with the Kenyan government for the exclusive use of Mombasa as part of its Indian Ocean-Gulf region strategic endeavors. Mombasa was also used for US military operations during the first Gulf War and Operation Restore Hope in Somalia. Later, Mombasa became an important base for marines hunting down Al Qaeda terrorists in the Horn of Africa.

² At the time of going to press with this publication the BBC reported an explosion that took place in central Nairobi Kenya on the 11 June 2007, not far from the US Embassy. Police suspect a suicide bomber and have confirmed six persons dead and more than sixty people injured.

The Bombing of the Norfolk Hotel

Otenyo (2004:3) notes that the first sign that the territory of Kenya had become a selected operational area for international terrorist groups was witnessed when terrorists bombed the world-famous five-star Norfolk Hotel in Nairobi, Kenya. According to the Daily Nation (1981:1), the explosion took place on December 31st 1980, at 8.45 pm local time, as Hotel residents and ticket holders gathered for a New Year's Eve buffet dinner in the Eland Dining Room. At least 18 were killed and more than 65 injured when the blast demolished one wing of the Hotel on Harry Thuku Road, Nairobi.

According to Awinoeketch (2001:94), the Italian Red Brigade and German terrorist groups were first suspected due to the presence of Italian and German tourists at the Hotel. Some claimed that the bomb was aimed at the Jewish block family who owns the Hotel while others claimed it was in retaliation for Kenya's complicity in permitting the Israelis to refuel in her capital, Nairobi, after the 1976 Entebbe raid. The then police commissioner, Ben Gethi, in the Daily Nation, noted that most of the dead were foreigners and that their killer may have been a Moroccan identified as Qaddura Mohammed Abdel-Hamid a member of the popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

Qaddura is said to have paid in advance for the room and the investigating authorities also suggested that he had entered Kenya with a Maltese passport. Otenyo (2004:4) has argued that the Norfolk attack was the first major terrorist attack on Kenya as an Arab response to the nation's complicity with the commando raid that rescued hijacked Israeli planes in Uganda, and then under Idi Amin - who declared himself an enemy of Zionism. Government officials and foreigners shocked by the events expressed their views immediately. According to the Standard Newspaper (1981:1), the then President who was addressing a New Year party at state House said:

I condemn them for their act. Let us not allow foreign terrorism to be in our country. We know the evils of terrorism as we can read News from El Salvador, Italy, Philippines, Guatemala, not forgetting the Muslim brotherhood terrorists of Syria. Let us not allow the activities such as those of the Italian Red Brigades, German's Badder meinhof, Irish Republican Army of Britain, not forgetting to mention the Shifta terrorism in our country.

President Moi also declared that his government has been fighting against the perpetrators. He said:

The fight against these evils has, frankly speaking, taken the greater part of our time in the past years. In this New Year, it will be incumbent upon each one of you to work hard in building our nation. The fight against those who are trying to undermine the good reputation of our government must be intensified. All those who harbour thoughts of smuggling, bribery and tribalism should understand...that every effort would be made to curb their activities. Once again I appeal to each one of you to think of assisting others. If we do this, there will be no room for evil in our society, as written in the Daily Ntion, 1981.

The Bombing of the US Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania

On August 7, 1998 the US Embassy building in Nairobi was bombed. According to Otenyo (2004:6), it is the worst blast that ever occurred in the country. The blast shook the whole city

and all buildings within 150m radius had their windows shattered. Geleta and Peter Rees (2000:1) noted that the blast killed more than 200 people and injured over 5,500. Of these victims, 500 were hospitalized and 5000 were treated in various local hospitals and clinics before being discharged. More than 30 buildings were severely damaged and the five-story building next to the American Embassy was destroyed. According to the Associated Press (1999:1), the blast killed 224, including 12 Americans, and injured more than 5,400.

According to a US official in Nairobi, the cost was estimated at 500 million USD. He also noted that it was hard to estimate the impact on tourism.³

As Awinoeketch (2001: 101) documented, Tanzania hosted a number of liberation movements in the struggle for the Liberation of South Africa from Apartheid. The movements used Tanzania as training, reorganizing, recruiting ground and as a safe haven. It also hosted the Palestinian Liberation Organization's office in East Africa. Before the 1998 attack, the most notable terrorist attack in Tanzania was the killing, in 1960s, of the Mozambican freedom fighter Eduardo Mondlane who was the leader of the Front for the Liberation Of Mozambique (FRELIMO). No one claimed responsibility for the attack. In 1980, an attempt was made to blow up the Selander Bridge.

The US Embassy in Tanzania was originally built and used as premises of the Israeli Embassy. A bomb explosion occurred there on August 7, 1998 at about 10.40 A.m which killed 10 Tanzanians and injured seventy-seven other people. The blast caused minor damage to the German Diplomatic building nearby. The French embassy was also slightly damaged.⁴ According to Awinoeketch (201:102), the

Tanzanian Prime Minister Federic Samuye said, "The perpetrators were foreign hired mercenaries". On the same day of the bomb blast, Tanzanian police reportedly arrested fourteen people of different nationalities on suspicion of their involvement in the attack.

There are different views and assumptions about the 1998 perpetrators of the bombings. Initial reports from the police and intelligence sources said that an Arab looking man was seen driving the vehicle carrying the bombs to the scene of the attack of the US Embassy in Nairobi.⁵ Otenyo (2004:4) wrote that bin Laden was behind the attacks. "The attacks were directly linked to Osama bin Laden". Mazrui (2002:2) asserts, "The perpetrators were Middle Eastern terrorists". The Associated press (1999:1) also asserted bin Laden was suspected of masterminding and financing the bombings. On August 20, 1998, President Bill Clinton named Osama bin Laden as America's top enemy and, for the first time, accused him of being responsible for the attacks (ibid.).

According to a press release by the Office of the Spokesman of the U.S. Department of State (1998:2), Secretary of State, Madeleine K. Albright, said the following:

We must also find and punish the cowards who committed this act. President Clinton has it absolutely clear that we will not rest until that happens, and it will happen. For our nation's memory is long and our reach is far. This morning I want to announce a reward of up to US \$ 42 million for the information that lead to the arrest and conviction of those responsible.

³ Interview with Nike, US official in Nairobi, Kenya, 5 May 2006, Nairobi, Kenya.

⁴ Interview with Yan Stam, Israeli Official in Nairobi, Kenya 3 May 2006, in Nairobi, Kenya.

⁵ Interview with B. Shukri, Former Director of internal security of the Kenyan Government, 17 May 2006, in Nairobi, Kenya.

On Aug 20, 1998, the U.S. launched cruise missiles on suspected Al Qaeda terrorist training bases in Afghanistan and an alleged chemical production facility, Al-shifa, in Khartoum, Sudan. Both targets were believed to have been financed by Osama bin Laden, who was allegedly behind the Embassy bombing as well as an international terrorism network targeting the United States. A member of this network of international terrorism was fazul Adulah Mohammed, described as a key player in al Qaeda who has been charged in connection with the Nairobi attack on September 17, 1998.

In November 1998, bin Laden was charged with the embassy bombings and US \$ 5 million was offered as a reward for information leading to his capture. After a month, the United States brought four men accused of having links to bin Laden and his terrorist network to trial. They were jailed for life without the possibility of parole. But according to BBC (2005:3), terrorism investigator Steve Emerson, the trial was a public relations campaign and had not really gone for the alleged leaders of the bombers, it didn't follow due process of law.

The Daily Nation points out (1998:14), On December 16, 1998 five suspects including Khalfan Khamis Mohamed, a Tanzanian national and Sheikh Ahmed Salim a Swedish were charged with the Embassy bombing in Tanzania. Significant numbers of Kenyan intellectuals have their own doubts with regard to the alleged perpetrators. They think that there is no reliable evidence concerning the perpetrators and it could have been easy for the FBI and Mossad to identify the real perpetrators.⁶ Some even suspected that the perpetrators might be non-Muslims. One of them said I suspect the Americans since they can do such evils to create fear and panic in the region in order to expand and implement their re-colonization projects.⁷

There are different views concerning the targets of the attacks. Some members of parliament said that Kenyans are not targets but *victims* of international terrorism.⁸ As Otenyo (2004:8) claims, the attacks might have been intended to kill foreigners and employees of the United States Government but most of the victims were African civilians. Because of free space, we are collateral targets of international terrorism.⁹ Ali Mazrui (2002:2) stated "in order to kill 12 Americans, Middle Eastern terrorists killed about two hundred Kenyans in the streets of Nairobi."

The direct targets of the attacks were the Americans, the British, and the Israelis. Some Kenyans believe that as they are victimized by international terrorism because of their government's wrong foreign policy.¹⁰ The Standard Newspaper (1998:14) reported that on August 9, 1998 Kenyan officials arrested Mohamed Rashed Daoud al Owahli, a Saudi Arabian,

⁶ Interview with Shelikh Muhammad Dormuhammad, the Council of Imams and Preachers of Kenya, 5 May 2006, Mombasa, Kenya.

⁷ Interview with Prof. A. H. S. Elbusaidy, Bsc. (NRB), Phd (Trondheim Norway), Chiarman, Supreme Council of Kenya Muslims, CHAIRMAN, Islamic Development Bank, (IDB) Education Trust Kenya, CHAIRMAN, National AIDS Control Council (NACC) COUNCILLOR. 11 May 2006, Nairobi, Kenya.

⁸ Interview with B.Shukuri, one of the Kenyan Intelligence Heads /NSIS/, 16 May 2006, Nairobi, Kenya.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Interview with Prof. A. H. S. Elbusaidy, Bsc. (NRB), Phd (Trondheim Norway), CHAIRMAN, Supreme Council of Kenya Muslims, CHAIRMAN, Islamic Development Bank, (IDB) Education Trust Kenya, CHAIRMAN, National AIDS Control Council (NACC) COUNCILLOR. 11 May 2006, Nairobi, Kenya.

suspected of involvement in an attack targeted at US interests in Kenya, not on Kenya itself.¹¹ A US official in Nairobi has the same opinion and said “al Qaeda looked for a soft target that would appear to be an attack on US interests, in Kenya. The attack was more symbolic than the actual threat realized”.¹²

The Kenyan President’s belief was that terrorism is a foreign and external problem, Westervelt (2005:1). But the government responded to the 1998 attack by creating the Anti-Terrorism Police Unit within the Police Department although the problem revolves around Kenya’s relations with the West, Tom Mboya (2004:11). Recently, the suppression of Terrorism Bill 2003, provided by the US, was debated in the Kenyan Parliament. Prominent leaders of the Supreme council of Kenyan Muslims are of the view that their Government’s preoccupation is to please the US by being sympathetic to the US’s perspectives on terrorism in Kenya¹³

The 2002 Attacks

On 28 November 2002, at 8.35 am, local time, two simultaneous attacks took place in Mombasa, Kenya. Suicide bombers detonated a car bomb outside the Paradise Hotel, at Kikambala village, near Mombasa in which Ten Kenyans and three Israelis were killed and about 80 people injured, (Bindloss *et al.* 2002:1). *The Daily Nation* (2002:24) announced that, the Hotel was put up at a cost of \$50 million. On average it hosts 400 guests a week and is owned by a consortium of Israeli, American and European groups. It has 250 employees. The attack took place At 08.24, local time, when two missiles were fired at an Arkia airliner immediately after takeoff. The Boeing 757 was heading for Tel Aviv. The Missiles were fired some 900 meters from the runway’s end. Although they missed the plane, it was a sophisticated operation.¹⁴

Although there is no consensus concerning the perpetrators, Otenyo (2004:10), asserted that the suicide bombers of the Paradise Hotel were groups calling themselves the Army of Palestine. November 28, 2002 is the 55th anniversary of the partition of Palestine. According to an Israeli official in Nairobi, the method of operation was suicide bombing and the three suicide bombers killed themselves. The official also asserted that Comorian Fazul Abdullah Mohammed, Kenyan Saleh Ali Saleh Nabhan, and Sudanese Abu Taha al- Sudani were involved in the 1998 bombings of the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, and the 2002 attacks on Israeli targets in Mombasa, Kenya.¹⁵ The United States Department of State (2003:5) asserted that Al-Qaeda claimed responsibility for the simultaneous attacks. It said “the Mombasa attack represents the second Al- Qaeda attack on Kenyan soil”. An Israeli

¹¹ Interview with Sheraya Mohammed, Deputy Head of the Kenyan Administration Police, 15 May 2006, Nairobi, Kenya.

¹² Interview with US official in Nairobi, 6 May 2006, in Nairobi, Kenya.

¹³ Interview with Prof. A. H. S. Elbusaidy, Bsc. (NRB), PhD (Troadhem Norway), CHAIRMAN, Supreme Council of Kenya Muslims, CHAIRMAN, Islamic Development Bank, (IDB) Education Trust Kenya, CHAIRMAN, National AIDS Control Council (NACC) COUNCILLOR. 11 May 2006, Nairobi, Kenya.

¹⁴ Interview with Yan Stam, Israeli official in Nairobi, 3rd May 2006.

¹⁵ Interview with Yan Stam, Israeli official in Kenya, 3 May 2006, Nairobi, Kenya.

official in Kenya asserts that, the attacks appear to be consistent with the known Al-Qaeda outlines.¹⁶ He said “the tourist targets chosen for the attack, especially in a place such as Kenya, tie in with Al-Qaeda’s current modus operandi”. According to the Standard (2002:16), an official Al-Qaeda’s spokesman confirmed that Al-Qaeda was behind the attacks. Bindloss et al. (2003:18) stated that the synchronized nature of the attack was characteristic of Al-Qaeda and asserted that Al-Qaeda claimed responsibility for the bombings including the Paradise Hotel.

As the Daily Nation (2002:16) reported, President Moi said, “I have learnt this morning, about the terrorist attacks against one of our hotels in Mombasa. Anybody doing that kind of thing does not represent the feelings of the people of East Africa. Kenya will fight these terrorists”. Referring to the August 1998 bombing, President Moi criticized the international community that had not given Kenya enough Support in its fight against terrorism. The President maintained, however, that Kenya had done everything within its means to deal with threats from terrorists (ibid.). He also said, “the world has not come to our aid but we will do our best”. Meanwhile, the government said that the Mombasa attacks targeted Israeli interests. The statement issued in Nairobi by the Vice President made it clear that the government would like to make it clear that this was an act of international terrorism targeting Israeli interests. There is no evidence from reliable sources on who planned and, financed the operation. There is no clear indication about the perpetrators from both government and private institutions. Although there were about 100 prisoners, suspected in connection with the attack, evidence to this end was not produced (ibid.).

Other Terrorist Operations in Kenya

Awinooketch (2001:97) stated that East Africa had its first taste of terrorism originating from the Middle East in July 1976 when a group of Arab terrorists hijacked an Air France plane from Athens Airport to Kampala, Uganda, during Idi Amin’s rule. The hijackers demanded the release of fifty-three Palestinians, held in prison in West Germany, France, Switzerland, and Kenya. The Kenyan government had arrested five Palestinians early in 1976 and repatriated them to Israel. The hijackers demanded the prisoners be brought to Entebbe Airport. Kenya rejected the demands of the hijackers. During the incident Idi Amin was accused of collaborating with and supporting the hijackers.

After attempts to negotiate, the Israeli Government sent its commandos to Uganda, on July 3 1976, and staged an attack to release the Israeli hostages. About one hundred Ugandan soldiers were killed. All the hijackers were killed. Idi Amin claimed that his territorial sovereignty had been violated and accused Kenya of complicity with Israel. Kenyans were massacred in Uganda after the Entebbe raid. There had been purging within the Ugandan army and about two hundred and forty-five Kenyans had been victimized. Kenya responded by placing an embargo on goods to Uganda.

According to Bindloss et al (2003:18), before the August 1998 blast a bomb explosion on March 1st 1975, occurred just before the murder of the former Nyandarua Member of Parliament J.M. Kariuki who was known to be outspoken. The bomb exploded inside a bus

¹⁶ Ibid.

belonging to the now defunct Overseas Trading Company's Bus station in Nairobi, killing twenty-seven passengers. It was not known who committed the terrorist act. After the bomb attack and the murder of Kariuki, there were several days of riots and unrest in Nairobi. On February 6, 1992 a homemade bomb exploded in Jogoo House in Nairobi, causing extensive damage to the men's toilet on the ground Floor. The building houses the Ministry of education and KANU (the ruling party). An anonymous caller telephoned claiming responsibility. A group calling itself God's Oppressed Army demanded the resignation of President Moi and the release of certain prisoners and took responsibility for the act. In 1992, during the agitation for the repeal of Section 2A of the Kenyan Constitution that made the country a one party state, several acts of terrorism were committed. During the years of one party rule, dissenting views were not tolerated. There was growing support for freedom of expression both from citizens and leaders from abroad especially donor countries.

Awinooketch (2001:87) confirms that on March 23, 1992 the same group detonated a bomb in Nairobi's City Hall, which housed the office of the Mayor of Nairobi those of the city councilors and offices that deal with water and land rates. The same group claimed responsibility. It was a metal pipe bomb. Two and a half hours earlier, there had been a bomb scare on Moi Avenue's Kenya Commercial Bank, where people in the building were evacuated. On March 25th 1992, there were two bomb scares in the Attorney General's office and the income Tax department. Another bomb exploded in Nairobi's Eureka bar on Tom Mboya Street killing one man. The bombs added tension to the charged political climate. Another bomb blast occurred on April 1, 1992 at the Nairobi Railway Station toilet. A handcart puller was injured. On December 22, 1991 a policeman was killed when a blast ripped off the roof of one of the buildings inside the Coast provincial police headquarters in Mombasa, causing fear and panic. The homemade devices were of small magnitude and were made from fertilizer-based material.

Factors of Terrorism in the Context of Kenya

Poverty and Corruption

The relationship between the causes and symptoms of international terrorism are complex. International terrorism does not exist in isolation from challenges of economic development and sustainability. It could be argued that in Kenya, terrorist activities occurred when the economy was at its lowest socio-economic level, thereby leading to the proposition that poverty triggers crime including terrorism. Barrie Anthony (2006:33) has asserted that about 15 million Kenyans live below the poverty line. It seems that poverty is caused by both external and internal vested interests that put profit before the legitimate aspirations of the society. As poverty is evident in Kenya, one can justifiably conclude that poverty provides a fertile ground for the recruitment of terrorists.

Although Kenya was not capable to compete with the West, Since Kenya's independence, the ruling class in Kenya, has supported the liberal economic model, without preparation. It destroyed its agricultural sector. Indeed this policy has reinforced foreign domination of Kenya and aggravated the level of poverty in Kenya. Domination and injustice resulted from the wrong policy, can nurture terrorism. Free trade is not positive for every country. In October

2007 the Newsweek (2007:31) documented that the most protectionist country in history has been the U.S. Kenya is considered one of the countries in the world where extensive corruption continues to present a major problem for the country's security (ibid.).

The Matthew B Ridgeway Center documented that in 1995, the corruption perception Index rated Kenya 52 out of 54 countries, and 74 out of 85 countries surveyed in 1998. In recent months, corruption scandals involving high-level officials have become public. In addition to the economic costs, corruption at all levels creates a climate within which terrorism can thrive. It is likely that terrorists find it possible to infiltrate a corrupt bureaucracy through bribery for services such as passports and banking transactions. A corrupt bureaucracy will not generate enough revenue for social security needs. Poverty and corruption are not mutually exclusive (ibid.). Thus a country with poor economy and a corrupt bureaucracy is vulnerable to international terrorism. Besides Corruption and other types of crime give rise to the conditions which breed terrorism. Kenya, undoubtedly, seems to be characterized by such a situation.

Religious Marginalisation

As the author observed, during his fieldwork, and Otenyo (2004:7) confirmed Kenya is characterized as a Christian nation with the leadership being insensitive to its Muslim citizens. In comparative terms, the North Eastern and Coastal regions, which are populated by Muslims predominantly, are the most underdeveloped. Their grievances with Kenya's government have grown along with increasing economic, political, and social marginalization.¹⁷ Otenyo (2004:18) has also asserted through its seaside tourism, "Kenya's Coastal region generates 35-40 percent of the country's economic revenue". The Muslim population's frustrations from being denied the benefits of the region's economic contributions compounded by its receiving disproportionately fewer health and education services from the government may be further contributions towards terrorism in Kenya.¹⁸

Kenya has more universities than the other countries in the Horn of Africa, but none are located in the Coastal regions. Particularly at the lower primary and secondary school levels, schools associated with Christian Churches have always performed better than others.¹⁹ Against the above background, it is arguable that Islam as a cultural and political force has been deepening the relationships between Africa and the Middle East and makes Africans more sensitive to the causes of the Palestinians as well as to the politics of the Middle East region as a whole.

In Kenya, the government has allowed and supported evangelical preaching in stadiums and other open-air venues and at such venues invited evangelists from the West to preach against Islam. This marginalization has led to resentment and opened the door to Arab Muslim

¹⁷ Interview with Prof. A. H. S. Elbusaidy, Bsc. (NRB), PhD (Trondheim Norway), CHAIRMAN, Supreme Council of Kenya Muslims, CHAIRMAN, Islamic Development Bank, (IDB) Education Trust Kenya, CHAIRMAN, National AIDS Control Council (NACC) COUNCILLOR. 11 May 2006, Nairobi, Kenya

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ interview with Hon. Amina A. Abdalla, Member of Parliament, 9 May 2006, Mombasa, Kenya

charities. Money for expansion of Islamic teachings that may have come from the Middle East has been channelled through a host of Islamic foundations. The growth of Islam in Kenya directly challenges the entrenched Christian influence in several respects, including government policies. Religious tensions dating from Kenya's colonial rule has created fear and dissidence within the Muslim population. Thus the Kenyan Muslims appear to be vulnerable to terrorist propaganda and even sympathetic to their activities.

International Politics of Kenya

As noted in the previous chapters, the Kenyan struggle for independence invoked human rights discourse as its point of reference. During the Cold War years Western interests paid very little attention to the human rights situation in Kenya; it rather focused on the containment of socialism. The cooperation between the Kenyan Security Service and the FBI and Mossad has given rise to some misgivings among sections of the Kenyan intelligentsia (Barrie and Anthony, 2006:28). This situation among the Kenyan intelligentsia in general and among Kenyan Muslims in particular has created uncertainty and distrust among the Kenyan elite and may become an even bigger problem by strengthening the roots of international terrorism in the country (ibid.). It also seems that the security weaknesses of the Kenyan government have contributed to the success of terrorist's activities in Kenya. Otenyo (2004:22) has argued that Kenya also found itself out of favour with those who came to be known as religious fundamentalists.

For example, Kenya supported US initiatives to eliminate Libya's Muammar Gaddafi, then strong opponent of Zionism and its cooperation with Israeli attacks on the Entebbe airport. Mombasa is one of the largest cities in Kenya with a Muslim majority. During the Cold War period, the country was allied with the West. President Carter's military agreement for the exclusive use of Mombasa in its Indian Ocean-Gulf region strategic endeavors and the presence of US military in Mombasa may well have been perceived by the local residents as reoccupation of their territory and indirect colonization of their country by foreigners (ibid.).

Although the use of international diplomacy to help create an international coalition against terror is one aspect of the way states respond to international terrorism, US-Kenya relations, unfortunately, provided clear targets for anti- American terrorists in Kenya. The large contingent of American citizens at the US Embassy in Nairobi may well have been one factor that made the Embassy a target priority.²⁰ Another consideration in relation to Kenya's vulnerability to international terrorism is that other sections of the Kenyan elite have often tried to defend Kenya's image as a western-style democracy and this has placed the elite at variance with the public in general and with Kenyan Muslims in particular.

In recent international relations, Kenya is perceived to be a close ally of Israel and it is known (Otenyo, 2004:23) that powerful members of the government of Kenya have had business connections with Israeli nationals. Kenya continued to maintain an open door policy towards Israel when African countries shut their doors in the late 1960s and 1970s. In brief,

²⁰ Interview with B. Shukuri, one of the Kenyan Intelligence Heads, /NSIS/ 16 May 2006, Nairobi, Kenya.

Kenya-Israeli relations under the Kenyatta and Moi Administrations were warm at government level thereby causing considerable discomfort to local Muslim groups. For example, the influential Supreme Council of Kenyan Muslims, in September 2001, issued a statement calling for an end to diplomatic links between Kenya and Israel. According to B. Shukuri such trends may lead to a situation that increases the likelihood of terrorist attacks continuing as long as the US continues its intervention in Kenya's domestic affairs

International terrorism is also a migration issue because of its cross-border nature. It touches on a host of issues including migration policy, national security, ethnic affairs, and citizenship. Nevertheless, it must be recognized that a State has the right to determine who may enter and leave its territory. What is important is the need for a balance between legitimate security concerns and individual rights and freedoms. According to Otenyo (2004), Kenya hosts a huge number of refugees originating from neighboring countries like Somalia and Sudan.

As Barrie and Anthony (2006:23) documented, In the 1990s, Somalis were ordered by the Kenyan Government to carry special identity cards. Human Rights Watch reported that Kenyan authorities treated thousands of Somalis in refugee camps inhumanely, a number of Somalis in the camps were suspected of being agents of Islamic fundamentalist groups. The reports suggest that the Daddab refugee camp hosted close to 120,000 Somalis. Kenyan government security briefings were concerned that illegal firearms, other weapons, and a variety of telecommunications equipment were sold in refugee camps. Obviously, terrorists seek to recruit refugees where government with lax border immigration control exists. Thus this situation may be one reason for Kenya's vulnerability to international terrorism.

Several internal and external conditions and assumptions account for Kenya's vulnerability to the phenomenon but among the multitude of causes that may lead a person to resort to terrorism, there is none that conclusively links a sole cause to any particular act of terrorism. Poverty, economic marginalization, ethnicity, nationalism, and religion can all be seen as causes of terrorism. The promotion of democracy, power sharing and economic growth will undoubtedly help to solve ethnic and religious conflict in a multi-ethnic and religiously diverse society and hence diminish the opportunities for terrorism.

Conclusion

The traditional way of understanding terrorism and looking at terrorists based on organizational definitions and attributes is in some cases redundant. It seems that lone individuals with no connection or formal ties to an established or identifiable terrorist organizations have more capability to unleash violence of great magnitude. International responses to terrorism, whether bilateral or multilateral, are not likely to be effective if they are not properly conceptualized. What is required is rigorous appraisal of the problem. This paper has outlined the beginnings of such an appraisal. The international community must settle on a correct definition and conceptualization of terrorism in a manner that transcends partisan interests of individual states and groups. While it would be helpful to develop universally acceptable understandings of terrorism in initial stages of research, the ever-evolving nature of the phenomena suggests that our definitions should not be too rigid.

The Horn of Africa region suffers from massive poverty and it is widely believed that the prevalence of poverty and the recurrence of civil wars are ideal conditions for the growth and development of terrorism. And still much research remains to be done to ascertain, for example, how poverty (what kinds of poverty/in what specific contexts etc) underpins terrorism. When considering economic growth in the region, programs and policies should provide access and opportunity to accelerate development aimed at poverty reduction and eradication. The disparity between the condition of Muslims and non-Muslims could be a liability and thereby a boon to terrorism so that the international community should work together to reduce the social and economic inequality between Muslim and non-Muslim populations, especially in Africa in general and the Horn and Kenya in particular.

Although the focus of this paper has been on terrorist operations in Kenya, all States of the Horn of Africa region, directly or indirectly are vulnerable to the phenomenon. Terrorism in all its forms is a global threat that cannot be reduced to any particular religion, culture or society. This also happens to be the most widely held view among countries of the African continent. No section of the international community is immune from acts of terrorism. For example, the victims of the 9/11 attacks in USA were not only US citizens. Although Kenya's social and political problems establish the context of the attacks, it seems that terrorism is more foreign than a domestic issue for Kenya. The role of the US in Kenya's internal affairs may well have influenced the terrorist's decision to target the US embassy. It could be argued that the National Policy for countering terrorism must include economic, political, diplomatic, humanitarian, intelligence, and law enforcement elements and all must be closely coordinated to be effective. An effective counter- terrorist strategy will address both the causes and symptoms. The main challenge to the Horn of Africa countries in general and Kenya in particular will be to promote development and democracy and ensure their sustainability in order to find lasting solutions to the root causes of terrorism.

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