

Assessing Policy Responses of African States and International Actors on the Threats of Transnational Terrorism to Africa's Security and Stability: A Case Study of Kenya.

By

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Abstract

Contemporary global state of affairs is faced with one of the most malicious phenomenon's that has evolved over time but at a pace incomparable to its present outlook. Transnational terrorism and the war against it have come to define the age in which we live. The threat of terrorist attacks and the measures taken by governments around the world to prevent such atrocities are now part of our daily lives. Terrorism has been occurring for many centuries, however the twenty first century has witnessed the most brutal and deadliest acts of transnational terrorism ever recorded in history. Transnational terrorism is affecting all corners of the world and hardly a day passes without any acts of terrorism being reported in the media, from the United States of America to Australia, from Kenya to France, from Indonesia to Afghanistan and from the Middle East to West Africa. Terrorism is everywhere and it seeks to redefine the international state system, the legitimacy of sovereign states to protect their citizens and to introduce new legal norms governing the behavior of states.

In Africa terrorism is a recently new phenomenon but it has made its existence felt on the security and stability of the continent, owing largely to other pressing factors that when combined threatens the security and stability of Africa, thus making it difficult for the continent to develop and advance its socio-economic and political objectives. Africa has witnessed some of the most horrifying acts of transnational terrorism from the Boko Haram attacks in northern Nigeria, Chad and Cameroun to Al-Shabaab attacks in Kenya. Also from al-Qaeda attacks in Somalia to the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) attacks in Tunisia. Africa's security and stability are being seriously threatened by transnational terrorism and collective policy responses from all levels of analysis by all actors of international politics appears the only remedy against this phenomenon. With this in mind, this study seeks to examine the historical evolution of transnational terrorism in Africa. It also tries to assess the causes and policy responses made by both African and international state and non-state actors against the menace of transnational terrorism. The research uses Kenya as a case study to provide an in-depth analysis of the threat and collective policy responses to transnational terrorism. Finally, it assesses the implications of transnational terrorism on Africa's security and stability and concludes with recommendations on how to collectively combat transnational terrorism.

Declaration

I, Sikhumbuzo Zondi, do hereby declare that the research reported in this dissertation apart from where otherwise indicated, is my original work and that to the best of my knowledge and belief, it has not been previously, in its entirety or in part, been submitted for a degree or examination at any other university or institution of higher learning. This dissertation does not contain other persons' writing, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other researchers. Where other written sources have been quoted, then their words have been re-written but the general information attributed to them has been referenced and where their exact words have been used, then their writing has been placed in quotation marks, and referenced.

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Acronyms

ACSRT	African Centre for the Study and Research on Terrorism
ADF	Allied Democratic Front
AFRICOM	United States Africa Command
AMISOM	African Union mission in Somalia
ANC	African National Congress
AQIM	Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb
ATA	Antiterrorism Assistance
ATPU	Anti-Terror Police Unit
AU	African Union
CENTCOM	US Central Command
CTITF	Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force
CJTF-HOA	Counterterrorism Joint Task Force - Horn of Africa
CTCED	Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate
EACTI	East Africa Counter-terrorism Initiative
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ESAAMLG	Eastern and Southern Africa Anti-Money Laundering Group
EUCOM	United States European Command
EU	European Union
FATFS	Financial Action Task Force Style
GA	General Assembly
GATT	General Agreement on Tariff and Trade
GIABA	Inter-Governmental Action Group against Money Laundering in West Africa
GCTF	Global Counterterrorism Forum
GCTS	Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy
GSPC	Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat

GWOT	Global War on Terrorism
I-ACT	Integrated Assistance for Counter-Terrorism
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IGO	International Governmental Organizations
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INTERPOL	International Criminal Police Organization
ISIL	Islamic States of Iraq and the Levant
JTTK	Joint Terrorism Task Force
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
MENAFATF	Middle East and North Africa Financial Action Task Force
MINUSMA	UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali
MNCs	Multinational Corporations
NEPAD	New Partnership for African Development
NGO	Non-Governmental Organizations
NSA	National Security Agency
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OEF-TS	Operation Enduring Freedom -Trans Sahara
OIC	Organization of the Islamic Conference
PACT	Action Plan Against Terrorism
PFLP	Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine
PSC	African Union Peace and Security Council
PSI	Pan Sahel Initiative
PREACT	Partnership for Regional East Africa Counterterrorism
PTA	Prevention of Terrorism Act
RECs	Regional Economic Communities
SADC	Southern African Development Community

TIP	Terrorist Interdiction Program
TFWG	Terrorist Finance Working Group
TNCs	Transnational Corporations
TSCTP	Trans Sahara Counter Terrorism Partnership
TSCTI	Trans-Saharan Counterterrorism Initiative
TPB	Terrorism Prevention Branch
UN	United Nations
UNCTC	Counter-Terrorism Committee
UNDP	UN Development Program
UNESCO	UN Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
US	United States of America

Dedication

This treatise is dedicated to all men, women and children who have fallen victim of the horrendous acts of transnational terrorism in Africa, but also in all corners of the world, where perpetrators are able to instil their spiteful detestation of humanity and his civilization. Of particular interest are my fellow Africans, the people of Kenya for whom the period 2013-2015, has been a nightmare with concurrent acts of transnational terrorism being committed against their will. In spite of such atrocities, the people of Kenya still emphasize religious tolerance, respect for human rights and unity in diversity.

Conceptual Explication

Below is a brief analysis of the concepts that are essential to understanding the objectives and key questions of this study. The topic was chosen on the grounds that it provides concepts that are necessary for assessing responses by policy makers to threats of transnational terrorism in a world that is universalized and contains states and non-state actors as agents of international political interaction.

1. Levels of Analysis

According to Goldstein (1994:12), a level of analysis refers to a perspective on international relations that is based on a set of similar actors or processes that suggest possible explanations to the “why” questions. In essence, a level of analysis enables researchers to trace changes in world politics to different groups of actors as well as to their various activities and attributes.

2. The International State System

The International State System is widely understood as a system of states, each of which claims control within its boundaries and acts to maintain that control domestically and internationally (Coplin, 1980). Others define it as patterns and processes of interaction between and among units in a structured and arranged space (Buzan and Little, 2000).

3. International Stability

By International stability scholars imply the preservation of the number and identity of states, independent of external or internal changes in these states such as war (Saperstein, 1992:518).

4. Stability

Stability in the international state system refers to the absence of wars, meaning the lack of violent conflict (Russet and Starr, 1989:106). However, it should be noted that this definition is somehow different from the notion of some prominent political theorists, for whom stability is the maintenance of the structure of the system (Saperstein, 1992:519).

5. States and other Actors of International Relations

The state refers to a large social system with a set of rules that are enforced by a permanent administrative body (the government). That body claims and tries to enforce sovereignty, in other words the state claims to be the highest source of decision-making of the social system within its jurisdiction, and it rejects external interference in making or enforcing its set of rules (Hobson, 2000: 2).

For realists, states are the main actors of international relations (Slaughter, 2011). Moreover, realists view world politics as driven by competitive self-interested actors. In this way, realists argue that the dynamics among states is a struggle for power in an effort by each to preserve or preferably improve its military security and economic welfare in competition with other countries. Realists perceive this

struggle for power as a zero-sum game, one in which a gain made by one country is inevitably equivalent to a loss for others. Realists are also prone to seeing humanity as inherently divided by national loyalty to one's country or some other focus of political identity such as religion or culture (Rourke, 2007:20). Additionally, realists emphasize what separates political entities and people. They see the international system as the starting point of analysis, while factors at the unit or state-societal level of analysis are of secondary importance. Realists are also interested in power and the balance of power, which they use as explanations of political and economic competition, war and other conflicts that are so widespread in international relations (Viotti and Kauppi, 2012:127).

The liberal perspective by contrast, views the international system as a large, seemingly all-inclusive paradigm, where there are not just states but also international governmental organizations (IGO)'s, and non-governmental organizations (NGO)'s forming part of a cross cutting network of important actors in the conduct of international politics (Viotti and Kauppi, 2012:127).

6. Actors in International Relations

International politics is often viewed as a game or a play involving actors. The concept of actors is used by scholars to describe a participant or player in global politics. There are two kinds of actors in the world of international relations these are states and non-state actors. In this game or play there are main actors who exercise considerable influence in the international system and there are others whose role or influence is minimal (Young, 1972:140).

Actor refers to any entity which plays an identifiable role in international relations. This entity could be an individual, a group of people (acting as a unit), an organization or a state entity (Evans and Newnham, 1990:6).

By definition, governments of sovereign state are the actors in international politics. However, in reality, the international system is crowded with non-state actors who participate with or without the consent of state actors in international interactions. These non-state actors include international governmental organizations (IGO)'s like the United Nations, African Union etc., non-governmental organizations (NGO)'s like World Vision, Amnesty International etc., transnational corporations (TNC)'s like Coca Cola, Mc Donald, BP etc., groups that can be religious, environmental, political and revolutionary like al-Qaeda, Al-Shabaab etc. and individuals like Osama bin Laden (Uzodike, 2010: 16).

7. Militarization of Africa

One of the consequences of the 11 September 2001 attacks in the United States is the renewed global concern about transnational terrorism (Cassese, 1989; Han, 1993 and Elagab, 1999). Scholars argue that since that date, the US government has embarked on the so-called "Global War on Terror" (GWOT). This has involved attacks on countries like Iraq and Afghanistan, which resulted not only in the change of regimes in those countries but also in massive violations of rights of individuals suspected of being

terrorists by the Bush Administration and also in the deaths of thousands of innocent civilians (Lumina, 2008:181). Accordingly, in the aftermath of such attacks governments around the world rushed to enact anti-terrorism legislations.

In Africa, the GWOT has led to an increase in aid and militarization of the continent by the United States government, in an effort to equip African countries so that they can respond well to threats emanating from transnational terrorism. Hence, scholars assert that the tempo of American involvement in Africa has increased. For instance, in January 2007, American AC 130 gunships blasted suspected al-Qaeda hideouts in Somalia. The following month, Washington announced the creation of a dedicated African military command, the AFRICOM, in the fight against transnational terrorism (Mills and Herbst, 2007:40).

Furthermore, scholars argue that the United States continues to provide military support to African states as a response to transnational terror threats, and this increasing militarization has implications for the region's stability and security because more and more weapons are becoming available and are happening to reach wrong hands in some countries. This as a result, has led to the proliferation of weaponry and trade in arms with profiteers now finding grounds in many African states (Bamidele, 2014:2).

8. States

States exist to provide a decentralized method of delivering political (public) goods to citizens living within designated parameters or borders. Modern states focus and answer the concerns and demands of citizenries. They organize and channel the interests of their people, often but not exclusively in maintenance of national goals and values (Rotberg, 2003:2).

9. Failed States

These are states in which government legitimate authority has collapsed, violence has become endemic and in which functional governance has ceased to exist (Dempsey, 2006:1).

10. Weak States

Weak states include a broad assortment of states that are essentially weak because of geographical, physical, or fundamental economic constraints. They are basically strong, but weak because of certain temporary or situational developments such as internal antagonisms, management flaws, greed, repression, or external attacks; and a mixture of the two (Rotberg, 2003:4).

11. Religious Extremism

Religious extremism is an impulse or an orientation which, when objectified in persons or institutions becomes invariably diluted. It means more and more people are behaving in a religiously extreme manner (Liebman, 1983:79).

12. Hard power

Hard power is the use of military and economic means to influence the behaviour or interests of other political units. This form of political power is often aggressive, and is most effective when imposed by one political unit upon another of lesser military and economic power (Holsti, 1999:11).

13. Soft Power

Refers to the ability of a state to structure a situation so that other countries develop preferences or define their interests in ways that are consistent with its' own ambition. This type of power tends to arise from such resources as cultural or ideological attraction as well as rules and institutions of international regimes. The United States has more soft power than any other nation in the world because institutions governing international economy such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and General Agreement on Tariff and Trade (GATT) etc. tend to embody liberal, free market principles that correspond with American society and ideology (Nye, 1990: 153-71).

14. Liberal Institutions

Liberal institutions like the United Nations (UN), African Union (AU), European Union (EU), Trans Sahara Counter Terrorism Partnership (TSCTP) etc., utilize the rational actor assumption to help generate testable hypotheses on how international organizations can affect a state's calculation of interests.

15. Diplomacy

This is concerned with the management of relations between states and between states and other actors. From a state perspective, diplomacy is concerned with advising, shaping and implementing foreign policy. As such, it is the means by which states through their formal and other representatives, as well as other actors articulate, coordinate and secures particular or wider interests, using correspondence, private talks, exchange of views, lobbying, visits, threats and other related activities (Barston, 1988:1)

16. International Cooperation

Cooperation among states is much more common than war. Yet there is much less conceptualization about cooperation than there is about the causes of and behaviour in war (Hammerstein, 2003:1-2).

International Cooperation is defined as a situation where parties agree to work together to produce new gains for each of the participants' unavailable to them by unilateral action, at some cost. Its constituent

elements are working together, agreement to do so (not just coincidence), cost, and new gains for all parties. By gains what is meant are not only material gains, but also perception of progress towards goals, such as improved security, status or freedom of action for oneself and the imposition of constraints on other actors, and so on (Zartman and Touval, 2010:1-2).

17. Theoretical Assessment of International Cooperation

Realists take a short-term approach to international relations because they believe that cooperation is not sustainable but occurs only on a momentary basis, as long as benefits are present and up to date. They argue that parties have a tendency to cheat and free-ride as soon as they can gain greater benefits from doing so than from cooperating (Bowles and Gintis, 2003:433).

For liberals, states cooperate in the expectation of benefits from future cooperation, as well as current payoffs. In addition, they hold that anticipated reciprocity provides benefits from reputation and relationships that are not only less precise but tie states into patterns of behaviour (Hammerstein, 2003:2).

18. Security

Security is a complex and contested concept that is heavily laden with emotions and deeply held values (Kolodziej, 2000). Security as a human created phenomenon embraces both the use of force and coercive threats by humans and their agents and the transformation of these exchanges, charged with real or potential violence, into non-lethal, consensual exchanges. However, an all-inclusive and reliable theory of security must include those non-violent means and strategies devised and relied upon by actors to produce and potentially surmount the incentives to employ force and threats in order to resolve conflicts and to foster cooperation (Kolodziej, 2005).

19. National Security

National security must be analyzed in the context of foreign policy, it refers to the ability of national institutions to prevent adversaries from using force to harm the citizens of a country and its national interests. National security policy is primarily concerned with formulating and implementing national strategy involving the threat or use of force to create an environment that is favourable for a particular country's national interests (Sarkesian, Williams and Cimbala, 2008:4).

20. Globalization

Globalization entails a process or set of processes that embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions, thus generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction, and power (Held; McGrew; Goldblatt and Perraton, 1999:483).

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Chapter One

INTRODUCTION TO THE DISSERTATION

The UN Security Council through its Resolutions 1269 of 19 October 1999, 1368 of 12 September 2001 and 1373 of 28 September 2001, declares that transnational terrorism constitutes one of the most serious threats to international peace and security in the 21st century. It further declares that acts of transnational terrorism constitute a challenge to all states and to all of humanity. It underlines that act of terrorism endanger innocent lives and the dignity and security of human beings everywhere. It also threatens socio-economic development of all states and undermines global stability and prosperity (UN Security Council Resolution 1377 of 2001 cited in Elagab and Elagab, 2007:31).

1.0. Introduction to the Dissertation

Terrorism implies the threat of violence and the use of fear to coerce, persuade, and gain public attention (National Advisory Committee, 1976:3). Correspondingly, transnational terrorism entails the use, or threat of use or threat of use of fear across national borders with its implications and consequences transcending national boundaries (Anneli Botha, 2007:3). Moreover, for the African continent transnational terrorism is a challenge that is posing grave threats to the collective peace and security of the region (Bamidele, 2014:2). Likewise, transnational terrorism as demonstrated by al-Qaeda and its' network of affiliates such as Al-Shabaab, Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) etc., poses a much serious threat than domestic terrorism to Africa's and the and the global security (Hoffman, 1998). These extremist groups and organizations are seeking maximum killings and financial repercussions (Hoffman, 1998). Accordingly, as a response to these threats, African states have to be security conscious and guard their territories with adequate policy instruments. Similarly, policy efforts by nations to strengthen targets induce terrorists to redirect their attacks less-protected positions (Sandler, 2005:78). Hence, African states must use all levels of analysis to provide collective policy responses to threats of transnational terrorism on their security and stability.

1.1. Background to the study

To study the history of terrorism is to study the history of human civilization. For centuries, dating as far back as the Judo-Roman periods, terrorist events have brought the subject of terrorism to the vanguard of civilizations around the world (Griset and Mahan, 2003:1). In line with this connotation, some historical scholars assert that the earliest forms of terrorism that stemmed from the Jewish and Islamic accounts were religiously motivated. The two religious groups sought to influence not only the masses, but also God. This is because, such early forms of terrorism explicitly focused on the roles of the Sicarii, an extreme Jewish zealot sect, which tried to incite a revolt against Rome in 66-70 A.D., (Weinberg and Davis, 1989:19). Similarly, the Assassins, a radical Shiite Ismaili sect, used to wage a

campaign that was aimed at the purification of Islam for almost two centuries dating from 1090-1275 A.D. (Weinberg and Davis, 1989:19). In addition, contemporary terrorism scholar's asserts that the Roman-Jewish historian Josephus Flavius (1926a) in his annals spoke of the Sicarii's anarchistic strategies of offending their enemies, such as attacking them in broad daylight, preferably the times when crowds gathered for holy days in Jerusalem was their special seasons. According to Josephus Flavius, their preferred weapon was the dagger, in which the Sicarii's draw their name from and they would hide it under their coats. They acted this way, because back then it was believed that the crowd provided some sort of shield or anonymity for the assassin, who would simply blend within it after the murder was committed (Laqueur, 2001:7).

Lewis (1967:67) identifies the medieval assassins as another religious sect that used terrorism in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. He asserts that some of the features of this movement brings to remembrance the modern-day terrorist movements, because their origins were founded in the divisions that arose among the followers of the Shiite tradition and in particular with the formation of a sect known as the Ismaili's (which is centred in present-day Syria, Israel and Iran). Followers of this sect believed in the need for purification of the Muslim community in order to speed up the arrival of the Imam "the heir of the Prophet, the chosen of God, and the sole rightful leader of mankind" who would establish a new and just society Lewis (1967:68). Hence, Weinberg and Davis (1989:21) infer that the assassins, having been outnumbered by orthodox Sunni Muslims, sought to achieve their ends through unconventional means. Their leader Hassan I Sabah, developed a strategy of using isolated mountain strongholds as bases for staging protracted campaigns of terror against Sunni religious and political leaders, on the grounds that these leaders had seized the leadership of Islam and had corrupted its meaning.

In line with the above premises, Weinzierl cited in Nyatepe-Coo and Zeisler-Vralstad (2004:29), asserts that the 18th century witnessed a change in the nature of terrorism with the coming of the French Revolution. For these scholars, during this period the "Reign of Terror" did not initiate the revolution but it maintained and protected it from counterrevolutions through spreading fear by means of violence. For them, terror was a policy response carried out by the French state and in that way it provided an early example of state sponsored terrorism. Moreover, Weinberg and Davis (1989:25) argue that the motivational foundations for terrorism changed, since terror initiated during the French Revolution was not legitimized in the name of God, but in the name of the "people", the motivational foundations for terrorism changed as a result. Hence, the centuries following the French Revolution, saw the instituting of revolutions against an established order justified by its proponents in the name of the "people". With these developments came new definitions of citizens and the state, as well as concepts like nationalism and self-determination. In short, these scholars infer that, the French Revolution instigated an intellectual revolution that transformed terrorism from a religious doctrine to a predominantly secular phenomenon.

In accordance with the above undertone, the 20th century saw the evolution of transnational terrorism when firstly, on June 28, 1914, the Austrian Prince Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife were killed by Principe, a Serbian nationalist from the Society of the Black Hands organization (Dobson and Payne, 1982: 252). This incident, according to historians and scholars of international relations, led to the outbreak of World War 1. Secondly, in 1934 King Alexander of Yugoslavia was exterminated in the streets of Marseilles, France by members of the Ustasa Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization. Again, this transnational terror incident heralded in the formulation and adoption of the 1937 Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of Terrorism by the League of Nations, which became the first ever-international attempt to deal with terrorism (Dobson and Payne, 1982: 252).

Likewise, the modern era of transnational terrorism commenced in 1968 with terrorists travelling between countries and maintaining a presence in multiple countries to achieve their greatest impact. Thus, the defining moment in transnational terrorist events was the 22 July 1968, hijacking of an El Al Boeing 707 en-route Tel Aviv from Rome, with 38 passengers by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) terrorists (Mickolus, 1980: 93). This event is noteworthy in the understanding of the contemporary transnational terrorism. Firstly, there was a clear evidence of state sponsorship of the event, given that after the plane had landed in Algiers, Algerian authorities took advantage of the situation and held some of the passengers' hostage, until September of that year when a deal was finally reached by the governments of the parties concerned (Mickolus, 1980: 94). Secondly, the incident forced Israel to negotiate directly with the Palestinian suspected terrorists (Hoffman, 1998: 68). Lastly, massive media coverage demonstrated to other terrorists that such incidents could attract global media coverage (Mickolus, 1980: 94). Scholars therefore argue that terrorism is not a recent threat or perception for African governments. Terrorist attacks predated the 9/11 episode in the United States. Terrorist activity was widely initiated as para-military tactics by the continent's liberation movements. This tactic was reckoned in the prolonged anti-colonialist struggle and nationalist uprisings in Africa. During this period, supporters of nationalism viewed terror as a sporadic extension of anti-colonialism but also as a tormenting tactic that was aimed at weakening an unyielding enemy (Glickman, 2003: 165).

1.1.1. Outline of the Research Problem

Princeton Lyman, cited in (Rothchild, and Harbeson, 2008) observes that, Africa is no more secure from threats of transnational terrorism than any other continent in the world. This is due largely to the connotation that, its assortment of relatively failed and weak states, ethnic and religious diversity, and aside from this discrimination, socio-economic inequalities, poor governance system and in many places, "ungoverned space" lend credence to significant vulnerability of the African continent to the growth of radical and sometimes transnational terrorist movements.

Kenya occupies a geographical, regional and transnational strategic position that has enabled it to become East Africa's gateway to Europe, Asia and the rest of the continent. These links have made it possible for potential transnational terrorists to communicate, share and launch terrorist attacks against Kenya or Western interests within Kenya's territorial limits (Soke, 2003 and Cronin, 2002).

This study assesses and examines policy responses of African states and non-state actors in collaboration with other international actors such as the United States, France, Britain, the United Nations and the European Union, on the activities of transnational terrorist groups. It provides an in-depth analysis of Kenya's experience with transnational terror and how the country has responded to such threats to national security. As a result, two of the main theories of international relations, realism and idealism theories are used as frameworks of analysis. These theories are used within the parameters of the four levels of analysis. This enables a deeper investigation of the menace of transnational terrorism and policy responses against it.

1.2. Preliminary Literature and Reasons for Choosing the Topic

States and international institutions respond to threats of terrorism by issuing counterterrorism strategies. These counterterrorism measures consist of governmental and institutional actions that aim to inhibit terrorist attacks or curtail their consequences. There are two main classifications of antiterrorism policies; these are proactive and defensive strategies (Sandler, 2005:78). Accordingly, proactive or offensive measure targets at the terrorist as well as their resources and supporters and would eventually weaken the operations of the group. Such proactive policy measure would incapacitate the group and reduces the frequency and prevalence of attacks against all at-risk targets (Sandler, 2005:78).

An illustration of this position is found in Kenya. The Kenyan government in response to previous attacks and threats by Al-Shabaab launched a military intrusion into Somalia against the group and attacked its bases and training camps (Odhiambo, 2013:129). On the other hand, defensive or passive policies aimed at protecting potential target from attacks are also important. This is because, defensive measures often involve the installation of technological barriers such as bomb-sniffing devices, metal detectors, or biometric identification, the hardening of targets for instance putting barriers in front of national buildings, the deployment of security personnel such as sky marshals on commercial flights and even the establishment of terrorist alert information (Rosendorff and Sandler,2004).

Moreover, (Aboboai, 2015:13) asserts that at a regional level of analysis, Africa was among the first regions of the world to develop regional frameworks on counterterrorism. This, she affirms include responses to the 1998 transnational terror attacks on US Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. The 1999 Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism, which was initially drafted by the Organization of African Unity (OAU), followed by the African Union's 2002 Plan of Action on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism in Africa and the 2004 African Union Protocol to the Organization of African Unity Convention. In addition to this, the AU established an Algiers Centre for

the Study and Research on Terrorism, which seeks to foster regional approaches to countering terrorism. Likewise, the UN as a global governing body in the wake of increasing transnational terror threats in the 21st, century has also drafted the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Resolution 1373, which obliges all member nations to enact counterterrorism policies.

The UN Global Counter Terrorism Strategy is the basic instrument of action to combat terrorism, given that it enjoyed confidence among African member states (Aboboai, 2015:13). Hence, in the aftermath of this UNSC Resolution, on April 30, 2003, the coalition government in Kenya introduced the Suppression of Terrorism Bill, which was a Supplement No.3 of the Kenyan Gazette. This Bill permitted police officers to use force and even kill suspected terrorists who refuse to be arrested. In addition, police officers would have 36 hours with a suspect before the suspect is allowed access to legal advice (Kamau, 2006: 134).

Some researchers believe that poverty and injustice contribute to the spread of terrorism, and they assert that counterterrorism activities should include efforts to improve the living conditions of the people in less developed countries (Schweitzer, 1998). Nonetheless, other scholars argue that even though a long-term strategy to provide disadvantaged people with employment and other economic opportunities for a better living might prevent some potential terrorists, however it would not be effective in discouraging the most fanatics. This is because, a core of offenders including but not limited to al-Qaeda, seems determined to wreak violence against the United States and its allies in the global war on terror (Griset and Mahan, 2003:279). Sharp (2000:37) argues that state sponsored transnational terrorism is a violation of international law that summons the victimized country's right of self-defense. He asserts that there are disagreements about the degree of accountability that is necessary to label a state a sponsor of terrorism. The UN Charter gives victim states the right to respond with military force in the event of an 'armed attack', but it does not define that term.

Moreover, a failed or weak government like the one in Somalia that cannot prevent terrorists' organizations like Al-Shabaab and al-Qaeda from using its territory as a training or recruiting base from which to launch attacks on other states, as the group has did in Kenya several times, is not considered guilty of an armed attack on another state (Travio, 2000:152). Accordingly, Griset and Mahan (2003:281) argue that many governments around the world, including those in Africa, the Middle East and Asia, are threatened by religious extremism. The large American military presence in these countries some fear could provoke popular uprisings capable of toppling the governments that assist the United States in the Global War on Terrorism. Hence, with these concerns in mind, the US has sought other types of support from countries such as the use of airspace and sharing of intelligence information. Whittaker (2010: 639) asserts that through an array of international accords, most African state governments have joined in the 'Global War on Terror' that is led primarily by the US by adopting

domestic legislations, sharing intelligence information, and cracking down on terrorist target groups within their territories.

Accordingly, Lutz and Lutz, (2014:525) have argued that terrorism is a significant threat to the peace and security of countries and their populations around the world and that it necessitates comprehensive and operational policy responses. Likewise, ever since the 9/11 attacks on the US, the role of counterterrorism has increased significantly in Kenya. However, it is essential to highlight that this mission to combat transnational terrorism was not a new concept. Prior to September 11, 2001 attack, there were certainly counter terrorism units in both the law enforcement and intelligence arenas. Moreover, the US National Security Intelligence Service was established as a response to the bombings of the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, upon this Kenya became part of the countries included in the Anti-Terrorism Assistance Program of the United States (Mogire and Agade, 2011). In addition, the Kenyan government has also established an Anti-Terror Police Unit (ATPU), a Joint Terrorism Task Force, a National Counter Terrorism Centre and a National Security Advisory Committee (Aronson, 2012).

1.3. Reasons for choosing the Topic

This topic was selected on the grounds that, even though there is more than enough literature on transnational terrorism or terrorism in general not much has been written about policy responses to threats of this phenomenon from an African perspective. There is the need to understand how the main theories of international relations could be applied in the analysis and assessment of the threats posed by transnational terrorism and how they influence policy makers in their decision-making processes in Africa. This will enable policy makers to assess the effectiveness of the policies, aimed at countering the threat and safeguarding the continent's security and stability. Finally, I choose this topic because transnational terrorism is on the increase in the contemporary global system, and examining its menace and policy responses towards it could give one a vivid insight as to how serious its threats are and how to better equip the continent in terms of responding to its menace.

1.4. Research Problems and Objectives: Key Questions

1.4.1. Central Research Problem

This study is primarily interested in assessing policy responses of African states and international actors on the threats of transnational terrorism to Africa's security and stability with specific reference to Kenyan.

1.4.2. Research Questions

This study addresses five key questions, namely:

How transnational terrorism historically evolved in Africa?

What are the causes of Africa's vulnerability to transnational terrorism?

How do African states and international policy makers respond to threats of transnational terrorism?

What strategic policy responses do Kenya and its global partners employ to counter transnational terrorism which is threatening the country's national security?

What are the implications of transnational terrorism for Africa's security and stability?

1.4.3. Research Objectives

The objectives of this study are to provide a piece of work that has not been previously analyzed by scholars and researchers of international relations and global security studies. The question that follows is how, and in light of this question, the study will interlink all factors that might be the cause of Africa's vulnerability in the face of transnational terrorism. In addition, it will assess how policy makers in all levels of analysis from state to regional and to global level respond to this phenomenon that threatens the security and stability of continent and the world at large.

In order to do this, it first explores the historical evolution and causes of transnational terrorism in the African continent.

Secondly, it assesses policy responses by African states and the main actors of international relations such as the United States, the United Nations, the African Union and the European Union.

Thirdly, the study provides an in-depth analysis of policy responses by Kenya and its' global partners in the war on terrorism, which are mainly the United States, the African Union and the United Nations.

Finally, this study examines the implications of transnational terrorism for Africa's security and stability.

1.5. Principal Theories upon which the Research Project is constructed

Theory is a systematic effort at asking questions, which will allow us to organize our knowledge, to orient our research and to interpret our findings. Theory should help us order the data we have accumulated. It should identify the main factors or variables in the field and concentrate our attention and research on the most important problems. Although theory might not give us all at once a master key to the meaning of world politics, it should lead us to a coherent understanding of data (Hoffman, 1960: 9).

Scholars in all social sciences such as Mansbach and Taylor (2012:3) have articulated that, theorizing enables theorists to generalize global political issues by identifying how individual events and circumstances fit into broader patterns. For them, theory abridges the unsystematic intricacy of reality by pointing only to those factors that theorists believe to be important. In addition, theory is no more

than a set of tools whose usefulness is tested in their ability to solve concrete problems (Moore, 1995:107-15).

This research focuses on two theories of international relations: liberalism and realism for the analysis of policy response to transnational terrorism.

1.5.1. Defining Policy Responses from a Liberal Perspective

Proponents of liberalism argue that liberal counterterrorism policies should be persuasive. This means that they should be able to convince terrorists to abandon their routes or motives, but also their supporters and sympathizers to seek other non-violent ways to achieve their goals (Crelinsten, 2009:236). Liberals tend to view terrorism as one of the many threats facing the international community alongside climate change, nuclear proliferation and pandemic diseases. The best way to fight transnational terrorism according to its proponents is through a multilateral approach that is aided by the management of international institutions. Lastly, they tend to believe that even if the military is necessary, intelligence and law enforcement resources are equally important in the fight against this phenomenon (Obama, 2011:2).

Schmid (2005:32) points out that a three-branch strategy of the United Nations outlined in the September 2002, Report of the High-Level Policy Working Group on the UN and Terrorism, in which cooperation is instituted as the third prong, states that the United Nations Strategy 3 is to sustain a broad-based international cooperation in the struggle against transnational terrorism. Accordingly, this third prong includes making cooperation between the United Nations and other international actors more systematic and ensures an appropriate division of labour based comparative advantage. Other UN prongs include the development of an international action plan, ensuring a higher degree of internal coordination and coherence within the United Nations and finally, strengthening some UN offices, notably the Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention of the UN Secretariat (Boulden and Weiss, 2004).

Neoliberal scholars assert that international cooperation, which is fundamental to their approach to international politics in the fight against terrorism, cannot rely solely upon a supranational legal order or regime. They argue that cooperation should be able to function at several levels of analysis at once. These levels include; international, regional, national and sub-national, including the local level. In this way, liberal scholars infer that this type of a multi-centric regime would encompass multiple sets of private and public, national and international rules, which would contribute to an integrated and orderly international system (Wolfe cited in Smith and Wolfish, 2001:262). Neoliberal proponents argue that transnational cooperation, as opposed to international cooperation or state-to-state cooperation, would better reflect the nature of transnational terrorist threats to Africa (Crelinsten, 2009:232). This strategy would also provide a kind of response framework that can be more effective in the global fight against transnational terrorism (Crelinsten, 2009:232).

1.5.2. Defining Policy Responses from a Realist Viewpoint

On the other hand, realists view states as the main agents of international politics. Hence for states to respond to threats of transnational terrorism they should take the traditional counterterrorism mechanism that relies on the coercive capacity of the state (Crelinsten, 2009:48). In this way, two commonly used models of counterterrorism models appear to the realist mind in the fight against transnational terrorism. These include the criminal justice model and the war model. These models rely on the state's monopoly of the use of force, such as the exercise of hard power.

Their assessment of the phenomenon is that, transnational terrorism has a double character of war and crime. In this way, Buros (2011) asserts that the George W. Bush's administration saw transnational terrorism as an existential threat. And thus opted for the realist approach because the international system did more to hamper U.S. efforts at combating a sophisticated actor from outside the state system than it did to prevent the attacks of multiple U.S. targets in the first place. Similarly, the Kenyan government in its response to previous attacks and threats by Al-Shabaab, a transnational terror organization, launched a military intrusion into Somalia against the group and attacked its bases and training camps (Odhiambo, 2013:129).

Given the anarchic nature of the international system and the absence of peaceful methods of resolving the disputes, actors with a constitutional grievance against the state are often forced into war against it. Hence, the state has to counter this threat to security and stability in order to uphold its sovereignty (Gilbert, 1994:159). As such, scholars argue that terrorism is an offshoot of realism because, for the realists the 9/11, events on US home soil represents an end to the holiday from history or the exoneration from conflicts that the world had experienced in the 1990s (Nau, 2012:236). These scholars assert that, 9/11 generated a new global war on terror and a renewed division of the world into friendly and unfriendly states. This is because the United States and its African partners committed themselves to fight terrorism in the continent through counterterrorism measures that mostly led to increasing militarization and intensification of law enforcement policies in the continent (Nau, 2012:238).

1.6. Research Methodology and Methods

This research's methodology and methods draw from desktop research and this type of research is premised on seeking facts, general scholarly information on the topic, historical background, study findings and so forth that have been published or are available in public order. In this way, data for the research was obtained through secondary sources, mainly from encyclopedias, journal articles, conference proceedings, government reports and gazettes and books. Other sources of data include written interviews, newspaper articles and news reports.

Moreover, qualitative research techniques have been materialized in the study to explain how policy makers respond to the threats and implications of transnational terrorism to Africa's security and

stability using the two theories of international politics namely realism and liberalism. A qualitative approach to social research provides a deeper understanding of the phenomena being studied and this method aims at giving a more detailed explanation about social relations that lead to threats of international terrorism to Africa's security and stability.

In addition, this research is based on this approach because this method of collecting data is concerned with understanding the behaviour of man in a particular society. Therefore will provide a deeper understanding of terrorism based on the analysis made by African and US policy makers in conjunction with those policy panels from intergovernmental actors like the United Nations, the African Union and the European Union.

The qualitative approach entails a systematic way of doing research whereby transnational terrorism as a phenomenon is studied in its natural settings, that is by first looking at its historical origins and conceptualizations in Africa. Secondly, in assessing the causes of Africa's vulnerability to this phenomenon, the study examines the factors such as the failed and weak states, socio-economic conditions, geographical location and religious extremism, that gave rise to transnational terrorist activities. Additionally, this method of collecting data enables a better examination of the relationship between policy responses by the African governments and their US counterparts in the global war on terrorism. It illuminates the policy frameworks espoused by intergovernmental organizations such as the African Union, the United Nations and the European Union.

This study makes use of a case study analysis for analytical purposes. Hence, as Neumann (2011:42) explicates, a case study research entails an in-depth assessment of an extensive amount of information about very limited units or cases for one period or across multiple periods of time. As such, this study undertakes an in-depth analysis of Kenya's policy responses to threats of transnational terrorism. The country's government perceives transnational terrorism mostly arising from groups like the Al-Shabaab and al-Qaeda as posing a serious threat to its national security, especially by the latest terror incidents in Nairobi's Westgate Mall and Garissa University.

1.7. Case Study Analysis

According to scholarly understanding, Kenya is a target of transnational terrorism because of an assortment of dynamic forces that emanates from geopolitical, historical, economic and socio-cultural factors. In this way, scholars assert that the immediate causes of transnational terror attacks in Kenya stemmed from firstly, its close ties with Israel and Western nations, in particular the United States. Secondly, its vibrant coastal tourism industry that threatens the predominantly local Islamic culture and finally, the commonly held assumption that the country's mostly Christian population is a permanent obstacle to the Islamization of Eastern Africa (Otiso, 2009:107). In line with this view, scholars have argued that factors that facilitate transnational terrorism in Kenya include among other things the country's geopolitical proximity to Asia, Europe and neighboring African states. Others factors include

weak-state borders as a result of poor policing, Kenya's politically unstable neighboring states such as Somalia and South Sudan. Kenya's relatively open and multicultural society, its relatively good transport and communication infrastructure coupled with its advanced regional economy and its relatively large Muslim population as well as its socio-economic deprivation of the coastal population in relation to the rest of the country have all facilitated the easy flourishing of terrorists (Otiso, 2009:111).

Currently, the government of the United States perceives Kenya as a strategic partner in the global war on terror and as an anchor state in the East African region (Aronson, 2013:24). Similarly, having historically been an ally of the US, the East African country's importance was however only reaffirmed during its democratic transition of 2002 and subsequent improvements in human rights. The last two decades have seen several major transnational terror incidents that have ripped the country apart (Aronson, 2013:24). One might also point out that the Kenyan military plays a key role in regional operations against Al-Shabaab militants in Somalia (Blanchard, 2013:71). As a result, the main perpetrator of threat to Kenya's national security is the Al-Shabaab terrorist organization which originates from neighboring Somalia, where the country has launched military offenses as a response to its threats. This is because this group is increasingly using a strategy of sporadic guerrilla attacks, which it disguises as an Islamic Jihad (Holy War) against non-Muslims in Kenya while it spares the country's Muslims. The group claims that its apparent reason for its transnational terror attacks in Kenya is retaliation to the Kenyan military presence in Somalia (Ombaka, 2015:13).

1.8. Overview of the Research

This study comprises five interlinked chapters. Chapter One, contains the introduction to the study. It presents a general background of the research, the problem statement, the preliminary literature review and the research problems and aims of this study.

This chapter also highlights the central research problem, key questions and objectives of the study, the major theories upon which the research is formulated as well as the research methodology and methods of collecting data.

Chapter Two; presents the theoretical framework and concepts of the study using the four levels of analysis that are available in international politics. The numerous concepts elaborated in chapter two are used to unpack the policy responses, causes and implications of transnational terrorism to be discussed in ensuing chapters. Both the main theories of international politics, realism and liberalism are concisely elaborated using the different levels of analysis to permit for a more coherent and precise study of assessing policy responses to threats of transnational terrorism on Africa's security and stability.

Chapter Three; combines a historical background and conceptualization of transnational terrorism with a literature review. In this way, this chapter seeks to permit the reader to appreciate the evolution and conceptualization of this phenomenon in Africa.

Chapter Four; investigates the causes of Africa's vulnerability to transnational terrorism. It also assesses policy responses by Kenyan policy makers and other actors of international politics such as the United States, African Union and the United Nations. In this way, this chapter provides a case study analysis in order to understand why Kenya is constantly targeted by transnational terrorist organizations such as Al-Shabaab and al-Qaeda, and how the government in this country has responded to these attacks and finally, what can be done to prevent future attacks from happening in the country.

Chapter Five; discusses the findings and summary of this study. It examines the implications of transnational terrorism on the security and stability of Kenya and the African continent as a whole. In addition, this chapter also underlines the utility of both theories of international politics in their assessment of policy responses to threats of transnational terrorism. Finally, the chapter sums up the study with a brief analysis of the causes and effects of transnational terrorism on the security and stability of African states.

Chapter Two

Theoretical Framework and Key Concepts of the Study Using the Four Levels of Analysis

2.1. Introduction

The previous chapter has outlined the scope of this research. This chapter provides an in-depth analysis of the major themes of the study. The analysis of this study is anchored on the notions of liberal and realist theories of international relations. These theories are viewed from their perspectives on the policy responses to threats of transnational terrorism.

Furthermore, for concise descriptive and explanatory examinations of the major themes of this study, the sections of this chapter are divided as follows: The first section of this chapter discusses the liberal and realist policy perspectives to counterterrorism from an individual level of analysis. The second section offers the liberal and realist counterterrorism responses from a state level of analysis. The third section examines the liberal and realist counterterrorism responses from a systemic level of analysis. The fourth and last section provides a close examination of liberal and realist policy counterterrorism responses from the global level of analysis. The elaborated themes from which the research is constructed will be materialized interchangeably in order to answer its' key questions and attain its objectives.

2.2. The importance of Theory in International Politics

In an attempt to examine the theoretical framework of this research, one might commence by providing a brief explanation about the relevance of theory in social science research. Scholars asserts that the purpose of theory can be analytically distinguished in three kinds, firstly as a normative or value theory, which is defined as the study of politics in terms of ethical desiderata, meaning a kind of theory that is produced by political philosophy. An example of this kind of theory would be Immanuel Kant's theory of perpetual peace in a world federation of representative republics (Kenneth Thompson, 1955:738). Secondly, scholars identify theory as an empirical or causal theory, which tries to analyze actual political behavior and to identify the main variables, such as the theory of the balance of power, which was offered as the key to analyzing eighteen and nineteenth century international relations (Hoffman, 1960:10).

In accordance, scholars identify the third kind of analytical theory as a policy science or theory as a set of recipes for action, or as systematic advice on statecraft. This kind of theory scholars infer, aims to contribute to the intelligence needs of the time such as research on psychological warfare or military strategy, all of which provides us with contemporary examples (Morgenthau, 1955:431-60). All in all,

scholars in all social sciences have recognized that collecting facts is not enough and that it is not helpful to gather answers when no questions have been asked. Hence, without theory, as social researchers we will have to take whatever the other disciplines may see fit to dump into our plate (Hoffman, 1960).

2.3. Theoretical Relevance of Policy Responses

Establishing counterterrorism strategies for any state is a complex undertaking that is filled with hidden opportunities and precarious obligations. This is because how a state balances those opportunities and obligations depends on its definition of the threat that transnational terrorism poses, its understanding of the players involved and its assumptions about capabilities and responses both internal and external. In simple terms, a state has the sole responsibility to engage in decision making that seek to balance the concrete facts of realism with the potential for a more liberal policy response (Buros, 2011).

The war on transnational terrorism has caused many African states and international actors to re-evaluate their positions on international relations in terms of assessing their policy responses to threats of this phenomenon on the security and stability of the region (Buros, 2011). Thus, this research analyzes two main theories of international politics in terms of their theoretical responsiveness to threats of transnational terrorism to Africa's security and stability using the four levels of analysis.

2.3.1. Outline of Liberalism Thinking

Theoretically, proponents of liberalism perceive the threats of transnational terrorism seriously. While their traditional rivals, the realists often invoke the domestic-international divide as their starting point to argue that terrorism does not essentially affect the international system, the liberals by contrast, see terrorism as an ideological challenge facing policy makers (Waltz, Kenneth cited in Booth and Dunne, 2002). Moreover, since liberalism is more about tolerance, civility, and advancement, liberal's asserts that transnational terrorism drives them down a completely dissimilar path from the one they advocate, to the one of violent intolerance where human life is lived in fear and at the same time in anger (Dunne, 2008:107).

Counterterrorism involves understanding and dealing with the ideas that underpin the use of terrorism in social and political life. This has ideological, political, social, cultural and religious aspects, since terrorists have constituencies, which include followers, sympathizers and active and passive supports. Hence, counterterrorism policies must deal with these wider audiences (Crelinsten, 2009:122). In the light of this assessment, one might argue from a liberal perspective that counterterrorism policies are proactive policies, that is to say, they are forward-looking policies that try to out-think the terrorist mind. They also should plan ahead and think preventively.

Likewise, because liberalism have a tendency to put more emphasis on factors that transcend nation states, its exponents argue that power tenaciously plays a major role in their philosophical understanding. However, unlike in the realism tradition, it is soft or co-optive power, not military power

and it focuses on such issues as economic sanctions, international cooperation, political and diplomatic pressures on a systemic level, the protection of human rights, environmental and energy security. In this way, liberalism firmly focuses on diverse types of liberties such as individual, collective, economic and market freedoms (*laissez-faire* principle) (Nalbandov, 2012).

Similarly, democratic governments need to project public understating, cooperation, self-control and loyalty in order to limit transnational terrorist harm to their societies and in efforts to punish or apprehend those responsible for terrorist acts (Perl, 1997). It is liberal institutions such as the United Nations (UN), African Union (AU), General Agreement on Tariff and Trade (GATT), European Union (EU) and other transnational groups rather than individual states that have a tremendous impact on international relations. Accordingly, Nye and Koahane (1971:331) argue that the mutual effects between international relations and the international state system are critically important to the understanding of contemporary world politics.

Proponents of the liberal perspective argue that policy responses must think in the long term, even when they act in the short term to respond to attacks on outsmart terrorist planning and targeting. They also assert that these policies should go beyond legal and military approaches, to incorporate political, social, cultural and economic initiatives that are aimed at undermining the viral-spread of radicalizing and violence-glorifying ideas that fuel the use of transnational terrorism in social and political life (Crelinsten, 2009:236). In addition, scholars argue that contemporary transnational terrorism produces a credible threat to the security and stability of democratic nations and the social impact of an indiscriminate terrorist campaign cannot be overstated. Thus, democratic governments together with their liberal institutions must respond to the nature of the potential threat of transnational terrorism (Poland, 1988:191). In view of this Crelinsten (2009: 245) assert that international cooperation is an essential tool in the fight against all forms of terrorism.

2.3.2. Outline of Realism Theory

Realism, according to its proponents is not different from other social theories in its efforts to provide both an analytical and prescriptive understanding of social phenomenon (Krasner, 1992:38). In addition, realists recognize that policy makers will not always act according to realist principles, just as for instance firms do not act according to neoclassical economic principles by equating marginal revenue and marginal costs to maximize profits (Kranser, 1992:41). As such, the realist perspective of international politics regards the international environment as anarchic. Hence, its proponents perceive sovereign states as being engaged in a struggle to maximize their individual national interests. In this way, the states' foremost priority is to counter all forms of threats from their adversaries in order to ensure the security of their citizens (Erdag, 2013:62).

Additionally, realist scholars assert that the struggle against transnational terrorism is different from any other war in our history. It will be fought on many fronts against a particularly mysterious enemy

over an extended period of time, hence war or the use of military is a necessary expedient for preserving power in an anarchic international system. From this perspective, realists assert that there are no limits in principle to the exercise of power, to a certain extent, limits that we may impose upon ourselves in the conduct of war are mere measures designed to preserve power during conflict and during the subsequent peace (Fiala, 2002).

Scholars also argue that political realism of mainstream security doctrines is grounded on the notion that, actors ought to maintain the status quo because changing it is dangerous since it might lead to instability. In this way, realists insist that reinforcing stability in Africa and securing the continent from threats of transnational terrorism means more western military presence largely for the training of local military forces against threats to their national security, which emanates from transnational terrorism (Adjaye, 2011).

2.3.3. Defining Policy Responses to Threats of Transnational Terrorism: Liberal Perspective

2.3.3.1. Introduction to Theoretical Liberalism

Drawing from the above discussion, policy responses to threats of transnational terrorism on Africa's security and stability from a liberal theoretical standpoint shall be assessed using the four levels of analysis: the individual, state, global and the systemic level of analysis.

2.3.3.2. Levels of Analysis

According to Goldstein (1994:12), a level of analysis refers to a perspective on international relations that is based on a set of similar actors or processes that suggest possible explanations to the "why" questions. In essence, a level of analysis enables researchers to trace changes in world politics to different groups of actors as well as to their various activities and attributes.

2.3.3.3. Individual Level of Analysis

The individual level of analysis is the primary and lowest level of analysis. At this level of analysis scholars are concerned with the personal characteristics such as perceptions, choices and activities of each human being ranging from the average citizen to the head of state. To clarify this assertion, this level analyses a particular situation or phenomenon concerning individuals as causes or solutions to that particular issue (Uzodike, 2010:20).

In light of this, it is essential to point out that there are limited individual actors when it comes to executing policy responses to threats of transnational terrorism in Africa. Most policy responses to this phenomenon in Africa, begin at the state level, however the main individual actors in Africa in terms of threats of policy responses to transnational terrorism in the continent include the likes of former US president George W. Bush, current US president Barack Obama, Sudanese president Omar al-Bashir and current Kenyan president Uhuru Kenyatta.

2.3.3.3.1. Liberal Instrument of Diplomacy

The war on terrorism in Africa did not commence on September 11, 2001, as most observers often assert. In fact, it started in Sudan in the early 1990's, where Osama bin Laden operated and where an attack was launched against the former Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak (Princeton Lyman cited in Harbeson, 2007:60-1). Sudan was al-Qaeda's home from 1991 to 1996, and a base from which it could seek to extend its influence throughout the African continent. During this time Sudanese president Omar al-Bashir and the nation's spiritual leader Dr. Hasan al-Turabi consistently supported al-Qaeda for many years before they were forced by international pressure in the form of sanctions to expel the group from the country (Gunaratna, 2002:156).

President Al-Bashir after his relationship with Dr. Hasan soured, secretly tried to extradite Osama bin Laden to the United State under diplomatic processes, but his attempts were scorned by the Clinton administration. However, after the 9/11 terror attacks, he decided to cooperate fully with the US in the global war on terrorism (Gunaratna, 2002:157).

Traditionally, Africa has played a marginal role in US foreign policy. It was only after President George W. Bush launched the "global war on terror" following the 9/11 events in US, that Africa became one of the major subjects in contemporary US foreign policy (US Department of State, 2005). As such, scholars assert that from a liberal perspective, policy responses to September 11, 2001 events dictated the use of diplomacy by the Bush administration, during his enactment of the global war on terrorism (GWOT) strategy as a response to transnational terrorism that had hits the United States and affected many other countries globally including those in Africa. The State Department's Office of Counterterrorism, under the Bush administration as a response to the 9/11 attacks, identified the East and the horn of Africa in particular Djibouti, Kenya, Somalia, Tanzania and Eritrea, to be at great risk to transnational terror organizations that are determined to strike US allies and interests. As it had been previously witnessed in the bombing of US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania (US Congress, 2004).

Accordingly, President Bush advocated for anti-terror diplomacy in Africa, in which numerous counter-terrorism initiatives were laid down with African states. These initiatives addressed all four counter-terrorism goals of defeating, denying, diminishing and defending democratic states against threats of transnational terrorism. This was evident in Kenya, where the Bush administration assisted the Kenyan government to launch numerous Antiterrorism Assistance (ATA) programs. These have shaped the formation and training of an integrity Joint Terrorism Task Force to coordinate nationwide counterterrorism efforts, draft a national counterterrorism strategy, convene a National Security Agency (NSA) committee, create a national counterterrorism center and establish an Antiterrorism (AT) unit (US Congress, 2004:7).

2.3.3.3.2. Liberal Instrument of Cooperation

The administration of Barrack Obama, has championed a more liberal approach to counterterrorism in Africa. Obama promised in 2011 to harness every tool of American power, through concerted efforts of its allies, partners and multilateral institutions in the fight against transnational terrorism (Obama, 2011:2). His administration advocated for a multilateral combination of hard and soft power. In line with this, President Obama in his official visit to Kenya reiterated the United States' support for Kenya and the whole of Africa, by promising more mutual cooperation with the region through granting more funding and assistance to counter transnational terrorism. In his speech he said:

“We (the US) stand united with Kenya in the face of transnational terrorism. America will work more closely with Kenya and the rest of Africa in the fight against militant threats” (Reuters, 25 July: 2015).

Another individual actor in the fight against the threat of transnational terrorism to Africa's security and stability is Kenyan president, Uhuru Kenyatta. President Kenyatta has promised to provide a swift policy response, by implementing long-term counterterrorism strategies. Long-term counterterrorism policy seeks to combat transnational terrorism over an extended period of time and requires thinking outside the box while at the same time maintaining a close eye for new developments, new point of friction and new twists in the prevailing patterns of counterterrorism within Kenya. Similarly, in a public discourse with Obama, President Kenyatta said:

“We are fighting global terrorists who seek to destroy our way of life. If left undefeated, they will redraw the international state system and make room for violent extremism and tyranny. Therefore, we need to cooperate with the international community in order to eliminate the threat of transnational terrorism” (Reuters, 25 July: 2015).

2.3.3.4. State Level of Analysis

This is the second level of analysis and it concerns the authoritative decision-making units of governing states as well as the collections of individuals such as interest groups and political organizations within a country that help shape international events (Uzodike, 2010:20).

Response to counterterrorism is not a new phenomenon in Africa. In many African countries, colonial regimes sustained all kinds of legislations to deal with what they considered terrorist acts, but which the African population fighting for emancipation and for their rights considered as a just struggle (Lumina, 2008:184).

2.3.3.4.1. Soft Power

Contemporary transnational terrorism according to advocates of liberalism produces grave threat to the security and stability of democratic states in Africa. As such, liberal scholars assert that democratic governments should respond to the nature of the potential threat of transnational terrorism (Poland,

1988:192). Accordingly, in attempting to formulate that response liberal proponents advocate that democratic governments may assume positive action at two disparate levels of possible involvement with counterterrorism initiatives. The first level might be to deter the acts of terrorism before they transpire. The question that follows is how; and liberals in this perspective identify several options. The first is to tighten security measures at airports, national buildings and at any critical industry. The second option that liberals assert is to design a general public awareness program to reduce sympathy for the terrorist cause. The third option is to develop effective intelligence gathering that leads to the apprehension of terrorists and the final option is to find the causes of increased terrorist activity, particularly those directed at democratic institutions. However, if all means fail to deter threats, liberals then argue that democratic governments and their police services should respond through consensus with maximum force (Poland, 1988: 192).

In addition, the second level of response for democratic governments according to liberal advocates is that if acts of transnational terrorism are successfully completed and those responsible for them manage to escape from the scene, then law enforcement agencies should locate, apprehend, prosecute and convict the terrorists responsible for such acts. To simplify this assertion, liberalism as a state doctrine implies that democratic regimes should enact antiterrorism legislation and acknowledge international treaties that are aimed at combating and preventing threats of transnational terrorism (Poland, 1988:193).

2.3.3.5. Systemic Level of Analysis

This level of analysis entails a situation where the interactions of transnational actors congregate on a regional or global level. Central to scholarly concerns at this level is the influence of the international system on the outcomes of individual states. For instance, this level of analysis focuses on the roles of transnational institutions such as the African Union (AU), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) etc., in the attempts to achieve collective security and stability in the region (Uzodike, 2010:21).

In light of the above, Crelinsten (2009:7) argues that the danger that transnational terrorism poses to democratic values and the way of life associated with them, stems not just from terrorist threats and violence and the vulnerabilities that terrorists exploit, but merely from the ways in which democratic societies think about them, talk about them, prepare for them, respond to them and lastly recover from their impact. Likewise, regional security theory as argued by Barry Buzan and Ole Wæver cited in Tavares (2008: 109) holds that security is a regional phenomenon, because most threats travel more easily over short distances than long ones.

2.3.3.5.1. Liberal instrument of Diplomacy

Liberal advocates argue that international diplomatic efforts to find a solution to the threat of transnational terrorism in Africa have multiplied in recent years. This is because in West Africa, following border attacks by the Boko Haram from Northeast Nigeria, regional countries have increasingly opted for diplomatic means to combat the menace. This situation has led to Chad obtaining authority from Cameroun, to carry out military operations against Boko Haram fighters within its territory. Diplomatic talks between the two countries are aimed at countering threats posed by the group in the region (Zamfir, 2015).

Kenya has also relied on a combination of legislative, social and diplomatic measures that seek to deal with the country's transnational terrorist threat. These mechanisms include anti-terrorist legislations, social outreaches and diplomatic peace talks that aim at resolving the Somalia and South Sudan crises (Otiso, 2009:125), given that most of the country's security threats come from Al-Shabaab and instability in both these countries. As such, the Kenyan government has introduced numerous policy responses to transnational terrorism and these include the National Security Intelligence Service, which was established following the 1998 US embassy bombing, the Suppression of Terrorism bill, the Anti-Corruption and Economic Crimes Acts, the Police Act and other various elements of Kenya's criminal code (Kelley and Munaita, 2004).

Moreover, the Kenyan government in its attempts to counter threats of terrorism has introduced a sociopolitical strategy that seeks to reach out to local communities, in order to help identify terrorists and promote a continued co-existence between the country's Christian and Muslim populations. Liberal scholars would argue that the Kenyan government has diplomatically tried to reach out to the country's social groups particularly the Muslims who feel apprehensive to some of the government's anti-terrorism policies. In this way, the Kenyan government aims to reassure these concerned groups that it is committed to an unbiased application of the law without regard to religion and that it tries to remove religious stereotypes of these anti-terrorism laws (Otiso, 2009:27). Finally, the main diplomatic drive of Kenya's antiterrorism policies is the search for peace and stability in neighboring Somalia and South Sudan. This initiative by the Kenyan government is driven by the acknowledgment that political instability in the neighboring countries is a primary contributor to the country's transnational terrorist threats, especially through Al-Shabaab and al-Qaeda (Njeru, 2004).

2.3.3.5.2. Liberal Institutionalism

Without a doubt, in a globalized world, it would be challenging to understand the security dynamic of one country without inserting it into a broader regional context and without grasping the conflicting or supportive patterns that defines the external policy of that country with its neighbors (Tavares, 2008: 115). Hence, with the formation of the African Union formerly known as the Organization of African Unity (OAU), a new consensus began to emerge around the paradigm of state security and collective

responsibility by Africans to protect that security and ensure stability within the continent (Sturman, 2003:105).

Scholars assert that no single country can defeat the transnational threat of terrorism alone. Hence, with assistance from liberal international institutions like the United Nations (UN) and regional and sub-regional groups like the African Union (AU), countries can join together to take the necessary actions to combat transnational terrorism. In addition, they can prevent and disrupt terrorist activity by working to secure their state borders, or implement illegal immigration policies, or strengthen their customs enforcement and develop strong legal and financial regulatory systems that would criminalize terrorism and terrorism financing (Jefferson, 2006:4). The African Union's adoption of counterterrorism legal instruments, such as the OAU Convention of 1999 and the 2004 Protocol, together with the 2002 Plan of Action, which established an African counterterrorism legal framework, provide a vivid illustration of political will and determination among African states to deal earnestly with the threat of transnational terrorism to Africa's security and stability (UN Office of the Special Advisor on Africa, 2006:31).

2.3.3.5.3. Liberal International Cooperation

There is no international criminal code that exist, nor is there an international police force capable of combating transnational terrorism or an international court with jurisdiction over all acts of terrorism. Hence, governments around the globe engage in counterterrorism activities, principally by passing laws against terrorism and by entering into cooperative agreements with one another. Accordingly, many nations began to cooperate in order to forge a common front against the threats of transnational terrorism in the aftermath of the devastating 9/11 attacks (Griset and Mahan, 2003:280).

In recent years, there have been an increasing number of regional organizations that seek to make counter terrorism attacks as their security priorities and Africa is no exception (Tavares, 2008:120). Thus, in a bid to eliminate the growing threat of transnational terrorism to Africa's security and stability, within the framework of liberal institutionalism, the AU established a standing decision-making body, the African Peace and Security Council (PSC), which is knowledgeable for peace and security issues within the continent. Additionally, as a result of anxiety that emanates from transnational terror threats within the Lake Chad region, a summit was held in Paris, called the Paris Summit of May 2014, which brought together heads of state from Benin, Chad, Cameroun, France, Niger and Nigeria, and the representatives from the United States, United Kingdom and the European Union. The motive of the summit was to enhance regional cooperation in the fight against Boko Haram, by means of coordinated patrols and border surveillance, sharing intelligence and exchanging relevant information (Zamfir, 2015: 2).

Countries in the Lake Chad Basin Commission (LCBC) in October 2014, decided to improve their cooperation in order to combat transnational threats emanating from Boko Haram, by pledging troops to monitor their shared borders (Zamfir, 2015:2). The United States has cooperated with many African

states, in the global war on terrorism and has thus established numerous sub-regional initiatives that seek to respond to transnational terrorism threats. The first among these initiatives is the East Africa Counter-terrorism Initiative (EACTI), which includes military training for border and coastal security, counterterrorism equipment, aviation security capacity-building, assistance for regional efforts against terrorist financing and police training. In addition to this, the EACTI also incorporates an important program for educating to prevent extremist fundamentalist influences from gaining the upper hand in selected countries. Additionally, the Terrorist Finance Working Group (TFWG) is cooperating with East African states on anti-money laundering or counterterrorism financing regimes in these countries (Schmidt, 2005).

Moreover, the Terrorist Interdiction Program (TIP) operates in a number of selected airports in Kenya, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Tanzania and Uganda, and aim to trace the movement of potential or real terrorists when arriving or departing from these states. It also produces a watch list that provides states with the capacity to collect, analyze and compare traveler data in order to help the international community understand the methods used by terrorists and to track their movements (Schmidt, 2005). Accordingly, liberal scholars would argue that Kenya is a good illustration of the countless Anti-Terrorism Assistance (ATA) programs that have shaped the formation and training of an interagency Joint Terrorism Task Force (JTTF) that seeks to coordinate nationwide counterterrorism efforts (US Congress, 2004:7).

Likewise, the United States has also cooperated with the three Northern African countries of Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco in their counterterrorism initiatives. In this way, the US has been assisting Morocco on numerous counterterrorism initiatives such as the State Department's Anti-Terrorism Assistance program (ATA) and Terrorist Interdiction Program (TIP). Under ATA, Moroccans have been trained on counterterrorism skills, such as airport, seaport and land border security, investigations, forensic and post-blast investigations. In addition, Tunisia has cooperated fully with the US on matters of information sharing, military cooperation, tracking and freezing assets of terrorist groups. Thus like Tunisia, Algerian cooperation with the US has also increased in terms of information sharing, military cooperation, freezing of financial assets belonging to terrorist organizations. These anti-terror initiatives in North Africa seek also to disrupt the transit route of transnational terrorists heading for Europe (US Congress, 2005:7).

Lastly, the Pan Sahel Initiative (PSI), which was officially designed to protect national borders, to track the movement of people, combat terrorism, enhance regional cooperation and stability, has according to liberal accounts witnessed some relative success in curbing the threat of transnational terrorism in the region (US Department of State Office of Counterterrorism, 2005). Likewise, the Trans-Saharan Counterterrorism Initiative (TSCTI), further strengthens and expands regional counterterrorism capacities, enhances and institutionalizes cooperation among the region's security forces, promote democratic governance and human rights protection (Jefferson, 2006:12). This will ultimately benefit

the liberal doctrine's global counterterrorism goals and multilateral relations championed by the United States (Jefferson, 2006:12). In line with the above, one might argue that the US also performs similar counterterrorism policy responses in Southern Africa, with the aim of capturing known terrorists in the region and freezing their assets. In addition to this, the US has sponsored a major conference in Botswana that focused on finding ways and means to strengthen counterterrorism legislations. It has also encouraged South Africa, the regional power to export training, intelligence and other required assistance aid to its Southern African Development Community (SADC) partners (US Congress, 2005:78).

2.3.3.6. Global Level of Analysis

This is the final level of analysis and it is concerned with explaining international outcomes that transcend the interactions of states. In short, at this level of analysis, we are forced as scholars and researchers to focus our attention on issues from a global perspective. Most issues now have more to do with the quality of life than about concerns for war, peace and economic equality, for instance the focus is on human rights, good governance, security and stability and sustainable development (Holsti, 1995:17).

The United Nations (UN), which was founded in 1945 following the World War II by 51 "peace loving" nations' has grown to 193 member states that have signed a number of global treaties, regional conventions and bilateral agreements related to threats of transnational terrorism. The UN's mission according to liberal scholars is to maintain international peace and security, to promote human rights and to assist member nations resolve political, cultural and economic problems (Griset and Mahan, 2003:280).

In line with the above, scholars and researchers have argued that globalization as a process, has significantly narrowed the global space, thus enabling easy international travel and communication between countries. It has also made possible transnational terror threats and the prospect for greater damage as a result of this threat has increased drastically. In essence, liberal scholars and researchers infer that the potential of this damage was manifested sharply by the transnational terrorist attacks on United States embassies in Nairobi and Dar Es-Salaam in 1998, which were followed by a series of attacks against selected targets that culminated to the game-changing attacks on the US on September 11, 2001. Not to be left out, are the series of attacks on a number of capital cities around the world (UN Office of the Special Advisor on Africa, 2006:9). As such, the proliferation of transnational terrorism has sparked a new agency for a global response to this threat and liberal advocates argue that liberal institutions such as the United Nations and the African Union are best equipped for such policy adventures (UN Office of the Special Advisor on Africa, 2006:9).

A number of African countries have become parties to the international conventions and protocols that are related to terrorism and transnational terrorism to be more specific, as well as to the African Union

conventions on terrorism. Indeed, South Africa to mention one of these African countries is a party to nine of these conventions (Lumina, 2008:184). Moreover, these global mechanisms instruct states to assume measures that necessitate legislative responses to combat transnational terrorism. Likewise, the African Union Convention enjoins state parties to adopt any legitimate response that is aimed at preventing and combating acts of transnational terrorism in accordance with the provisions of the convention itself and their respective national legislations (Alexander and Nanes, 1986).

Multilateral efforts to counterterrorism at the global level begin at the UN through the UN Security Council Counter Terrorism Committee. Which has worked to assist Africa to implement UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 13, that requires all states to suppress and prevent terrorist financing, improve their state border controls, enhance information sharing and law enforcement cooperation, suppress terrorist recruitment and deny terrorist safe havens. Consequently, most African states have taken initiatives to implement UNSCR 13, thereby helping to defeat terrorist organizations by attacking their sanctuaries, leaderships, finances and command, control and communications and deny them further sponsorship, support and sanctuaries by cooperating with other states within the continent (US Department of State,2005:9). In addition, the UN Security Council Resolution 1373, adopted in September 2001, not only condemns the 9/11 terror events in the US, but it also permits states to take the necessary steps in order to prevent the commission of terrorist attacks, including preventing the recruitment of members for terrorist groups and organizations, and adopting policies that prevent the financing, planning, facilitation and commissioning of terror activities (Lumina, 2008:184).

Moreover, there are currently 12 universal conventions on specific aspects of terrorism such as hijacking of aircrafts; the sabotage of aircrafts; attacks on internationally protected individuals; that include heads of state and heads of government, foreign ministers, diplomats etc.; the taking of hostages; terrorist bombings and financing of terrorist activities (Lumina, 2008: 182). Additionally, the United Nations General Assembly has also established an Ad Hoc Committee on terrorism, which works primarily on developing a draft comprehensive anti-terrorism convention that is designed to fill the void left by the 12 sectoral treaties (UN, 2002)

2.4. Defining Policy Response from a Realist Perspective

2.4.1. Introduction of Theoretical Realism

According to Hans Morgenthau cited in Art and Jarvis (2009:8), the main signpost that helps political realism to find its way through the landscape of international relations is the concept of interest defined in terms of power. Thus, it is this power relationship or expressions of power that define realism. Similarly, Nalbandov (2012) asserts that power in realism occupies the central place for projecting the country's foreign influence by the statesman. Accordingly, for proponents of realism, there are various instruments of power, that are used to foster a state's interest on the international arena and these include diplomacy, information sharing, military and economic strength.

Realism is a theory about international politics. It is an effort to explain both the behavior of individual states and the characteristics of the international system as a whole. The ontological given of realism is that sovereign states are the constitutive components on the international system. This implies that, for realists there is no higher authority that can constrain or channel the behavior of states. Sovereign states are rational self-seeking actors resolutely if not exclusively concerned with relative gains because they must function in an anarchical environment in which their security and well-being ultimately rests on their ability to mobilize their own resources and external threats (Grieco, 1988). Accordingly, realist scholars have argued that the states' use of military force to preserve security against internal and external adversaries represents its claim to legitimate rule. In addition, treating terrorists as criminals may persuade the general public, who are often the victims of terror attacks that the state has legitimate authority, because treating terrorists as criminals implies that they have an obligation to obey the state's rule of law (Gilbert, 1994:160).

Scholars argue that realism tends to be pessimistic about human nature and seeks to define international relations through external truths and idealism. In this way, scholars infer that realism can be boiled down to a few assumptions with the most important of them being the nature of man. Hence, drawing from Legro and Moravcsik (1999:12), the first and least controversial assumptions about realism concerns the nature of basic social actors. From this inference, realist proponents assert that realism assumes the existence of a set of "conflict groups", with each organized as a unitary political actor that rationally pursues distinctive goals within an anarchic setting (Legro and Moravcsik, 1999). Theoretically, realists tend to be distinguished from their traditional rivals the liberals, by their advocacy of hard military power over any other means of achieving political consensus.

Realism as an ideological doctrine has much reliance on nation-states as primary actors of international politics. Thus, they predominantly seek to tie terrorism as a state sponsored phenomenon and they attempt to reject the rise of transnational organizations on the grounds that, transnational organizations and groups will not assume power that is above that of traditional nation-states (Smith, 1987:1-15). As such, for realist proponents, the terror attacks of September 11, 2001 and the ensuing global war on terrorism, implies that counterterrorism policies ought to be championed using primarily military power resources in order to fight the threat that transnational terrorism poses for nation states (Crelinsten, 2009:10). Likewise, the military approach to counterterrorism, privileges the use of force and legitimizes it by changing the legal rules of the game necessary for combating transnational terrorism. Also, unilateral actions by those state actors capable of acting singularly if others refuse or are incapable of cooperating in the fight against transnational terrorism renders military action in the fight against this menace inappropriate because one party uses it to advance its coercive nature to the disadvantage of those unwilling or incapable to act (Crelinsten, 2009:10).

For realism, there are many other actors that transcend national boundaries, such as International Governmental Organizations (IGO)'s, Foundations and Multinational Corporations (MNC)'s, terrorist groups, but they contend that these actors can only be understood in the context of a system composed of sovereign states. IGO's are created by states, while MNC's depend on property rights guaranteed by states and Foundations operate according to the laws of states. Terrorists on the other hand, act beyond the bounds of state organizations, but they are likely to be ineffectual without the support of states and they aim at changing the nature of states, either their boundaries or their political systems (Krasner, 1992:39)

2.4.1.1. Individual Level of Analysis

In line with the above, one might argue that it is worth noting that from a realist point of view, that Africa lacks individual actors in terms of formulating policy responses to threats of transnational terrorism on the continent's security and stability. Nonetheless, one prominent African individual actor who champions realist thinking in the fight against transnational terrorism in the continent is the Kenyan president Uhuru Kenyatta. Other individual actors in the realist approach to transnational terrorism response in Africa include the former United States president George W. Bush, French President François Hollande and the current US president Barack Obama.

In line with the above assertion, one might begin by arguing that the first individual realist advocate to be scrutinized in Africa's attempts to initiate policy responses to threats of transnational terrorism is the former United States president George W. Bush and his administration. Accordingly, realist scholars assert that, the administration of George W. Bush, perceived transnational terrorism as an empirical threat to global security and stability. This required a realist response because he presumed that the international system did hamper US efforts to combat a sophisticated actor (al-Qaeda), from outside the international state system, then it did to prevent multiple transnational terror attacks against US targets from the onset (Buros, 2011). In this way, realists insist that Bush's administration did not depend on alliances and international institutions in response to transnational terrorism; instead, it utilized American power to shape the international system through a predominantly unilateral military approach to threats of transnational terrorism (Buros, 2011).

2.4.1.1.1. Realist International Cooperation

The realist scholars assert that the involvement of African states in the US led global war on terror, under the administration of George W. Bush, has resulted in the increasing militarization of the continent. These scholars justify their connotation on the grounds that on January 2007, American AC 130 gun-ships blasted what they termed "suspected al-Qaeda hideouts in Somalia. The ensuing month, Washington announced the creation of a dedicated African military command, the AFRICOM (Mills and Herbst, 2007:40). In addition, realist proponents argue that US counterterrorism military activities in the continent under the Bush administration also included the deployment of approximately 2,000

troops belonging to the Combined Joint Task Force - Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA) which was established in Djibouti in October 2002, under the US Central Command (CENTCOM). The US State Departments' funded African Contingency Operations Training and Assistance Programme, which was responsible for training and equipping African national militaries for conducting peace and security support operations and for countering threats of transnational terrorism and also for providing humanitarian relief (Mills and Herbst, 2007:42).

2.4.1.1.2. Militarization of African Responses to Transnational Terrorism

Moreover, the Obama administration, similar to that of Bush, supports the Transitional Government of Somalia, in its bid to fight the threats of transnational terrorism, which emanate largely from Al-Shabaab, which is reported to be supported by foreign fighters from as far afield as Afghanistan, Britain, Pakistan and the US (Harding, BBC News, 2009). As a result, realist advocates points out that, the US from time to time sends drone aircrafts to raid targets in Somalia. They also assert that in June 2009, the US shipped 40 tons of ammunition to the Ahmed government of Somalia to support its struggle. Again, in September of the same year, the US Special forces from an American warship attacked a convoy of transnational terrorists, and in the midst of such event killed the Al-Qaeda leader of Somalia (Gettleman and Schimtt, 2009).

In accordance, realist scholars assert that the last individual actor in responding to threats of transnational terrorism on Africa's security and stability is the current Kenyan President Uhuru Kenyatta. As such, realist advocates argue that given the nature of the threat that transnational terrorism poses for Kenya's national security, President Kenyatta has responded to these threats by employing preemptive counterterrorism policies in order to eliminate these threats. He has authorized the nation's military to launch a military incursion into Somalia against the threatening transnational terror group, Al-Shabaab. This military operation was an attempt by the president to demonstrate to the group the country's power and legitimacy in the application of force. Hence, the operation was dubbed "Operation Linda Nchi", which is a Swahili phrase for "Operation Defend the Country" (Odiambo; Maito; Kassily; Chelumbo; Onkware; and Oboka, 2013:129).

Furthermore, the insurrection in Northern Mali, which eventually led to the political coup d'état, was prompted by the National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad and by the Ansar Dine, a suspected Al-Qaeda terrorist affiliate group. The main objective of the two groups was to achieve independence for the northern region of Mali, which they preferred to call Azawad. In the midst of the instability that was created by the coup, another group, al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) created a stronghold in the region and attempted to spread a rigorous version of sharia law throughout the country. In response to transnational terrorist threats to security, stability and the execution of six French hostages, the French President François Hollande emerged as one of the leading force in countering terrorism in

the African region. He encouraged military action in order to boost security and prevent instability in the region that emanates from these terror groups that are linked to Al-Qaeda (Ondimba, 2012).

2.4.1.2. State Level of Analysis

This is the second level of analysis and it concerns the authoritative decision-making units of governing states as well as the collections of individuals such as interest groups and political organizations within a country that help shape international events (Uzodike, 2010:20).

As a line of debate, it is critical to illustrate that this level, counterterrorism responses are not a new phenomenon in Africa. In many African countries, colonial regimes sustained all kinds of legislation to deal with what they considered terrorist acts, but which the African population fighting for emancipation and for their rights considered as a just struggle (Lumina, 2008:184).

2.4.1.2.1. Militarization of African Responses to Transnational Terrorism

Following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, there has been an increased engagement between the United States and Africa (Francis, 2010: 115). Accordingly, the magnitude of US policy towards Africa has at the same time shifted primarily towards a more aggressive and militarized approach, that is aimed at protecting and securing access to strategic resources and military bases, and countering the threat of transnational terrorism than simple development (Abrahamsen, 2004: 677). Likewise, realist scholar's asserts that these US policies are justified as part of the global war on terror and in this way, there has been an increasing presence of US military in parts of Africa such as the Horn, the and the Sahel, which is regarded as a buffer zone between Maghreb and sub-Sahara Africa (Abrahamsen, 2004:677). In addition, realist proponents argue that, as part of increasing counterterrorism capacity in Africa, a number of military training programs have been established by international state actors such as the United States and Britain. These programs seek to prevent terrorists from finding convenient bases from where to regroup and launch their terror campaigns (Abramovic, 2004; Ellis, 2004; Keen, 2004a; 2004b; Lyman and Morrison, 2004).

2.4.1.2.2. Hard power

Realist scholars argue that, Africa's military significance to US foreign policy has been countersigned by the formation of the US-Africa Command called the AFRICOM in 2007. Additionally, they assert that security doctrine between the US and Africa has remained rooted in the political realist thought, which dates to the Cold War era. For these scholars, this is because the African state has kept its place of importance in security narratives through government-to-government interactions and consultations, but also through weapons sales and military training (Metelits, 2004). Moreover, realist proponents notes that even responses to other issues facing the continent such as poverty and underdevelopment, have become intertwined with countering transnational terrorism. This is because every encounter between the continent and the American state have been militarized, and this is demonstrated by the

increasing numbers of US civil affairs operations that are concurrent with the shrinking Congressional allocations of traditional US support to the continent (Ploch, 2010).

In line with the above, realist scholars argue that Kenya shares an all but unguarded and unmarked border with Somalia and Al-Shabaab has been threatening the country from the Somali side of the border, even though Kenya is considered the last front of defense against transnational terrorist threats in East Africa (Gettleman, 2009:11). It is argued that, the group penetrated refugee camps inside Kenya, hoping to recruit followers and forced school students to quit their classes and join the group. As a response, the Kenyan military forces started to mobilize along the border in an attempt to defend the country from the threats (Transnational Threat Update, 2007).

2.4.1.3. Systemic Level of Analysis

This level of analysis entails a situation where the interactions of transnational actors congregate on a regional or global level. Thus, central to scholarly concerns at this level is the influence of the international system on the outcomes of individual states. For instance, this level analyses the role that transnational military institutions such as the US-Africa Command (AFRICOM) and European Union Command (EUCOM) play in assisting African states tackle systemic threats such as those posed by transnational terrorism (Uzodike, 2010:21).

2.4.1.3.1. Realism and International Cooperation

In light of the above, Realist scholars argue that, shortly after the terror events of September 11, 2001, the United States and its allies set about persuading other members of the international community that a militaristic response to the threats posed by transnational terrorism was necessary and justifiable. The rationale behind this action to resort to war with terror groups like Al-Qaeda and Al-Shabaab realist asserts was purely on the grounds of self-defense (Dunne, 2009:110). As such, realist proponents drawing from the above activity, asserts that the fundamental rationale behind the US military engagement in Africa is the war against transnational terrorist organizations, who also happen to be Al-Qaeda affiliates. These groups include, Somalia's Al-Shabaab and Al-Qaeda in the Maghreb (AQIM), as well as armed groups such as Uganda's Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and Nigeria's Boko Haram. In addition, to assist African states counter the threats posed by transnational terrorism to the region's security and stability, the U.S. has recruited a diverse assortment of African allies, including those that face direct threats from these transnational terror groups. In this way, Kenya, Uganda, Burundi, Djibouti and Ethiopia have become key partners in the war against Al-Shabaab, while Niger, Chad and Burkina Faso have emerged as important hosts of U.S. operations against AQIM (Opalo, 2014).

Moreover, a handful of Africa states realists argue have cooperated with the US in countering transnational terror threats to their security and stability and these states comprises South Sudan, Mauritania, Mali, Ethiopia, Uganda, Niger, Seychelles, Burkina Faso and Kenya, all of which already

hosts sites designated for US drones. They host shared bases and military surveillance facilities and in addition to this, the US scholars argue maintains a secretive program that trains counterterrorism commandos in states that astride the vast Sahara region, whose unmonitored spaces provide a benign base for transnational terror organizations (Opalo, 2014). At the same time, the U.S. and European Union Command (EUCOM) spearheaded a series of training and military support operations in the Sahel, that later blossomed into the much larger Trans-Sahara Counter Terrorism Initiative that now involves both North African and Sahelian states (Lyman cited in Harbeson, J., 2007).

2.4.1.3.2. Militarization of Africa's Responses to Transnational Terrorism

Realist proponents argue that the horn of Africa has become the object of the most intense and most militarized US response to transnational terrorism in Africa. Arguably, commencing in 2002, the US has stationed more than 10 000 troops in Djibouti under the Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa (CJTK-HOA). In accordance, CJTK-HOA, participates in a joint allied patrol of the Red Sea coastal area and carries out a series of civic action and military training programs throughout the Horn and East Africa. It is also responsible for gathering intelligence on possible terrorist infiltrations (Lyman cited in Harberson, 2007).

The United States and its partner nations in the Sahara/Sahel regions of Africa, launched the Operation Enduring Freedom -Trans Sahara (OEF-TS) which is the name of the military operation that consists of counter-terrorism efforts and the policing of arms and drug trafficking across the region (Global Security, 6 February, 2007). Likewise, in January 2013, France intervened on behalf of the Malian government's request for security against growing threats from transnational terrorists and deployed troops into the region. As a subsequent result, the French Launched Operation Serval on 11 January 2013, with the hopes of dislocating the al-Qaeda affiliated groups from northern Mali (The Guardian, 14 January 2013.).

The US Navy's African Partnership Station Program, originated from a request by the nations surrounding the Gulf of Guinea, which sought the US assistance to develop plans to improve their regional maritime security against transnational terrorists using the sea as a point entry to the operation. Likewise, the navy, working through US embassies in these countries, determines the needs of each country and then dispatches ships to offer support to them. This program is meant to provide security, defense, training and long-term cooperation between America and African nations (Buss; Adjaye; Goldstein and Picard, 2011). Accordingly, this inference was further illustrated by the former Gabon president El Hadj Omar Bongo Ondimba, in his speech when he stated that "extremist groups like Al-Qaeda are no strangers to the African continent with operations in Sudan, Nigeria, and Somalia, most notably through the militant group Al-Shabaab. Additionally, their mounting expertise, especially in Northern Africa, was demonstrated by Al-Qaeda's recent involvement in the Malian coup d'état. As such, Al-Qaeda's naturalization in the African continent has been perceived as a threat not only to

regional security, but also to global security. Thus, stabilizing the region and containing the influence of extremist transnational terror groups will depend on the international community's ability to work with regional partners" (Omar Bongo Ondimba, 2012).

2.4.1.4. Global Level of Analysis

This is the final level of analysis and it is concerned with explaining international outcomes that transcend the interactions of states. In short, at this level of analysis, we are forced as scholars and researchers to focus our attention on issues from a global perspective. Most issues now have more to do with the quality of life than about concerns for war, peace and economic equality, for instance the focus is on human rights, good governance, security and stability and sustainable development (Holsti, 1995:17).

At this level, one might assert that given the nature of the realist theory of international relations, this level in terms of main policy actors, is not applicable to the African scenario because realism does not value the activities or the existence of international institutions above state actors. Thus, for realists there is no authority beyond that of nation states.

2.5. Preliminary Conclusion

In summary, the theory that prevails between liberalism and realism with regards to transnational terrorism is liberalism. This is because, even though realism is a stimulating theory, but it places little focus on transnational groups and focuses exclusively on nation states. As such, given the upsurge of globalization, multinational corporations (MNC)'s, transnational terrorist groups like Al-Qaeda, Boko Haram, Al-Shabaab etc., international governmental organizations (IGO)'s like the United Nations (UN), the African Union (AU) and the European Union (EU) etc., realism's lack of emphasis on transnational groups is imprudent.

Furthermore, cooperation and liberal institutionalism as championed by liberal scholars remain the core instruments against transnational terrorism. This is because no country in spite of all its capacities can fight the phenomenon on its own. As for Africa, the continent needs more attention and assistance from the United Nations (UN) and the international community at large. The African Union (AU), as a regional body should call upon its member states to ratify the International Convention on Terrorism and the African Convention of 1999, together with its protocol. In addition, the AU should help its members to implement all elements of the African Union Plan of Action. The action plan was adopted in Algiers in 2002 to combat transnational terrorism. Liberalism also theoretically asserts that the international community and the UN should also increase assistance to the African states in all its forms, legal, institutional and logistical. International liberal institutions should also assist the AU in its efforts to solve the existing regional conflicts, in order to prevent the emerging cells of transnational terrorism from gaining the grounds in the continent. They should also assist African states in their economic and

social development processes, so that all conditions that might trigger Africans to resort to terrorism could be eliminated without the use of military force.

Chapter Three

Historical Background and Literature Review on Policy Responses to Transnational Terrorism in Africa

3.1. Introduction

This chapter provides a historical background on transnational terrorism in the African continent. It begins with an analysis of how our understanding of terrorism today, in all its forms, came about. It then provides clarification about the evolution of the concept of terrorism in Africa and how it became linked to forms of violence, the most predominant being political violence. It also traces the advent of terrorism in Africa to colonial policies.

This chapter stresses that, the use of political violence during the colonial era was infiltrated with bias. The use of terror during colonial era in Africa was meant to curtail opposition to colonial regimes. The approach of colonial rule was not comprehended as acts of terrorism, even though it entailed fear, brutality and threatened and disrupted the security and livelihood of civilian populations in Africa. However, when the liberation movements resorted to political violence as a last resort of defeating an unyielding enemy, they were labelled as terrorists by the colonial regimes. This chapter also identifies three epochs of terrorism that are helpful in understanding the evolution of terrorism in Africa.

3.1.1. Historical Conceptualization of Terrorism in Africa

On a conceptual level, the lack of accuracy has long been a challenge in international and comparative political studies (Smith, 2010:3). Hence, as Giovanni Sartori (1970:1035) notes, some decades ago scholarly understanding of terrorism lacked a disciplined use of the terms and procedures of conceptualizing the phenomenon. As such, generations of political and social theorists have defined and redefined the concept of terrorism. However, the concept of terrorism was developed and defined primarily in the context of Western experiences and was not formulated for worldwide or trans-border traveling (Sartori, 1970: 1036).

Terrorism as we understand it today, has remains a deeply challenging concept ever since its early modern historical origins in the French Revolution. Yet, scholars argue that, even today academics have not reached a clear, consistent and universally agreed upon definition as to what constitutes an act of terrorism or who is a terrorist (Laqueur, 2001). Thus, throughout the history of western political understanding, which laid the foundations of the phenomenon's theoretical comprehension, terrorism has come to be associated with numerous forms of political violence such as oppressive government brutality, armed rebel attacks, political assassinations, kidnappings, hijackings and suicide bombings (Hubschle, 2006:2-18). Griset and Mahan (2003:1) assert that the acts of terrorism have historically

been committed by individuals and groups as well as by state and non-state actors and it has formed part of the history of virtually every country in the world with its causes varying from widely over time and place.

Likewise, Schmid (2004) asserts that as contemporary scholars of terrorism, our understanding of the phenomenon as an act of political violence has been shaped at most part by the theoretical lens, the cultural and ideological words of the interpreting subject-scholar. In simple terms, this premise suggests that the conceptual lenses through which scholars have historically attempted to understand the phenomenon encompasses among other things politics, war, religion, crime and communication. As such, one might argue, drawing from Malinda Smith (2010:3) that the lens through which scholars have conceptualized terrorism are not mutually complete or essentially all-encompassing. According to him individual scholars have tended to privilege one or the other's conceptual description of the phenomenon and this in turn has shaped how the concept of terrorism gets to be universally understood. For instance, in the past the enslavement, colonization and the struggle to liberate oneself from these forms of subjugation were seen as acts of terrorism by the interpreting subject scholars Smith (2010:5).

In line with the above, one might add that even among the African populace, the conceptualization of terrorism meant that the phenomenon is understood as a form of political violence directed at the presiding regime due to conceptual perceptions of the phenomenon by Africa's historical rulers (Smith, 2005:165). Accordingly, scholars argue that when some of the continent's well-known native intellectuals in the decolonization struggle championed political violence against colonization, they were labelled as terrorists because their actions at that time were seen as acts of terror. For instance, when Amilcar Cabral advocated for an all peoples war against imperial Portuguese in Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, he was deceived and assassinated by agents of colonial rulers for perpetrating political violence against a system that was oppressing the people (Chabal, 1983; Dhada, 1973 and Bienen, 1977).

3.1.2. Terrorism as a Political Violence and its Responses during Africa's Colonial Era

Throughout history, every terrorist has been claimed to be a freedom fighter battling against repression and appalling cruelties (Oche, 2014:2). Accordingly, scholarly research on terrorism within international politics calls into question the ways in which some acts of political violence have been legitimized and authorized. For instance, the hegemonic status of the United States can function to protect its political violence from being conceptualized under the rubric of terrorism, while some acts of the same nature by others are classified as terrorism (Herman and O'Sullivan, 1989). In line with this assertion, one of African scholars who is among the best-known anticolonial theoreticians, Franz Fanon, advocated for political violence as a norm against the brutal nature of colonial subjugation and rule. His argument rested on the belief that political violence and action have a psychologically emancipatory potential to drive out the "systemized" dehumanization of European colonial rule in Africa (Fanon,

1969). Fanon as a psychiatrist even willingly offered to equip Algerian anticolonial fighters using psychological techniques to help them resist the torture that was systematically practiced by the French in colonial Algeria (Bancel; Blanchard and Lemaire, 2001).

Nonetheless, France as the colonial power in Algeria at that time responded to the championing of political violence in the country against its rule by declaring Fanon a “*persona non grata*”, literally meaning an “unwelcome person”. In short, what we perceive in the imprisonment of Nelson Mandela and other liberation leaders in South Africa during the apartheid regime; the political assassination of Cabral by the colonial regime in Guinea-Bissau; the coup d’état and assassination of Patrice Lumumba in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the labelling of Fanon as *a persona non grata* by the French colonial regime, implies that no matter how brutal, unjust and terrorizing the colonial regime was, it had the authority to the legitimate use of force (Smith, 2010:13). Similarly, the subjugation, assassinations, expulsion from mainstream politics and unspecified detentions that were suffered by African intellectuals in the name of liberation were not assumed to be forms of state sanctioned terrorism but instead as legitimate national security responses by colonial regimes against terror threats (Gordon, Sharpely-Whiting and White, 1996).

On the contrary, African anti colonialists no matter how just their cause was, were considered terrorists and as threats to the security and stability of the colonial state. In the end, it was the victorious colonial regime, who received both the spoils and the authority to shape and tell the hegemonic story of terrorism (Smith, 2010:14). The contention here is that the struggle to emancipate the African continent from the repressive rule of colonialism was often labelled as terrorism. In order to elaborate on this argument clearly, one might draw from the experiences of apartheid regime in South Africa to illustrate the politics of interpretation of terrorism in the African continent. In June 1967, the apartheid government in South Africa introduced the Terrorism Act No.83 of 1967. The act roughly defined terrorism as any act which endangered the preservation of law and order in the republic (Smith, 2010:15).

In addition, the act re-conceptualized many criminal acts as terrorism and made terrorism equivalent to treason. Moreover, under the terrorism Act, only the authority of a police officer was essential to indeterminately detain a suspected terrorist without a right to free trial (Smith, 2010). It is important to note that, since the law incorporated as terrorism the intent or conspiracy to harm the prevailing apartheid order, then it is understood that by definition any act by individuals or organizations that aimed at overthrowing the repellent apartheid regime could be interpreted as terrorism and certainly as treason (Smith, 2010:16).

3.1.3. Responses to Political Terrorism by International Actors during Africa’s Colonial Period

Scholars have argued that both the Nixon and the Reagan administrations in the United States were friendly to the apartheid regime in South Africa. The Reagan administration, in particular, classified the African National Congress (ANC) as a terrorist organization (Smith, 2010:14). Rather than distancing

itself from the brutality of the apartheid regime, the US supported the imprisonment of Nelson Mandela and the banning of the ANC. It also placed the ANC and other liberation leaders on its pre-9/11 terrorism watch list. In an interview with the CBC News in 1981, President Reagan was quoted saying:

“It is the United States’ interest to support the apartheid regime because South Africa is a country that has stood by us in every war that we’ve fought. A country that is strategically essential to the free world in its production of minerals” (www.democracynow.org, 2004).

The ANC remained on the US’s terrorism watch list through the administrations of both George H. Bush and William Jefferson Clinton well into post-9/11 transnational terror attacks. It was not until April 2008 that the then US Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice, canvassed for the removal of the ANC from the terrorism list at the US Senate (The Australian, 2008). She said that, “it had become a rather chastening matter that she still had to waive on her own counterpart, the then South African Foreign Affairs Minister, Dr. Nkosazane Dlamini Zuma, and not to mention the great icon, former president Nelson Mandela” (The Australian, 2008). Subsequently, the ANC was delisted from the US terror watch list (CNN.com, 2008).

National liberation movements across the African region resorted to all forms of political violence such as acts of sabotage against colonial regimes from Kenya to Guinea-Bissau and Algeria to South Africa. These freedom fighters engaged in acts regarded by the colonial regimes as terrorism in order to put an end to the brutal colonial rule in Africa (Gunning, 2007 and Jackson, 2007). As such, this essential distinction acknowledges the fact that people have a fundamental right to be emancipated from the chains of slavery and colonialism. Non-violent approach is not the only means to attain freedom from colonial rule.

3.1.4. Terrorism as Political Violence and its Responses during Africa’s Post-Colonial Era

Terrorism has long been recognized as a recurring feature of political violence. However, the events of September 11, 2001 and the dominant communicative response of the US made terrorism and the global war on terror a defining aspect of the historical moment. The US position encompasses responses to threats of transnational terrorism (Baudrillard, 2001:11). This illustration draws from the premise that the Bush administration’s response to the 9/11 attacks was to declare a permanent state of emergency and to call for an endless global war against transnational terrorists. The theater of this anti-terrorism campaign later shifted from Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003 to an open ‘new front’ on the African continent, a move that included the 2006 proxy intervention by Ethiopia on neighboring Somalia (Smith, 2010:6).

Political violence has since continued to be the foundational factor of terrorism in the continent. This is because no state in the African continent has proved to be exempted from the exercise of political terrorism. One might draw from a multitude of contemporary instances from the developments in, Mauritania, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Sierra Leone, Zimbabwe, Sudan, Central Africa

Republic, Somalia, Rwanda, Liberia, Algeria, Nigeria, Ivory Coast, all of which provide a deep sense of the persistent nature of this practice (Davis, 2013:4). In most cases, the violence is usually associated with the authoritarian state that seeks to cling on to power. The consequence of this is repressive rule and indiscriminate killing of political opponents.

This development has been the most common feature of politics in the post-colonial Africa. In some cases, political violence occurred in some states whose post-independent governments have maintained relationships with their former colonial masters. The outcome was the rise in anti-government movements. Consequent to this, guerrilla war and other rebellious and insurgent activities have prevailed in such states (Davis, 2013:4).

Likewise, political violence in post-colonial African states has been instigated by religious, ethnic, clan and even tribal rivalries that have led to mass deaths and destruction of villages. Thus, transnational terror groups like al-Qaeda and Al-Shabaab exploit existing political violence within the state so as to recruit supporters through propaganda stimulation. This has led to the increased violence and political crisis in most African states. In the light of the above, one might assert that the end cycle of political violence in Africa has no limit and indeed many of these cases mentioned above are historic whether from the case of Rwanda, to that of South Africa and Algeria. This demonstrates the pervasive nature of terrorism in the continent in the form of political violence (Aussaresses, 2004).

3.2. Historical Evolution of Transnational Terrorism in Africa

Historicizing the phenomenon of transnational terrorism in Africa often leads one to the mid-morning events of 7 August, 1998, where bombs explosions killed 213 people at the US embassy building in Nairobi, Kenya. Out of these casualties, 12 were American citizens. At the same time, there was an explosion at the US embassy building, in Dar es-Salaam, Tanzania, killing a few dozen and injuring about 70 others (Ajayi-Soyinka, 2003:604). Prior to these events, the discourse of transnational terrorism in the continent was often centered on the June 1995 incident in Ethiopia, when members of the Islamic Group, allegedly planned the assassination of the former Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak, while in Addis Ababa attending a summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity (New York Times, 1995).

Nonetheless, scholars have argued that a critical history of transnational terrorism in Africa must also take into consideration the events that happened precisely seven months after the 9/11 attacks, on 11 April 2002, when Al-Qaeda launched its first attacks on North African soil (Smith, 2010:53). The target of the attack was the El Ghariba Synagogue on the Tunisian Island of Djerba, where 21 people were killed (The Guardian 2002 cited in Chelin, 2015). This attack according to Chelin, (2015:109) not only signaled the emergence of al-Qaeda in North Africa, but it also marked the beginning of the group's reign on transnational terror. This later expanded to the Maghreb region and possibly the whole of Africa. This is because this event was followed by a series of transnational terror incidents in which,

Islamic militias, which are al-Qaeda affiliates targeted hotel resorts and other places in the region where Western interests seems to be strong (Burke, 2002:3-85).

The African continent's historic encounter with transnational terrorism can be divided into three stages, namely: The Afro-Eastern epoch, the Afro-Western epoch, and the Afro-global epoch.

3.3. The Three Stages of Africa's Historical Encounter with Transnational Terrorism

3.3.1. Afro-Eastern Epoch

Transnational terrorism in the Afro-Eastern epoch was characterized by external and internal features. The external character of terror was triggered by the invasion of sub-Saharan Africa by the Arab merchants in search of slaves. The Arab merchants and missionaries arrived into the equatorial regions of Africa, where they terrorized the local population and herded them into slavery in the Arabian Peninsula (Lewis, 1994). Lewis (1994) further argues that, this encounter marked the first incidents of slave trade in the history of black Africa. Historical records have it that the first man to call people into prayers in the minaret was Bilal ibn Rabah, who was born as an African slave in Mecca in 580 AD (Levtzion and Pouwels, 2000). He was chosen by the Prophet Muhammad himself for his beautiful voice. During this epoch of black African history, terrorism also founded a counterfoil in locally instigated terror, which was based on terrorism of African societies of this period. Gibb (1929:317-23) asserts that apart from some collaboration with the slave traders from the East, black African history during this epoch also featured some elements of another form of terror, that is of cannibalism.

His premise rested on one of the earliest sources of African history, which provided a vivid insight into the terror of cannibalism in the continent. These sources draw from the writings of Ibn Battuta, a Moroccan explorer who embarked on a journey in 1352 into what was the unexplored regions of Africa and the Middle East and from where he eventually came up with some of the most distinguished records of pre-modern African history (Smith, 2010: 57). The voyages of Ibn Battuta to Africa, particularly to Mali in West Africa corresponded with the time in which the famous King of Mali, Sulayman Mansa Musa, was on the throne. According to Ibn Battuta one of the most terrifying features of some groups among black Africans at those times was cannibalism. Ibn Battuta's chronicles as compared to those of other Arab writers of that time were given much credence by the international community for one good reason that, they were based on his direct contact with black Africans whom he wrote about (Gibb, 1929).

3.3.2. Afro-Western Epoch

The second stage of Africa's encounter with transnational terrorism was heralded by the arrival of Europeans in the continent in the late sixteenth century. The active engagement of Europeans in the enslavement of Africans signaled the beginning of the Afro-Western epoch of terrorism. During this period, slavery remained the greatest act of terror to be experienced by Africans for centuries to follow

(Smith, 2010:58). Physical torture and death suffered by Africans during this epoch cannot be replicated. Nevertheless, contemporary black Africans still bear their scars and are permanently pained every time they imagined sufferings of their forefathers when they were herded into slave ships to embark on an unknown destination into the America's and imperial Europe. Sinclair (2004:102) infers that contemporary Africans both on the continent as well as those in the diaspora are pained by the fact that their forefathers were trapped like game. They were physically examined in a similar way as horses, bought and branded like cattle, herded in barracoons like pigs, chained below decks like wild beasts. Then imprisoned and led out to labour in the American fields under the whip like donkeys until they were worn to death.

The former British Prime Minister Tony Blair cited in (Smith, 2010:59) asserted that the European enslavement of Africans was a form of terror that neither apology nor reparation can appease. In compliance with the above assertion, one might infer that the demise of slavery marked the commencing of the third and final historical epoch of terrorism in Africa, the Afro-global epoch.

3.3.3. Afro-Global Epoch

This epoch began with the scramble for states in the continent by European colonizers. For the native Africans, the beginning of colonial rule meant a transition from one form of terror to another. This is because unlike in the era of slavery where Africans were forced out of their native lands, taken into foreign lands, and shackled like animals, colonialism did not demand this from the natives. Rather the system of colonialism demanded that Africans should remain second-class citizens in their native lands (Okere, 2009). The British government and some other European countries managed to successfully colonize Africa through the instrumentality of the Bible and the bullet (Memmi, 1991:8). In this way, the fear prompted by the brutality of the British colonialists warranted the swift establishment of their sovereignty over much of Africa and colonial terror became the definite means upon which their colonial empire in Africa could be expanded (Smith, 2010:60).

Colonialism was rooted in Africa by means of political violence as a way of sustaining the system from the Cape to Cairo and from Senegambia to the horn of Africa (Smith, 2010:61). Prior to the forceful occupation of Egypt in 1881, the British imperialists were continuously attacked by native Egyptians whom they sought to conquer. In an attempt to curb these attacks, the British employed the instrument of terror. They did this by wiping off the map of a whole village just because of the death of a soldier in the desert due to exhaustion. As a result of this assault, the British authority was able to occupy the Egyptian landscape after having terrorized and instilled a sense of fear among native Egyptians (Ahmed, 1999:35). The same could be said about the history of French colonial rule in the continent and this could not be more horrific than it was in Algeria, where the French imperialists using the foundations laid out by Napoleon Bonaparte in the 18th century, initiated the instrument of terror in order to force Algerians into submission. The crimes committed by France during its 130 years' rule in Algeria and

particularly during the eight-year war of independence in which hundreds of thousands of Algerians lost their lives have been forgiven but they will always remain in the heart of Algerians (Bouche, 1998:23).

Commentators on the historical evolution of transnational terrorism in Africa argue that torture was a principal element of French colonial rule and was installed from the onset of Algerian conquest in January 1830 and the French army massacred or deported villagers en-masse, raped women and took children hostages, stole harvests and livestock and even destroyed orchards (Le Cour Grandmaison, 2001). In addition, those who were engaged in these acts of terror individually benefited as Louis-Phillippe and subsequently Napoleon III awarded their army generals with promotions. In simple terms, scholar's asserts that due to fierce eager by European colonists to dominate and control native Africans in their own lands, the Algerian war of independence against the French remains a touchstone of the barbarity and cruelty of transnational terrorism in the history of Africa's encounter with terrorism (Le Cour Grandmaison, 2001).

3.4. Literature Review

3.4.1. Defining Terrorism

Terrorism is a global phenomenon that is easy to identify but difficult to define. Scholars all over the world define it based on their socio-economic and political conditions. Those affected by social and economic problems conceptualize terrorism as conflict in the society between affluent and the destitute. On the other hand, those experiencing the manifestation of terror tactics to gain political benefit consider it as a political phenomenon, hence in all its attempts one might infer that the word 'terrorism' is interpreted to suit different interests (Prabha, 2000: 125). One might assert that there is not one but many definitions of terrorism. Beginning in the 1920's, the international community at large have fruitlessly attempted to construct a unanimously agreed upon definition of terrorism. Gurr (1970: 11) asserts that the reason that there is not one but many definitions of terrorism because terrorism means different things to different people. Some scholars, motivated by their self-insights of the phenomenon, have interpreted it to suggests a method of political violence that is incorporated under conspiracy, rebellions, coups d'état, political assassinations, and small-scale guerrilla wars. Oyenyi, cited in Okamu and Botha (2007:43) argues that some scholars have interpreted the phenomenon to mean an attempt to achieve political ends by creating a climate of fear through bombing, assassination, kidnapping and seizure of aircraft, or the undermining of confidence in a state's ability to protect its citizens or to gain publicity for a cause.

Drawing from Lumina (2007: 121), one might maintain that the inability of scholars to arrive at a universally acceptable definition is first and foremost attributed to the fact that terrorism is a highly provocative and indefinable concept. Terrorism induces strong emotional and conflicting responses from those who errands themselves with the task of defining the phenomenon. There is lack of clarity

as to who and what constitute a terrorist and how to efficiently respond to its' threats. Hence, for the purpose of this study we handpicked some few definitions of this phenomenon that are put forward by scholars as well as by state and non-state actors of international politics.

This study is interested in examining transnational terrorism in the African continent. Its' therefore commences by explaining the phenomenon as argued by the African Union's Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism which was cited in Botha (2007: 2). The Convention defined terrorism as any act, which is a defilement of the criminal laws of a state party concerned. It also asserted that any act, which may endanger the life, physical integrity or freedom of, or cause severe injury or death to any person, member or group of persons, or that may cause destruction to public or private property, to natural resources, environmental or cultural heritage, amounts to acts of terrorism. In addition to this, any act that is calculated or intended to primarily intimidate, put into fear, or induce any governing body, institution, the general public or any segment thereof, with the intention to force it to do or abstain from doing any act, or to adopt or abandon a particular standpoint, or to act according to certain principles. Secondly, to disrupt any public service, the delivery of any essential service to the public or to generate a public emergency, or thirdly, to create a general insurrection in a state amounts to terrorism (Botha 2007: 2).

One might further examine the definition of terrorism from the Islamic perspective. Some scholars and global security observers have argued that modern forms of transnational terrorism in Africa and the world at large poses a serious threat to regional and international security and stability. They have argued that the terrorist groups are connected to religious extremism mostly from the Islamic faith as it is witnessed in the activities of Al Qaeda, Boko Haram, Al Shabaab, and ISIL etc. This argument, according to Botha and Solomon (2010:1) stems from the political outlook that on an international scale the greatest challenge presented by Islamic religious antagonism to regional and global security and stability does not necessarily rest on political or economic domination of any specific country. The formation of transnational terrorist networks has had devastating consequences on the security and stability of individual countries as witnessed in the twin bombings of US Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in the late 1990's but also by the disastrous attacks of the twin towers on 11 September 2001 on US soil (Smith, 2010: 85).

It is important to highlight that this study does not link terrorism with Islamic faith, but rather it seeks to draw the definition of terrorism from the Islamic standpoint. Modern transnational terrorism in many parts of the world, as in Africa, has taken the face of Islam. The Convention of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) on Combating International Terrorism, which was held in 1999, defined terrorism in its article 1, as any act of violence or threat thereof notwithstanding its motives or intentions, perpetrated to carry out an individual or collective criminal plan with the aim of terrorizing people. It further stated that threat to harm or imperil lives, honor, freedoms, security or rights or exposing the

environment or any facility or public or private property to hazards amounted to terrorism. Aside from the above, the Convention averred that any act that threatens to or occupy or seize any territory or endanger a national resource, or international facilities, or threatening the stability, territorial integrity, political unity or sovereignty of independent States amounted to terrorism (Aboboaie, 2010:1).

Given the crucial role played by the United States in the global war on terror, this research finds it essential to acknowledge the definition of this phenomenon from the US policy perspective. The US Patriot Act of 2001, defined terrorist activities to include threatening, conspiring or attempting to hijack airplanes, boats, buses or other vehicles. More so, as any activity that is threatening, contriving or attempting to commit acts of violence on any protected persons, such as government officials. Alternatively, any crime that is committed with the use of any weapon or dangerous device with a determined aim of endangering the public safety or to cause substantial property damage instead of a mere personal monetary gain amounts to terrorism (Kiras, 2005). In line with this, the US Army noted that terrorism implies the calculated use of violence or threats of violence to attain goals that are political, religious or ideological in nature (U.S. Army, 2001: 37). Such violence is expressed through intimidation, coercion or instilling fear in a targeted audience.

The UN General Assembly Resolution 49/60 which was adopted on December 9, 1994 and titled “Measures to Eliminate Transnational Terrorism,” contained a provision that defined terrorism as criminal acts that are intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purposes are in any circumstance unjustifiable. Whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or any other nature that may be invoked to justify them (Prabha, 2000: 130). However, one might argue that the UN Member States still have no agreed-upon definition of terrorism and this fact has been attributed to one of the major obstacles to meaningful international countermeasures (Suarez, 2008:11).

In addition, to these definitions of terrorism by international non-state actors, scholars of international relations such as Viotti and Kaupi (2001) have defined terrorism as a politically motivated violence directed against non-combatants and designed to instill a sense of fear in a targeted audience. They argue that, despite the fact the use of violence for the attainment of political goals is common to both states and non-state groups, there is no acceptable agreement on when is it considered legitimate to use violence to achieve political motives. As such, one might infer that in line with the definitional attempts put forward by scholars and actors of international politics, this research adopts the AU definition of terrorism on the grounds that such classification of terrorism provides the necessary context on what an act of terrorism in a strictly African framework implies. In order to arrive at this, one might briefly differentiate between the many types of terrorism.

3.4.2. Types of Terrorism

Transnational terrorism according to Anderson (1998:282) cited in Anneli Botha (2007:3), refers to the use or threat of use of anxiety such as extra ordinary violence for the attainment of political purposes by an individual or by a group of individuals. Such people could be acting for or in opposition to established governmental authority. Such action could be extended to influence the outlooks and behaviours of a targeted group across national boundaries. To simplify this definition, transnational terrorism is carried out by autonomous actors, regardless of support from sympathetic states actors and whose instrument of tenacity together with its implications surpass national boundaries of sovereign states (Gaibulloev and Sandler, 2010:6).

International terrorism, on the other hand as argued by Anneli Botha (2007:3) consist of acts of terror that are impelled by a third state and whose implication has international consequences because they include incidents where the perpetrators cross national borders in order to strike at foreign targets. Moreover, scholars believe that such perpetrators of terror select their victims or targets because of their connections to a particular foreign country, for instance diplomats or local executives. In addition, this type of terrorism is largely associated with the Cold War. A classic example is the hijacking of an Israeli air flight in 1968 by a group of terrorists who belonged to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) (Mickolus, 1980). The aircraft landed in Algeria and Algerian authorities airlifted all non-Israeli passengers to France. In the cause of the event, the Israeli and Algerian governments negotiated for the release of the hostages and the plane through diplomatic channels. Thus in the ensuing weeks, all hostages including the crew members were released in exchange for 16 convicted Arab terrorists (Mickolus and Flemming, 1988: 156).

It was not unusual for African liberation movements and their colonial adversaries to resort to operations that would in nowadays only be labeled as terrorist in nature. Imobighe (2006:16) asserts that domestic terrorism relates to those acts of terrorism that are carried out by individuals or local groups within the perimeters of a state. Such acts are designed to redress domestic grievances. Domestic and transnational terrorism cannot be separated since both are important to understanding and assessing the causes and implications of transnational terrorism to Africa's security and stability. It is often through domestic challenges and grievances that transnational terrorism finds space among African states.

Botha (2007:6) have argued that a host of African countries have exploited the international call for countering terrorism by using it as an excuse for shelving the necessary domestic reforms. He notes that some states have exploited the counter terrorism campaign to commit extensive human rights violations against their nationals. For instance, the Kenyan government has been using its policing mechanism to respond to threats of terrorism by indiscriminately detaining its nationals of Somali origin. Kenyan authorities have also send troops into Somalia to attack Al-Shabaab bases. However, such moves have been criticized by diplomats and analysts as being inept. These observers also cautioned that such far-

reaching campaigns would create a sense of resentment among Muslims in the country and thus, providing Al-Shabaab with an opportunity to capitalize on the situation (Reuters, 2015). The victims of the attacks in Nairobi's Westgate Mall and Garissa University were mostly foreigners and non-Muslims.

From the above, one might infer that domestic upheavals contribute to transnational terrorism by providing safe-havens for transnational terror cells to operate, thereby increasing insecurity and instability among states in Africa. This has led the United Nations to implement a Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy in Eastern Africa, which seeks to promote effective leadership through regional and international initiatives. This will address the threat posed by Boko Haram, Al Qaeda in the Maghreb, Al-Shabaab and other terrorist organizations operating within the continent in order to reduce transnational implications on Africa's security and stability (The Independence, 14 July 2015).

State terrorism on the other hand entails a systematic use of terror by government in order to control its population. This type of terror is entirely carried out by the group holding power in a country and is often inflicted with a purpose of eliminating opposition to government rule. According to Hoffman (1998:164), radical states sponsored terrorist groups emerged as a deliberate foreign policy tool for a cost-effective way of waging proxy wars. Armed proxy combatants are used against political opponents by the ruling regime. With enhanced resources at their disposal, state-sponsored terrorist groups are often capable of carrying out more deadly attacks than other terrorists, including aerial bombings. Another form of terror is that of religious terrorism which is perpetrated by religious ideologies and grievances. Religious terrorism is particularly dangerous because of the fanaticism of those who practice it and their willingness to sacrifice themselves for the cause. In addition, religious terrorists are likely to use "all in" tactics such as suicide bombings in order to advance their cause. This is often made possible by religious teachings that are used to justify and even encourage this kind of self-sacrifice (Peters, 2004).

Additionally, right wing terrorism aims at combating liberal governments and preserving traditional social orders. This type of terrorism is commonly characterized by militias and gangs, which often employ their violent terror tactics under racial motivations and aim to marginalize minorities in a state. The majority of right-wing groups do not advocate any specific program or reform, rather they prefer to shield behind elusive slogans of strident nationalism, the need for racial purity and re-assertion of governmental strength. As such, like other terrorist organization the more cultured right-wing groups also seek targets that are likely to advance their cause. These groups frequently attack immigrants and refugees from the developing world and are racist, xenophobic and anti-Semitic (Hoffman, 1998:165). On the other hand, left wing terrorists' organizations seek to overthrow capitalist democracies and establish socialist or communist regimes in their place. They aim to attack the established system in order to do away with class distinctions. Because they perceive the majority of civilians as suffering under capitalist exploitation, leftwing terrorists have sometimes limited their use of violence to avoid

hurting the victims they were out to save. Although these groups still exist in contemporary international system, they are not as prominent as they were during the Cold War epoch (Laqueur, 2001: 75).

Separatist terrorism seeks to cause fragmentation within a country and to establish a new state. This form of terrorism is often used by minorities within a nation state that desire self-determination commonly due to malpractices of discrimination and subjugation by majority groups. These groups often draw attention to a fight for 'national liberation' that they think the world has ignored. This sort of terrorism has been among the most successful at winning international sympathy and concessions. Examples of such minorities seeking self-determination include ETA a Basque separatist group from northern Spain, the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka, Kurdish PKK in Turkey, the Irish Republican Army in Northern Ireland and Chechen Terror groups in Chechnya, southern Russia (Lewis, 1998). The last type of terrorism is narco terrorism scholars argue that this form is conducted to further the aims of drug traffickers. It may take the form of assassinations, extortion, hijacking, kidnapping of judges, prosecutors, law enforcement agents and the general disruption of law and order in a state (Parenti, 2002).

3.4.3. Types of Policy Responses to Threats of Transnational Terrorism

The study of transnational terrorism has been an active field of social research in economics, political science, sociology and other related disciplines since the late 1960's. In the beginning, political sciences took a conceptual and historical approach to analyze the study of terrorism, which was however pragmatic given the absence of data and theoretical construction of terrorist behavior (Sandler, 2013:257). As such, scholars argue that policy responses to threats of transnational terrorism often entails counterterrorism measures that are used by state governments in order to constrain terrorist attacks or curtail their consequences on a state's security and stability environment (Sandler, 2005:78).

Arguably, there are five main categories of antiterrorism policies and these are proactive, coercive, persuasive, defensive and long-term counter terror policies. Accordingly, a proactive or offensive policy tries to target terrorists, their resources and their support base directly. These measures aim to weaken the ability of terrorists to operate, thus reducing the frequency and prevalence of terror attacks against nations whose security and stability is threatened by transnational terrorism. Security scholars argue that such actions often include attacking terrorist's camps, assassinating their top leaders, freezing terrorist assets, reacting against a state sponsor of transnational terrorism, infiltrating terrorist groups and gathering and sharing vital information (Sandler, 2005:75). Coercive policy measures on the other hand, form the traditional counterterrorism toolbox that relies heavily on the coercive capacity of the state. This type of response, analyzes the two most frequently used models of countering transnational terrorism, the criminal justice model and the war model. Both these models rely heavily on the state's monopoly on the use of violence, for instance the exercise of hard power as opposed to soft, co-optive power (Crelinsten, 2009:48).

Persuasive policy response relies on soft, co-optive power because it entails understanding and dealing with the ideas that underpin the use of terrorism in social and political life. This policy measure incorporates countering not only the violence and the threat, but also the messages that are communicated by terrorist cells. This is crucial because terrorists are not interested in their victims as much as they are interested in the effect of their victimization on various audiences. In this way, scholars argue that the ultimate goal of persuasive counter terrorism is to ensure attitudinal and behavioral changes in particular target groups and audiences (Crelinsten, 2009:135). Likewise, defensive or passive counterterrorism policies try to protect a potential target against an attack. These measures involve the installation of technological barriers such as bomb-sniffing devices, metal detectors and even biometric identification. They also include the hardening of targets for instance barriers in front of national buildings, the deployment of security personnel on commercial flights and the institution of terrorist alert signals (Rosendorff and Sandler, 2004).

Finally, long-term policy responses seek to combine the levels of analysis and to address the complexity of the environment in which terrorism develops and evolves. This measure also aims to build resilience on the side of policy makers and to take terror out of terrorism by building trust and ceasing policy makers from exploiting the fear of terrorism for political or economic purposes (Crelinsten, 2009:194).

3.4.4. Policy Responses to Threats of Transnational Terrorism by State and Non-State Actors of International Politics

Terrorism is a complex phenomenon for policy makers and so are responses to it. Scholars have asserted that some responses to it are more useful for dealing with specific types of terrorism than others. Thus, policy responses to threats of transnational terrorism require policy makers in spheres of analysis to respond collectively against the threat to Africa's security and stability. Regional efforts in preventing and countering transnational terrorism have a long history in the continent, since Africa was among the primary regions of the world to develop a continental framework for combating threats of transnational terrorism on its security and stability (Aboboaie, 2010:13). In accordance, scholars argue that attempts to counter terrorism culminated in the 1999 African Union Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Transnational Terrorism, which was adopted by the 35th Ordinary Session AU Summit that took place in Algiers, Algeria on July 1999. The concluding remarks of the convention, was the rejection of all forms of fanaticism and terrorism, whether under the championship of sectarianism, tribalism, customary and religion. The convention also required that states parties should criminalize terrorist acts under their national laws but in line with the objectives of the convention (Bamidele, 2014:2).

According to Oche (2014:10), the threat that transnational terrorism poses to Africa's security and stability was highlighted at the African Union (AU) level, during its constitutive act of the union of 2002. Where it was stated that the AU shall function in accordance to several principles, one of them

being “Respect for the sanctity of human life, condemnation and rejection of impunity and political assassination, acts of terrorism and subversive attacks”. In this way, the AU presents to African states guidelines on how to combat transnational terrorism by helping them ensure the strength of their law enforcement agencies and border capabilities, which will restraint the illegal movement of terrorists in and around the continent (Gearson, 2002). Moreover, the AU Protocol seeks to help African states develop the necessary legislative and judicial measures in order to improve their counterterrorism capacities that include the development of appropriate knowledge on how to suppress the financing of terrorism. This initiative by the AU includes the requirement that member states introduce anti-terror legislations and criminalize the funding and money laundering of transnational terrorism (AU, 2002).

Since the attacks of 9/11, 2001, the United Nations through its UN Security Council organ has adopted several binding resolutions that aimed to restricts terrorism and minimize the ability of terrorists to mobilize support (Lumina, 2008:183). Hence, on 28 September 2001, the Security Council adopted Resolution 1373, which sought to criminalize the provision of funds and services to terrorists and the freezing of financial assets that belong to individuals who commit acts of terrorism. The Resolution also established a Counter-Terrorism Committee (UNCTC) in order to monitor its implementation (UN, 2002). In addition, the Commission on Human Rights and the UN General Assembly have collectively adopted resolutions that focus on the need to protect human rights and fundamental freedoms while countering the threat of transnational terrorism. The General Assembly resolution adopted on 18 December 2002, affirmed that states have a duty to ensure that any measure taken to counter threats of transnational terrorism complies with their obligations under international law (Elagab, 1999). The GA resolution also asks the High Commissioner for Human Rights to take a number of actions including examining the question of the protection human rights while countering transnational terrorism (General Assembly Resolution, 2003).

However, one might point out that even though there are a number of international and regional treaties that aim to combat the threat of transnational terrorism, it is nonetheless essential to argue that there is no single universal convention on the entire phenomenon of terrorism (Lumina, 2008:183).

Ever since the 9/11 transnational terror incident in the US, the role of counterterrorism has increased significantly in Kenya and among most African states. However, the mission to fight transnational terrorism in Africa is not a new concept. Prior to September 11, 2001, there were certainly counterterrorism units in both the law enforcement and intelligence units of Kenya. The National Security Intelligence Service was established following the US embassy bombings of 1998 and Kenya also became part of the US Anti-Terrorism Assistance Program (ATA)’s (Mogire and Agade, 2011). In addition to this, the Kenyan government has also created an anti-terror Police Unit (ATPU), a Joint Terrorism Task Force, a National Counter-Terrorism Center and a National Security Advisory Committee (Aronson, 2012).

3.5. Preliminary Conclusion

In summary, colonialism and the previous epochs of African enslavement may have been over long ago, but the marks of historical transnational terrorism that was left by these epochs on the faces of the African populace will remain for centuries to come. Given the brutality and the dehumanizing effects that these epochs left on the histories of Africans as a whole from the north to the south and from the east to the west of the continent. Arguably, no continent has ever felt the brutality of transnational terrorism than Africans. However, what comes as a surprise is the fact that Africans their struggles for liberation from the harsh realities of colonial rule get to be labeled as terrorists by colonial regimes and their allies. In addition, the historical struggle for independence in Africa has meant that even after most or all of Africa has attained freedom, the governments of the post-colonial state also resorted to using the instrument of brutality in order to silence their populace. Consequent upon armed resistance against colonial rule, the post-colonial African environment has witnessed proliferation of arms. Such arms had gotten into the wrong hands such as militias and rebel groups who have embarked on political violence as a mechanism to settle political grievances. Thus, political violence in the contemporary epochs is seen by many Africans as a way to force the government to address their grievances. Illustration of this point is drawn from the current activities of local transnational terrorist groups like Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab. These terrorist groups are using political violence to inflict a sense of fear among fellow Africans in order to attain their political, religious and ideological goals. There is no doubt that the culture of terrorism is deeply rooted in African way of life since even the post-independent African states from time to time use political violence to suppress opposition to its regime.

Chapter Four

Examining the causes of transnational terrorism in Africa and the responses by African and international policymakers using Kenya as a case study.

4.0. Causes of Transnational Terrorism in Africa

4.1. Introduction

This chapter seeks to firstly examine the causes of Africa's vulnerability to threats of transnational terrorism and secondly to assess the responses of African and international policymakers on the threat of transnational terrorism to Africa's security and stability. Finally, it draws on the experiences of Kenya as a case study analysis of the effects of transnational terrorism on the continent's security and stability. In light of the above, one might stress out that there are numerous causes of transnational terrorism in Africa. Bjorgo (2005:3) lists four common causes of transnational terrorism in the continent and often the world at large. The first of these is structural causes, which affects people's lives in ways that they may or may not comprehend at systemic and global levels. This includes aspects like demographic imbalances, geographic location, globalization, rapid modernization, transitional societies, class structures etc. The second deals with facilitator or accelerator causes. These causes render transnational terrorism feasible or attractive without it being the primary architect. Instances of such causes as argued by scholars include weak state's poor control of territorial borders, failed states, evolution of modern news media and transportation. Some scholars even argue that transnational terrorism occurs mainly because modern conditions have made it exceptionally easy to employ terrorist tactics (Bjorgo, 2005:3). Thirdly, motivational causes arise from the actual grievances that people experience on an individual level, which motivates them to act. In this way, socio-economic conditions, ideologies, political and religious leaders are sometimes capable of elevating causes from a structural level to a motivational level, thus moving people to act (Bjorgo, (2005:3) cited in Oche (2014:5). The final cause is the triggering cause in which the direct precipitators of terrorist attacks may be historic or proactive events such as political calamity, religious extremism, an outrageous act committed by an external actor or any other events that might call for revenge or action. Drawing from this argument, scholars assert that even diplomatic negotiations may trigger opponents of political compromises to carry out transnational terrorist acts in order to undermine the dialogues and to discredit the moderates (Bjorgo, 2005:4). Terrorism is often used as a political tool to precipitate broader insurgency across the African continent (Oche, 2014:7).

4.1.1. Failed States as causes of Africa's vulnerability to transnational Terrorism

Following the transnational terror incidents of 9/11, 2001, failed and failing states became increasingly seen as a potentially grave threat; not only to their domestic populations but also to international security and stability since they provide avenues for transnational terror organizations to thrive (Boas and Jennings, 2007: 478). Osama bin Laden coordinated his terror networks from Afghanistan; there were also speculations that al-Qaeda profited from Sierra Leone's diamonds. Farah (2002) argues that al-Qaeda cells had planned the bombings of the US embassies in Nairobi and Dar es-Salaam inside Kenya years before the actual incidents. All these conjectures have led to widespread perceptions that failed and failing states are a free trade zone for transnational terror organizations and organized crimes (Farah, 2002). Africa has been seen as a hub of these sorts of states. This suppressive nature of the post-colonial African state is replicated by the fact that after independence the first generation of African leaders maintained a protracted image of colonial rule, thus failing to think and rebuild a post-independent democratic state leading mostly towards state failure or collapse (Aboboaie, 2010:4).

Failed states in the African context refer to states in which government's legitimate authority has collapsed, violence has become endemic and functional governance has ceased to exist. Such states have lost their capacity to guarantee safety and security to their citizens. In addition, these are states that cannot guarantee human and economic development for the progression of the state. They are also unable to provide chances for political participation or respect for human rights (Dempsey, 2006:1). Such states have emerged in the post-cold war period as one of the most pressing challenges facing the international community. These states, especially in Sub-Sahara Africa have emerged as a challenge for the continent's security and stability. Transnational terror groups use the chaos they have generated to shield themselves from effective counterterrorism policies that are advanced by the African Union and other state and non-state international actors such as the US, UN etc., in the worldwide war on terrorism (Hehir, 2007:315).

United States policymakers regard failed and failing states in Africa such as Sudan and Somalia to mention a few to be the breeding places of transnational terrorism (Piazza, 2008). The US foreign policy has remained neutral for a long time in its response to threats of terror posed by failed and failing states since it has ignored the dangers that these types of states imply for the security and stability of Africa and the international community but also for the US national security itself (Piazza, 2008:469). Addressing the dangers of transnational terrorism in Africa requires a high priority policy response on the side of policymakers and in line with forward-looking counterterrorism strategies (Hagel, 2004; Krasner and Pascual, 2005). African policymakers and their US counterparts have championed the acknowledgement of conditions in failed states within the continent that foster or render transnational terrorism possible to include extreme political instability, humanitarian crises and poor governance (Hagel, 2004; Krasner and Pascual, 2005). Efficient counterterrorism responses are needed to

collectively address the underlying causes of transnational terrorism in Africa. The US national Security Council (2002) declared and that it was totally unacceptable for the international community to continue to wear a veil of ignorance when it comes to threats posed by failed and failing states. The Council averred that challenges of failed states transcended national boundaries. One of the consequences was the escalation in transnational terror attacks in Africa and across the globe (US National Security Council, 2002).

The assertion that failed and failing states in Africa are encouraging the rise of transnational terrorism arises from the premise that state failures are more prone to be targeted by terrorists or to have their nationals committing terror attacks in foreign countries. They even stand a more possible chance to host active transnational terrorist groups that commits acts of terror abroad (Piazza, 2008:470). Failed and failing states are unable to control their own national borders or to project power throughout their national territories. Consequently, they continually face threats of secession, civil wars and large scale violent internal struggles for effective control between legitimate government and one or more non-state actors (Routledge, 2003).

For instance, the Al-Shabaab terror group seeks to overrun Somalia, which is considered a failed state. The group initially attempted to establish an Islamic Emirate in Somalia that would also include the northeastern region of Kenya, the Ogaden region of Ethiopia as well as Djibouti (Al-Shabaab, August 21, 2001). The Al-Shabaab has ideological links to Al-Qaeda, which is responsible for the 1998 attacks on US embassies in Nairobi and Dar es-Salaam. The group was also responsible for the 2002 Mombasa hotel bombing. Al-Qaeda exploited the chaos created by failed state institutions in countries like Somalia to support and provide funding to terror groups like Al-Shabaab. It developed Somalia as a principal hub upon which to stage attacks throughout the East African region (Odhiambo, 2013:127).

4.1.1.2. Responses to Failed States as Breeders of Transnational Terrorism

4.1.1.2.1. State level of Analysis

Africa is becoming a platform for transnational terrorist activities. The United States which is the champion of the global war on terror (GWOT) has involved the continent in countering transnational terrorism especially in failed states by increasing the militarization of the continent (Mills and Herbst, 2007:42). The US in this way has implemented pro-active policy strategies as a response to transnational terror networks that are operating in the continent's failed and failing states. Such policies can be divided into four broad categories:

Firstly, the US exerted military operations that aimed at targeting terrorist hubs and sought to destroy them using direct military strikes. Secondly, US they have implemented security assistance programs that focus on building local state capacities in order to combat transnational terrorist networks within individual nation states. It also sought to cultivate local and regional partnerships capable of forestalling

the requirements for direct United States intervention in the wake of terrorist crises. Thirdly, the US Department of Justice has exploited extradition treaties and partnerships with host nation's law enforcement agencies and internal security forces in order to identify, apprehend and bring to justice terror suspects that are operating or have taken refuge in foreign states. It also work with host nations and international organizations to restrict the ability of terrorist groups from operating in the global commons (Dempsey, 2006:18).

4.1.1.2.2. Systemic Level of Analysis

Lastly, in a much broader context, the United States has endorsed strategies that aim to address the root causes of transnational terrorism in Africa and the conditions that foster them. However, even though such strategies have seen success in most African states, the remaining challenge is how to make them efficient in failed states environment given the absence of institutional capacity and infrastructure to support them (Dempsey, 2006:19). Despite successive interventions by the US, UN and AU coalitions some states in Africa continue to be classified as failed states. In a bid to counter transnational terrorism in these states and Africa as a whole, the UN has amended counterterrorism priorities, mandates, activities and objectives which the African Union determines as it priorities in preventing and combating transnational terrorism in the continent. These priorities conjointly by the United Nations and the African Union cover three broad arenas, namely counterterrorism legislations, operational mechanisms and capacity building. However, due to variations in recognizing priorities and capacities of the UN and AU institutions, the consequences have been a more focus on security related issues with less emphasis on stability related subjects which come in the form of economic development, which best echoes African states (UNOSAA, 2003:21).

4.1.2. Weak States as causes of Africa's vulnerability to transnational Terrorism

The long process of state formation and decline in post-colonial Africa is connected to transnational networks in complex ways. Just as in the era of colonization, trading companies and religions aided and supported the expansion of the state system from its European core to the world beyond its frontiers. The September 11, 2001, and the subsequent global war on terror have not fundamentally transformed the dynamic interplay of territoriality and transnationalism (Booth and Dunne, 2002:15). The weak nature of many African states as a result of incapacity to control its territory has been cited as one of the obstacles to economic and political development in the continent (Kirwin and Cho, 2010:3). This is one of the causes of the increasing threats of transnational terrorism on the continent's security and stability (Kirwin and Cho, 2009).

Weak states are states that supply less political goods in comparison to strong states and have a tendency to become a failed state if not properly addressed. Such states are also categorized as fragile states due to their fragile institutional capacity and their inadequacy to project power within their territorial boundaries (Whitaker, 2010:640). Thus, Herbst (2000) argues that the inability of African states to

project power through their domestic institutions contributes towards their weakness in the fight against threats of transnational terrorism to the security and stability of the continent. He further asserts that incomplete control over the hinterland of most African states is responsible for the incidents of political violence. The primary challenge in terms of threats of transnational terrorism is that African leaders are incapable of governing and providing order and security to their citizens. Following the twin bombings of the US embassies in 1998 in Nairobi and Dar es-Salaam, the likelihood of Africa becoming a haven for transnational terrorists was heightened. The continent is made up of weak multi-ethnic states with underdeveloped police, military and intelligence forces that include the mostly ungoverned territories, which promote unregulated access to artilleries (Mills and Herbst, 2007:42).

Colonially bequeathed, artificial state borders divide local ethnic groups, making people on either side of the border to show first and foremost more allegiance to their extended family networks than to their central governments (Piombo, 2007). This in turn made the continent more vulnerable to transnational terrorism because of clan loyalties and trading and smuggling routes in the continent, which date back centuries. Weak and porous borders in conjunction with migrant groups makes it impossible to maintain track of people and the free flows of people and goods across African borders, often facilitate the transport of goods and commodities such as weapons and transnational terror recruits (Piombo, 2007). Weak and poor sea controls along the coast of the horn of Africa and downwards the East and Central African regions made it virtually impossible to monitor the African coastline (Piombo, 2007). This has added a maritime dimension to the difficulties being faced by African policy makers in tracking transnational terror activities and financing (Piombo, 2007).

African weak states retain the outward signs of sovereignty and functional governance even though they are not fully functional. This promotes transnational terrorism in the continent in two ways: firstly, the principle of sovereignty shields transnational terrorists from the military and law enforcement capacities of foreign states that are targeted by or are interested in addressing threats of transnational terrorism. Sovereignty imposes legal limits on the intervention by other states. Secondly, government officials in weak states are susceptible to manipulation by transnational terrorist. This is often facilitated partly by the raging poverty and corruption, as most government officials would be ready to compromise their official position on the platter of corruption (Takeyh and Gvosdev, 2002:100). Thus, such government officials will not hesitate to provide transnational terrorists with access to legal documentations such as passports, visas and even end-user certificates to import export arms, in exchange for money, political support and even physical protection given the vulnerable nature of weak states (Piazza, 2008:472).

4.1.2.1. Critiques of Weak States as Perpetrators of Transnational Terrorism in Africa

Some scholars are against the theoretical model that weak states are key contributors of transnational terrorism in Africa (Menkhaus, 2003 and von Hippel, 2002). They argue that weak states are actually undesirable locations for terrorist organizations to base their activities, since transnational terrorists in

these countries are essentially vulnerable to the policing efforts of third-party states (Menkhaus, 2003 and von Hippel, 2002). These critiques also assert that a very limited number of foreigners are to be found in weak states and are as a result highly noticeable, thus making weak states a poor location for transnational terrorists seeking to conduct clandestine operations there. Accordingly, terrorists themselves can be badly affected by the general chaos that characterizes the everyday life in weak states and they can like all other citizens or tourists be extorted, detained or harassed by local authorities (Piazza, 2007:472).

Transnational terror organizations that are based in weak states might find themselves required to take sides in local disputes or even dragged into domestic conflicts that might end up distracting them from their primary objectives (Menkhaus, 2003). Since weak states lack a more centralized power with a clearly established power structure, they do not provide transnational terrorists with a clear target to fight against or a coherent ally with which to fight along (Piazza, 2007:472). Contemporary transnational terrorism is often prearranged and coordinated across multiple countries and not all of them happen to be weak or fragile states. Even though the original idea behind the 9/11 attacks was mooted in Afghanistan, however the logistical planning of the incident happened in Germany and Spain, which are two of some of the world's strongest states (Schnecker, 2004). It is as a result unlikely that there is a linear relationship between weak states and transnational terrorism (Schnecker, 2004).

4.1.2.2. Responses to Weak States as Breeders of Threats of Transnational Terrorism to Africa's Security and Stability

4.1.2.2.1. State Level of Analysis

At a state level of analysis, the United States has offered support for foreign military, police and counterterrorism assistance to most African states as a primary means upon which it aims to prevent security threats that emanates from weak states. By providing this specialized form of assistance, the US, which is the driver of the fight against global transnational terrorism, seeks to build and reinforce the security sector capabilities of partner nations in Africa, so as to prevent state weaknesses that transnational terrorists seeks to exploit (Whitaker, 2010: 643). Examples of counterterrorism policies in weak states that focus on military assistance and training include the Regional Defence Combating Terrorism Fellowship Program and the Trans-Sahel Counter-Terrorism Initiative (TSCTI) (Patrick and Brown, 2007).

4.1.2.2.2. Systemic Level of Analysis

At a systemic level of analysis, lies the United Nations' Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC), which was created in 2001 to monitor the implementation of the UN Security Council's Resolution 1373. Consisting of all 15 members of the Security Council, the CTC encouraged states to ratify all existing UN legal frameworks on transnational terrorism and to enact domestic legislations that are necessary

for their enforcement. In addition, Resolution 1373 obligated all UN member states to uniformly submit periodic reports to the CTC on their efforts to criminalize, prevent and punish terrorism related activities in their own backyards (Rosand, 2003:336). By virtue of the promotion of the domestication of the provisions of existing international agreements, the CTC attempted to build a global legal framework against transnational terrorism, which would help weak states in Africa counter threats posed by this phenomenon (Whitaker, 2010:641).

In addition to the Security Council's approach to counter transnational terrorism, other UN agencies and multilateral organizations have developed their own counterterrorism initiatives. In order to coordinate these efforts, the UN Secretary-General established the Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force (CTITF) in 2005, which included representatives from more than 20 institutions such as the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), the International Criminal Police Organization (INTERPOL) and the World Bank. Moreover, in September 2006, the UN General Assembly adopted the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, which incorporated a wide-ranging plan of action intended to build individual nation state's capacity, to prevent transnational terrorism and to address the underlying causes of such threat. This global counter-terrorism strategy was initially projected to serve as a unifying framework for multilateral counterterrorism efforts that are coordinated by the CTITF, which itself was institutionalized within the UN Department of Political Affairs (Whitaker, 2010:641).

4.1.2.2.3. Global Level of Analysis

The promotion of international diplomacy is one way in which international actors in the war on transnational terror, primarily the United States, African Union, United Nations, European Union, Britain and France, can engage African countries on issues that weaken the state and thus pose a threat to the security and stability of the African continent. The AU is cooperating with international actors on weak states agendas. These agendas include the promotion of democracy, good governance and the strengthening of state capacity against transnational terrorism. The African Union as a regional body seeks to prevent threats of transnational terrorism to the continent's security and stability from emerging (Wyler, 2008:11). International diplomacy extends beyond the issues of state weaknesses. However, the strategic focus of this policy instrument is to directly confront threats of transnational terrorism on the security and stability of African states.

International diplomacy as advocated by the AU also aimed at strengthening the capacity of the African states in order to promote regional stability, protect civilian population and to promote the just application of government and the rule of law (Wyler, 2008:11). This is because government policies at a national level form the foundation of global counterterrorism efforts. Since 2001, there has been a wave of anti-terrorism and counter-terrorism financing (CTF) legislation across Africa and the world at large (Haubrich, 2003:15). The US has been pushing for international coordination in the fight against transnational terrorism since the events of September 11, 2001. The US as the champion of the global

war on terror (GWOT), with the help of powerful allies like Britain, has been able to effectively force its approach to counterterrorism policies on weak states (Whitaker, 2010:643).

4.1.3 Socio-economic Conditions as Causes of Africa's vulnerability to Transnational Terrorism

The European powers partitioned Africa with such haste that the process itself became to be referred to as the scramble for Africa (Oliver and Anthony, 1994:100). The state thus created under this process was characterized from the early post-colonial era among other things by violence, repression, economic exploitation and exclusion. This repressive element is reflected by the continent's total insignificance to the cultural, economic, political and social rights of its populace. This is because the different visions that invaded post-independent Africa have profoundly affected the nature and character of African states. The African continent is marked by sub-ethnic identities that are coupled by religious polarization, which formulated deeply divided societies that were unable to create well-organized institutional structures necessary to sustain the African state (Aboboaie, 2010:4). As a result of this exploitative and repressive nature of the post-colonial state, Africa currently suffers from poor socio-economic circumstances. Thus, Africans inherited a state that lacks security and stability making it vulnerable to threat of transnational terrorism. The reason for this, is because socio-economic conditions like poverty, unemployment and widening inequality gap between the rich and the poor produces a society of people that have nothing to lose. The widespread conditions of poverty, conflicts and economic exploitation in Africa often creates a breeding ground for individuals to resort to acts of terrorism (Botha, 2007:5).

Poverty, social injustice and political repression attract transnational terrorist groups by allowing them to buy off immigration and local security officials in most African states. The fact that East Africa and the horn of Africa are homes to some of the most impoverished countries in the world, with high levels of social injustice and political hostilities, generally renders the region a breeding ground for transnational terrorism (Shinn, 2004:38). Political repression and socio-economic conditions are responsible for dispersing potential extremist and terror groups across the regions of the world. For instance, Egypt's repressive counterterrorism strategy against domestic terrorism succeeded in reducing terrorism within the country. However, such a radical counter terror lasted only until extremist terror reappeared in the country in 2003 when it was disguised as religious politics (Botha, 2007:7).

In reality, the repressive response by Egyptian authorities to domestic threats of militants and extremists under the emergency legislation resulted into a situation where leaders and supporters of those groups fled abroad, to countries where they not only supported untold causes, but also contributed to the creation of transnational terror organizations. One of the most prominent Egyptian nationals who influenced the development of transnational terrorism was Ayman al-Zawahiri, who was the leader of al-Jihadi militant group in Egypt and was responsible for the formation of al-Qaeda in 1998 (Botha, 2007:7).

Another socio-economic factor that renders Africa vulnerable to transnational terrorism emanates from insufficient communication and education of the broad public. This is due to over-sensitivity on the part of security personnel to consider anything and everything that relates to terrorism as top secret while at the same time excluding the valuable source of information on acts of transnational terrorism, which is the general public. Community involvement cannot be secured through legislation because even though the responsibility rests with the public to inform security officials such as police force about any suspicious activity. However, this cannot just be done without equipping them with the knowledge and without establishing a relationship of trust between the general public and security officials (Botha, 2007:11).

Transnational terrorists hide themselves out in the multiple lawless and stateless regions that litter the African continent. They apparently gained recruits from among the starving and displaced masses that have been victimized by powerful warlords and government authorities that are fighting one another over the continent's spoils. Primarily, militant recruiters are thought to prey on vulnerable communities, where they are able to build militant organizations and recruit the next generation of suicide bombers from the ranks of the poor and starving Africans (Piombo, 2007). Another social factor that renders Africa vulnerable to transnational terrorism has to do with its open borders and large illegal immigrant communities in which individuals with clandestine motives can disappear on without being noticed. In this way, scholars argue that hospitality and a culture of generosity whereby people out of free will help those in need without having to ask questions. This according to scholars might contribute to a scenario whereby innocent civilians support, provide safe haven and even facilitate acts of transnational terrorism without knowing it (Botha, 2007:12).

4.1.4. Africa's Geopolitical Location as a Cause of Africa's vulnerability to Transnational Terrorism

In the wake of transnational terror attacks of September 11, 2001 in the United States, scholars argue that Africa has become one of the geographical zones of struggle in the Americanized global war on terror (GWOT). Africa has been drawn into this new chapter of global conflict by the dent of the continent's Mediterranean and Northeast African geo-cultural and geopolitical proximities to the Middle East and Southwest Asian war zones (Jhazbhay, 2006:8). These zones encompass the US and its North Atlantic Treaty Organization allies in Iraq and Afghanistan. Moreover, Africa is witnessing two rival models that are competing for power among transnational terror groups, these two groups being the Islamic States of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) and al-Qaeda. While these two groups share some long-term goals, they have adopted radically different approaches to marketing their ideology and expanding their support bases in the continent (Joscelyn, 2015).

The ISIL group is believed to be using a consistent branding that seeks to describe its followers in Africa and the world in general as part of a growing caliphate that is led by Abu Bakr al Baghdadi. Al-Qaeda,

on the other hand has adopted precisely the opposite approach which is far more clandestine in nature. The group adopted numerous brands all of which serve to mask the extent of its influence and inculcate its radical ideology in local populations. This has made it possible for the group to attract support from individuals, organizations and governments that may not want to be seen as openly assisting the group in its transnational terror acts (Joscelyn, 2015).

Al-Qaeda has two official or regional branches in Africa; Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and Al-Shabaab in Somalia. The leaders of the two groups in Africa remain loyal to Ayman al Zawahiri, the current senior al-Qaeda emir. While AQIM and Al-Shabaab are often referred to as Al-Qaeda affiliates, the group itself calls them regions or branches. Each regional emir oversees al-Qaeda's efforts in his designated area. For instance, AQIM emir Abu Musab Abdel Wadoud (a.k.a. Abdelmalek Droukdel) is in charge of al-Qaeda efforts in North Africa and downwards into Mali. On the other hand, Al-Shabaab's emir Ahmed Diriye (a.k.a. Sheik Ahmad Umar) is generally in charge of al-Qaeda's efforts in Somalia and East Africa (Joscelyn, 2015).

The presence of ISIL in Africa has grown significantly over the past year, especially in Libya, Tunisia and Egypt's Sinai region. Scholars assert that the growth of this group in these parts of Africa has been fueled mainly by young jihadists (Joscelyn, 2015). The ISIL has further gained a significant footing in West Africa by merging with Boko Haram earlier this year. It is likely that the group sent a team to Nigeria to improve Boko Haram's media capabilities and to negotiate the alliance, since Boko Haram now calls itself the Islamic State in West Africa, or the Islamic State's Province in West Africa (Joscelyn, 2015).

Another geopolitical factor that makes Africa vulnerable to transnational terrorism is the view that in Africa just like other parts of the Islamic world; Islam is under attack and therefore need to be defended against the West and its local collaborators. This is gaining increasing credibility and financial incentives appear to be equally crucial, whether in the form of direct payments or in the form of prospects for wealth. This is rampant in the regions of the continent where youth unemployment is high, earnings low, land questions unclarified and advancement within traditional structures difficult. Under such circumstances, membership in self-funding transnational terrorist movements that offer opportunities for advancement are extraordinarily attractive and lucrative to Africa's youth population (Steinberg and Weber, 2015:10).

The presence of al-Qaeda in the continent also poses a geopolitical threat of transnational terrorism because the late Osama bin Laden, continuously expressed his yearning for an Islamic Caliphate that would stretch from Morocco in the Atlantic Ocean to Pakistan on the Indian border (Davis, 2004:7). Africa is a natural focus of Wahhabism activity (an extreme religious movement that belongs to a branch of Sunni Islam). This because during the period 1991-96 Sudan served as al-Qaeda's central base of operation before intense pressures from the US, Saudi Arabia and Egypt forced bin Laden to move his

legions to Afghanistan (Davis, 2004:8). While Sudan represented a major safe haven for al-Qaeda's presence and operational activity in Africa, the East African countries remain the central target for transnational terrorism in Africa. An illustration for why East Africa remained part of al-Qaeda's strategy, the deputy Emir of Jamaat-e-Jihad Eritrea (Eritrea Islamic Jihad Movement), Abul Bara' Hassan Salman indoctrinated that the Horn and East Africa regions together belongs to Islamists and not the West (Gunaratna, 2002:152).

In a more precise in-depth observation of the causal impact of geopolitical factors on Africa's vulnerability to threats of transnational terrorism, Kenya's proximity to Somalia and the Middle East created a haven for transnational terrorist groups like Al-Shabaab and al-Qaeda to penetrate the country since its porous borders in the northeastern along the Somali territory (Aronson, 2013:26). Scholars justify this claim on the grounds that the first transnational terrorist incident in the country occurred years before the initial launch of the global war on terror (GWOT) by the US and its allies. Little attention has been paid by the international community on the syndicates, who orchestrated such an attack. This event occurred on 28 January 1976 and was plotted by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) in collaboration with the Baader-Meinhof group, with the motive to shoot down what was an El Al passenger plane during its scheduled stopover in Nairobi. However, this plot was eventually impeded after a successful intelligence sharing information between Israel and Kenya (Mogire and Agade, 2011:474).

The ensuing transnational terror incident in Kenya happened four years later when the PFLP attacked the Norfolk Hotel in Nairobi, killing 20 people. The PFLP committed this act as retaliation to Kenya's assistance of Israel during the rescue operation to free hostages at the Entebbe Airport in Uganda in June 1976. Both these attacks targeted Israeli interests in Kenya and were the early indications of the threats posed by transnational terrorism to the security and stability of African states (Mogire and Agade, 2011:475). In addition, as part of the revenge scholar's asserts that the former Ugandan president Idi Amin ordered the slaughter of hundreds of Kenyan civilians that were living in Uganda at that time (BBC, 4 July 2008).

It is important to note that globalization process has made it easier than before for transnational terrorist organizations to share information and cooperate internally and with other organizations in order to secure geographic access and acquire weapons. This is because, terrorist organizations including radical Islamic groups are currently conducting acts of transnational terrorism mainly in countries and regions of the world where the political state of affairs is unstable and governance is weak (The US State of Department, 2013). In addition, organizations which are affiliated with al-Qaeda and other radical terrorist groups operate mostly in North, East and West Africa as well as in Middle East and parts of Asia. In most of these countries, porous borders have permitted terrorist groups to infiltrate their territories (Defense of Japan, 2014).

It has been argued by scholars that the uprooting of terror cells from Afghanistan and other parts of the region by US Central Command, has made them to shift their operations to the wide-open, relatively forsaken areas of Africa. This has provided an easy entrance to Europe through countries like Algeria, Tunisia, Libya and Morocco (Keenan, 2005:625). In addition, policy makers also argue that the US considers the Algerian group, the Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat (GSPC) to be posing a grave threat to Africa's security and stability because of its links to al-Qaeda (Lyman et al., 2006).

4.1.5. Religious Extremism as a Cause of Africa's Vulnerability to Transnational Terrorism

Holy terror was practiced in earlier centuries by religious groups such as the Jewish Zealots, the Assassins and the Crusaders (Lacqueur, 1999). Contemporary scholars have particularly raised concerns about the return of religious fanaticism in global politics (Lacqueur, 1999). Religious extremism entails the activities of a small group drawn from the world's most prominent religions. Leaders of such groups often manipulate their followers. They perpetrate heinous crimes in the name of their faith under the guise of executing the will of God (Weinberg, 2005: 21). Thus, the growth of religious terrorism worldwide accounted for the increased severity of terrorist attacks since 1991 (Enders and Sandler, 2000). The messianic concepts of deliverance are of increasing concern in the contemporary century (Enders and Sandler, 2000). These concepts are legitimized by theological imperative and achieved through personal actions that incorporate mass indiscriminate murder.

The importance of religion as a political tool is well recognized by scholars of international politics. Religion stretches beyond national borders, thus in a way it is able to broaden the potential support base for transnational terrorism (Botha, 2007:5). Thus, religious extremists prepared for a major crisis at the beginning of the millennium because they believed that the year 2000 signaled the commencing of the world's end. They foresaw political and personal repression enforced by the United Nations and carried out with the support of the United States government. Scholars commonly referred to this as the New World Order Conspiracy (Weinberg, 2005:21). Such a conspiracy has survived well into the 21st century and its influence includes beliefs that divine intervention in worldly affairs is justified by religious scripts (Weinberg, 2005:21).

It is evidence from the above that religion is one of the most critical variables that have induced fears of increased transnational terrorist penetration throughout the African continent. The Muslim population in Africa is estimated to account for at least a third of the continent's billion or so population (Davis, 2004:3). The Islamic revivalism in Africa has its roots in Saudi Arabia and Pakistan and scholars insert that Saudi Arabia has built and refurbished numerous Mosques throughout the continent (Davis, 2004:3). Many Saudi conservative clerics, facing pressure at home and also exiled from their own country have preached a host of anti-Western and anti-American Wahhabi laced messages throughout much of Africa (Davis, 2004:3). Similarly, Pakistan has undertaken to build madrassa's in many Sahel countries and many Pakistani and Saudi jihadists have besieged local bazaars with cassette tapes that

are filled with messages that are purporting for the “destruction of infidels” or a jihad against US troops in Iraq and Afghanistan (Smith, 2004:4). An example to illustrate this assertion is the claim that in Mauritania and Chad, the issue of religious fundamentalism has become so prevalent that both states have sought United States assistance in order to root out the tide of what both states considers to be increasing Islamic revivalism (Smith, 2004:4).

North Africa and the Horn of Africa form Africa’s bridge to the Middle East. It should be noted that there exists a complex interrelationship between differing Islamic cultures within the continent from East to West. This relationship has a direct effect on the deepened terrorist activity in the continent; first, in Sudan and later along the East coast of the continent and on the constant instability of Somalia (Lyman, 2013). Terrorism as a phenomenon comes in multiple shapes and sizes and many of which are all too familiar in the African continent. This is because the continent has been relatively marginal in issues and conflicts around the Middle East. The continent might thus far be dragged into such tensions, in parts as its own diverse yet concomitant cultures may be infected by religious based fundamentalisms (Shaw, 2005:130).

The influx of radical Islamists from the Middle East into the African continent is also alarming. For instance, (Schwartz, 2005), notes that Nigeria is a target of aggressive, radical Sunni Islamic agents with support from religious charities and other outreach groups that are headquartered in Saudi Arabia. The objective of this group is to influence the establishment of Sharia Law, as the exclusive law governing Nigeria’s predominantly Muslim Northern states (Schwartz, 2005). The twenty first century has been cited by scholars as an era of radical faith-based extremism in Africa (Independent Commission on Multilateralism, 2015). Starting from the era of the Lords’ Resistance Army, to Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab and even beyond, thus forming an integral part of the security and stability picture in the continent. This comes as scholars assert that extreme interpretations of virtually all religions in the continent from Christianity to Islam have been on the rise since the turn of the century. Just as the crusades of the twelfth century were about competition for power in the name of God so are the contemporary religious ideologies that stimulate acts of terror in the name of God (Independent Commission on Multilateralism, 2015).

However, despite increasing engagement of all religious sects in Africa with acts of terrorism, Islamic extremism remains the most prominent religious ideology. The proliferation of transnational terrorist groups like al-Qaeda and its affiliates Al-Shabaab, Boko Haram and even ISIL attest to this statement. These groups have corrupted the doctrines of Islam by using extreme religious interpretations to legitimize their brutal instigation of terror tactics like persecuting innocent civilians and suicide bombings. Their global ambition is to see the establishment of a new political order; that is something like an Islamic state or a Caliphate that would be based on radical interpretations of the religious Sharia Law. Examples of such radical establishments in Africa include Boko Haram in Northern Nigeria or

Al-Shabaab in Somalia and the whole East African region (Independent Commission on Multilateralism, 2015).

4.2. Responses to Threats of Transnational Terrorism by State and Non-state policy makers

The global fight against transnational terrorism is the defining conflict of the 21st century because transnational terror organizations function both operationally and ideologically at local, national, regional global levels. One of the single biggest challenge facing policy makers, international security and intelligence community, law enforcement authorities and national militaries around the globe is how to defeat transnational terror groups like al-Qaeda, Al-Shabaab, Boko Haram and ISIL (Gunaratna, 2002:221). In the case of Africa, transnational terrorism cannot simply be confronted from an intelligence and law enforcement perspective only. It requires a counter terrorism (CT) approach that incorporates technical and logistical cooperation with a program to advance development, strengthen governance and democracy with promotion of human rights and social inclusion. Such a focus on counter-terrorism initiatives will enable policy makers to deal with those issues on which terrorist groups attempt to build their support base on such as alienation, marginalization, widespread poverty, underdevelopment, porous borders, injustice and conflicts. These elements, according to policy makers, provide the necessary context for terrorist groups to establish support systems while recruiting cohorts (Smith, 2010:75).

In some African states, acts of terrorism are often the feature of local conflicts even if they have wider consequences. Thus the danger with equating all acts of terrorism with the broader global war on terror (GWOT) is that, often these conflicts arise from grievances which have long been simmering in nation-states. Classical examples are found in Sudan's Darfur region and Somalia. These repeated instances of force and repression have resulted in the escalation of conflicts, as a result hampering peace and stability efforts and making political settlements difficult. Thus, policy makers need to avoid the exclusion of dialogue and negotiations of problem states when addressing and responding to threats of transnational terrorism because this would create possibilities or safe-havens for terrorists. Nonetheless, the existence of neglected or economically deprived states creates on its own a security vacuum, which generates fertile grounds for terrorist activities. It also creates spaces upon which, terrorist organizations establish themselves in those vulnerable states in the African continent (Smith, 2010:76).

4.2.1 Individual Level Responses to Threat of Transnational Terrorism by State and Non-state policy makers

4.2.1.1. President George W. Bush

Following the events of September 11, 2001 in the US, the attention of United States policy makers has since firmly refocused its agenda upon the African continent which has thus emerged as a key new front in the global war on terror (GWOT) (Lyman and Morrison, 2004:80). As a subsequent response, former

United States President George W. Bush issued a word of confidence to all American people and the global community by assuring them that his administration will marshal all of its resources, whether diplomatic, financial or military towards the goal of defeating transnational terrorism in all corners of the globe (Loayza, 2002:241). In accordance to this statement, the Bush administration announced in June 2003, a \$100 million program to fund a complementary East African Counterterrorism Initiative (EACTI), which was designed to strengthen the counterterrorism capabilities of the US's partner nations in the region. This program was also inclusive of provisions of military training for border, aviation and coastal security (Wycloff, 2004).

Moreover, the claims that the activities of the Algerian terrorist group the Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat (GSPC) were spilling over into the neighboring Sahel region, provided justifications for the Bush administration to support the Pan-Sahel Initiative of 2004. The \$ 7.75 million counterterrorism strategy was meant to provide military training to assist regional countries in combat threats of transnational terrorism (Black, 2004). In 2005, the Bush administration extended the sphere of its war on terrorism in Africa even further by launching the Trans-Sahara Counterterrorism Initiative (TSCTI). This later became the \$500 million Trans-Sahara Counterterrorism Partnership (TSCTP) program that sought to build North and Sub-Sahara African capacities to patrol borders, intercept armed groups and cooperate intra-regionally. In addition to this, the Bush administration established additional relations with African countries. These countries included Ghana, Uganda, South Africa and Namibia. The essence of the relationships was to assist them upgrade their ports, airfields, the repositioning of fuel and other critical supplies and for access agreements that would permit swift deployment of United States forces for counterterrorism purposes (Lyman et al., 2006).

African reactions to the 9/11, 2001 transnational terror events in the US were overwhelmingly supportive of the United States, to the extent that dozens of African leaders willingly offered support to combat threats of transnational terrorism in their own backyards (Dagne, 2002:1). The administration of George W. Bush asserted that Africa with its large Muslim population could play a pivotal role in solidifying support in Muslim and Arab countries against the threat posed by transnational terrorism on the continent's security and stability. In this way, policy makers from the Bush's administration sought cooperation between the United States and Africa in the fight against transnational terrorism as viable to include the extraditing and apprehending of members of African terrorists and extremists' groups who are active in Europe and the United States (Dagne, 2002:4).

4.2.1.2. President Barack Obama

The Obama administration's policy on transnational terrorism suggests that his policies are neither idealist nor realist but are attempts to seek an evolving middle ground that balances principles and values with pragmatism. Obama has made it clear that in his analysis of policy making, there was no contradiction between values and the rule of law and preserving security and safety (Allen and Gerstein,

2009). President Obama then asked the Congress for \$5 billion to train and equip foreign governments for counterterrorism initiatives. Most of the countries he cited for such initiatives are in the northern half of Africa including Somalia, Mali and Libya. Reports suggest that US Special Operations are already training new counter terrorism units in Libya and Mali as well as Niger, Chad and Mauritania. The reason for American policy to focus mostly in Africa in its quest to combat the menace of transnational terrorism was defended by Obama when he said:

“Today’s principal threat no longer comes from a centralized al-Qaeda leadership, but from decentralized al-Qaeda affiliates and extremists such as Al-Shabaab, Boko Haram and AQIM etc., many of which with agendas focused in the countries where they operate. In this way, we need a strategy that matches this diffuse threat, one that expands our reach without sending forces that stretches our military thin or stir up local resentments in those countries where they are stationed” (President Obama quoted in Zoe Carpenter, 2014).

The Obama administration also created the Counter-Terrorism Partnerships Fund in order to add more money and a new name to an already existing account of security cooperation programs with the African continent. Over the last few years, the United States has spent millions of dollars training proxy forces in Africa. In 2012 alone, the United States planned fourteen major training operations across the continent including those in Mali, Morocco, Uganda, Botswana, Senegal, Lesotho and Nigeria (Carpenter, 2014). In addition to this program, President Obama committed the United States to an intensified war against transnational terrorism in East Africa by announcing that his administration would expand support for counter terrorism operations in Kenya and Somalia, including increasing training and funding for Kenya’s security forces. Obama has also acknowledged that Al-Shabaab terrorists are able to maintain the capacity to launch attacks against ‘soft targets’ both in Kenya and Somalia in spite of years of American drone strikes and efforts from regional, US-backed counterterrorism force based inside Somalia (Eilperin and Sieff, 2015).

President Obama further asserted that security issues in Africa were of primary importance for his administration. This is because instabilities in Somalia or elsewhere in the continent were likely to spill over across borders. Thus, the counterterrorism initiatives are a security concern for African governments but also for the United States. This is because while al-Qaeda affiliates are the primary concern in East Africa, the situation is somehow different in West and North Africa, where the activities of the Islamic State have become an increasing threat to regional security and stability particularly in the Maghreb and Nigeria (US National Security Advisor Susan Rice cited in The Washington Post, 2015). President Obama has also promoted US counterterrorism efforts with allies in Somalia and Yemen as a model upon which he hopes the United States can pursue its security goals in Africa and the Middle East without having to deploy combat troops (Eilperin and Sieff, 2015).

4.2.1.3. President Uhuru Kenyatta

As a strategy to fight threats of transnational terrorism in the country, Kenyan President Uhuru Kenyatta has directed the recruitment of coastal youth into the National Youth Service empowerment program.

This aim to train the youth in skills that will enable them to earn a livelihood, in the hope that they will deviate from joining extremist groups that commits acts of terrorism (Aine, 2015). President Kenyatta further argued that because terrorism is not country specific but it's a global phenomenon, world governments needed to recognize the fact that terrorism is a global threat which requires to be countered through global partnership programs in order to the defeat and secure not just Kenya but the whole world. In addition, President Kenyatta said that African states acknowledged that security was critical to ensuring long-term stability and investments. For that reason, African states would appreciate to see the international community rallying behind them and fully supporting their counter terrorism mission in Somalia so that African forces can expand their operations and reduce the area of Al-Shabaab's operation in the entire East African region (Daily Nation, 6 August 2014).

After accepting the resignation of the head of police and nominating a new interior minister, Kenyan President Uhuru Kenyatta vowed to intensify the war against Al-Shabaab. This determination followed the series of attacks that the group had caused in the country since 2010, including the Nairobi mall attack and the recent Garissa university massacre (Reuters, 2 December, 2014). Uhuru Kenyatta further asserted that it was only through unity that the global community and individual nations can defeat the menace of transnational terrorism and violent extremism. In this way, Kenyatta was highlighting that his administration was alert to the changing nature of the threat of transnational terrorism and had formulated better mechanisms to respond to it. He inferred that his administration had reviewed its security laws and adopted a number of strategies to deal with terrorist threats and other related international crimes that facilitate each other (Kenyatta cited in Daily Nation, 30 September 2015).

4.2.2. State Level Responses to Threat of Transnational Terrorism by State and Non-state policy makers

4.2.2.1. United States of America

As the international community, become increasingly engaged in the war on terror, the US government issued a 9/11 Report to address the threat posed by transnational terrorism on Africa's security and stability. The Report stated that "transnational terrorist organizations continue to use Africa as a safe haven, staging ground or as a transit point to target US interests. The Report concluded by saying that the menace of transnational terrorism against US and local African interests is likely to continue to grow in several parts of the continent because of porous borders, lax security, political instability, religious fundamentalism and a lack of state resources and capacities" (Congressional Research Service, 2004:12).

As a result of the threat that transnational terrorism posed to Africa's security and stability, the United States bolstered the launch of a number of counterterrorism (CT) initiatives in Africa that aimed to address and respond to threat of transnational terrorism. The first of these US-backed counterterrorism initiatives in the African continent was the East Africa Counter-Terrorism Initiative (EACTI)

established in 2003. This initiative involved military training for border and coastal security, interagency counterterrorism coordination, aviation security capacity building, assistance for regional efforts against terrorist financing and also police training (Ploch, 2010: 24). In addition, the EACTI included an important educational program that tries to prevent extremist's fundamentalist's influences from gaining the upper hand in targeted countries. In order to achieve this goal, the EACTI provided funding for teacher education in disadvantaged Muslim communities of the East African region. It also encouraged greater access to primary education for girls and also tried to improve broader community involvement in education. EACTI programs also incorporated media and information outreach programs, whereby English language was to be used in order to depict a more accurate image of the United States and its values, but also to counter the Islamist-controlled media outlets in the region (US Department of State, 2004).

Kenya and Ethiopia form part of the strategic Horn of Africa sub-region. The two countries have strong diplomatic and military friendly relations with the United States, dating as far back as the Cold War era. The United States also supported the two African countries militarily and economically. Following this diplomatic rapprochement, the US military has been responsible for directing intelligence assets to conduct surveillance and reconnaissance missions over parts of Somalia, where Al-Shabaab and al-Qaeda are said to have operational bases. The United States, British and French aircrafts have been reported to have taken aerial photographs of suspected terrorist training camps and facilities in Somalia, from Kenya and Ethiopia in early 2002 (Nyambura, 2010:99).

The United States considered East Africa and the Horn to be the primary targets of transnational terror organizations. The US Department of Defense took the initiative to establish the Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA) which was a US military approach to counter the menace of transnational terrorism in East Africa and the Horn of Africa. As a result of the efforts of the task force, scholars have argued that a number of members of terrorist groups have since been arrested in Ethiopia, Sudan, Kenya, Eritrea and Djibouti (US Congress, House, Committee on International Relations, 2005: 7). The CJTF-HOA had devoted much of its energies to counterterrorism and to counterinsurgency training with the help of allied forces and the armies of Djibouti, Kenya and Ethiopia. It also dedicated its efforts to conducting a number of civic action programs that sought to refurbish schools and clinics as well as providing medical services to disadvantaged communities in the region (Schmitt, 2005:11).

It is argued that the main objective of the US National Strategy for Combating Terror are to preserve and promote free and open societies, defeat terrorist extremism and to create a global environment that is hostile to terrorism. In this way, policy makers asserted that there were two bases of this strategy. These include expanding the capacity of foreign partners to combat transnational terrorism and to reduce ideological support for terrorism in the world (Boudali, 2007:3). For the US strategy to succeed in Africa, the United States the chauffeur of the global war on terror, has to assist African governments

and provide viable social and economic opportunities to their citizens in order to eliminate the local conditions that lead to social unrest from the extremist ideology that facilitate terrorist activity (Boudali, 2007:3).

The US sponsored counterterrorism program, the Trans-Saharan Counterterrorism Partnership (TSCTP) program, which sought to address the above challenges facing African states through a combination of military-to-military security assistance and development programs that try to reduce the support of violent extremists in Africa. The primary objective of the TSCTP is to reduce the impact of terrorism in North Africa and the Sahel region, by so doing reduces terrorist's threats to the US. Furthermore, the TSCTP's military parameters are said to increase the capacity of participating nations to identify and respond to internal security threats, while development assistance programs seek to address social and economic issues that facilitate the spread of extremist and violent groups and ideologies. Finally, public outreach programs seek to promote democratic institutions and values in the region while also creating positive impressions about the United States (Boudali, 2007: 4).

It is worth noting that the TSCTP is an extension of the prior Pan Sahel Initiative (PSI), which began in 2003 with a two-year budget of \$7.75 million, and which was provided by the United States' State Department (Ulmer, 2004). Other previous counterterrorism training programs in Africa that were sponsored by the US included the African Response Force, the African Contingency Operations Training Assistance, the Coastal Security Program and the Global Peace Operations Initiative (International Crisis Group Report, 2005). In 2009 policy makers, asserted that the United States government further established the Partnership for Regional East Africa Counterterrorism (PREACT), which is a multi-faceted program that was designed to build the capacity and cooperation of military, law enforcement, and civilian actors across East Africa to counter terrorism. The program used law enforcement, military, and development resources to achieve its strategic objectives, namely reducing the operational capacity of terrorist networks, reducing the appeal of radicalization and recruitment to violent fanaticism. It also aimed to achieve the development of the rule of law as a framework for countering terrorism in partner nations, enhancing border security and countering the financing of terrorism in the region (US Department of State, 2014).

4.2.2.3. Kenya

Kenya is working closely with local, regional and international partners in the fight against threats of transnational terrorism. The country has engaged in bilateral agreements with strategic partners such as the United States and its look forward to enhancing these collaborative actions as a basis for improving its counterterrorism programs (Uhuru Kenyatta cited in the Daily Nation, 30 September 2015). In 2003, Kenya commenced to robustly address institutional weaknesses that hamper its ability to pursue terrorists and to respond to the menace of transnational terrorism. As a result, in April 2003, the country published a draft Suppression of Terrorism bill. It is currently in the process of redrafting the bill in

order to incorporate concerns from civil society champions who fear that the bill contains many human rights flaws. Moreover, the country in collaboration with the United States continues to share information on suspected terrorists including those associated with al-Qaeda operations. It has also taken the initiative in arresting terrorist suspects and disrupting their operations (U.S. Department of State, 2004).

Kenya with fellow African states that contributed troops and police under the African Union mission in Somalia (AMISOM) embarked on high-level meetings to discuss the instability in Somalia. The crisis in Somalia was a threat to the security and stability of the whole region mainly through the activities of Al-Shabaab. As such, African states had collectively agreed to the increased deployment of troops by AMISOM in order to defeat transnational terrorists that continued to launch attacks from Somalia and are threatening the security and stability of Kenya (Uhuru Kenyatta cited in the Daily Nation, 30 September 2015). Kenya further argued that AMISOM needed sufficient resources to enable a surge that responded to practical military advice. This was to provide force multipliers in air and naval assets and to increase stabilization and development efforts in areas liberated from the menace of transnational terrorism (Uhuru Kenyatta cited in the Daily Nation, 30 September 2015).

4.2.3 Systemic Level Responses to Threat of Transnational Terrorism by State and Non-state policy makers

4.2.3.1. The African Union (AU)

Outside of the United Nations system, numerous regional and sub-regional institutions have also assumed a leading role in counterterrorism operations. Regional multilateral institutions at this level of analysis have a number of capabilities when it comes to countering the menace of transnational terrorism. They have better knowledge of the region and its' political dynamics, and they have practical expertise of local conditions. The other reason is that they possess unique approaches that were grounded in a particular culture or context. Aside from this, they have the ability to enhance information sharing and finally, they were often able to undertake region-specific initiatives that complement and boost global efforts. All in all, regional and sub-regional institutions provide a resource to the local populace that has not been utilized by the United Nations system to the greatest benefit (Wu, 2009:98).

Africa was among the first continents to react to the current waves of transnational terrorism, prior to the transnational terror attacks of 1998 on African soil. African states have long promoted the imperative to eliminate the phenomenon of terrorism. Some even tried to develop counterterrorism measures as early as the 1950s and even debated against the phenomenon, when the matter was first raised on the agenda of the UN General Assembly (GA) in 1972. However, it was not until 1992, that the Organization of African Unity (OAU) Heads of Government during a summit in Dakar adopted Resolution 213 with stated objectives of strengthening cooperation and coordination between African

states, in order to enhance the effectiveness of its initiatives against the menace of transnational terrorism (Ewi and Aning, 2006:35).

From that moment, Africa had been vocal in the fight against terrorism. The 1998 attacks in Kenya and Tanzania demonstrated the point that even though such attacks targeted US interests in the continent it took place in Africa and claimed lives of its citizens (UN Office of the Special Adviser on Africa, 2006:10). This realization prompted a dynamic action by the OAU against the menace of transnational terrorism (UN Office of the Special Adviser on Africa, 2006:10). African states have since the 1998 attacks been at the vanguard of combating transnational terrorism. They have made efforts at regional levels to fight and eliminate the menace of this phenomenon through comprehensive and collective approaches that sought to address the root causes of this phenomenon in the continent. To this day, the African Union (AU) member states have adopted conventions and related instruments that created a universal framework for preventing and eliminating transnational terrorism. Their efforts culminated in 1999 to the formation of the OAU Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism. This convention rejected all forms of extremism and terrorism and required that all parties to the convention criminalize terrorist acts under their national legislations as stipulated in the convention. The convention was followed by the institutionalization in Algiers, Algeria of the African Centre for the Study and Research on Terrorism (ACSRT), which served as an institution for the AU Commission to boost the capacity of the continent in terms of preventing and combating terrorism in Africa (Adekaye, 2006:2).

In addition to the AU Convention of the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism, AU Senior Officials gathered in Algiers in September 2002, and adopted the AU Plan of Action on the Prevention and Combating of Transnational Terrorism. The AU Plan of Action established a legal framework and a roadmap for African countries to implement international counterterrorism measures in line with the OAU Convention, as well as the measures that were mandated by the Security Council Resolution 1373 of 2001 on all UN member states (UN Office of the Special Adviser on Africa, 2006:31). In 2004, the AU members adopted the AU Protocol to the Organization of African Unity Convention, which convened on the Peace and Security Council of the African Union. The responsibility was for implementing regional, continental and international counterterrorism instruments as well as harmonizing and coordinating efforts in the prevention and combating transnational terrorism. In the same year, the AU established the African Centre for the Study and Research on Terrorism (ACSRT) in Algiers, Algeria. Within the structure of the AU Commission, the Defense and Security Division of the AU Peace and Security Department (PSD) have the two primary responsibilities namely that of developing AU counterterrorism policies and of ensuring that political consensus is reached by all member states on the AU counterterrorism programs. In this way, the PDS's mandate was to ensure that the African Centre for the Study and Research on Terrorism has the required political mandate for its function (UN Office on the Special Adviser on Africa, 2006:32).

4.2.3.2. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)

It is essential to highlight that each region and sub-region has its own dynamics and terrorist threat levels, which require specially formulated regional initiatives to modify the sub-regions responses to the menace of transnational terrorism. The ECOWAS is often cited as being the most engaged and effective of the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) in the African continent in terms of counterterrorism programs which happen to fall within its peace and security division (UN Office of the Special Adviser on Africa, 2006:37). An example to illustrate this premise draws from the assessment made by policy makers that, ECOWAS has established a Warning and Response Network which is in accordance with Article 58 of the revised Treaty and the Protocol relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security. This network served as an information sharing initiative by the sub-regional body for addressing security matters such as threats of transnational terrorism and other political and human security issues within the framework of conflict prevention (Jaye, Garuba and Amadi, 2011: 23).

In addition, this sub-regional peace and security observation system is operated by the ECOWAS Observation and Monitoring Centre at the ECOWAS Commission in Abuja, Nigeria. It also includes four other Zonal Agencies established in Banjul, the Gambia; Cotonou, Benin; Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso and Monrovia, Liberia. It aims was to provide the sub-region with the capacity to evaluate, inform and guide responses to potential security menace such as transnational terror threats (UN Office on the Special Adviser on Africa, 2006:37).

4.2.3.3. Financial Action Task Force Style Regional Bodies (FATFSRB)

The Financial Action Task Force (FATF) is a thirty-six-member intergovernmental policymaking body that was established in 1989, by the G-7 Summit held in Paris. This was informed by the mounting concerns among the summit participants about the menace posed to the international banking system by money laundering. After September 11, 2001, the body expanded its role to include identifying sources and methods of terrorism financing within its scope (Jackson, 2012:1). Its current objectives include firstly revising and clarifying the global standards for combating money laundering and terrorism financing. Secondly, to promote global implementation of its money laundering standards and thirdly, to identify and respond to new money laundering and terrorist financing threats and finally, to engage with stakeholders and partners throughout the world on issues related to money laundering (Terry, 2010:4).

Likewise, Financial Action Task Force Style Regional Bodies (FATFSRB) is a regional body that assists member states in the implementation of international anti-money laundering and anti-terrorist financing standards and recommendations. The FSRB's objective is controlled and operated by their member states with technical assistance and other resources coming from external partners. The objective is to initiate numerous programs that were aimed at implementing forty recommendations

from the FATFs, that pertained to money laundering and nine recommendations on terrorist financing. In addition, there are two very effective FSRB in the African continent. These include the Intergovernmental Action Group against Money Laundering and Terrorist Financing in West Africa (GIABA) and the Eastern and Southern Africa Anti-Money Laundering Group (ESAAMLG). The GIABA consists of 15 member states while ESAAMLG has 14 members and the two combined have a total membership of 29 African states. Both FSRB's responsibility is to conduct mutual evaluations and work on various anti-money laundering and counterterrorist financing frameworks and implementation issues. Their responsibility also includes providing financial training and capacity building to their members (UN Office of the Special Adviser on Africa, 2006:39).

4.2.3.4. European Union (EU)

The European Union (EU) considered the risks presented by transnational terrorist groups in the Sahara-Sahel region of Africa to be the second key transnational terrorist threat to the European mainland. As a result, it has sent a member state expert mission to regional countries like Mali, Niger and Mauritania to explore possible counterterrorism efforts, in order to provide assistance at a national and regional level. Moreover, the EU has also supported the Sahara-Sahel regional conference on the considerations of security and development impetuses that was initiated by the Malian President Amadou Toumani Touré (Council of the European Union, 2009:15).

Proximity makes countries like Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco of particular importance to be scrutinized and given counterterrorism assistance by Europe. This is because the threat posed by North African-based terrorist groups such as al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) was not limited to the African continent but also affected the European continent. As such, the European Union in 2011 implemented its ground-breaking Security and Development Strategy for the Sahel. This Strategy contained four components of action, namely development, good governance and internal conflict resolution. Secondly, political and diplomatic actions; thirdly, actions focused on security and the rule of law and finally, actions that aimed at countering violent extremism and terrorism. Counterterrorism was a principal component of the strategy and it is interlinked with efforts to support the countries of the region consolidate, and where mandatory re-establish, state authority, the rule of law and good governance across their territories as a strategy to prevent the menace of transnational terrorism in the region (Bérangère, 2011).

4.2.4. Global Level of Responses to Threat of Transnational Terrorism by State and Non-state policy makers

Given that the total amount of the menace as well as its' increasingly transnational nature, the war against terrorism is being pursued at the local, regional and global levels. At the height of the multilateral response lies the UN system. Policy makers observe that even though certain member states

have often taken the front lead, the role played by regional organizations, intergovernmental agencies and member states is essential to assess the coherence and effectiveness of the overall multilateral efforts to counter transnational terrorism (Independent Commission on Multilateralism, 2015:8). Counterterrorism has been on the agenda of the United Nations for decades and it is said that the organization remains the best positioned in terms of coordinating overall global counterterrorism efforts. Eighteen universal instruments against transnational terrorism have been amended within the framework of the UN system and member states through the General Assembly (GA) have been increasingly coordinating their counterterrorism strategies (Independent Commission on Multilateralism, 2015: 9).

The UN General Assembly and the Security Council are two principal organs of the UN system that are engaged with the formulation of counterterrorism norms and mandates. The General Assembly has traditionally been primarily the norm-setting organ, the Security Council has broadened its role in the post 9/11 period, when it comes to the establishment of counter-terrorism mandates and measures for all UN member states to implement (UN Office of the Special Adviser on Africa, 2006:13). However, the Security Council remains at the forefront of efforts to combat transnational terrorism, even though it is important to point out that the General Assembly, along with other UN bodies have launched their initiatives to counter terrorism before the Security Council emerged as a dominant player on the scene in the aftermath of September 11. To consolidate these sets of attempts the UN Secretary-General established in 2005, the Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force (CTITF) to enhance coordination and coherence of counterterrorism activities within the UN system. At the moment, the CTITF includes thirty entities that range from the Interpol to the World Health Organization (WHO). This is an indication of the coordination and harmonization challenges that trans-governmental actors encounter as they work under a broadened definition of counterterrorism. In this way, the counterterrorism strategy and the CTITF function as an operational bridge linking intergovernmental political decisions with their implementation panels at the technical and trans-governmental level (Millar, 2010).

4.2.4.1. Security Council

The Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 1373 on 28 September 2001, which established certain mandatory requirements on all UN member states (UN Doc, 2001). By virtue of the mandatory requirements of the Resolution, each individual UN member state is obligated to establish a prescribed legal framework in its domestic laws and to create necessary institutions for preventing and combating terrorism and to cooperate fully with other nations on a global scale in these efforts (UN Office of the Special Adviser on Africa, 2006:18). Accordingly, drawing from Resolution 1373, the Security Council further made the implementation of certain anti-terrorism requirements compulsory on all states including the requirement that UN member states prevent the financing and other forms of support to

terrorists. Other requirements include denying terrorists safe havens; make acts of terrorism extraditable offences; formulate the necessary legal framework and operational mechanism to provide mutual legal assistance in criminal matters with regards to acts of terrorism. Lastly, all member states became parties to and implement the provisions of the 12 anti-terrorism conventions and protocols (UN Office of the Special Adviser on Africa, 2006:19).

In the aftermath of 9/11, the Security Council established the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) under Resolution 1373, whose main objective was to increase the ability of member states to combat terrorism. To assist the CTCs function, the Security Council through its Resolution 1535 set up a Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate (CTCED), with the responsibility to monitor the implementation of Resolution 1373 and to facilitate the provisions of technical assistance to member states (UN Doc, 2004).

4.2.4.2. General Assembly and other UN Functional Organs

UN member states on September 2006 embarked on a new phase in their counterterrorism efforts by agreeing on a Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy (GCTS) in the General Assembly. This strategy signaled for the first time the coming together of all UN member nations on a common strategic and operational framework that is designed to combat terrorism. The strategy formed the basis for a concrete plan of action that endeavoured to address the conditions that were conducive to the spread of terrorism; to prevent and fight terrorism; to take the necessary measures to build state capacity that is sufficient to fight terrorism. Furthermore, to strengthen the role of the UN in fighting terrorism and to ensure the respect of human rights in the counterterrorism process (Independent Commission on Multilateralism, 2015). In order to deal with the underlying conditions and root causes of transnational terrorism, the UN Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) established programs to encourage interreligious and cultural dialogues and also the promotion of moderate perspectives in educational, religious and cultural institutions so as to prevent these institutions from becoming platforms of incitement and recruitment of terrorists.

The UN Development Program (UNDP) also played a vital role in supporting strategic linkages between the civil society and the private sector. The UNDP supported the UN member states in constructive engagements with the states that were dissatisfied and were prone to violence. It also promoted political and social inclusion as a means of helping to address grievances. In this way, the UNDP plays an inherent role between security and development and in counter terrorism capacity building mechanisms (Millar, 2010).

4.2.4.3. UN System Countering Terrorism Implementation in Africa

At the height of the deadly terrorist attacks that killed more than 200 people in Nigeria, the UN Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force (UNCTITF) unveiled three projects under the Integrated

Assistance for Counter-Terrorism (I-ACT) initiative to support government efforts in combating the menace of terrorism. Through the I-ACT, the CTITF provided partner nations with holistic and country-specific assistance projects to support the integrated implementation of UN global counter-terrorism strategy. Madagascar, Nigeria and Burkina Faso were the first partnering member states to officially request to be considered for assistance within the strategy as part of the I-ACT Initiative (United Nations, 2002:1). Hence, the UN system, especially the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC)/ Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate (CTCED) is responsible for evaluating and assessing the level of implementation by African states of Security Council mandates.

This process, started in 2002 and included the facilitation of technical assistance through identification and assessment of the needs facing each African state, including embarking on individual country visits and encouraging donor nations and functional organizations to develop and deliver technical assistance programs that match the needs of countries (UN Office of the Special Adviser on Africa, 2006: 13).

As part of this process, the UN CTC/CTED collaborated with the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC)/ Terrorism Prevention Branch (TPB) and other partners to develop counterterrorism technical assistance programs that suited the requirements of African states. The UNODC/TPB was developed as the primary UN assistance provider in 2002, with the task of meeting the demands for legislative drafting assistance to many African states that were seeking technical assistance from the CTC in drafting their anti-terrorism legislations. As such, the UNODC/TPB launched its Global Project on Strengthening Legal Regime against Terrorism in 2003. Its role was to help a number of African countries enact anti-terrorism legislations so as to enable them to ratify and implement international anti-terrorism instruments. Its role also included providing training to criminal justice professions in a number of countries (UN Office of the Special Adviser on Africa, 2006: 13).

The CTC/CTED and UNODC/TPB have been engaged in assessing the threats of terrorism and Africa's vulnerability to transnational terrorism and related crimes. They have engaged in facilitating programs that develop effective counterterrorism capacities of African states. In addition, bilateral partnerships especially with the US have focused on military-policy security capacity building efforts, which included the strengthening of border control capacities. Despite all these efforts more still needs to be done because addressing problems and deficiencies of such programs is often constrained by African states' lack of capacity to absorb available assistance measures. Policy makers are of the view that there was the need for institutional capacity building at a state, sub-regional and continental level before matters could be channeled at the global level (UN Office of the Special Adviser on Africa, 2006:25).

4.3. Kenya: Case Study Analysis

Kenya has long been the victim of transnational terrorism. The country's proximity to Somalia and the Middle East initially created a haven for transnational terrorist groups to penetrate the country. Prior to the US led global war on terror (GWOT), little consideration was given to these syndicates. The first

incident of transnational terrorism in the country was the January 28, 1976 plot by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and the Baader-Meinhof group's attempt to shoot down an Israeli EL Al passenger plane during its scheduled stopover in Nairobi (Mogire and Agade, 2011:474). Since these incidents, Kenya has been a target of transnational terrorism because of a combination of dynamics that range from geographic, regional, historical, political, economic and socio-cultural factors.

The country also remains the prime target of transnational terrorism because it has substantial Western interests since it hosts the headquarters of the UN Environmental Program and the UN Habitat Program. There are also numerous Western embassies and several international businesses (Princeton Lyman cited in Harberson, 2013). Nonetheless, policy makers observe that the immediate causes of terrorist attacks in Kenya stem from a variety of reasons firstly, from its close relationship with Israel and Western nations, in particular the United States. Secondly, from its vibrant coastal beach tourism industry, which is perceived by the local Muslim population as a threat to its culture. Thirdly, from the perception that the country's majority Christian population is an obstacle to the Islamization of Eastern Africa, fourthly, from local socio-economic inequalities and finally, from weak security institutions coupled by porous borders (Otiso, 2009:107).

Kenya is among one of only two Sub-Saharan African countries to be directly affected by the present upsurge of transnational terror activities in the world, the other being Tanzania. In 1998, both countries suffered terrorist attacks that targeted US Embassy buildings in their capital cities and collectively claimed the lives of some 250 people and injured close to 5,000 others (Muendo, 2003). Since those attacks, Kenya has been witnessing a wave of transnational terror attacks, as in 2002 another al-Qaeda orchestrated terror attack targeted an Israeli owned Paradise Hotel in the coastal city of Mombasa, killing 13 people and injuring dozens others.

Again, in September 2013, Al-Shabaab militias attacked Nairobi's West Gate Shopping Mall, which is mostly populated by foreign nationals', killing close to 80 people most of them local Kenyans and other foreigners from the UK, France, India, China, Ghana, South African, Canada etc. Reports suggested that hundreds were injured and a further 27 people were reported missing by Kenyan authorities and the Al-Shabaab group, publicly claimed responsibilities for the attack, by citing that it was a response to Kenya's military presence in Somalia (US Department of State, 2013). Other terror incidents in the country have occurred almost simultaneously, since after the mall attacks. The June 2014 attack in Mpeketoni led to 68 deaths, in July the Lamu attacks claimed 29 lives, and in November, a bus attacked in Mandera killed 28 people. This was followed by another attack in December also in Mandera, which took the lives of 36 quarry workers. In April 2015, an attack on the Garissa University College left more than 148 students dead (Kenya National Commission on Human Rights Report (KNCHR), September 2015: 3).

4.3.1. Analysis of Immediate Causes of Transnational Terrorism in Kenya

4.3.1.1. Close links with Israel and Western Nations

Kenya's links with the West commenced with the arrival of Portuguese in the late 1400s and was strengthened by the colonial and post-colonial period exchanges (Were and Wilson, 1968). Since independence, Kenya has associated itself with Western nations and this geopolitical standpoint has resulted in beneficial economic and technological aid flows that have advanced many aspects of the country's developmental agenda. In addition to this, the country's numerous tourist attraction sites have made the country a major magnet for western tourists (Otiso, 2009:111). Many western countries and businesses operate their Sub-Sahara activities from Kenya because of the country's relatively developed infrastructure, financial systems and booming economy. The country also hosts headquarters of UN agencies and is also a recipient of large western investments (Soke, 2003).

Another geopolitical factor that renders the country vulnerable to transnational terrorism is its close ties with Israel, a country that is perceived by many Muslims around the world as illegitimate because of its persecution and occupation of Palestinian people and its lands (Maina, 2004 and Harman, 2002). The primary grievance of al-Qaeda against the United States is its diplomatic support of Israel at the expense of Palestinians. Thus, it is not surprising that Kenya's long pro-Israeli stance is viewed by al-Qaeda as evidence of the country's support of US policy in the Middle East (Soke, 2003).

4.3.1.2. Kenya's vibrant Coastal Beach Tourism Industry

The country's lively tourism industry has also contributed to its vulnerability to transnational terrorist attacks. This is because, tourism as it is practiced in the country's coastal beaches is said by policy makers to be at odds with the local Islamic culture and customs. For example, Islam forbids women from showing their bodies publicly and it also forbids the consumption of alcohol. However, in Kenya's coastal beaches, women tourists walk around barely dressed and alcohol is freely served in many tourist bars. In addition, tourism is said to have contributed to high incidents of prostitution and drug consumption in the country (Otiso, 2009: 112).

Another weakness of tourism in Kenya's coastal region is that it has not benefited the local people, in particular the Muslims who make up the majority. Most tourist facilities are either state owned or belonging to foreign investors. These facilities are also Western oriented whereas most locals practice Arabized Islamic lifestyle and lack the necessary skills such as knowledge of English language that could enable them to work in the western dominated tourism industry (Eastman, 1995:177). As a result, anti-tourism sentiments by some locals has made it easier for groups like al-Qaeda to infiltrate the area in the guise of providing solutions to poverty and local Islamic cultural attrition (Otiso, 2009:112).

4.3.1.3. Religious Contestation for Regional Supremacy

One of the reasons Kenya is vulnerable to transnational terrorism stems from the contest between Islam and Christianity for spiritual domination in Sub-Saharan Africa (Potter, 2003). While most countries in the Horn and East of Africa have Muslim majority citizens, Kenya stands out as the only Christian dominated country with a relatively large economy (Potter, 2003). This creates a serious backlash to Muslims who desire a larger role in the regions' affairs by perhaps offering Sharia (Islamic Law) as a solution to the region's socio-economic challenges (IPS, April 15, 2004). Thus, terrorist attacks in the country, above and beyond targeting mainly US and Israeli interests, were orchestrated to strengthen the Muslim perspectives in the country's national affairs (Mbogo, 2003). This is to enable the terrorists aid the cause of Islam in the country and in the region, since Kenya has the largest economy in the whole East African region (Mbogo, 2003).

4.3.1.4. Local tensions stemming from Socio-Economic Inequalities

Muslims make up about a tenth of Kenya's population, and they reside primarily in the Northeast and along the coast. These communities mostly lag behind in economic prosperity, due to limited public and private investment, which gives rise to local tensions and instabilities. The coastal populations have been marginalized politically and socio-economically since colonial periods, which created an environment of non-existent social services and poverty in the area (Cronin, 2002:38). This spatial unequal development process initiated by the colonial regime has been further emphasized by the respective post-independence governments with most investment resources being concentrated in the Central and Rift Valley provinces that have the bulk of the country's socioeconomic and political elites (Eastman, 1995; Foeken, Hoorweg and Obudho, 2000:7).

Moreover, the Northeastern region bordering Somalia, which is an area equal to the size of Mississippi, has less than 100 miles of tarred roads. Kenyan-Somali clan conflict and mayhem have often led to past conflicts in the region, including the 1980 Garissa massacre and the 1984 Wagalla massacre, which resulted in the deaths of over 4,000 ethnic Somalis (The Equal Rights Trust, 2012: 44).

4.3.1.5. Weak Security and problem of Porous Borders

The role of counterterrorism increased sharply in Kenya since 11 September, 2001. The operation to counter terrorism was not however, a new concept and to be exact, counterterrorism units existed both in law enforcement and intelligence spheres prior to 9/11. Funding and support from the more experienced Western partners has also boosted its counterterrorism measures (Mogire and Agade, 2011). The siege at Garissa University lasted nearly 15 hours, yet security forces were only deployed 7 hours after the attack began, and they did not enter the university premises until 11 hours had passed. Despite new security laws passed in 2011 to refurbish the police, intelligence and defense forces in Kenya, not much progress has been made (Gettleman and Kushkush, 2015:1).

Likewise, porous border assisted transnational terror groups like Al-Shabaab to target Kenya more easily. This is because the country shares a long, remote, sparsely populated and poorly protected borders with Somalia, Tanzania, Uganda, South Sudan and Ethiopia. All of these countries have to some extent varying degrees of political instability that undermined their ability to provide for their citizen's basic needs especially safety and security and to protect their territorial integrity. Kenya is home to refugees mostly from surrounding states such as Somalia, South Sudan and Ethiopia. Kenya's limited financial and human resources further undermines its ability to better police her borders. This has added to the country's inability to prevent the smuggling of weapons and terrorist entrance into the country (Soke, 2003 and Somerville, 2002). However, among all the neighboring countries, Somalia is the most dangerous in terms of security, and because besides sharing a 700-kilometer boundary that is hardly policed, this border area has been a conflict zone since the colonial era (Weiss, 2004).

4.3.2 Kenyan Policy Responses to Threats of Transnational Terrorism

Kenya is a member of the Partnership for Regional East Africa Counterterrorism (PREAC) program and is also a strong ally of the United States in the fight against transnational terrorism. The country's cooperation with the US and other partner nations remains strong. The Kenyan government has welcomed substantial US counterterrorism assistance in the aftermath of the Westgate attacks and has requested additional support on border security and other counter terrorism initiatives (US Department of State, 2013). In the wake of the threats of transnational terrorism to the country's security and stability, Kenya has passed numerous counterterrorism legislations. The Prevention of Organized of Crime Act of 2010, the Proceeds of Crime and Anti-Money Laundering Act of 2011 and the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) of 2012, which was re-amended in 2013, to strengthen the criminalization and financing acts of terrorism (US Department of State, 2013).

As a further response to the menace of transnational terrorism, Kenya participated in a range of US government counterterrorism sponsored programs in 2013. The first of these was the US Department of State's Antiterrorism Assistance Program that was intended to build the country's law enforcement capacities in the areas of border security, investigations and crisis responses. It was also intended for the institutionalization of counterterrorism prevention and response capabilities. In addition, the US Department of States' Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Assistance was primarily intended to build the capacity of Kenya's new Independent Police Accountability Office. Lastly, the US Department of Homeland Security's Customs and Border Patrol Assistance focused on providing multinational training for rural border patrol units such as those in the Kenyan Police Service and the Kenyan Wildlife Service. In terms of countering the financing of terrorism, Kenya is a member of the Eastern and Southern Africa Anti-Money Laundering Group (ESAAMLG), which is a Financial Action Task Force Style (FATFS) regional body. Kenya contributed significant troops to the Africa Union mission in Somalia (AMISOM). The country also hosted numerous training campaigns involving

law enforcement professionals from neighboring states in order to build counterterrorism capacities and to increase regional cooperation (US Department of State, 2013).

4.4. Preliminary Conclusion

In summary, there are numerous reasons that gave rise to the menace of transnational terrorism in Africa and they pose a serious threat to the continent's security and stability. The nature of the African state itself is responsible for making the continent vulnerable to transnational terrorist activities. Repressive rules, violent and exploitative nature that characterizes most of the African states were inherited from the colonial administration. Secondly, failed and weak states have been cited by scholars and policy makers as responsible for transnational terrorism. The failure of most African states has incapacitated them from providing adequate safety and security to the citizens. These states could not guarantee economic development for the advancement of the state. Transnational terror organizations use the domestic crisis in most African states to shield themselves from effective counterterrorism policies issued by domestic states and by international state and non-state actors. Porous borders and large ungoverned lands such as those in the Sahara-Sahel region provides safe havens for terrorist to coordinate their activities because there are no security or law enforcement agencies to counter their activities. Weak maritime security control promotes the proliferation of illegal weapons and other devices that terrorists use when planning their attacks due to lack of port securities to monitor the African coastline. In this way, they are able to use the sea as an entry point. Moreover, poorly trained and underpaid government officials can also become corrupted by terror groups and individuals seeking entry by giving them huge sums of money in order to attain legal documents like passports and visas. In addition to this, government officials lacking internal security might be able to promised protection by terrorist groups in exchange for immunity from foreign governments that are interested in addressing threats of transnational terrorism through the issuing of terror alert lists.

Socioeconomic conditions such as starvation, injustices and repression attract terror organizations because such conditions create a society where people have nothing to lose from obeying or disobeying the rules of the country. This gives transnational terrorist organizations the upper hand in terms of gaining new recruits from the impoverished youth looking for any earnings to support their families. Africa's geopolitical location also makes the continent vulnerable to threats of transnational terrorism because the continent sits at the crossroad between the ISIL and al-Qaeda.

The groups are competing for influence and recruitment in the African region. It should be noted that former al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden had a dreaming of seeing the establishment of an Islamic Caliphate that would extend from Morocco in the Atlantic Ocean to Pakistan in the Indian border. Violent religious influence also adds another dynamic to Africa's vulnerability because approximately half of the continent's population is Muslim. Radical Muslim clerics and businessmen have built mosques and madrassas in much of Africa where they have preached anti-Western messages among

their followers. In terms of responding to threats of transnational terrorism, the United State has taken the lead through its global war on terror (GWOT). African countries, the African Union, European Union and the United Nations system have all played their parts trying to counter the menace of transnational terrorism to Africa's security and stability. However, given the pervasiveness of the threat, one might conclude by asserting that more still need to be done to address and prevent the menace not only in Africa but globally because terrorism is a global phenomenon that affects all corners of the world, directly or indirectly.

Chapter Five

Implications of Transnational Terrorism on Africa's Security and Stability and Conclusion

Transnational terrorism present one of the most pressing challenges the twenty first century has ever seen. Its activities have had global impacts and seek to redefine the international state system by establishing new forms of state regimes that are based on radical religious doctrines. In this way, not only does transnational terrorism undermines the strength and capacity of the state, but it further affects the critical relationship between the state and society. This is because the implications of transnational terrorism have expanded along the numerous borderlines of Africa states, consequently affecting the security and stability of the continent and its citizens, through augmenting the proliferation of artilleries, large-scale immigration, economic and security backlashes, inciting public fear, forged documentation and religious tensions within societies. There is an increasing call by policy makers on state and no-state actors from national, regional and global levels to formulate counter-terror strategies that would prevent and eliminate the menace of transnational terrorism in Africa and the world at large (Bamidele, 2014:2).

5.1. Implications of Transnational Terrorism on Africa's Security and Stability

5.1.1. Implications of Transnational Terrorism

The implications of terrorism on the African continent is that transnational terror networks erode state legitimacy by encouraging corruption, infiltrating of state structures and competing with the state for the provision of public services. This is because transnational terror organizations often operate with creativity and skill by taking advantage of any opportunity that arises to pursue their goals. They can achieve this through their rational strategy of exploiting societal divisions and forming relationships with actors that are hostile to the state such as rebel groups or extremist militants such as Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram. They can also achieve this goal by exploiting opportunities where state structures can be easily conscripted for political gain and this is often the case in African states where the rule of law is weaker and citizens cannot hold their government accountable, thus increasing instability fears and security gabs within states (Bamidele, 2014:4).

Another implication of transnational terrorism on Africa's security and stability is that, transnational terrorist organizations are expanding the connection lines of instability and security threats by including the illicit proliferation of small arms and light weapons. This is because violent deaths from armed conflicts have been gradually decreasing since the demise of the Cold War. In some African countries, death rates due to transnational terror activities are higher than those previously experienced during the continent's era of armed conflicts (Human Rights Watch, 2003).

Transnational terrorism activities affect more than half of all African states. However much remains unknown about this phenomenon's triangular relationship with states that are considered fragile or have experienced violent armed conflicts at least once or twice in their history. Yet, these states are so prevalent in the continent. For scholars, these sorts of states tend to display high capacity deficits, weak governmental institutions, internal divisions, insufficient infrastructure, subgroup hostility towards the state, high poverty rates and substantial reliance on nongovernmental and traditional institutions. These conditions have created ideal environments for transnational terrorism. Nevertheless, the presence of transnational terrorists in these states also threatens the very process of nation-building that is needed to address threats to national security (Stewart, 2011).

As transnational terrorism becomes more prevalent in African states with severe governance deficits and contested political settlements, a little focus on law and order assistance is not only insufficient, but it may actually be inexpedient. The justice systems are often completely counterproductive while local security forces are often associated with history of predatory and abusive behavior. Similarly, augmenting the strength of the systems that are already oriented against equitable, fair and legitimate treatment for the majority of the citizens, could provide reasons for renewed violence or the backlash of a population that may perceive state actions to be biased and crackdown on transnational terrorists to be a camouflage for further marginalization of specific groups (Bamidele, 2014:5).

Another implication of transnational terror organizations in Africa is that they have established Islamist operations in the continent so that they can exploit the tensions between the seemingly unified African societies (Albert, 2005). This is because al-Qaeda has for some time longed for an active establishment or acquisition of an active affiliate in Africa. In a magazine published in 12 June 2006, by a group that was then known as al-Qaeda in Saudi Arabia, the author Abu Azzam al-Ansari was quite upfront about the intentions of al-Qaeda and the holy warriors to disturb Africa's security and stability by appreciating the significance of the African region for the military campaigns against the Crusaders. He argued that the continent has not yet found its proper and expected role in the international system (Alli, 2012). It was predicted then that the next stage of war against transnational terrorism would see Africa as the battlefield for global dominance between transnational terror organizations and western states (Alli, 2012).

Another implication of transnational terrorism in Africa is that transnational terror networks compete with the state in various levels. They can provide services for the populations that would otherwise be provided by the state. Transnational terror groups like Hezbollah in Central Africa Republic, Tuareg Fighters in the Sahara-Sahel region, Boko Haram in Nigeria and Al-Shabaab in Somalia, have all competed for popular support in part by providing services to people. In the continent, militias are considered more legitimate than the state and assume roles as varied as settling disputes and providing

welfare services (Krueger, 2008). In this context, the legitimacy of the state is eroded because transnational terror groups have become more effective service providers.

The final implication of the threat of terrorism on the African state is that, regionally transnational terror activities are transforming the regional system, overturning the rules governing states, creating new histories and reconfiguring power in regional politics and economics (Enders, Sandler and Gailulleov, 2011). Transnational terrorists also buy off government officials so that they can give them space or consent to carry out their operations. This increases security and instability fears because transnational terror groups operate under state jurisdiction and are immune to state protection from threatened countries and intergovernmental organizations (Annan and Danso, 2013).

5.1.2. Implications of Responses to Transnational Terrorism

After the United States declared the global war on terror (GWOT), Muslims in East Africa faced human rights violations under new and intrusive legislations such as Tanzania's Prevention of Terrorism Act of 2002. The law was passed despite the fact that its provisions ran counter to the human and civil rights guarantees of the country's constitution. Similarly, Kenya's Suppression of Terrorism Bill of 2002 granted sweeping powers to the police and security forces to prosecute acts of terrorism. These counterterrorism laws were criticized by the Muslim groups with the complaints that they faced intensified surveillance. This created conditions of insecurity and fear among many, given that they could be arrested, searched, interrogated and detained without regard to due process or recognition of their human rights (Amnesty International, 2001).

5.1.3. Recommendations on Implications of Transnational Terrorism

In their efforts to combat transnational terrorism, regional governments and the African Union (AU) should reach out to and engage with societies that were mainly affected by threats of transnational terrorism rather than sidelining them and potentially driving them underground. For instance, by expanding the options for legitimate, regulated employment, national governments can reduce motivations for citizens to engage in the informal sector by increasing economic viability and strengthening resistance to infiltrations by transnational terrorists (Bamidele, 2014:3).

Secondly, by strengthening collaboration between state parties and social networks at the local level, domestic governments and regional organizations can more effectively gather information on shifting patterns of terrorism, understand vulnerability and be able to identify opportunities for building resilience to the menace of transnational terrorism (Bamidele, 2014:3).

Thirdly, given the scope of the threat posed by transnational terrorism on Africa's security and stability, a more effective strategy is needed in circumstances where transnational terrorism intersects with other pressing issues. State fragility, armed conflicts and HIV/AIDS pandemic, should be addressed by the governments of African states. Fourthly, regional cooperation and law and order interventions must

form part of the larger counterterrorism strategy that takes into account the political, economic and social realities. In the long-run, building and reinforcing the connections between state and society in failed and weak states will be essential to undermining transnational terrorism and ensuring lasting security and stability in the continent (Bamidele, 2014:3).

Finally, domestic governments should supplement any effort directed at combating transnational terrorism with community engagement and reform efforts that emphasize accountability loops to ensure that they are not undermining long-term peace building and maintenance security and order. Regional actors should also encourage accountability and community engagement among their partners (Bamidele, 2014:5).

5.2. Conclusion

Trans-African countries must create operational mechanisms to combat the menace of transnational terrorism and other factors that are conducive to the spread of transnational terrorism. They should develop sub-regional structures to coordinate their efforts because this type of partnership has the capacity to expand across all corners of the continent. The international community has also shown willingness to combat the threat of transnational terrorism on Africa's security and stability by providing civil and military assistant projects to train and equip states and security forces on the menace of transnational terrorism. Africa should adopt a holistic approach to terrorism that assesses the root causes of the phenomenon and addresses the relationships between domestic and transnational terrorism.

There is no doubt that transnational terrorism is one of the malicious phenomenon facing humanity in the twenty first century. Global cooperation is perhaps the most effective approach in the fight against the problem of transnational terrorist activities. It is also important for Africa and the international community to recognize that there is no instant solution and remedy to prevent the phenomenon but what is required is collaboration and sharing of information by all UN member parties in the hope that collective action is more effective than individual action.

5.2.1. Analyzing Policy Reactions to Conceptualizing Transnational Terrorism in Africa

Scholars and academics need to formulate an agreed upon definition of terrorism so that it could be easy for policy makers to come up with effective counterterrorism responses. The development of transnational terrorism should be studied and understood in historical context because terrorism is a well-established strategy. At the moment there is no universally agreed upon definition as to what is terrorism or who is a terrorist and this creates problems for policymakers in terms of formulating counterterrorism strategies. This is because one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter. In its earliest forms, terrorism in Africa was conceived in the context of political violence given that at most part the struggle for liberation was rooted in acts of political violence. However, when colonial

administrations used political violence to suppress opposition their actions were not classified as state sponsored terrorism but as legitimate national security measures. This shows biasness in the early conceptualization of the term terrorism in Africa.

Even international actors like the United States classified liberation movements as terrorist organizations that posed a threat to international security and stability. It has also been observed that non-violence struggles no matter how moral it may sound, cannot be the only universal standard of action that oppressed people can resort to in order to liberate themselves from repressive regimes. The experiences of almost all African histories clearly demonstrate that political violence is sometimes justifiable to liberate oneself from the scourge of colonial oppression.

5.2.2. The Birth of Transnational Terrorism in Africa

This study has found that transnational terrorism in Africa is linked to three historical periods that evolved from the time Africans first came into contact with outside peoples namely the Arabian merchants and slave traders, the European colonizers and slave traders and lastly the colonialization of Africa. The first epoch, saw sub-Saharan Africans coming into contact with Arabian merchants and missionaries who terrorized local peoples in search of slave and this epoch marked the beginning of slave trade in Africa. The second epoch also witnessed the arrival of European colonizers who also terrorized and brutally shipped millions of Africans into what famously became known as the ‘Atlantic slave trade’. Nonetheless, the last epoch of historical evolution of transnational terrorism in Africa is somehow different from the two epochs in that it was a continuation of the second stage, the instigation of colonialism and the scramble of the continent into European colonies. Africa during this stage was partitioned into British, French, Portuguese, Spanish, Italian and German colonies and native Africans were made to feel the sense of second-class citizenship in their own fatherland.

5.2.3. Varieties of Terrorism and Policy Responses to Transnational Terrorism

The study has noted that there are different types of terrorism in the world that include transnational, international, domestic, state terror, right-wing and separatist terrorism. However, for the purpose of this study we focused our attention on transnational terrorism because this type of terror is said by policy makers to be carried out by independent actors that can be state or non-state in nature such as Boko Haram, al-Qaeda and Al-Shabaab. Even individuals like Osama bin Laden, regardless of support from sympathetic states actors and whose instrument of resolve together with its implications surpass national boundaries of sovereign states (Gaibulloev and Sandler, 2010:6).

Scholarly attempts to understand transnational terrorism has been growing among social researchers since the late 1960’s when the phenomenon assumed its transnational character and policymakers asserts that there are five main categories of counterterrorism policies that can be employed by African policy makers in order to assist their attempts to counter the menace of transnational terrorism on the

continent's security and stability and these include proactive, coercive, persuasive, defensive and long-term counter terror policies. Of all counterterror strategies, Proactive policies are the one's often preferred by policy makers and they include attacking terrorist bases, assassinating their top leaders, freezing terrorist assets and gathering and sharing crucial security information. We have observed that Kenya's decision to launch a military operation against Al-Shabaab inside Somalia is part of this strategy.

The study found that coercive counterterrorism policies rely heavily on the state's capacity to use force as the American experience reveals that for US policymakers the attacks of 9/11 were signs that al-Qaeda with the help of the Taliban government was at war with the US, hence the decision to declare war on Afghanistan was justified on those premises. Persuasive policy approaches on the other hand draw mostly from liberal doctrines that emphasize on soft elements of persuasion and diplomacy in order to understand and deal with the issues that underpin the use of terrorism in social and political life. Defensive or passive counterterrorism approaches rely on the realist principle of self-help in which individual states create mechanisms to protect their critical infrastructures from possible terrorist threats, such as increasing police patrols on the street etc. Finally, the study found that long-term counterterrorism policy is mostly favored by intergovernmental organization like the African Union (AU), European Union (EU) and the United Nations (UN) in order to promote communication and build trust between policy makers and societies in which terrorist groups operate in order to address the complexity of the environment in which terrorism develops and advances.

5.2.4. Investigating the Roots and Responses to Transnational Terrorism in Africa: A case of Kenya

5.2.4.1. The Roots of Transnational Terrorism in Africa

The study has found that there are combinations of factors that make Africa vulnerable to threats of transnational terrorism and these include Africa's geopolitical location, failed and predatory states, religious fundamentalism and social-economic conditions. Failed and predatory states are founded to render Africa vulnerable to transnational terrorism because they create an enabling environment for transnational terrorist organizations to operate, due to their weak security, porous borders, inefficient governance, high corruption and economic inequality rates and the general chaos resulting in lack of effective rule of law and often easy access to weaponries.

The study has also found that the geography of Africa plays a huge role in rendering the continent vulnerable to transnational terrorism, especially if one considers the continent's close proximity to some of the world's war stricken country's like Yemen, Syria and Iraq. Both al-Qaeda and the Islamic State (ISIL) has publicly shown interests in establishing an Islamic Caliphate that would link Africa with the Middle East. Also the presence of al-Qaeda in Somalia through its regional affiliates Al-Shabaab and in North Africa through al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and ISIL's presence through Boko

Haram and other militant affiliates mostly in North Africa, increases the threats of transnational terrorism on Africa's security and stability because globalization through technological advancements has made it easier for such groups to share information and cooperate internally and with other groups in order to secure geographic access and acquire the necessary weapons for conducting their clandestine operations. Poverty and is another factor which facilitates the recruitment by al-Qaeda of extremists predominantly among Africa's youth (Yousifi, 2006:1).

Killing in the name of religion has been practiced by groups throughout the world for many centuries from the Jewish Zealots, to the Assassins and to the Crusaders. However, in contemporary politics the growing importance of religion as political tool to address socio-political grievances has raised concerns because religion has a tendency to transcend national borders and racial lines. Africa over the few years has been witnessing transnational terror based on religious intolerance for instance Al-Shabaab attacks in Kenya have been mainly directed at Christian civilians and Boko Haram has at times targeted Christian churches and villages in part of northern Nigeria, Chad and Cameroon and this has raised security and stability issues because Africa is a multi-ethnic and multi-religious society.

5.2.4.2. Responses to Threats of Transnational Terrorism

5.2.4.2.1. Responses at the Individual Level of Analysis

State and non-state actors have responded to threats of transnational terrorism in Africa from all levels of analysis and policy makers have asserted that the menace of transnational terrorism in the African continent cannot be confronted from an intelligence and law-enforcement approach only, but it requires counterterrorism (CT) strategies that promotes cooperation in all spheres from societal, to governance, to regional bodies and to intergovernmental agencies. It also requires programs that enhance socio-economic development, good governance and democracy and the promotion of human rights and social inclusion. Following 9/11 events, the Bush administration has been active in strengthening counterterrorism policies in Africa. In his capacity as the President of the United States George W. Bush, has funded many counterterrorism projects throughout Africa and some of his major counterterror projects include the East African Counterterrorism Initiative (EACTI), the Trans-Sahara Counterterrorism Partnership (TSCTP) and has introduced counterterror cooperation relationships with countries like South Africa, Ghana, Uganda and Namibia.

Taking over from President Bush, President Obama has also done his part to eliminate the threat of transnational terrorism in the continent by donating \$5 billion to assist in the training and equipping of foreign governments including those in Africa for counterterrorism programs. The study has also found that the Obama administration also created the Counter-Terrorism Partnerships Fund with the aim of adding more currency and a new name to an already existing account of security cooperation programs with the African continent. President Uhuru Kenyatta of Kenya also in his part, has established socio-economic programs that targeted mostly poverty stricken regions of Kenya such as the coastal region

in order to equip the youth of the area with skills in the hope that they will refrain from becoming Al-Qaeda recruits. The administration of Kenyatta has also launched military operations against Al-Shabaab following attacks in Nairobi's Westgate Mall, Garissa University, Lamu, Mandera etc.

5.2.4.2.2. Responses at the State Level of Analysis

African states and their United States counter parts have responded to threats of transnational terrorism from all levels of analysis. We have already highlighted counterterror responses made by the US in the continent through its successive governments and African governments have also played their parts in attempting to eliminate and prevent the menace of transnational terrorism. The study also found Kenya to be an active member of the global and regional counterterrorism initiatives. It has also found that one of the reasons for its active membership lies in its victimization by transnational terrorists. These include the 1998, bombing of US embassy in Nairobi, the Westgate Mall attack and the Garissa University attack to mention a few. Kenya in line with fellow African states has contributed troops and police under the African Union mission in Somalia (AMISOM) to try and ease the instability and threats of transnational terrorism facing that country.

5.2.4.2.3. Responses at the Systemic Level of Analysis

The study has found that Africa was among the first regions of the world to react to threats of transnational terrorism, from as early as the 1950s African states were developing counterterrorism strategies. In 1992, members of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) met in Dakar, Senegal where they adopted Resolution 213 with specified objectives of strengthening cooperation and coordination among African states in order to heighten the effectiveness of the organization in its efforts to fight eliminate the threat of transnational terrorism on the continent's security and stability. Following the 1998 attacks in Kenya and Tanzania, the OAU initiated in 1999 the Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism, which rejected all forms of extremism and terrorism in the continent and in September 2002, adopted the AU Plan of Action on the Prevention and Combating of Transnational Terrorism. It established a legal framework and a roadmap for African countries to implement international counterterrorism policies in accordance to the OAU Convention, as well as the counterterrorism tactics that were mandated by the Security Council Resolution 1373 of 2001 on all UN member states.

The study also found that regional and sub-regional economic community (REC) organizations such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) have been vocal in their efforts to eliminate the threat of transnational terrorism in their region and the continent as a whole. The continent also has three active Financial Action Task Force (FATF) regional counterterror money laundering and terrorist financing bodies and these include the Intergovernmental Action Group against Money Laundering and Terrorist Financing in West Africa (GIABA), the Middle East and North Africa Financial Action Task Force (MENAFATF) and the Eastern and Southern Africa Anti-Money

Laundering Group (ESAAMLG). In addition, given that the Sahel-Sahara region poses immediate security threat on Europe, the EU executed in 2011 the Security and Development Strategy for the Sahel, which consisted of four components of action, namely development, good governance and internal conflict resolution.

5.2.4.2.4. Responses at the Global Level of Analysis

From a global one might say, the study found that cooperation remains the main instrument against the menace of transnational terrorism, because no country regardless of its might could fight the phenomenon alone. In this regard the United Nations through its principal organs the Security Council and the General Assembly has established the Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force (CTITF) which was tasked with the responsibility to enhance coordination and coherence of counterterrorism activities within the UN system. The Security Council adopted Resolution 1373 on 28 September 2001, which established certain mandatory counterterrorism requirements on all UN member states and the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) which was tasked with the responsibility to increase the ability of member states to combat terrorism

5.3. Case Study Examination

The study has found that Kenya has been a victim of transnational terrorism as early as 1976. There is a combination of factors that renders it a target of transnational terrorism. These factors include its close relationship with Israel and other Western nations, its coastal tourism industry, religious contestation for regional dominance, local tensions due to socio-economic inequalities and its weak security and problem of uncontrolled borders. The study has also found that on record the period of 2010-2015 has witnessed the deadliest transnational terror incidents in the history of Kenya, with more than 300 deaths. There is no doubt that threats of transnational terrorism have heightened security and stability fears on only in Kenya but throughout Africa, because no one knows when and where the next attack will occur.

5.4. Recommendations

The international community must continue to increase assistance to African states in all forms, whether legal, institutional or logistical. A lot of caution could be done in providing assistance particularly that would enable the ratification of international conventions on terrorism, to train African prosecutors and judges to improve their legal arsenals (Yousfi, 2006:5).

The international community should also align Africa, through the African Center for Studies and Research on Terrorism (ACSRT), on research activities carried out by the UN and its various committees on transnational terrorism. This will assist African leaders increase security and intelligence awareness on the harmful effects of terrorism on the continent's economies and societies (Yousfi, 2006:5).

The international community through the UN should support the African Union (AU) in its efforts to solve the current regional conflicts in order to prevent the emerging cells of terrorism from gaining ground in the continent.

The international community should also assist Africans in their economic and social developmental processes, in order to eliminate the factors that could prompt the African youth to join transnational terror organizations.

The international community should also take advantage of the lessons of African states in their struggle against transnational terrorism and to provide the continent with assistance needed regarding extraditions, mutual legal advice based on the obligation, persecute or extradite.

In addition, the international community should support African states in the implementation of measures that are provided in Article 50 of the UN Charter in order to apply and respect the embargos on weaponry that are imposed by the UN against certain African states because of civil wars (Yousfi, 2006:5).

Finally, for counterterrorism strategies to thrive in the African continent, the international community will need to assist African governments to provide viable social and economic opportunities to their populace (Boudali, 2007:3). This is necessary in order to separate the local conditions that led to social unrest from the extremist ideologies that facilitate transnational terrorism.

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