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**STRATEGY
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**THE SCOURGE OF TERRORISM:
THEATER OF CONFLICT MOVES TO AFRICA**

BY

BRIGADIER MATTHEW S. CHUMA

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Theater of Conflict Moves to Africa**

By
Brig. Matthew S. Chuma

Col. Leo Brownyard
Project Advisor

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U.S. Army War College
CARLISLE BARRACKS, PENNSYLVANIA 17013

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ABSTRACT

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Two decades ago, most of the people of Africa associated terrorism with the PLO, IRA and "Carlos the Jackal" the legendary hero of most terrorists, otherwise known as Illich Ramirez Sanchez. They were least concerned with what they perceived as Palestinian-Israeli-European - American conflict. Beginning with the hijacking of Lufthansa Airline from Greece to Entebbe, Uganda in July 1976, followed by the revengeful bombing of Nairobi's Norfolk Hotel on 3rd December 1976, and most recently with the simultaneous bombings of the US Embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam, terrorists had finally shifted their theater of war to Africa.

The aim of this paper is to critically analyze the term "Terrorism" as viewed by a cross section of the international community. In order to determine if this malice is on the rise or not, I will analyze trends in the formation of these organizations, their purpose and activities.

My paper will then shift its focus to Africa and select a few cases of terrorism and their impact on the victims, the social fabric and the security apparatus in dealing with the after-effects. I will further try to explain why Africa has been chosen as a new theater of conflict, and recommend what African governments need to do to reduce their vulnerability to terrorism.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to remember 7th August 1998 and those who perished, or were injured in Nairobi, from the callous acts of terrorism, imported from other parts of the world, to my country. My special thanks go to all those who toil daily, to prevent terrorism, and to manage disasters when they occur.

My deepest regards go to my Project Advisor, Col. Leo Brownyard, who has all along, provided useful guidance and suggestions during my research. His ability to proofread and advise was invaluable to this article.

Finally I would like to thank my College Sponsor, E.J. Nichols, who in addition to loaning me some reading material, proofread my second draft.

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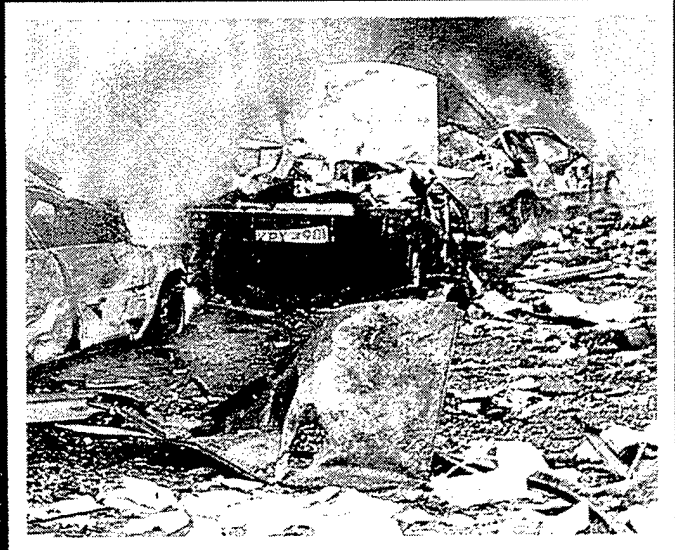
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BLOODBATH



Bomb Terror in Nairobi

In choosing terrorism as the subject of my Strategy Research Paper (SRP), I was motivated by the callous murder of over 257 innocent Kenyans and Americans, and the injury of over 5,000 on 7th August 1998, when terrorists targeted the American Embassy for bombing in Nairobi, Kenya. What I had intended to do, changed as I pondered on the subject. In the end, I decided to look at the definition of terrorism as used under Title 22 of US Codes. I had intended to come up with a definition that would be non-partisan and internationally accepted. I failed because, in the words of Walter Laqueur, " One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter...". I became stuck like others before me. At the end of the analysis, I have made the suggestion that each case must be defined as it arises.

My second task was to review terrorist trends, and attempt to identify what motivates terrorists to commit their acts. By dividing the world into six regions, I was able to come up with motives in different regions. Terrorist trends in the world over the past ten years are dissimilar. For example, Europe has seen a decline, Middle East and Latin America have remained unchanged, while Asia and Africa have had a significant rise. My final objective was to seek to answer why international terrorism has apparently moved to Africa in the last two decades. I have tried to use two old traditional examples that could be termed as domestic terrorism in the contemporary world. The cases of Turkana versus Toposa and Borana versus Somali indicate that domestic terrorism, as it is known in the western world, is viewed differently in Africa. The African media call it cattle rustling, ethnic clashes, car hijackings, ordinary theft, murder, etc. The only time the African media regards a crime as terrorism is when:

- It occurs in an urban area.

- When a bomb is used.
- When the assailants and the victims go beyond tribal and racial lines.
- When criminals are known to have come from beyond the border.

There have been many acts that westerners would describe as domestic terrorism, such as the Hutu massacre in Rwanda in 1994, or the ethnic clashes in Kenya (1991-1992 & 1997). The African media have not referred to these as terrorism. I have tried to show that a group of Islamic fundamentalists from the Middle East, in their quest to fight their enemies in Africa, are the actual importers of international terrorism in Africa. The Egyptian, Sudanese, Kenyan, and Tanzanian cases are the best examples. Finally, I have made remedial recommendations.

DEFINING TERRORISM

“For many, terrorism represents a cheap and effective way to project power. It is a tactic that enables terrorists to shoot their way onto the world stage and in effect, hijack the international media. Terrorism, as common street crime, may never be totally eradicated, but we can reduce it to a more tolerable level...In seeking to destroy freedom and democracy, terrorists deliberately target, noncombatants for their own cynical purposes...They murder judges, newspaper reporters, elected officials, government administrators, labor leaders, policemen, priests, and others who defend the values of civilized society.”¹

Experts on terrorism have not arrived at an internationally accepted terminology for terrorism, and will probably not find one, because of varied perceptions. Former Secretary of Defense, Frank C. Carlucci III, in his preface to George Bush's, Terrorist Group Profiles, he defines terrorism as “... a tactical form of political warfare designed to achieve political ends...may be described as warfare at the lower end of the spectrum of violence, in which

political, economic and psychological considerations play a more important role than does conventional military power.”²

Ambassador Wilcox defines terrorism as “premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience.”³

Justice Department’s Terror Research and Analytical Center describes domestic terrorism as “unlawful use of force or violence, committed by a group(s) or two or more individuals, against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives.”⁴ and international terrorism is described as “Unlawful use of force or violence committed by group(s) or individuals(s) who are foreign based and/or directed by countries or groups outside the United States, or whose activities transcend national boundaries against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives.”⁵

The Interagency OPSEC Support Staff defines terrorism as the “unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property for the purpose of intimidating or coercing a government, the civilian population or segment thereof, in furtherance of political asocial objectives.”⁶

For the sake of proper analysis, I will present a matrix showing the definitions given by these experts. The first definition is by Frank C. Carlucci, followed in that order by Ambassador Wilcox, Justice Department and finally, interagency OPSEC Support Staff. I have used the following terms to identify commonalties within the definition of “terrorism”:

coerce, intimidate, force, violence, noncombatant, political, property, government, premeditated, and persons.

	CARLUCCI	WILCOX	JUSTICE DEPT	INTERAGENCY
COERCE	NO	NO	YES	YES
INTIMIDATE	NO	NO	YES	YES
FORCE	NO	NO	YES	YES
VIOLENCE	YES	YES	YES	YES *
NONCOMBATANT	YES	YES	NO	NO
POLITICAL	YES	YES	YES	YES *
PROPERTY	NO	NO	YES	YES
GOVERNMENT	NO	NO	YES	YES
PREMEDITATED	NO	YES	NO	NO
PERSONS	NO	NO	YES	YES

Figure 1. Terrorism Matrix

Looking at Figure 1, violence and political have emerged as the common denominators in all of the selected definitions. This probably means that without the term *violence and political*, the definitions would be incomplete. Violence is used to coerce, intimidate or force compliance. The target audience is the political system, probably because political leaders make policies, and therefore, it has direct or indirect influence on all of the matters affecting the other parameters.

One of the parameters left out by these experts, is *religion*. Most terrorists in the Middle East have committed their crimes in the name of Islamic Jihad or other related names. I am therefore convinced that in many cases, religion plays a key role in motivating terrorist actions, some of which are suicidal. The three terrorists that died while blowing up the US Embassy in Nairobi were indoctrinated into certain tenets of Islam and truly believed that dying for the cause would be rewarded in heaven.⁷

Why are terrorism experts so fussy about the definition? If murder is murder, or kidnapping is kidnapping, then why is terrorism not terrorism as defined in an English dictionary? Let us look at the definition again using a standard English dictionary: Terrorist causes "state of intense fear" or "one that inspires fear." Terrorism is "the systematic use of terror especially as a means of coercion."⁸ Anyone or any group of persons that commit any act of terror, is/are terrorist(s), period. While the US is accusing Libya, Sudan, Iran, North Korea and Iraq of providing support or sponsoring terrorism on one hand, the same states are accusing the US of perpetrating state terrorism through its military actions in Libya, Sudan, Afghanistan and Iraq. The two sides of the coin cannot, therefore, agree even on the basic tenets of terrorism. The emergence of high technology has enabled the terrorist to develop new tactics, including the use of WMD (Weapons of Mass Destruction) thereby complicating the existing definitions even further.

Most western democracies agree with the definitions provided thus far, and so does the rest of the world. In his address to the Denver Council of Foreign Relations, Ambassador Wilcox stressed that "terrorism provokes deep fear and insecurity...discredits governments by showing they are unable to protect their citizens...is a low cost strategic warfare... is motivated by ideology, religion, or ethnicity...used to advance Messianic and fanatic religious

agendas. Terrorism is motivated by many factors, e.g. politics, ethnicity, fanaticism, religion, and obscure pathological reasons.”⁹ One of the approaches to define terrorism, is to use a broad terminology i.e. *The use of violence in order to achieve an objective*. Using this as a basis, we can keep on defining the emerging acts of terrorism case by case, for example: narcoterrorism, terrorism for vengeance, extortion, political terrorism, etc. I propose this approach of defining terrorism because we have learned that terrorists have many motives and methods of executing their missions. They use bombs, assassinations, kidnapping, mass murder and skyjacking, only to mention a few.¹⁰

WHAT MOTIVATES TERRORISTS?

In trying to understand the reason why man uses terrorism against man, we must trace it to the earliest days possible. One of the first documented acts of terrorism is found in Genesis 37: 2-26 where it describes the first known act of political kidnapping. The Bible continues to explain how Joseph was kidnapped by his brothers and sold to Midianite traders, as a slave and taken to Egypt. This, I would argue, suggests that all those who dealt in slavery- African chiefs and European traders, were terrorists. The second entry in this chronology occurred in 1192 when King Richard 1 of England was kidnapped and released in 1194 for a ransom of 150,000 marks. The third entry describes the Spanish massacre of Inca warriors, the kidnap of the Inca King and the demand for ransom. The list continues until the present moment. Over 95 million cases have been documented, and the list swells day by day.¹¹

Terrorist groups have unique motivations depending on what the desired end state is. By dividing the terrorist organizations into six regional groups: Western Europe, Middle

East, Latin America, Asia, North America and Africa, I will attempt to explain some of the motives.

TERRORISM IN WESTERN EUROPE

Most Western European terrorists are from middle income groups, and are mostly professionals. Their counterparts in other regions of the world are in most cases, of lower income groups. There was a large group of urban terrorists who espoused Marxism-Leninism during the Cold War. They attacked all of NATO as targets of "Imperialism"¹² and viewed the US military presence in Europe as an occupying force. Other terrorists came from "ethnic separatists"¹³ such as the Armenians and Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) guerillas. Islamic extremists had a lot to do with violence in Europe; Spain, Germany and France were more often hit than most. United Kingdom was also a target of Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) bombings. The PIRA does not believe that they are a terrorist organization although their means of achieving their aims suggest so.

Terrorist Trends

Since the demise of Cold War, Europe has seen a relatively deterrorised Europe more than ever before. In 1988 Western Europe had identified fifteen terrorist organizations.¹⁴ In 1997 only three continued to be functional.¹⁵

TERRORISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Terrorism in the Middle East is centered around the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, fueled by Islamic fundamentalism and financed by petrol-dollar funds, period.¹⁶ Look at how these organizations are financed by oil rich countries and how easily they can operate in Europe. In short, what makes the Middle East terrorist tick can be listed as:

- Pathological hatred for Israel and USA/allies.
- Support by 'rogue' states.
- Religious fanaticism.
- Petrol-dollar funds.

Terrorist Trends

In 1988 the Middle East had twelve operational terrorist organizations, but in 1997, seven of these had either gone underground, changed names or dissolved. This however did not alter the status of the Middle East dynamics because seven other terrorist groups popped up between 1988-1997, so that by October 1998, the total number of terrorist groups was back to twelve. They represent 40% of all terrorist organizations registered by the US State Department in 1998. The number may swell further after the recent US/Iraq conflict, and the recent punishment meted out to Sudan and Afghanistan by US forces.

TERRORISM IN LATIN AMERICA

Latin American terrorists have different goals from those of European and the Middle East groups. During the Cold War era, most were fighting for communist revolutions supported by Fidel Castro of Cuba.¹⁷ Since the demise of the Cold War, they no longer receive the support of the former Soviet Union funneled through Castro. Latin American terrorists today are basically guerillas or narcoterrorists¹⁸ who have made a marriage of convenience with each other to attack governments and US counter narcotic personnel and their facilities in Colombia, Argentina, Guatemala, Panama and Peru.¹⁹ These countries have experienced a rise in domestic terrorist attacks in the late 1980's and early 1990's. The objective of these groups, can be summarized as follows:

- Fighting for political ideology.
- Fighting counter narcotic forces.
- Self/group enrichment through ransoms.

The means of attaining these objectives are; mass bombings, kidnapping and armed robberies.

Terrorism Trends

Latin America's domestic terrorist incidents have gradually been declining although there was a rise in 1997. Despite this rise (128 cases) the casualty toll dropped by 96.7% (12 cases) compared to 374-casualty toll registered in 1992. The rise in domestic terrorist incidents in 1997 is attributed to Colombia's *narcotraffickers* and the two guerilla organizations-Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and the National Liberation Army (ELN) when, out of 128 incidences, Colombia alone had 107.²⁰

TERRORISM IN ASIA

Most terrorist organizations in Asia are motivated by politics, religion, ethnic, and separatist objectives. The AUM Shinrikyo Sect led by Shoko Asahara is a fanatical sect. India and Pakistani terrorism has an ethnic/separatist agenda while Philippino terrorism bears political and religious/separatist objectives. Most Asian terrorists are guerrilla organizations. They employ terrorism in order to achieve their objectives. Except for the kidnapping of foreigners, their activities are confined within their national boundaries.

Terrorism Trends

Terrorism in Asia has been constant. The countries that are affected most by guerilla fighters are Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Thailand

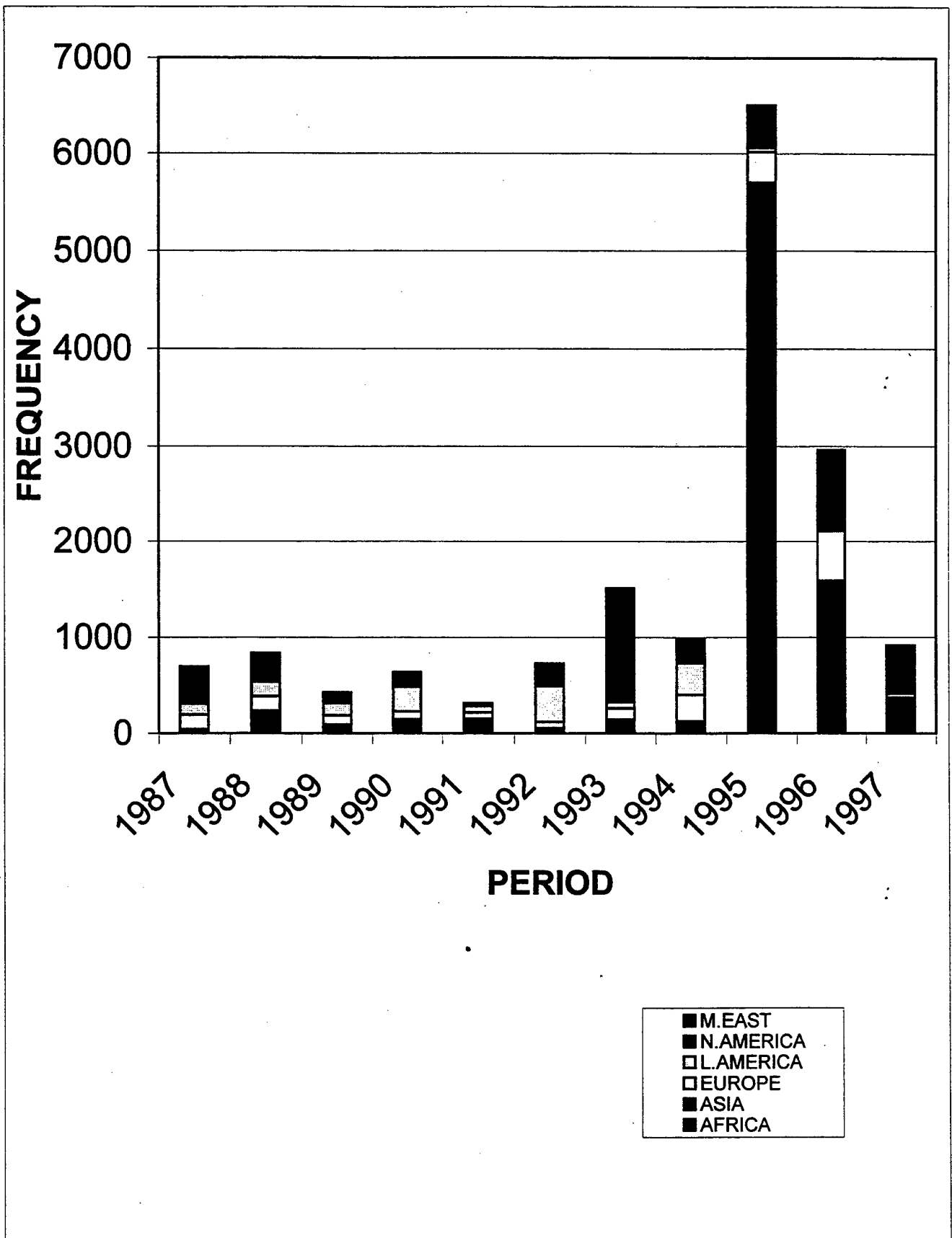


Figure 2. Incidents by Region

and Vietnam. The Japanese terrorist organization, AUM Shinrikyo, has an unexplained pathological religious motive. The leader, Shoko Asahara is on trial for masterminding a sarin gas attack in the Tokyo Subway, where 12 people died and more than 5,000 were injured. Japanese authorities are trying to win the war against its guerrillas.²¹

TERRORISM IN NORTH AMERICA

For the purpose of this discussion, North America shall be deemed, as continental United States (CONUS) and Canada. North America has had the least incidents of international terrorism, however, domestic terrorist incidents within US borders have been on the increase (See figure 3). Paradoxically, North America is the target of terrorism all over the world. The reasons the US, in particular, is the target of international terrorists include:

- US is the most powerful nation in the world, both militarily and economically, hence the only way to fight her is through terrorism.
- As a de facto world leader, her policies may not be in taste with some countries.
- US supports Israel and those who are out to eliminate Israel as a nation see this as hatred against Islam.
- Narcoterrorists in Latin America, view US as obstructing their business in narcotic trade.

In the area of domestic terrorism, some of the reasons are attributed to the following factors:

- Individuals who detest certain policies, such as legalized abortions.
- Inexplicable pathological reasons.
- Hopelessness and the need to make a mark in history.²²

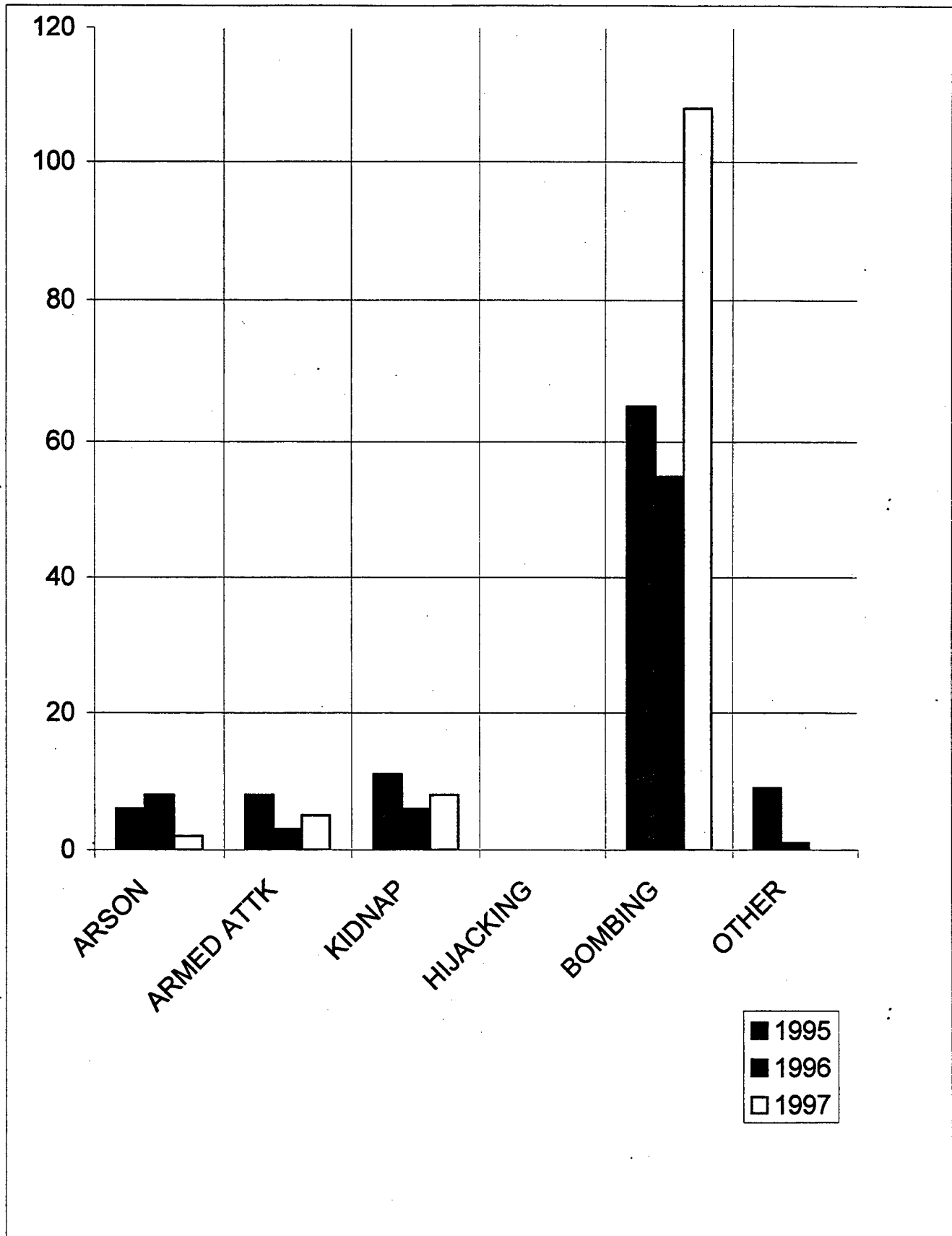


Figure 3. Anti US Attacks

The US government has been in the forefront in the fight against terrorism internationally.

She has taken many steps in this direction and among them are: ²³

- Legitimized her military role through UN.
- Attempted to broker Israeli-Palestinian peace.
- Appeased those of the Islam religion.
- Instituted international conventions against terrorism.
- Enacted laws to counter terrorism.
- Strengthened military assets to counter and manage terrorism.
- Appropriated funds for use against terrorist campaign.
- Cooperated with those states willing to fight against terrorism.
- Has insulated and taken action against those states that support terrorism.
- Conducted research on capabilities to detect explosives and associated devices.

One of the most worrying aspects of terrorism is the ability by any of these groups to acquire the weapons of mass destruction (WMD). WMD includes nuclear, biological and chemical (NBC) weapons. The sarin gas attack in Tokyo subway in 1995 by AUM Shinrikyo, is a testimony to these worries.²⁴

What is further worrying to US authorities is the increase in terrorist activities within US borders, such as the bombing of the World Trade Center in New York on 26th February, 1993 and the Federal Building in Oklahoma City on 19th April, 1995 where 168 people died and 500 were injured.²⁵

There is a consolation to all these. The steps the US government has taken in reducing acts of terrorism are enormous, and are likely to reduce the incidents in the long term.

TERRORISM IN AFRICA

“ Kenyans have never experienced such destruction and mayhem in the country’s history. The country was completely unprepared both psychologically that came about as a result of a bomb blast at the United States embassy in Nairobi last Friday. It is sad to note that neither the security forces nor the general public knew exactly what to do in such situation, which demands various emergency measures.”

The Weekly Review Editorial
Nairobi, Kenya. August 14, 1998.

This is an editorial comment of the Weekly Review owned by Mr. Hillary Ng’weno, self-made Kenyan journalist and Harvard trained nuclear physicist. Africa is not ready for terrorist attacks of such magnitude as happened in Nairobi, Kenya on 7th August 1998.

In 1997, for example, there were eleven recorded incidents of terrorism.²⁶ Of these attacks five were kidnap/hostage taking, three were assaults/murders, two were grenade attacks and one bomb attack. They were recorded as acts of international terrorism because of the nature of attacks and the involvements of foreigners.²⁷

In the past, Africa has had domestic terrorism. The reason why certain foreign nations and groups of people want to export international terrorism to Africa is the subject of this discussion. Before doing this, let us briefly review some traditional and modern day acts of African terrorism.

Before the arrival of European colonialism, African tribes commonly fought one another. Like the modern days, land and property were the centers of gravity. In fact, some tribes in northern Kenya and parts of Uganda, Sudan, Ethiopia and Somalia still fight at this moment and time.

Toposa/Turkana

The Toposa of southern Sudan and Turkana of northern Kenya are sworn enemy

cousins. When one tribe attacks the other, they kill every living creature. They kill the old, the women, the children, cats and dogs, and destroy all utensils. This, by definition is terrorism, but from their own perspective, they see nothing wrong.

Boran/Somali

The Borans dwell in parts of northern Kenya and southern Ethiopia. The Somalis live in parts of northeastern Kenya and Somalia. Boran tradition demanded that you kill a man before one can marry. As it became illegal to kill men, some captured young boys herding cattle and chopped off their testicles, dried them and kept them as a proof of a kill. Most of the Boran victims were Somalis. In retaliation, Somalis did the same to Boran. This is terrorism in today's terminology. The habit has now ceased.

Guerilla Movements

During the wars of liberation, African guerillas used methods that, by definition are terrorism. African National Congress (ANC) was regarded by the US government as a terrorist organization when it was fighting the apartheid regime, while the rest of the world supported the ANC. In the eyes of many liberation organizations, whether during or after colonial rule, the end justified the means. Terrorism was a relative term.

INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM SHIFTS TO AFRICA

To be able to prove my case, let us look at certain case studies in brief.

Egypt

Although Egypt is on the continent of Africa, it is inhabited by Arab speaking people. Its government is liberal and it accommodates other religious practices. For this reason, it is the target of Muslim extremism, 'al-Gama' at al-Islamiya. This group targeted

Egyptian tourism, killing both European tourists along with their Egyptian tourist counterparts.²⁸ They exported terrorism further to Ethiopia. On 26th June 1995, the Islamic Group (IG) attempted the assassination of President Hosni Mubarak while he was attending The Organization of African Unity (OAU) Summit in Adis Ababa. The attempt was thwarted with two Ethiopian military guards and two of the assassins dead. The Palestinian Ambassador to Ethiopia was injured and two other assassins were captured.²⁹

Uganda

On 27th June 1976, Air France Flight No 139 was hijacked over Greece with 257 passengers. The flight was planned from Tel Aviv to Paris. The hijackers were seven members of Peoples Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). In brief, the plane landed in Benghazi, Libya to refuel and finally at Entebbe, Uganda.³⁰ The Israeli army staged a dramatic rescue of all the hostages on 4th July 1976 in what is now known as "Entebbe Raid." Here, again foreigners had exported their wars to Africa.

The Norfolk Bombing

Believing that Kenya had assisted the Israelis in their raid at Entebbe, the PFLP arranged to punish her. The target had to be a Jewish owned property. The Norfolk Hotel is an old Victorian looking building in Nairobi, Kenya, owned by Jack Block who is Jewish. The plan was simple; a terrorist traveled from Libya to Nairobi arriving on 31st December 1976. He took a box full of explosives to the hotel and booked a room immediately above the anteroom where a Christmas/New Year party was to take place. He set the bomb to go off at midnight and then he left to fly out of the country at around 11 pm. At midnight, all guests filled their champagne glasses ready to toast the Happy New Year. Most of these guests were dignitaries employed in the public and private sector. At exactly

midnight, the explosion rocked the hotel. One hundred and nineteen people were injured. I do not have the figures of the dead, but certainly there were deaths.³¹ Again foreign war had been imported into Africa.

The Embassy Bombing in Nairobi on 7th August 1998

It has been established that, Usama bin Muhammad bin Awad Bin Ladin is the Saudi millionaire who bankrolled the attack on US Embassy in Nairobi. He has not issued any denial on this allegation, but instead has reaffirmed his commitment to continue attacking all US and British targets in the world.

It is believed that five or six men perpetrated this attack. The Nairobi bombing was done by Mohamed Saddiq Howaida assisted by the other five (3 died in the explosion while others are alleged to have escaped)³². Sources claim that, Mr. Mohamed arrived in Kenya via Mombasa. He received the assistance of a local Kenyan of Arabic descent, to get a Kenyan identification card, probably through corrupt means. He then moved to Nairobi where he met the three co-conspirators; an Egyptian, a Palestinian and a Saudi Arabian. They all rented rooms 102 and 107 at Hill Top Hotel, from 3rd August to 7th, 1998. Both rooms were used to assemble the bombs, probably Trinitrotoluene (TNT) or semtex. The latter, according to an expert, has a velocity of 60 Kg/sec and generates temperatures of up to 4000 degrees Celsius at core.³³

On 6th August, two men were seen videotaping the American Embassy. The guards reported to the embassy authorities,³⁴ who dismissed the scene as that of tourists taking normal pictures. On the 7th August at around 10 am local time, according to eye witnesses and reported by all Nairobi daily newspapers, the terrorists nervously drove their van to the main entrance of the embassy but were barred by the guards. They briefly argued with

the security guards and drove off to the rear entrance of the embassy. They were again confronted by the security, who noticed their suspicious manners and the apparent nervousness of the terrorists. They wanted to quickly force their way into the basement bay. While being confronted by the guards, one US Marine arrived and there was an exchange of fire between the Marine and the terrorists. A grenade was tossed. People heard the small explosion and moved to the windows of the buildings to see what was happening. Immediately, a deafening explosion blew up the embassy and all surrounding buildings, killing and seriously injuring those within. The most affected building was the Ufundi Co-operative Society House and the 22 storied Co-operative House. The American Embassy withstood the explosion due to the fact that it was constructed with an anti bomb design in mind. The Co-operative House which houses the Ministry of Education and where the American Ambassador was holding a meeting with Kenya's Minister of Education was shattered but the superstructure remained intact. The Ufundi House completely collapsed burying among them hundreds of young ladies who were doing their secretarial, and commercial exams. The casualty rate in the Nairobi explosion was enormous:

- Deaths: 257 (12 Americans)
- Injuries: 5,000
- National trauma
- Injured VIP's were the US Ambassador and the Kenyan Minister for Education.

Disaster preparedness and management were very poor. Kenya is not used to these kinds of disasters. The Weekly Review details in its editorial that people were stunned, and nobody knew what to do. The arrival of the Israeli Disaster Management Team was of

some help in the whole process.

The Middle East Connection

Immediately after the blast, a group calling itself "Islamic Army for the Liberation of Holy Places" claimed responsibility. Most Kenyans were skeptical about these claims, but a look at what I have explained earlier gives credence to this claim:

- January 1976, a group of guerillas from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), were arrested in Nairobi with a heat seeking missile intended to hit El Al Airline while landing or taking off.
- 27th June 1976, the same organization hijacked a Lufthansa Airline, and when they landed at Entebbe in Uganda, they demanded the release of the guerillas that were in Kenyan cell.
- 31st December 1976, someone was sent to bomb Norfolk Hotel in revenge of what was claimed as Kenya's assistance to Israel during the Entebbe hostage rescue.

All these activities including the attack on Egyptian tourist industry, the attempted assassination of Egyptian President in Ethiopia and the latest bombings in East Africa, are connected to one group. This is the group, that seems to have vindictive hatred for American presence in Africa, and in particular what they claim as Islamic regions. Their aim is:

- To hit American targets in Africa where their weapons would be very effective due to slow response to terrorism.
- To use Africa as a battleground due to its vulnerability in entry. Illegal aliens may travel by road, and cross border points by foot and obtain immigration documents corruptly.

- The use of WMD, especially chemical or biological weapons would be very effective in Africa where medical facilities are not as abundant as in Europe or North America. The kill would be big.

Recommendations for African Nations

African nations need to consider the following bold steps:

- Reject liberation wars that adopt methods of terrorism.
- Join the international community in information exchange regarding all forms of terrorism.
- Strengthen immigration security.
- Set up, and train disaster management teams.
- Educate and inform citizens to be conscious of terrorism.
- Enact laws that make terrorist activities difficult to operate.
- Whenever possible, deny terrorist organizations access to mass media.

CONCLUSION

What I had set out to investigate has probably led me astray from the original objective. My aim was to discuss the definition of terrorism, review terrorist trends and finally focus on why international terrorism is shifting to Africa. In defining terrorism, I have recommended that, since an internationally accepted definition is not in sight, a definition be adopted that does not attempt to be specific. Specific acts of terrorism should be defined as such, as the crime is committed. I have earlier given an example of an unspecific definition.

In reviewing terrorist trends, I have divided the world into six regional areas in

order to analyze each. In Western Europe, terrorism has declined since the demise of the Cold War, while in the Middle East, it has not changed since the Palestinian/Israeli conflict remains the motivating catalyst - the center of gravity. In Latin America, terrorism is associated with liberation movements and drug trafficking. In Asia, it is associated with religion, ethnicity and liberation struggle. The North American version of terrorism has now been experienced within US borders, and Americans are the targets of international terrorism all over the world. Africa is latest battlefield for Middle East groups due to its vulnerabilities and the inability to manage mass casualties. Finally, I have suggested courses of action that African leaders need to consider in order to make it difficult for terrorists to operate on the continent.

Terrorism provokes deep fear and insecurity. It is a weapon used as a low cost strategic warfare. It has prolonged the Palestinian-Israeli and Northern Ireland conflicts for decades. Whatever reasons are advanced in support of terrorism, it is not acceptable to men of right conscience. Terrorism is ungodly, callous and should never be used as a means to justify the ends.

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END NOTES

¹ George Bush, Terrorist Group Profiles, Nov 1988. A task force report on combating terrorism released by US Government p.iii.

² Ibid. p v. Preface by Franc C. Carlucci 111, Secretary of Defense (1988).

³ Ambassador Philip C. Wilcox, Jr. (Co-ordinator for counter terrorism), Patterns of Global Terrorism. Apr 1995, US Dept. of State p VI.

⁴ US Department of Justice, Terrorism in the United States, 1994. Terror Research and Analytical Center, National Security Division, p 24.

⁵ Ibid. P. 24.

⁶ Interagency OPSEC Support Staff, Intelligence Threat Handbook April 1996.

⁷ The Weekly Review(Nairobi,Kenya),Aug 14, 1998, P 8.

⁸ Meriam Webster, Websters Third New International Dictionary, G&C Merriam Co.

⁹ Philip Wilcox Jr. International Terrorism, Remarks before the Denver Council of Foreign Relations, Denver, Colorado, on Sep 12, 1996, p. 2.

¹⁰ Edward F. Micholus, Transnational Terrorism. A Chronology of Events, 1968-1979, Greenwood Press. This book chronologizes all methods of terrorism.

¹¹ Ibid. p. 3.

¹² George Bush, Terrorist Group Profiles, Dept of State, Washington, DC. p. 31.

¹³ Ibid. p. 32.

¹⁴ Ibid. p. 32-72.

¹⁵ Philip C. Wilcox, Jr., International Terrorism, <<http://www.state.gov/www/global/terrorism/960912htm/>>

¹⁶ US Dept of State Patterns of Global Terrorism 1995. Anx B.

¹⁷ Ibid. P.74.

¹⁸ Vittofranco S. Pisiano. Terrorist Dynamics. A Geographical Perspective. (Intelligence Association of Chiefs of Police). This organization has coined the term, narcoterrorism

¹⁹ G. Bush, Terrorist Group Profile. P.75.

²⁰ Department of State. Global Terrorism, April 1997. P.75.

²¹ Ibid. P.56.

²² Attempted assassination of President Reagan is an example of this act.

²³ Wilcox, Global Issues, Feb 1997, p. 8.

²⁴ Ibid. P. 7.

²⁵ Ibid. P. 15.

²⁶ US Dept of State, Global Terrorism, 1997. P.6.

²⁷ Ibid. P.vi. This defines terrorism under Title 22 of the US States Code sec 256f(d).

²⁸ US Dept of State, Global Terrorism 1995 p. 16.

²⁹ Ibid. P. 33.

³⁰ Edward F. Mickalus. Transnational Terrorism. Chronology of events, 1968-1979. P. 621.

³¹ Surprisingly this incident has not been documented by the State Dept as an act of International Terrorism. The chronology of events 1968 to 1979 did not document it either. My recollection is based on reading the Daily Nation back in 1977. Currently, The Daily Nation on the web: <http://www.nationaudi>

³² The Weekly Review, Nairobi, Kenya. August 14, 1998.

³³ Ibid. p.17. The expert is a former Kenyan Police Ballistic examiner.

³⁴ the witness is Mr. Joseph Okindo, a credible eye witness deployed by an American firm, United International Investigative Services (UIIS) to guard the Embassy

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