

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

RESPONSES TO REGIONAL TERRORISM IN EASTERN AFRICA:
A CASE STUDY OF THE ALLIED DEMOCRATIC FORCES (ADF) IN UGANDA, 1991 – 2001"

BY

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DISCLAIMER

THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT OF THE
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DECLARATION

This dissertation is my original work and has not been presented for a Degree in any other University.

Ronnie Balya: Signature.......... Date 19 August 2008

This dissertation has been submitted for examination with my approval as a University Supervisor

Prof Olewe Nyunya: Signature.......... Date 19/8/08

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my late father Bishop Abel Balya (the first African Anglican Bishop – South of the Sahara), my mother Mrs. Asta Balya, my wife, children, sisters and brothers.

I heartily appreciate all the support and prayers you offered. May God bless you.

I further dedicate this work to all officers and men of the African Union (AU) Security Services for the tremendous work against crime on the continent. May God bless you too.

ABSTRACT

This study is on Regional Terrorism in Eastern Africa (East Africa and the Horn of Africa). It analyses the philosophical, political and religious roots of terrorist activities in the region and discusses the regional effects of the terrorist acts.

The study also dwells on the regional authorities' responses to terrorism, these include; legal security, and diplomatic mechanisms put in place to eradicate acts of terror.

The study further evaluates the effectiveness of the regional responses and attempts to identify gaps and inadequacies that need to be addressed. It also looks at the various challenges that authorities in the region have to grapple with and find a lasting solution.

Using a case study of the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) in Uganda, it examines the phenomenon of Islamic fundamentalism. The ADF waged a brutal and futile war against the government of Uganda 1991 -2001 with the aim of establishing a political system based on Islamic / Sharia Law.

In a nutshell, the study shows that the key to terrorism is to formulate policies that reflect an integrated and holistic approach to state and regional security, both in terms of the nature of specific tools and programs as well as within the wider societal contexts in which they emerge.

The goal should be one of sustained regional resilience that is effective against terror activity.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACSRT	-	African Centre for the Study and Research on Terrorism
ADF	-	Allied Democratic Forces
AG	-	Attorney General
AIAI	-	Al Itihaad Al Islaami
AMISON	-	African Peace Mission in Somalia
ANO	-	Abu Nidal Organization
AU	-	African Union
ASG	-	Abu Sayyat Group
BBC	-	British Broadcasting Corporation
CAA	-	Civil Aviation Authority
CBRN	-	Chemical, Biological, Radiological, Nuclear
CCTV	-	Closed Circuit Television
CENTCOM	-	Central Command (USA)
CID	-	Criminal Investigation Department
CISSA	-	Committee for Intelligence and Security Services in Africa
CJTF-HOA	-	Combined Joint Task Force for Horn of Africa
CMI	-	Chieftaincy of Military Intelligence
CNN	-	Cable News Network
COMESA	-	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
DNA	-	Deoxyribonucleic Acid
DRC	-	Democratic Republic of Congo
DRT	-	Demobilization and Resettlement Team

EAC	-	East African Community
EACTI	-	Eastern Africa Counter-Terrorism Initiative
EAPCCO	-	Eastern Africa Police Chiefs Co-operation Organization
EASBRIG	-	Eastern Africa Standby Brigade
ESAAMLG	-	Eastern and Southern Africa Anti-Money Laundering Group
ESO	-	External Security Organization
EU	-	European Union
EX FAR	-	Former Rwanda Armed Forces
FATF	-	Financial Action Task Force
FBI	-	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FIS	-	Front for Islamic Salvation
ICGLR	-	International Conference on the Great Lakes Region
IDP	-	Internally Displaced People
IEDs	-	Improvised Explosive Devices
IFC	-	Intelligence Fusion Cell
IGAD	-	Inter – Governmental Authority on Development
INTERPOL	-	International Police
IRA	-	Irish Republican Army
ISO	-	Internal Security Organization
JATF	-	Joint Anti-Terrorism Task Force
JIC	-	Joint Intelligence Committee
KWP	-	Kurdistan Workers Party
LDT	-	Liberty Development Trust
LRA	-	Lords Resistance Army

MANPADS	-	Man portable Air Defence Systems
MONUC	-	United Nations Mission in Congo
NAAM	-	National Association for the Advancement of Muslims
NALU	-	National Alliance for Liberation of Uganda
NCTC	-	National Counter-Terrorism Center
NDA	-	National Democratic Alliance
NIF	-	National Islamic Front
NSC	-	National Security Council
OAU	-	Organization of African Unity
OLF	-	Ogaden Liberation Front
ONLF	-	Oromo National Liberation Front
PLO	-	Palestine Liberation Organization
RCTC	-	Regional Counter-Terrorism Conference
SADC	-	Southern Africa Development Community
SB	-	Special Branch
SPLAM	-	Sudan Peoples Liberation Army/Movement
TFG	-	Transitional Federal Government (Somalia)
TPJC	-	Tripartite Plus Joint Commission
UIC	-	Union of Islamic Courts
UK	-	United Kingdom
UMFF	-	Uganda Muslim Freedom Fighters
UMSC	-	Uganda Muslim Supreme Council
UN	-	United Nations
UNHCR	-	United Nations High Commission for Refugees

- UPDF - Uganda Peoples Defence Forces
- USA - United States of America
- WMD - Weapons of Mass Destruction

Chapter One:

1.1 Introduction

This study examines terrorism trends in Eastern Africa (See Appendix I). Like other regions in the World it is faced with the threat of terrorism, which may be described as either international/transnational or domestic.

The study looks at the genesis and evolution of terrorism and how it has manifested in different forms in the various areas of the world. It attempts to establish what terrorism is, why it is conducted and by who. Specifically, the study examines regional terrorism and identifies the various responses by the authorities in the region. The Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) of Uganda which is listed as a terrorist organization is used as a case study, and the Uganda government responses are examined. The study finally evaluates the regional mechanisms' effectiveness and makes recommendations.

Terrorism is an international phenomenon, it means premeditated use of or threat to use violence against non-combatants with the aim of creating terror to intimidate or coerce a government, an institution or the general public to change or maintain the political, social, economic, cultural or religious set up. Terrorism takes on an international or regional dimension, when its infrastructure, operators, and targets are transnational.

Howard distinguishes between the old politically motivated terrorist and the new transnational religiously motivated terrorist. He argues that terrorism is now more violent, groups operate globally, terrorism is better financed, groups are better trained, groups are more difficult to

penetrate, and he points out that the potential use of weapons of mass destruction completely change the calculus of today's terrorists¹.

This therefore calls for a multifaceted approach in terms of responses to Regional Terrorism.

1.2 Background to the Study

The most tragic examples of conflicts in which mass terror has been used are to be found in Africa. In Rwanda, it has been seen on a genocidal scale causing hundreds of thousands to flee or to face massacre at the hands of their tribal enemies. Typically, ethnic wars of this kind are waged by armed militias and are marked by extreme savagery towards the civilian population, including the policy of "ethnic cleansing" to terrorize whole sectors of the population into fleeing from their homes, and the use of massacre, rape and torture as weapons of war.

Ethnic conflict is one of the predominant motivations of political violence in the post cold war era. It is important to recognize that the concept of the "security dilemma", conventionally applied by realists solely to relations between states, applies equally well to the rivalries of ethnic groups when one group looks at its neighbours and decides to enhance its weapons and security forces in the name of self-defence of the group, neighbours are likely to see such moves as a threat to their own security and will enhance their own power, thus very probably triggering the conflict they sought to avoid².

¹ Russell D. Howard (Ed) Terrorism and Counter Terrorism: Published by Mc Graw Hill/Dushkin: Guilford Connecticut 2004. pp 74

² Herz H. John, Political Realism and Political Idealism. 1951 (At http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/security_dilemma)

International spillover of such conflicts in the form of terrorist attacks in different countries will vary according to political and strategic circumstances. Where an ethnic group believes it may be in danger of being suppressed or driven out of its base area, and especially when it has militant supporters with access to weapons and explosives based in foreign countries, an international terrorist campaign is far more likely. In the late 19th and early 20th Centuries ethnic conflicts in the Balkans did generate a considerable amount of "Spill over" terrorism. Sikh, Tamil and Kashmir extremists have also developed a substantial overseas infrastructure for terrorism and its logistic support.

In East Africa (Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi) and the Horn (Sudan, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti and Somalia) there are three kinds of terrorism; those acts perpetrated by organizations based outside the region, those by organizations within the region but aimed at a neighbouring country, and those instigated by internal insurgent groups against authority in a single country. Islamic fundamentalism has also been on the rise. Al Qaeda the organization of Osama Bin Laden is the most known terrorist organization in the world today. It has launched attacks in Asia, Europe, North America and Africa in recent years.

Al Qaeda was established in 1988 with Arabs who fought in Afghanistan against the Soviet Union. Its goal now is to unite Muslims to fight the United States as a means of defeating Israel, overthrowing regimes it deems non-Islamic' and expelling westerners and non

Muslims from Muslim countries. Since 1995, it has been responsible for 3533 deaths and 8859 injuries.³

In Uganda the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) a radical Islamic group waged war against the government of Uganda from 1991-2001 to establish a political system based on Islamic/Sharia Law. It is against this background that this study examines the threat of regional terrorism.

1.3 Statement of the Research Problem

Regional Terrorism is a major threat to regional peace and security. Current trends show potential terrorist activities because of the following reasons;

The Region has countries like Somalia, Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) where terrorists can operate beyond the rule of Law, for instance the presence of Al-Qaeda cells in Somalia. The spill over of battle field skills, technology and ordinance from conflict areas such as Somalia and Darfur in Sudan can be used by radical Islamists to carry out terror attacks in the region.

The Region has a porous border in the East - the Indian Ocean that facilitates unrecorded cash transfers, illicit trade, and uncontrolled movement of people and materials that can be exploited by the terrorists. The countries in the region are allied to and seen to be pro-America and other Western countries that are at the fore front of fighting global terrorism.

³ <http://www.worldhistorytogo.com/2.3-28-Sep-2005.html>

The region has many Western interests, and the member countries have strong diplomatic relations with western countries. These western interests are targets of Islamic terrorists.

The region's population renders it vulnerable as follows;

The long coast line is a host to people from middle East (Yemen, Jordan, Saudi Arabia) making it easy for terrorists to blend in the large Arab Islamic community and able to recruit local squads to build up their cells. There is a sizeable number of Moslems that have embraced the radical Islamic Jihad Ideology. The existence of Madrassas in the region is likely to be used by radical Islamists to indoctrinate the youth into radicalism and militancy and promote home grown terror cells. The people in the region are also faced with rampant poverty and unemployment and therefore soft targets for recruitment by terrorists.

In a nutshell therefore terrorism is a big problem that brings **loss of life and property**, causes **displacement** of people because of non-selective brutal acts that cause fear, anxiety and uncertainty, it also affects **trade, investment, and tourism**.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study are; to identify the real and potential threats under regional terrorism and the perpetrators, and also identify the key factors that have influenced the current terrorism trends. The study will also examine the regional counter terrorism responses and evaluate their effectiveness.

1.5 Justification of the Study

Considering the research that has been made on Regional Terrorism so far, there is need for more comprehensive study, in order to get to the source of the underlying causes. The manifestation of the problem and responses by the authorities should also come out clearly.

The study will benefit Actors in the Security Services by providing insights and recommendations that will help them to formulate better policies and strategies for the eradication of terrorism.

1.6 Literature Review

1.6.1 Introduction

The literature review is divided into four sections; section one examines the various definitions of terrorism. Section two looks at the genesis of the Pre-Modern world terrorism. Section three examines the evolution of the modern world terrorism and section four identifies consensus and differences amongst the Researchers of terrorism. This section also attempts to identify gaps that the study seeks to fill.

1.6.2 Definitions of Terrorism

"One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter"

This statement illustrates the dilemma faced by the world today;

According to Eqbal;

"the hero of yesterday is the terrorist of today, and the terrorist of yesterday is the hero of today" he said this in reference to the United States co-operation with Osama Bin Laden during the Afghanistan war with the former Soviet Union, and is now USA enemy number one.⁴

The most common form of terrorism throughout history has been that carried out by a group to overthrow what they consider an illegitimate or oppressive government. These groups and their supporters see themselves as freedom fighters, not as terrorists. And if they are victorious they often become the new rulers and form a new government.

Recent examples include the African National Congress in South Africa, the PLO in Palestine, and the Communist Party in Vietnam.

The African National Congress is a particularly illuminating example. The party was founded in 1912 to fight for rights for indigenous South Africans. Through alliances with other groups it expanded its following over the years and in the 1950s formed the core of resistance to apartheid and white rule. An initial policy of non-violent resistance gave way to violent protests and assaults in the 1960s in response to violent government repression. The ANC was banned by the white government and some of its leaders killed or imprisoned. As apartheid ended in 1990, the ban was lifted and it became the elected ruling party of South

⁴Eqbal Ahmad; *Terrorism; Theirs and Ours*, 1998 In ; Russell Howard and Reid Sawyer (Ed). Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism. Mc Graw – Hill/Dushkin, Guilford, Connecticut 2004.

Africa in 1994. Its leader Nelson Mandela (former imprisoned terrorist, today a Nobel Peace Prize Winner) became President.⁵

Wikipedia encyclopedia defines terrorism as "Violence, the threat of Violence, or other harmful acts committed for political or ideological goals."⁶

United Nations panel on March 17, 2005 described terrorism as any act "intended to cause death or serious bodily harm to civilians or non-combatants with the purpose of intimidating a population or compelling a government or an international organization to do or abstain from doing any act."⁷

The General Assembly resolution 49/60, titled "Measures to eliminate international terrorism" adopted on December 9, 1994 contains a provision describing terrorism;

Criminal acts 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 circumstances unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or any other nature that may be invoked to justify them.

According to Antonio Cassese that provision "sets out an acceptable definition of terrorism"⁸

The European Union employs a definition of terrorism for legal/official purposes which is set out in Article I of the Framework Decision on Combating Terrorism (2002). This provides that

⁵ http://www.worldhistorytogo.com/2.3_28Sept_2005.html

⁶ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/terrorism>

⁷ Ibid

⁸ Ibid

terrorist offences are certain criminal offences set out in a list comprised largely of serious offences against persons and property which;

“ given their nature or context, may seriously damage a country or an international organization where committed with the aim of; seriously intimidating a population, or unduly compelling a Government or international organization to perform or abstain from performing an act, or seriously destabilizing or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or an international organization”⁹

The **United States** has defined terrorism under the Federal Criminal Code. Chapter 113 B of Part I of Title 18 of the United States Code defines terrorism and lists the crimes associated with terrorism:

Violent acts or acts dangerous to human life that are a violation of the criminal laws of the United States or of any state, or that would be a criminal violation if committed within the jurisdiction of the United States or of any state.

Appear to be intended:-

To intimidate or coerce a civilian population.

To influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion or

To affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction assassination or kidnapping, and

⁹ Ibid

Occur primarily outside the jurisdiction of the United States or transcend national boundaries in terms of the means by which they are accomplished, the persons they appear intended to intimidate or coerce or the locale in which their perpetrators operate or seek asylum.¹⁰

The Uganda Anti-terrorism Act, 2002 provides for suppression of acts of terrorism, provides for the punishment of persons who plan, instigate, support, finance or execute acts of terrorism, prescribes terrorist organizations and provides for the punishment of persons who are members of, or who profess in public to be members of, or who convene or attend meetings of or who support or finance or facilitate the activities of terrorist organizations. It further provides for investigation of acts of terrorism and obtaining information in respect of such acts including the authorizing of the interception of the correspondence of and the surveillance of persons suspected to be planning or to be involved in acts of terrorism. It also provides for other connected matters.¹¹

Bruce Hoffman opines that on one point, at least everyone agrees, terrorism is a pejorative term. It is a word with intrinsically negative connotations that is generally applied to one's enemies and opponents, or to those with whom one disagrees and would otherwise prefer to ignore.¹²

Brian Jenkins argues that what is called terrorism seems to depend on one's point of view. Use of the term implies a moral judgment, and if one party can successfully attach the label

¹⁰ http://caselaw.lp.findlaw.com/cascode/uscodes/18/parts/i/chapters/113b/sections/section_2331.html

¹¹ The Republic of Uganda, the Anti-Terrorism ACT 2002

¹² Bruce Hoffman. Inside Terrorism. New York: Columbia Univ Press. 1998. pp 31

terrorist to its opponent, then it has indirectly persuaded others to adopt its moral view point. Hence the decision to call someone or label some organization “terrorist” becomes almost unavoidably subjective, depending largely on whether one sympathizes with or opposes the person/group/cause concerned. If one identifies with the victim of the violence, for example then the act is terrorism. If, however, one identifies with the perpetrator, the violent act is regarded in a more sympathetic, if not positive (or at the worst an ambivalent) light, and it is not terrorism.¹³

1.6.3 Pre-Modern World Terrorism

Terrorism has been on the world scene as way back as BC 430-34. Greece used psychological terror to create and sustain her empire. The Greek Philosopher Aristotle wrote in his; *Politics of the overthrow of tyranny*;

The causes of revolutions in constitutional and in royal governments must be deemed to be the same, for subjects in many cases attack monarchies because of unjust treatment and fear and contempt, and among the forms of unjust treatment most of all because of insolence, and sometimes the cause is the seizure of private properties, and in some cases the attack is aimed at the person of the rulers, in others at their offices. And many risings have also occurred because of shameful personal indignities committed by certain monarchs¹⁴

Aristotle, Plato and other ancient writers were part of a tradition that viewed despotism as the worst form of government and glorified those who spilled the blood of a tyrant. In addition to

¹³ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/terrorism>

¹⁴ Berkshire. Patterns of Global Terrorism (At http://www.worldhistorytogo.com/2.3_28Sept-2005.html)

killing their kings the ancient Greeks were adept in the use of flame throwers, poison gases, incendiary bombs and biological attacks. Hercules, the hero of Greek mythology, invented the first biological weapon described in literature when he dipped his arrows in serpent venom¹⁵.

Violent acts on behalf of political change are as old as human history. The Sicarii were a first century Jewish group who murdered enemies and collaborators in their campaign to oust their Roman rulers from Judea.

The Hashhashin, whose name gave us the English word 'assassins' were a secretive Islamic sect active in Iran and Syria from the 11th to the 13th Century. Their dramatically executed assassinations of Abbasid and Seljuk political figures terrified their contemporaries.¹⁶

The word terrorism comes from the Reign of Terror instigated by Robespierre in 1793, following the French revolution. Robespierre one of the twelve heads of the new state, had enemies of the revolution killed, and installed a dictatorship to stabilize the country. He justified his methods as necessary in the transformation of the monarchy to a liberal democracy. "Subdue by terror the enemies of liberty, and you will be right, as founders of the Republic" he asserted.¹⁷ The Agents of the committee of public safety which enforced the policies of "the terror" were referred to as terrorists.

Robespierre's sentiment laid the foundations for modern terrorists, who believe violence will usher in a better system. But the characterization of terrorism as a state function faded, while the idea of terrorism as an attack against an existing political order became more prominent.

¹⁵ Ibid

¹⁶ http://terrorism.about.com/od/what_is_terrorism/p/Terrorism.htm

¹⁷ Ibid

1.6.4 Modern World Terrorism

In the early 20th Century, Germany used terror as state policy of the Nazis, when millions of Jews were killed. Hanle, states that as the Nazi clearly established in the late 1920s and early 1930s in Weimar Germany, terrorism also had utility in combating the regime. Hitler employed terrorism to undermine and disrupt key elements of the German social base. Force was used by the Nazi SA (*Sturmabteilung*) storm troopers to alter certain conventions within German society to make a democratic form of government inappropriate to it.¹⁸

Oppenheimer, supports Hanle, he concludes that by the use of street brawling, beatings and assassinations, the Nazi party discredited "argument and compromise as political means" and transferred political decision making from the parliamentary environment to the streets. Under such conditions, the average German citizen became politically malleable or withdrew from politics altogether. Hitler continued to employ terrorism once he gained power.¹⁹

The rise of guerilla tactics by non-state actors in the last half of the twentieth century was due to several factors. These included the flowering of ethnic nationalism (e.g Irish, Basque, Zionist), anti-colonial sentiments in the vast British, French and other empires, and new ideologies such as communism. There were terrorist groups with a nationalist agenda like; Irish Republican Army, and Kurdistan Workers Party.

¹⁸ Donald J Hanle. Terrorism the newest face of Warfare. Pergamon-Brassey's International Defence Publishers Inc, New York. 1989. pp 109

¹⁹ Oppenheimer Martin. The Urban Guerilla. Chicago Ouadrangle Books, 1969, pp33

According to Sloan, the age of international terrorism was ushered in by the massacre of 11 Israel Athletes at the Olympic Games in Munich 1972, by elements of a Palestinian Organization Black September.²⁰ The event also gave the international community the contemporary sense of terrorism as highly theatrical symbolic acts of violence by organized groups with specific political grievances. Black September's political goal was negotiating the release of Palestinian prisoners. They used spectacular tactics to bring international attention to their national cause.

Terrorism also emerged in the United States, and groups such as the weathermen grew out of the non-violent group-students for a democratic society. They turned to violent tactics; from rioting to setting off bombs, to protest the Vietnam War. Terrorists also took advantage of the black market in Soviet-produced light weaponry created in the wake of the Soviet Union's 1989 collapse. Most terrorist groups justified violence with a deep belief in the necessity and justice of their cause.

Religiously motivated terrorism is considered the most alarming terrorist threat today. Groups that justify their violence on Islamic grounds – Al Qaeda, Hamas, Hezbollah come to mind first. But Christianity, Judaism, Hinduism and other religions have given rise to their own forms of militant extremism.

Eqbal recommends the following to the United States; "First avoid extremes of double standards, if you are going to practice double standards you will be paid with double

²⁰ Sloan Stephen. Beating International Terrorism Air University Press, Maxwell Airforce Base ALABAMA 2000, pp xxiii

standards, do not use it, do not condone Israel terror, Pakistani terror, Nicaraguan terror, El Salvadoran terror on the one hand and then complain about Afghan terror or Palestinian terror. It doesn't work. Try to be even handed. A super power cannot promote terror in one place and reasonably expect to discourage terrorism in another place. It won't work in this shrunken world. Do not condone the terror of your allies, condemn them, fight them, punish them, avoid covert and low-intensity warfare. These are breeding grounds for terrorism and drugs. He goes on to say that the US should help reinforce and strengthen the framework of international law. There was a criminal court in Rome, Why didn't the USA go there first to get a warrant against bin Laden, if they have some evidence. Enforce the United Nations, enforce the International Court of Justice, get a warrant then go after him internationally".²¹

Terrorism has changed over time in type, target, number, modus operandi, and attitude of terrorists, terrorist infrastructure (capabilities, recruitment and financing) and the type of people involved.

Prior to Afghanistan war in 1980s terrorism was carried out mostly to address localized/nationalistic grievances and objectives. The number of terrorist attacks was minimal with fewer casualties. The targets were specific and weapons used were conventional. The terrorists were organized in small networks composed of indigenous radicals and with centralized command.

The Afghanistan war provided an opportunity to radical Moslems (Mujahadeens) who were recruited from many Islamic countries to receive training in military and terrorist tactics with American support who then were targeting Russians.

²¹ Eqbal Ahmad. *Terrorism: Theirs and Ours*. In; Russell Howard and Reid Sawyer (Ed). Terrorism and Counter Terrorism. Mc .Graw. Hill/Dushkin, Guilford Connecticut, 2004

The defeat of the Russians gave the Mujahadeens and radical Moslems confidence that they can determine the destiny of Islam worldwide hence the internationalization of Jihads (Terrorism).

With the subsequent withdrawal of the Soviets from Afghanistan in 1988, the Afghan Arabs proclaimed their divine victory over the atheist infidels. Victory had finally come to the Arabs, and Jihad had proven to be the secret to their success. An organization called Al Qaeda Al Jihad was formed and aimed to train a vanguard of holy warriors for spreading the Islamic Jihad revolution from Afghanistan across Eurasia.²²

The internationalization of Jihad was aimed at targeting western interests worldwide, overthrow regimes in the Arab world which were pro-western and establish a caliphate ruled according to Sharia Laws, hence the trend of terrorism shifted from localized to transnational attacks, that were centrally coordinated and commanded, indiscriminate and with mass casualties. This led to among others the following terrorist attacks;

The 1998 attacks on American embassies in Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam.

The January 2000 attack on the USS Sullivan ship in Aden.

The October 2000 attack on the USS Cole in Aden harbour.

The September 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon in USA.

After the 9/11 attacks, there emerged a global effort against terrorism.

The global effort has tremendously diminished the capacity of terrorists but not eliminated them.

²² http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/0/7/1/0/3/p71031_index.html

Many times the term 'terrorism' and 'extremism' are used interchangeably. However, there is a significant difference between the two.

Terrorism essentially is a threat or act of physical violence.

Extremism involves using non-lethal instruments to mobilize minds to achieve political or ideological ends. For instance AL Qaeda of Osama Bin Laden is involved in terrorism. The Iranian revolution of 1979 is a case of extremism.²³

The threat of terrorism is much associated with politically motivated militants of Islamic Faith.

Terrorism is the vehicle used by Radical Islamists to spread Islamic fundamentalism in order to establish political leadership based on Islamic law (Sharia).

The principal architect of Jihadism among others include Osama bin Laden, who after analyzing the success of the global effort against them, issued a fatwa that it is the duty of every Muslim to kill the Americans and their allies – civilian and military in any country wherever and whenever possible.

This marked a significant shift in terrorism trends:

The emergence of homegrown terror cells, where you have 1st and 2nd generation immigrants from Islamic countries who have acquired citizenship in foreign lands, indigenous radical Muslims, and indigenous Islam new converts carrying out terrorist attacks. These cells are small, technologically savvy, decentralized and without formal connection to known international terrorist groups, but at times get training in terrorism in camps in Pakistan. These cells get inspirations from Jihadist propaganda (videos, audio tapes et-cetera)

²³ <http://www.Strategicforesight.com/AninclusiveWorld>. – A global research report: 2007.

One example is the July 2005 London bombing of a Double Decker Bus and three London underground trains which killed 52 people and injured over 700. The attackers were 2nd generation immigrants from Pakistan.²⁴

Sophistication of methods employed by terrorists, whereby they exploit the new global flow of information, finance and ideas to their benefit. The saying today is that terrorism has become a web directed phenomenon. The 9/11 attack on World Trade Center, the cell members led by Mohammed Atta relied on use of the inter-net using code messages.²⁵

The suicide and roadside bombing were mostly in Eastern Asian and Arab countries, but have of recent spread to Western Europe and to Africa. Two examples are; The April 2007 suicide car bombs that killed 23 people and injured 162 in Algiers, Algeria.²⁶ The May 2007 terrorist roadside bomb attack also killed 04 AMISON (AU) soldiers and injured others in Hammar Wayne – Mogadishu Somalia.

There are increased attacks aimed at causing economic damage by targeting transportation infrastructure, tourism and oil installations. Examples are; the July 2005 Sharm el- Sheikh car bombing in Egypt at tourist sites that killed 83 and wounded more than 200 people.²⁷ The July 2006 attack of the railway transportation networks in Mumbai and July 2005 attack of the railway in London are other examples. (Both cities are economic hubs).

²⁴ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/7_July_2005_London_bombings

²⁵ <http://www.proliberty.com/observer/911report.pdf>

²⁶ <http://google.co.ke/search?hl=en&q=april+2007+algeria+terrorist+attack>

²⁷ <http://edition.cnn.com/2005/WORLD/meast/07/23/egypt.explosions/>

Sonal, states that the main contributory factors to the spread of terrorism / insurgency in India have been widespread economic frustration, communalism, poor moral health of Indian politics and its democracy, administrative failures and to a lesser extent secessionist aspirations. Further impetus to the above causes has been provided by some neighboring countries by their willingness to extend material, ideological and other help to terrorist/insurgent organizations. Outside help has played a crucial role in the emergence and growth (as well as decline) of most of the terrorist/insurgent movements that India has experienced.²⁸

There is increase in the use of liquid – improvised explosive devices (IEDs). For example the Mumbai Train Attacks, the terrorists used a gas cylinder containing liquid gas called RDX. The use of chlorine in the terrorist attacks in Iraq in February 2007. The Sept 2007 foiled attack on Frankfurt international Airport, pubs and schools in Germany frequented by Americans where the terrorists had planned to use hydrogen peroxide to make a bomb.²⁹

According to Jessica Stern, terrorists might be able to acquire chemical or biological (CB) agents from governments favourable to their cause. CB agents are proliferating. In 1997, US Secretary of Defence William Cohen estimated the number of countries with “mature chemical and biological weapons programs” at about thirty and the CIA claimed that around twenty nations had developed these weapons; Iran, Iraq, North Korea and Syria – all listed by the State Department as supporters of terrorism – are believed to possess chemical weapons and at least some biological weapons.³⁰

²⁸ Capt Ashish. *Terrorism and Insurgency in India*. Lancer Publishers PVT. Ltd. New Delhi 1994. pp8

²⁹ <http://www.artimmersion.com/Blck-to-Bone/bomb.php>

³⁰ Jessica Stern. *The ultimate terrorists*. Harvard University Press, 1999. pp 49

There is increase of anonymous terror attacks. This is attributed to fear of the perpetrators to be targeted by the global counter-terrorism effort.

The use of Muslim youth aged between 15 and 20 is on the raise, this is attributed to increased number of madarrases (schools) which promote radicalism and encourage the youth to embrace militancy. Example is the September 2007 Batne-Algeria attack where 20 people were killed by a suicide bomber aged 15 years.

One factor which helps facilitate radical Islam in Africa is the Islamist influence in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Gulf States. As from the Middle Ages, many African Muslims went to study religious Islamic studies in Al-Azhar University in Cairo as well as pilgrimage to Mecca. Some of those Muslims who went to Saudi Arabia and Egypt were influenced by the radical Islamists whether wahhabis or Muslim brotherhood. When they returned to their places of origin, they preached the radical Islamist agenda.³¹

There is an increase of radical organizations in the Muslim countries, which provide moral and financial support to Islamic terrorists.³²

Examples include:

Abu Nidal Organization (ANO) – Palestine

Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) – Philippines

Al Jihad a.k.a Egyptian Islamic Jihad – Egypt

Al Qaeda – established by Osama bin Laden in the late 1980s

³¹ www.e-prison.org/images/islam

Factors facilitating the rise of Radical Islamism and Terrorism in sub-Saharan Africa. By Rorshe Terdman

³² Russell D Howard and Sawyer. Terrorism and Counter Terrorism. Published by Mc Graw-Hill/Dushkin. Guilford Connecticut. pp 503

The Jamaat e Islami Conservative Party of Bangladesh.

Hamas (Islamic Resistance Movement) - Palestine

Hezbollah - Lebanon

Front for Islamic Salvation - Algeria.

Union of Islamic Courts - Somalia.

In Uganda, the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) in 2005 attempted to form a political organization called Liberty Development Trust (LDT) through which they would veil their activities, their plans were nipped in the bud.

There is also the growing role of women in terrorist activities. This is noted in Iraq, Indonesia, Philippines and Sri-lanka, and of recent Somalia. The other trend is the increase in right wing terrorists, including conservationists and environmentalists who carry out terror attacks. For example the January 2007 UK letter bomb attacks on the DNA testing centers and transport agencies.³³

Increased overlap of terrorist activities with international crimes has been noted. For example the Taliban in Afghanistan and Revolutionary armed forces in Columbia are using drugs to finance terrorism.³⁴

The use of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) is being sought, with a growing desire by terrorists to attack using such weapons. With increased exposure on the internet, and recruitment of highly trained scientists, sooner than later, the terrorists will develop this

³³ http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qn4158/is_20070208/ai_n17203614

³⁴ <http://www.cfdp.ca/terror.htm>

capacity. The potential use of weapons of mass destruction by terrorists e.g. nuclear, chemical or biological need to be checked early.³⁵

There is growing establishment of Community Help Projects by radical Muslims through which they disguise terrorist activities. For example the Islamic Courts Union (ICU) in Somalia had set up several Community Help Projects through which they spread their doctrine.

1.6.5 Areas of Consensus and Differences

Considering the literature review made, the various Researchers of Terrorism have different perspectives when examining the terrorist phenomenon. Whereas there is consensus that just cause or no just cause terrorism should be avoided by all, there is disagreement on the three Ws, Why terrorism? What is terrorism? and Who is a terrorist?

In some instances the various actors try to address one of the fundamental assumptions underlying the conduct of the war on Terrorism, the nature of the enemy, whether perpetrators of terrorist activities are criminals or soldiers (combatants). Although the United States recognizes that terrorist acts are certainly illegal, it has chosen to treat perpetrators as combatants, but much of the world have opted for a purely legalistic approach. Disagreement about assumptions is not the only basis for divergent policies for confronting terrorism, but certainly explains the international communities' inability to agree on strategies to overcome what is recognized as a serious common and persistent international problem.

³⁵ <http://cns.miis.edu/pubs/npr/vol04/43/hoffma43.pdf>
(Bruce Hoffman. Viewpoint on Terrorism and WMD. Some Preliminary Hypotheses)

The literature shows that respective cultures and histories influence definitions, assumptions and subsequent policy decisions based on competing ideas and approaches.

1.6.6 CONCLUSION

Deducing from the above literature, the trend of affairs clearly calls for adequate study to fill the gaps so that appropriate responses by the whole international community are taken collectively. As Waltz puts it – if you want to understand the world, do not look at states alone but look at the international system as a whole.

1.7 Conceptual Framework

Terrorism is viewed as one of the methods available to negative individuals, groups or states with a criminal mind to advance their political or ideological aims. In order to understand this phenomenon, the **realist approach** will be used. Realism means the inclination towards literal truth and pragmatism. It also means to accept life the way it is and form a practical method of dealing with it.

The study will also consider the **neo-realist approach**. Neo-realists view the state as the principal actor and must guarantee security³⁶. In the current fight against terrorism the states' responses attest to this approach. As previously noted, **Waltz** emphasizes that if you want to understand the world, do not look at states alone but look at the international system as a whole.

The development of especially religiously motivated terrorism has increased the complexity of the terrorist phenomenon. We are currently faced with a wider range of actors with a broader set of motivations, strategies, tactics, organizational structures and goals than ever before.

This increased complexity necessitates the development of analytical frameworks that can guide analysis of the terrorist phenomenon to assess terrorist threat and guide counter-terrorism policy making.

³⁶ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/international_relations

The study will be guided by the concept that fundamentalists are those people who claim to be representing the "true faith". It is however, worth stating that fundamentalism, activism, radicalism or revivalism is not unique to Islam alone. It is a phenomenon that permeates many other social identities at given times of their evolution and under various social-economic circumstances. There are different modes of fundamentalism; cultural, ideological, political and ethnic all expressed in various ways to appeal to the masses and serving various interests.

Leading terrorism researcher Rudner, questions the validity of the saying, one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter. He posits that it is grossly misleading; it assesses the validity of the cause when actually terrorism is an act. That, one can have perfectly beautiful cause and yet if one commits terrorist acts, it is terrorism regardless.³⁷

Bajpai, states that terrorist violence is also an instrument of states or governments, often to combat non-state terrorists.³⁸

This study however, will be guided by the fact that; good cause or no good cause no individual, group, or state should resort to terrorist methods or other unconventional means for redress.

³⁷ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/terrorism>

³⁸ Kanti P. Bajpai – Roots of Terrorism. Published by Penguin Books, India 2002 P7

1.8 Hypotheses

This study will test the following hypotheses;

Cooperation and Coordination among States in Eastern Africa is the only way to stamp out Regional Terrorism.

The current Security Mechanisms and Diplomatic Responses offer lasting solutions to the threat of regional terrorism.

Security Mechanisms and Diplomatic Responses are inadequate to produce lasting solutions to the threat of Regional Terrorism.

1.9 Methodology

The research will utilize both primary and secondary data.

Primary sources will be examined, these will include Government of Uganda-Law and Policy documents as well as Regional Security Conference Materials.

Secondary sources of data regarding terrorism will involve library study, books, journals, magazines, and newspapers. A survey of Internet sources will also be conducted.

The secondary data will be critically analyzed to get a background of the subject under study and an evaluation of prior research in this area.

The personal experience of the Researcher will also add value to this study.

1.10 Chapter Outline

Chapter One: This chapter introduces the study. It contains; *Introduction, Background to the Study, Statement of the Research Problem, Objectives of the study, Justification, Literature review, Conceptual framework, Hypotheses, Methodology and Chapter Outline.*

Chapter Two: Responses to Regional Terrorism

This chapter examines responses to Regional Terrorism. It evaluates the security, legal and diplomatic measures taken.

Chapter Three: A Case Study Of The ADF in Uganda: 1991- 2001

This chapter traces the genesis and evolution of ADF and its terrorist activities in Uganda.

Chapter Four: A Critical Analysis of Responses to Regional Terrorism

This chapter critically examines the responses to Regional Terrorism.

Chapter Five Conclusions and Recommendations

This chapter concludes the study and recommendations are given.

Chapter Two: RESPONSES TO REGIONAL TERRORISM

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided into two sections;

The first section examines the terrorist threat in Eastern Africa, its nature, manifestation and effects and the second section identifies responses by the authorities to regional terrorism.

2.2 Overview of the Terrorist Threat: East Africa and the Horn of Africa are threatened by indigenous and international terrorism. This part of Africa has experienced a number of internal and regional conflicts in recent decades. Islamic fundamentalism, ethnic conflict, have contributed to acts of terrorism.

Western interests (US and allies) in the region have also attracted attacks by radicals, Examples include, the bombing by Al Qaeda in 1998 of the American Embassies in Dar-es-Salaam Tanzania, and Nairobi, Kenya and the simultaneous Al-Qaeda attacks at Mombasa, Kenya in 2002 against an Israel Airliner and bombing of a hotel popular with Israel tourists.³⁹

These are classic examples of terrorism, and the primary goal is not to injure the country where the terrorist attack takes place, rather it is designed to harm third party such as the United States, Egypt or Israel.

³⁹ David John Bwakili "Kenya's Terror Devils" contemporary Review 282, no 1647 (April 2003) Pg 211 - 13

Important to the understanding of terrorism in the region is the inter-connectedness of most of the indigenous conflicts. They often result in refugee flows in various directions, they frequently lead to support for a dissident group in one country by a neighbouring country. That support, in turn causes the affected country to back another dissident organization against the offending government.

At different points in time, Ethiopia, Uganda and Eritrea supported the Sudan Peoples Liberation Army (SPLA) against Khartoum, while Khartoum supported the Lords Resistance Army (LRA) against Uganda, the Ogaden Liberation Front (OLF) against Ethiopia, and the EIJ against Eritrea.

Following the 1998-2000 Ethiopian-Eritrean war, Eritrea supported the OLF against Ethiopia. Ethiopia responded by supporting a coalition of Eritrean dissidents against Eritrea. Somalia also plays this game. This has developed into a debilitating tit for tat in the region, and it also increases the prospects for the use of terrorist tactics.⁴⁰

Sudan has a long history of tolerance toward and support for terrorist groups. "The cumulative weight of evidence establishes that Sudan is providing repeated support for terrorism. The evidence available indicates that Sudan allows the use of its territory as sanctuary for terrorists, including the Abu Nidal Organization and members of Hezbollah and Palestine Islamic Jihad"⁴¹

⁴⁰ Lionel Cliffe. "Regional Dimensions of Conflict in the Horn of Africa" Third World Quarterly 20, no.1 (February 1999), Pg 89 -111

⁴¹ Mike Mc Curry, US State Department Briefing Federal News Service, 18 August 1993.

In 1994 Sudan showed willingness to cooperate in a limited way against terrorism when it turned over to the French the infamous terrorist Illich Ramirez Sanchez aka Carlos the Jackal who had been living in Khartoum.⁴²

Sudan made another effort in 1996 when at the request of the USA, it removed from the country Osama Bin Laden who had been living there since 1991. Comparison of the entries for Sudan in the 1999 and 2002 State Department's' annual patterns of Global terrorism is instructive. The 1999 report states; "Sudan continued to serve as a central hub for several international terrorist groups including Osama Bin Laden's Al Qaeda organization. The Sudanese Government also condoned Iran's assistance to terrorist and radical Islamist groups operating in and transiting through Sudan. Khartoum served as a meeting place, safe haven and training hub for members of the Lebanese Hizballah, Egyptian Gama'at al Islamiyya, al-Jihad, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, HAMAS, and Abu Nidal organization"⁴³

In sharp contrast the 2002 report concluded that "while concerns remain regarding Sudanese Government support for certain terrorist groups, such as HAMAS and Palestine Islamic Jihad, the US is pleased with Sudan's cooperation and the progress being made in their anti-terrorist activities."⁴⁴

The progress with Sudan on counter-terrorism has been impressive and is continuing, but it remains high on the list of countries in the Horn of Africa where terrorist acts against Western interests could take place.

⁴² Donald Peterson, *Inside Sudan: Political Islam Conflict and catastrophe* (Boulder, CO: West View, 1999) Pg 129 and Yehudit Ronan "Sudan and the United States. Is a decade of Tension Winding Down? Middle East Policy 9, No1 (March 2002), Pg 97

⁴³ US Department of State, *Patterns of Global Terrorism 1999*, www.state.gov

⁴⁴ US Department of State, *Patterns of Global Terrorism 2002* www.state.gov.

Kenya Uganda and Tanzania are all soft targets and offer a rich assortment of western targets. Tanzania and Kenya are easily accessible by sea and both have a radicalized Islamic element that has assisted outside terrorist groups. Kenya has a particularly porous border with ungoverned Somalia. The Kenyan government has long been concerned about the activities of the Islamic party of Kenya, an unregistered organization with significant strength on Kenya's Swahili coast. A support network for terrorists has developed along the coast where persons coming from the Gulf States, Pakistan, Somalia and the Comoro Islands can blend in with ease.

Pervasive corruption among immigration personnel makes it possible for these individuals to obtain citizenship and engage in legitimate cover businesses. It may well be that Al Qaeda has strong links along the coast.⁴⁵

In Tanzania, in 2002 a small number of the Muslim faithful in Dar-es-Salaam conducted special prayers for the destruction of the USA and its leaders. There are increasing signs of militancy developing in certain Mosques in Zanzibar and along the Tanzania coast. In an interview with Jane's intelligence Review, Zanzibar's President Amani Abeid Karume did not deny the possible presence of Al Qaeda on the Island.⁴⁶

Foreign elements encourage Islamic militancy in Tanzania under cover of providing funds to build new mosques and by infiltrating legitimate businesses such as banking. Tanzania is slowly beginning to take the threat more seriously. Several Tanzania banks recently froze

⁴⁵ Stephen Muiruri, Most wanted Terrorist Named, Daily Nation on the Web, 26 August 2003. "EA Countries Fail UN anti-Terror Test" The East African 11 August 2003

⁴⁶ Gorill Husby, "Islam Gains Ground in East Africa," Jane's Intelligence Review (May 2003), Pg 31.

the accounts of some individuals and organizations suspected of funding terrorism in the country.⁴⁷

In Uganda, there are two organizations of terrorist nature; the Lords Resistance Army (LRA) and the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF). There were numerous attacks by the Christian LRA against civilian targets in northern Uganda up to 2005. The ADF which is an Islamic militant group also caused mayhem before it was defeated in 2001. Although Uganda's Islamic community is relatively small, it is capable of being radicalized.⁴⁸

In Ethiopia, there is a large Islamic population. The largest ethnic group the Oromo who constitute about 40 percent of the population is about 60 percent Muslim. Many of them have aspirations for greater autonomy or control of the Ethiopian government. The Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) has not shirked in the past from using terrorist tactics inside Ethiopia to achieve its goals. However, the OLF denied any involvement in the bombing of a passenger train on the Djibouti-Addis Ababa route, adding that it rejects all acts of terror against the civilian population.⁴⁹

The militant wing of the Somali ONLF and the now quiescent Islamic Front for the Liberation of Oromia have also used terrorism as a weapon. It is still difficult for Ethiopia to end completely the use of terrorist tactics by indigenous dissident groups. It is imperative, however, that Ethiopia put at the top of its agenda equal opportunity for the Muslim community in order to reduce the temptation by Islamic malcontents to join forces with

⁴⁷ Faustine Rwambali, *the East African*, 1 September 2003

⁴⁸ Adam Clymer. "World Survey Says Negative Views of US are Rising" *New York Times*, 5 December 2002, P 22

⁴⁹ Oromo Liberation Front, Press Release, 30 September 2003

external Islamic terrorist organizations. Although Ethiopia has a good security apparatus, it also offers to terrorist groups a large number of attractive western targets.

In Eritrea, the threat of terrorism also exists, its location on the Red Sea and its close proximity to Yemen provides opportunity for terrorist activities.

Like Ethiopia, it seeks close collaboration with the USA on counter terrorism. Eritrea is trying to curry favour with the USA in hope of support on matters related to the Ethiopia – Eritrea dispute. Having lost the war to Ethiopia, it especially wants the border demarcation to go forward as determined and announced by the international arbitration panel. The conflict broke out in 1998 in a small section of the border known as Badme, which the arbitration panel awarded to Eritrea, Ethiopia says this is unacceptable. As a result, the experts have not yet begun border demarcation and the situation remains tense.⁵⁰

Both Ethiopia, and Eritrea engage in tit for tat support of groups hostile to the other country. In 2003 the EIJ probably operating out of Sudan, planted landmines that killed five Eritrean militia. For its part, Asmara remains the headquarters for a northern Sudanese opposition group known as the National Democratic Alliance, and supports the OLF against Ethiopia.

In Djibouti, there is also a potential threat of Terrorism. The country is located opposite Yemen and near the strait of Bab el Mandeb, a critical chokepoint where the Red Sea meets the Gulf of Aden. In 2002 after 9/11 terrorist attacks in the US, Djibouti became the headquarters of the Combined Joint Task Force – Horn of Africa (CJTF – HOA). This unit

⁵⁰ United Nations Security Council, Progress report of the Secretary-General on Ethiopia and Eritrea, 22 July 2003, and Paulo's Milkias "Ethiopia and Eritrea at War" saga of Triumph and Tragedy at the Dawn of the Millennium," Horn of Africa 17, nos 1-4 (December 1999), Pg 33 -71

coordinates coalition counter terrorism operations in the total airspace and land area of Somalia, Kenya Sudan, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Djibouti and Yemen.⁵¹

Djibouti is the only US military base in Sub-Saharan Africa. As a result, it has become more important to the US than at any time in history. In addition to CJTF-HOA, some 3200 French Military Personnel are stationed in Djibouti. This makes it a rich target for terrorist attack. In a place as small as Djibouti however, the over-whelming western security presence may discourage potential attacks and force terrorists to seek out softer targets in the region. So far, there has not been significant negative reaction from Djibouti's dominant Islamic population to the coalition military presence.

In Somalia there has not been effective national government since the fall of the Siad Barre regime in 1991. (The former Northern Province-Somaliland, declared its independence from Somalia in 1991, although recognized by no country, it is generally peaceful and not subject to the terrorist concerns presented by the situation in Somalia.)

The Organization of most concern AIAI follows Wahhabi doctrine that emanates from Saudi Arabia. Wahhabism constitutes a strict form of Islam similar to the Taliban. Its goal is to create a Somali Islamic State that incorporates those Somalis living in Ethiopia⁵²

AIAI conducted terrorist attacks from Somalia against Ethiopia in the 1990s. Ethiopia retaliated on several occasions against AIAI inside Somalia. AIAI has changed tactics in

⁵¹ See the following websites: www.cjtfhoa.centcom.mil/default.asp
www.globalsecurity.org/military/agency/dod/cjtf-hoa.htm

⁵² Andre Le Sage, "Prospects for Al Itihad and Islamist Radicalism in Somalia" Review of African Political Economy 28, No. 89 (September 2001), Pg 472 - 73

recent years by dispersing its followers and focusing on support for Islamic Schools and Social Programs.

AIAl's links to al-Qaeda are not very clear, but the British government announced in 2001 that Mohammed Atef now deceased and whose al-Qaeda duties included training and organizing military and terrorist operations, traveled to Somalia in 1992 and 1993 to encourage attacks against US and UN Forces. According to this account, Atef trained Somalis to fight UN forces, and AL-Qaeda operatives participated in the October 1993 attack that resulted in the eventual departure of the US forces from Somalia. In a November 1996 interview with an Arabic language newspaper, Osama bin Laden for the first time took credit publicly for helping Somali factions against the Americans in Mogadishu. Bin Laden's claim appeared three years after the attacks but did not specifically refer to the 3 – 4 Oct 1993 battle popularized by the book and movie *Black Hawk Down*.⁵³

Other sources, including American military personnel who were present at the time, are highly skeptical of the alleged connection in 1992 and 1993 between AIAl and al-Qaeda. Apparently, there is no much trust between AIAl and al-Qaeda although there has certainly been contact.

A failed state, Somalia continues to be governed as a series of fiefdoms supported largely by the business class and the militias they finance. There is some evidence that AIAl has infiltrated elements of the business community.⁵⁴

⁵³ Osama bin Laden interview with Abdelbari Atwan, Al-quds Al-Arabi, 27 November 1996.

⁵⁴ Audre Le Sage, "Somalia: Sovereign Disguise for a Mogadishu Mafia" Review of African Political Economy 29, No. 91 (March 2002), Pg 134 -37

Islamic charities, especially al-Islah provide considerable aid to Somalis and may be susceptible to penetration by terrorists. The situation in Somalia raises serious concerns and could attract terrorists chased from other areas such as Afghanistan. While this is true, Somalia is no Afghanistan. Clan ties are more important than religious ones. There are few places to hide and non-Somalis are highly conspicuous in Somali society. The potential for terrorist activity emanating from Somalia is real and requires close monitoring.

It is clear that terrorist groups have become more sophisticated and adaptable to the ever changing technological development and have developed their human and material resources. They execute relatively complex operations through meticulous operational planning.

Hoffman posits that, the compelling new motives, notably those associated with religious terrorism, coupled with increased access to critical information and key components like Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD), leading to enhanced terrorist capabilities could portend an even bloodier and more destructive era of violence ahead than any we have seen before.⁵⁵

Howard and Sawyer, opine that; no single approach makes an effective counter- terrorist policy, the policy must have several elements. In that respect, counter terrorism is similar to many other problems that involve the physical well-being of the public.⁵⁶

Barry R Posen advocates for a Grand Strategy to combat terrorism. He states that the United States faces a long war against a small elusive and dangerous foe – the Al Qaeda network.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Bruce Hoffman. Inside Terrorism (New York : Columbia University Press, 1998) pp 205

⁵⁶ Russell D Howard, Reid L Sawyer. Terrorism and Counterterrorism. Understanding the new security environment. Mc Graw-Hill Dushkin Co. Guilford Connecticut 2002. pp35

⁵⁷ Barry R Posen. The struggle against Terrorism, Strategy and tactics. *International Security* Vol 26 No 3

Therefore, considering the above observations there is need for adequate responses by building appropriate capacity to face the challenges. Efforts at the regional level are meant to augment activities undertaken at the national level, which fall under four broad areas; Legal, Security, and Diplomatic frameworks.

2.3 RESPONSES TO TERRORISM

2.3.1 Legal responses

There has been enhancement of the Domestic Criminal Law in response to terrorism through International Agreement;

Most Nations have addressed the problem of international terrorism by becoming parties to international agreements on this topic. The purpose of these agreements is to establish a framework for international co-operation to fight terrorism.

Agreements concerning anti-terrorism have been concluded on a global as well as regional basis. The various organs of the United Nations have had a leading role in the development of these agreements. Regional organizations have also had a major role in the creation of international agreements on anti-terrorism.

A number of multilateral conventions and treaties related to terrorism provide that the specified terrorist crimes shall be deemed extraditable offences in any existing or future extradition treaties between the parties to the convention. These conventions also provide

that parties to the convention may consider the convention as the legal basis for extradition in the absence of an extradition treaty between them.

In addition many multilateral conventions include provisions that impose mutual assistance in law enforcement obligations on the contracting nations in connection with the investigation and prosecution of the specified terrorist offences.

The adoption of specific counter terrorism legislation is critical to ensure that the planning, financing, incitement and conduct of terrorism is criminalized to allow for extradition and other forms of international co-operation and to ensure that the criminal justice system is fully equipped to combat terrorism within the bounds of the rule of law.

The Basic legislative requirements to combat terrorism can be found in the 13 international conventions and protocols related to terrorism made under the auspices of the United Nations.⁵⁸ (SEE APPENDIX III)

The 1999 OAU convention on the prevention and combating of terrorism is also important in the fight against terrorism.⁵⁹

Most countries in the region have ratified the conventions and protocols, they have also enacted anti-terrorism laws.

Finances are critical to successful terrorist operations. Much like any other enterprise, terrorist groups and organizations must rely on financial resources to build networks and safe havens, and to provide training and equipment to their operatives. Unfortunately many parts

⁵⁸ <http://www.un.org/terrorism/instruments.shtml>

⁵⁹ http://untreaty.un.org/English/Terrorism/oau_e.pdf

of Africa face limited and sometimes shrinking private sector and state capacity for the delivery of essential social services. This has led to the dynamic development of charitable associations and non-governmental organizations to fill the gap. The work of charities and non-profit organizations in Africa is often unregulated. Individual donors are hard to identify and funding for projects is rarely made transparent for government scrutiny.

In addition, a wide range of charities which have been affiliated with terrorist activities around the world are present in Africa. Therefore, efforts to combat money laundering and improve financial monitoring and regulation are critical issues.

This includes the creation of financial intelligence units and the *necessary legislation* to make them effective. In East Africa (Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania) national capacities to combat terrorist financing are being supplemented by the Eastern and Southern Africa Anti-money laundering Group (ESAAMLG) based in Dar-es-Salaam, which cooperates with the Financial Action task Force, and the Eastern Africa Police Chiefs Co-operation Organization (EAPCCO) which co-operates with Interpol.⁶⁰ The members of EAPCCO are; Sudan, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somalia, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi, and Seychelles.

2.3.2 Security responses

The Regional Counter-Terrorism Conference (RCTC) of Intelligence and Security Services was established in 2004. It has the following members; Burundi, Comoros, DRC, Egypt,

⁶⁰ <http://www.interpol.int/Public/ICPO/SRB/EAPCCO.pdf>

Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, Sudan, Uganda, Zambia, Botswana, Djibouti, Madagascar and Zimbabwe.⁶¹

The Conference is held every year on rotational basis. Its Plan of Action includes;

Strengthening Counter-Terrorism Co-operation.

Integrating technology in counter-terrorism efforts.

Strengthening Regional Security through pooling resources.

Exchange of information.

Harmonizing the legal system and operating within the law.

Identifying and addressing the root causes of terrorism.

The conference has noted that terrorist groups are co-operating across the region, transiting borders, using one country to train, another to raise funds, another for safe haven, while targeting a different one all together. They are working together to maximize the impact of their activities.

It is against this background that intelligence and security services in the region are taking the path of co-operation and collaboration – sharing intelligence, assisting with evidence collection, compiling terrorist profiles and exchanging expertise and experience.

In Kenya public awareness of the terrorist threat has increased as a result of education and prevention programmes carried out by the National Counter Terrorism Center (NCTC).⁶²

Some member countries have also established National Counter-Terrorism Centers.

⁶¹ Regional Counter Terrorism Conference records (unpublished).

<http://www.Sudaneseonline.com/earticle 2005/nov 10 – 63537.shtml>

⁶² <http://statehousekenya.go.ke/speeches/Kibaki/september 03/2003260901.htm>

There has also been **Regional Counter-Terrorism Courses**, the recent one was held between 25th February and 9th March 2007 in Nairobi. The course aimed at sharing experience and skills in combating terrorism was attended by 11 countries.

The African Centre for the study and Research on terrorism (ACSRT) was established in Algiers-Algeria under section H paragraphs 19 to 21 of the African Union Plan of Action on the *prevention and combating of Terrorism*.

The centre was established as a structure of the AU Commission, in conformity with the protocol to the OAU convention on the prevention and combating of Terrorism, which confer on the Peace and Security Council of the African Union, the responsibility for implementing regional, continental and international *counter – terrorism instruments* as well as harmonize and coordinate continental efforts in the prevention and combating of terrorism.⁶³

The functions of ACSRT are;

Assist Member States of the African Union in developing strategies for the prevention and combating of terrorism;

Establish operating procedures for information gathering, processing and dissemination;

Provide technical and expert advice on the implementation of the African Union counter-terrorism regimes, in particular, the 1999 OAU convention and its Protocol thereto, the Plan of Action on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism, as well as

⁶³ <http://www.africa-union.org/terrorism/terrorism2.htm#>

on the updating and strengthening of polices and programmes of the Union relating to counter-terrorism;

Develop and maintain a database on a range of issues relating to the prevention and combating of terrorism, particularly on terrorist groups and their activities in Africa, as well as on experts and technical assistance available. Such a database as well as analyses shall be accessible by all member States of the union;

Promote the coordination and standardization of efforts aimed at enhancing the capacity of member States to prevent and combat terrorism;

Initiate and disseminate research studies and policy analyses periodically to sensitize Member States, based on the current trends, and/or on the demand of Member State(s). The Center shall publish, periodically its research and analyses, in an "African Journal for the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism";

Develop cooperation and assistance programmes with similar and/or interested institutions at the national, regional, continental and international levels, in the areas of research, information gathering and analyses on issues relating to the prevention and combating of terrorism;

Undertake research and converging studies on other global security problems with links to terrorism, which pose a threat to peace and security in Africa;

Develop capacity for early warning to encourage early response integrating the concept of Preventive Management of Crisis;

Provide technical and expert advice on how best Africa can contribute in a more meaningful way to the international campaign against terrorism, particularly the implementation of relevant international instruments by Member States of the African Union;

Undertake studies and make recommendations on strengthening and standardization of legal norms and cooperation in matters of information-sharing among Member States, mutual assistance, extradition, police and border control (including land, maritime and air) in Africa;

Conduct studies and analyses on the best strategies and methods for suppressing the financing of terrorism.

Organize workshops, seminars, symposia and training programs for enhancing the capacity of Member States and Regional Mechanisms in the prevention and combating of terrorism in Africa;

Submit annual reports on its activities to the Chairperson of the Commission, for consideration by the policy Organs of the Union. The annual report shall include a financial statement on the activities undertaken in the previous year and the budget of activities envisaged for the next fiscal year.

The Centre may also carry out such duties as may be assigned to it by the commission of the African Union or the Peace and Security Council, on matters relating to the prevention and combating of terrorism in Africa.⁶⁴

In October 2002, the United States Central command (CENTCOM) developed a Joint Task Force to focus on “detecting, disrupting and ultimately defeating transnational terrorist groups operating in the region” and to provide a forward presence in the region. The Headquarter is Djibouti.

Approximately 1800 US military and civilian personnel make up the Combined Joint Task Force - Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA) which covers the land and airspace in Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, Seychelles, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti and Yemen, as well as the coastal waters of the Red Sea, the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean. The CJTF personnel train the regions' security forces on counter-terrorism and collection of intelligence.⁶⁵

In another development, there are efforts by IGAD and AU to salvage Somalia from the status of a failed state.⁶⁶ These efforts are also aimed at stabilizing the Horn of Africa and the Great Lakes Region considering that Somalia's instability has been spilling over, through among others; the influx of refugees and the proliferation of Small arms and Light weapons. An unstable Somalia would undermine the gains of the East African community including the fast tracking of the political federation. Somalia as a safe haven for terrorists cannot be ignored.

⁶⁴ <http://www.africa-union.org/Terrorism/terrorism2.htm#>

⁶⁵ <http://www.hoa.centcom.mil>

⁶⁶ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/African_Union_Mission_to_Somalia

Following the lifting of the arms embargo (SCR 1725 of 2006), the AU Peace and Security Council meeting in January 2007 authorized the deployment of an African Peace Mission in Somalia (AMISON) to train personnel and protect the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) and its institutions, to facilitate inter-Somali dialogue and to support humanitarian assistance. Uganda and Burundi have since deployed in Somalia, despite the hostility, exhibited by some Arab Islamic Nations backing the fundamentalists who are carrying out terrorist missions in Somalia.

The **Eastern Africa Standby Brigade (EASBRIG)** is also being formed with its headquarters in Addis Ababa and a planning unit in Nairobi. It will be used to intervene in emergency cases of insecurity. ⁶⁷

There is also Defence Co-operation among the East African countries, in November 2004, the **EAC Sectoral Committee on Cooperation in Defence** met in Mombasa Kenya to discuss a common strategy against terrorism as well as ways of developing an early warning mechanism. The committee also made a decision to develop and harmonize the EAC standard operating procedures for disaster management and to counter terrorism. .

Another initiative to address terrorism is the **Committee for Intelligence and Security Services in Africa (CISSA)** that is promoting strategies that will facilitate interaction among African Security Organs. It was established in 2004 in Abuja Nigeria. ⁶⁸

⁶⁷ <http://www.easbrig.org/docs/com3exomar08.pdf>

Such forums continue to keep the importance of co-operation in the fight against terrorism high on the political agenda. Through them a bond of mutual respect and interdependence has developed among the various Regional Countries.

2.3.3 Diplomatic Responses

Eastern Africa member states are also cooperating and exchanging information through meetings of national leaders and officials. In 2002 a regional summit of **Heads of State** took place in Khartoum to endorse a resolution against terrorism.

In 2003, **Internal Affairs Ministers** from the East Africa region met in the Seychelles and signed an agreement on a range of measures to combat transnational illegal activities. The agreement is intended to strengthen regional cooperation to fight cross-border organized crime, terrorism, and narcotics trade.

In 2004, ministers representing the 10 member states of the Eastern Africa Police Chiefs Cooperation Organization signed **three agreements** designed to bolster cross-border work on the extradition of criminals, the fight against terrorism, and narcotics trade. It was during the first EAPCCO meeting held in Kampala Uganda in 1998 that an institutionalized body was set up to fight crime in the region jointly.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ <http://intellbriefs.blogspot.com/2007/06/african-intelligence-and-security.html>

⁶⁹ <http://www.interpol.int/Public/ICPO/SRB/EAPCCO.pdf>

The **International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR)** is another initiative to address instability in the “Region. The Regional secretariat is in Bujumbura – Burundi.⁷⁰

It covers 11 core countries namely; Angola, Central African Republic, DRC, Rwanda, Tanzania, Zambia, Burundi, Republic of Congo, Kenya, Sudan and Uganda. It was launched in 2003 and stewarded by the Joint UN-AU Secretariat in Nairobi with the support of the Group of Friends co-chaired by the Netherlands and Canada.

This initiative aims at transforming the region from a zone of conflicts and underdevelopment into a space for stability and prosperity.

In this regard, the Heads of state of the Great lakes Region have held two Summits and signed the following instruments;

1. The Dar-es-Salaam Declaration on Peace, Security, Democracy and Development in the Great Lakes Region - 19 November 2004.
2. The Pact for Security, Stability and Development in the Great Lakes Region - 15 December 2006.

The pact has as its integral parts 33 projects and 10 protocols spanning 4 thematic areas;

Peace and Security.

Democracy and Good Governance.

Regional Integration and Economic Development.

Social and Humanitarian Issues.

The Protocol on Non-Aggression and Mutual Defence (of the ICGLR) Article 1.3 (k) states that; *No State is allowed to Encourage, Support, Harbour, or provide any assistance for the*

⁷⁰ <http://www.icgl.org>

*commission of terrorist acts and other violent transnational organized crimes against a member state.*⁷¹

The **Tripartite plus Joint Commission (TPJC)** is another initiative aimed at addressing the negative forces operating in Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) which have caused great concern in the Region.

In order to fill the vacuum left by the UN's displacement and alienation of the regional mechanism laid out under the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement – the Joint Military Commission and the Political Committee to address the Regional dimension of the DRC Crisis – the question of negative forces, Uganda, Rwanda, and DRC signed a Tripartite Plus Agreement on 26 October 2003. The USA Government is the facilitator of the Tripartite Plus initiative.⁷²

In 2005 the three countries plus Burundi established an **Intelligence Fusion Cell** in Kisangani DRC where each country deployed officers to collect, analyze and advise on information pertaining to regional security threats. The Tripartite Plus countries are in the process of designing a collective strategy for utilizing the actionable intelligence to disarm, demobilize and repatriate the negative forces operating out of Eastern DRC. The Tripartite Plus is in the process of compiling a common list of most wanted notorious persons to be subjected to sanctions by the Region, the AU and UN.

Since 1998, counterterrorism in Eastern Africa has been greatly boosted by the support and cooperation of the USA and other Western governments. In 2003, the Bush administration announced the \$100 million counterterrorism Initiative (EACTI). This initiative included

⁷¹ <http://www.icgl.org>

⁷² <http://www.monuc.org/news.aspx?news ID=15442>

military training for border and coastal security, programs to strengthen control of the movement of people and goods across borders, aviation security capacity building, assistance for regional efforts against terrorist financing, and police training.

2.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter has attempted to examine the terrorist threat in Eastern Africa, and also identify the various responses by the Authorities in the Region. The overview has shown that the root causes of terrorist activities are numerous and sometimes complex even within a single dispute. They include; ethnic language and cultural differences, arbitrary boundaries, religion, ideology, competition for scarce resources including pasture and water, unequal sharing of resources controlled by the State, and sheer desire for power.

This therefore, calls for a multifaceted approach to pacify the Eastern Africa region, to ensure durable peace and security.

Chapter Three: A CASE STUDY OF THE ALLIED DEMOCRATIC FORCES (ADF) IN UGANDA 1991 – 2001.

3.1 Introduction:

This chapter examines the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) in Uganda 1991 – 2001, which waged war against the government of Uganda in order to establish a political system based on Islamic/Sharia Law.

The Chapter is divided into four sections.

Section one gives a profile of the Republic of Uganda as a country.

Section two examines Religion and Politics in Uganda after independence.

Section three examines the genesis, evolution and activities of the ADF.

Section four identifies the Uganda government responses to the ADF operations.

3.2 Uganda: Country Profile

Map of Uganda (See Appendix II)

Uganda is astride the equator, stretching from approximately one degree south to four degrees north of the equator and from thirty degrees to thirty five degrees east.⁷³ It is 800 kms inland from Indian Ocean. Uganda has a total surface area of 241,038 sq Km (93,065 sq miles). The country measures 625 Kms (388 miles) from east to west and 638 Kms (396

⁷³ Microsoft Word, Encarta Premium 2006.

miles) from north to south.⁷⁴ It is bordered by Kenya to the east, Sudan to the north, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) to the west, Rwanda to the south-west and Tanzania to the south.

Uganda is a country of remarkable physical features. It forms a plateau declining gradually from 1,300 m (4,300 ft) above sea level in the south to 750 m (2,460 ft) above sea level in the north. The southern portion is forested though much of the forest has been cleared for agriculture. Much of the north is open savanna, though to the north-east it is almost semi desert.⁷⁵

The western rift of the Great Rift Valley, a series of cracks on the earth's crust, more than 5,000 km (3,000 miles) in length runs through western Uganda. Mountains rise on the eastern (Mt Elgon and Mt Moroto being the most notable) and western (the Rwenzori ranges and Mt Muhabura being the most notable) borders of Uganda, the highest reaching more than 16,000ft above sea level.⁷⁶

Most lakes and rivers in Uganda form a drainage basin for the River Nile whose principle source is Lake Victoria. The Nile winds through Uganda and exits from the north of the country into Sudan eventually to the Mediterranean Sea. The other large lakes include Lake Albert, Lake Kyoga, Lake Edward and Lake George.

Uganda has a wide variety of plant life; from Mvule hard wood trees and elephant grass of the plateau to dry thorn scrubs, acacia trees and euphorbia shrubs of the north-east, as well as papyrus in the swamps which surround the lakes. Uganda's temperatures are moderate

⁷⁴ Ibid

⁷⁵ Robert Stock. Africa South of the Sahara: A Geographical Interpretation. The Guilford Press. London. 1995.

⁷⁶ Ibid

throughout the year. For example, average daily temperatures range from eighteen (18) degrees Celsius to twenty eight (28) degrees Celsius; except in the south western highlands where temperatures range from eight (8 degrees Celsius to twenty three (23) degree Celsius. The whole country receives sufficient rainfall, up to 2000 mm annually, with the exception of the north east which receives 900 mm annually.

According to the 2002 census, Uganda's population stood at 27.3 million people, growing at a rate of 3.3% annually. Uganda is predominantly rural with only 12% of the population living in urban areas.⁷⁷

As a result of migration and intermarriage, most Ugandans have ancestors from a variety of Uganda's more than thirty four ethnic groups, although people customarily identify with just a single group. In centuries past ancestors of many of these groups came to Uganda from what is now Sudan and Ethiopia.⁷⁸ Many of the languages presently used are not mutually intelligible. About two thirds of the populations living in the south speak Bantu languages. About one sixth of the populations in the north are western Nilotic; such people as the Langi and Acholi. Another one sixth, the Iteso and Karamojong, speak eastern Nilotic. Extreme North West of the country is occupied by the Sudanic speaking people. English is the official language although Kiswahili is the lingua franca.

In the sphere of Religion, it should be noted that European Missionary activity in the 19th Century led to widespread conversion to Christianity. About 41 percent of the people of Uganda are Roman Catholics, and 40 percent are Protestants – most belonging to the Church of Uganda (Anglican). Muslims less than 10 percent have less social status or

⁷⁷ Uganda Population Secretariat Report 2003.

⁷⁸ Karugire S. R. A Political History of Uganda. Heinemann Educational Books. Nairobi. 1980

political influence in Uganda than either Protestants or Catholics. *(However, there is better cooperation amongst the religious groups today than in the past).* Some Ugandans value the indigenous African religious traditions of their ethnic groups.⁷⁹

Uganda became a British Protectorate in 1894, and its present borders were established in 1926. It gained independence from British rule in 1962. In the 1970s and early 1980s the nation suffered two bloody dictatorial regimes under Idi Amin and Milton Obote and two wars. In 1986, Uganda came under control of Yoweri Museveni who introduced political and economic reforms.⁸⁰

In 1995 Uganda adopted the country's third Constitution which divides powers among the Executive, Legislature and Judiciary. The Constitution guarantees human rights, and establishes an independent Human Rights commission to investigate human rights violations. It creates an office of Inspector-General of Government to combat corruption and abuse of power at all levels.

The Constitution gives citizens the right to hold regular Elections to elect their leaders, and referenda to decide on the Political system. All citizens 18 years of age and above have the right to vote. People are free to form political parties and contest in Elections.

3.3 Religion and Politics in Uganda after Independence

Whereas in some other Muslim minority African countries, such as Ghana, Islamic leaders have managed intermittently to enter the framework of state power, their counterparts'

⁷⁹ Microsoft Student with Encarta, Premium 2007

⁸⁰ Ibid

experience in Uganda was different, an outcome reflective of deep-seated religious and ethnic tensions that endured over time. Religious rivalries between Catholics, Anglicans and Muslims were both contextualized and exacerbated by wider regional divisions between north and south.⁸¹

Over time religious establishments, both Christian and Muslim, were manoeuvred and controlled by those in power to ensure their firm grasp on authority. The National Association for the Advancement of Muslims (NAAM), Uganda's NMO, was founded in 1964, 2 years after independence from colonial rule. Adoko Nekyon, a cousin and close confidante of Milton Obote, then Uganda's prime minister, initially led the NAAM. Later, however, the allegiance of Uganda's Muslims divided between two competing national bodies. Kakungulu, an uncle of the Kabaka (king) of Buganda, led the rival Uganda Muslim Community, while the NAAM was closely associated with the interests of non-Baganda Muslims. The government regarded non-Baganda Muslims that by and large did not belong to the NAAM as 'disloyal to the state'.⁸² Nevertheless, the state found it impossible to control 'dissident' Baganda Muslims, just as they were unable significantly to influence state policies. UMC leaders were used as intermediaries between the state and the Baganda Muslims, although without leading to a rapprochement between the two groups.

Under Amin's rule (1971-79), prominent Muslims, both Baganda and non-Baganda, found themselves targeted as putative recipients of Arab financial largesse. Rich Arab states – especially Libya and Saudi Arabia – believed that it was incumbent upon them to proselytize

⁸¹ For accounts of Islam and Politics in Uganda, see F. Constantin, 'The Attempts to create Muslim National organizations in Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya, in H.B. Hansen and M. Twaddle, 1995 Pp 19-31, A. Oded, *Religion and Politics in Uganda; A study of Islam and Judaism* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 1995)

⁸² P. Mutibwa, *Uganda since independence* (London: Hurst & Co., 1992) P. 68

Islam in black Africa, and especially in a country such as Uganda, so centrally placed in the region. Libya's leader colonel Qaddafi, who appeared erroneously to believe that as many as 70 per cent of Ugandans were Muslims, condemned Christianity as an agent of imperialism in a speech at Makerere University in March 1974.⁸³ Pirouet alleges that Qaddafi's visit to Uganda led directly to the murder of two prominent Christian politicians: Col Michael Ondoga, the Foreign Minister, and Brigadier Charles Arube, a prominent Kakwa.⁸⁴ Following Amin's political demise and exile in 1979, Uganda's Muslims were politically marginalized in the 1980s and 1990s, not least because many non-Muslim Ugandans regarded Islam in the country to be intimately associated with Amin's excesses.

During the 1970s and 1980s, Chande reports, 'several hundred Ugandan Muslim students studied at the Islamic University of Medina'. Returning home, some preached a 'strict' or 'puritanical' form of Islam – influenced by Wahhabist ideas encountered in Saudi Arabia – that until then had been virtually unknown in Uganda. The growth in influence of this reformist trend was influential in strengthening an international network that for the first time linked Ugandan Muslims to the major centres of Islam in the Middle East. Pan-Islamic activism in Uganda, associated with the Wahhabist and / or Salafi movements, coincided with growing Islamic awareness in East Africa. This activism was eventually to turn in a political direction, a development not new to Uganda, where religion and politics have often interacted, notably with state attempts to control the institutions of civil society. By the mid –

⁸³ Ibid, Pg 109 -10

⁸⁴ M. Pirouet, Religion in Uganda under Amin: Journal of Religion in Africa, Vol II, No. 1 (1980) Pg 19. The Kakwa people amount to less than one percent of the total population of Uganda

1980s, according to Chande, the emerging divisions between the young Salafis and the traditional *Ulama* of popular Islam had begun to harden.⁸⁵

This period also saw 'growing activism by the international Jama'at Tabligh, a movement that originated on the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent'.⁸⁶ From the early 1990s, various indigenous but numerically small groups – including, the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF), the Uganda Liberation Tigers, Sheikh Abdul Kyesa's 'Saveed' and deserters from the Uganda Muslims Salvation Front – were influenced by the ideas of Jama'at Tabligh, calling themselves Tabligh, meaning 'militant faith'.⁸⁷ Kayunga claims that Tabligh was a serious threat to Uganda's domestic security, benefiting from networks of sympathizers scattered in the country's largest urban areas.⁸⁸ From the mid – 1990s to the early 2000s Tabligh was associated with a number of minor terrorist attacks on southern and central towns and cities, including 'a wave of grenade attacks carried out from 1995 to 1997. Although Tabligh was seriously undermined by governmental action since 1998, it managed to carry out 'three new bomb attacks in the Ugandan capital on June 4, 2001'. Partly as a result, Marchesin claims that Uganda is 'the country in East Africa where Islamic fundamentalism seems to be most deep-rooted'.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ According to A. Chande. 'Radicalism and Reform in East Africa' in N. Levtzion and R. Puwels (Eds), *The History of Islam in Africa*. (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press) P. 355, 'The Salafi reputation rests on their scholarly activities and the challenge they pose (given their skills in the Arabic language) to the monopoly on religious education held by traditional scholars. Their efforts have made Islam education more accessible.

⁸⁶ Ibid

⁸⁷ ILAPK communiqué in Arabic, published in London on 11 August 1998 and quoted (in English) in P. Marchesin 'The Rise of Islamic Fundamentalism in East Africa' *African Geopolitics* (no issue number provided) 2003 Pg 2 available at <http://www.african-geopolitics.org/show.aspx?ArticleId=3497>

⁸⁸ Sallie Simba Kayunga, *Islamic Fundamentalism in Uganda: A case study of the Tabliq Youth Movement*. (Kampala: Centre for Basic Research, 1993).

⁸⁹ P. Marchesin (Note 86), Pg 4

3.3.1 Transnational Islamic Political Militancy

Regarding external ties to domestic Muslim militants, from the 1990s the Islamist movement in Uganda built ties with foreign Islamic radicals, notably among Sudanese and Afghan extremist groups. The Sudanese National Islamic Front and al Qaeda (then based in Sudan) played an important role in providing support to Ugandan Islamic militants. Al Qaeda helped to set up camps for training the fighters of the ADF.⁹⁰ When Osama bin Laden's organization settled in Afghanistan in 1996, members of the ADF went there to undergo training as explosives experts. Following bin Laden's departure, Sudan continued to support Ugandan Islamists, including the ADF. However, this support is said to have stopped after Sudan and Uganda signed a peace agreement in December 1999. Meanwhile, al Qaeda planned to assassinate Uganda's president, Yoweri Museveni in Kampala in 1999.⁹¹

After 9/11, Museveni was strongly supportive of the US-led 'war against terrorism' to the extent that Uganda emerged as the main ally of the United States in East Africa. In addition, the leader of the Muslim minority, the mufti of Uganda, stated publicly his support for US attacks against bin Laden and the al Qaeda network in Afghanistan. President Museveni, drawing on documents captured by the US armed forces, stated publicly at the end of 2001 that bin Laden and al Qaeda had targeted Uganda for attack. According to Museveni, bin Laden's goal was to extend the militant Islamic network to the Great Lakes region, adding

⁹⁰ Allied Democratic Forces (ADF): National Army for the Liberation of Uganda (NALU); Global Security.Org, available at: <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/adf.htm>

⁹¹ European Intelligence Agency, Al Qaeda Infrastructure in Sudan, 2001, Pg 10 quoted in Marchesin (note 86) Pg 4

that bin Laden condemned Uganda for working with the US government on behalf of southern Sudanese rebels opposed to the government in Khartoum.⁹²

As in Kenya, then, the political and economic circumstances of Uganda's post-colonial history encouraged some among the country's Muslim minority to believe that they were second-class citizens, muscled out of political and economic favour by Christian groups. Also like Kenya, Uganda's proximity to regional hubs Islamic militancy – notably Sudan – appears to have encouraged development of a network involving local and foreign Islamists. While it is difficult to estimate the overall appeal of Islamic militancy in Uganda, it seems likely that few local Muslims would be tempted to join Islamic militant groups, for two main reasons.

First, the brand of Islamic militancy – sometimes involving the use of extreme political violence – is unlikely to appeal to the mass of ordinary Ugandan Muslims. Part of the reason is that in 1989 President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni appealed to Uganda's Muslim community to contribute to national reconstruction, and he warned other Ugandans not to discriminate against Muslims. But at the same time, Museveni warned Ugandans to avoid 'sectarian' allegiances, and this warning was directed at the Islamic community as well as other ethnic and religious groups.

Second, such a perception may well be linked to the fact that much of Uganda's post-colonial history has been characterized by conflict between ethnic and /or religious groups. It may well be the case that as Uganda is finally enjoying a prolonged period of – relative-political stability and economic growth, then decreasing numbers of people, including Muslims, would be willing to join political campaigns rooted in violence.

⁹² D. Shinn, 'The Horn of Africa and International Terrorism, lecture delivered at the Elliott School of international Affairs, the George Washington University, 29 January 2002.

Third, Uganda's Muslims constitute no more than 10 per cent of the overall population of the country, divided into various ethnic groups. There is little likelihood that a sense of Islamic Militancy would unite them, given other factors to disunite them, especially ethnicity. Consequently, the likelihood is that in the short – and medium term the appeal of Islamic militancy in Uganda will be restricted to relatively small stratum.

3.4 The Genesis and Evolution of Allied Democratic Forces:

ADF is an Islamic Fundamentalist Group whose original founders are part of the Tabliq youths that attacked and captured the then Uganda Muslim Supreme Council Headquarters in Old Kampala in 1991 and were subsequently arrested, charged and remanded in Luzira Prison. During the arrest they hacked to death 4 Uganda Police officers.

After release, a group led by 'Sheikh' Jamil Mukulu formed the Uganda Muslim Freedom Fighters (UMFF) and established a camp in Buseruka in Hoima District – Uganda in 1994.

Their aim was to fight and establish a political system based on Sharia Law.

The Uganda Army attacked the group in 1995 forcing remnants to cross Lake Albert to Democratic Republic of Congo, where they merged with the National Alliance for the liberation of Uganda (NALU) to form Allied Democratic Forces (ADF).

In November 1996, the ADF assisted by some government elements in Sudan and Zaire (now DRC) invaded Uganda from DRC through Mpondwe-Kasese border post.

The 1500 strong force was scattered but continued to engage in both rural and urban terrorism in the districts of Western Uganda and Kampala City respectively. ADF was

defeated in 2001, but the remnants re-located to Eastern DRC where they are trying to recruit local Congolese and some Ugandans into their ranks.

3.4.1 Allied Democratic Forces Activities - reported in the Media;

The 1999 IRIN special report stated the following on ADF; "A rebellion without a cause" This is the description most often attributed to rebels of the ADF who have been sowing terror and destruction in western Uganda for the last three years.

Normal activity in this fertile part of the country has been abruptly halted, as crops go unattended in the field and tens of thousands of people are forced to flee their homes to find shelter in the sprawling displaced people's camps surrounding the town of Bundibugyo.

The unlucky ones are killed or abducted. Tourism in this beautiful part of the world is long dead.⁹³

According to FAS – Intelligence Resource Programme; The ADF used kidnapping and murder of civilians to create fear in the local population and undermine confidence in the Government. The group was reported to be responsible for dozens of bombings in public areas.⁹⁴

The Monitor Newspaper of 8 April 2000 reported that ADF rebels killed by the UPDF have risen from 34-65 according to the army. It reported that a total of 80 rebels had recently

⁹³ <http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Hornet/ivin-120899c.html>

⁹⁴ <http://www.fas.org/irp/world/para/adf.htm>

crossed from their hideouts in DRC and had a bitter encounter with UPDF troops. Five were captured and one female rebel of Congolese extraction Surrendered.⁹⁵

The **New Vision Newspaper** of 15 April 2000 reported that seven more rebels of the ADF were killed at dusk on Saturday in Karugutu sub-country in Bundibugyo district, bringing the total killed in the last three weeks to 76, according to the Army.⁹⁶

September 2000, over 30 suspected ADF rebels attacked Nkooko Police Post in Kibaale District killing two Policemen and abducting another. They also grabbed 20 guns and police uniform. The Heavily armed attackers traveling aboard a TATA lorry also set fire to the police post and burnt documents at Nkooko sub-county headquarters.⁹⁷

August 16, 2000 CNN reported that rebels in Western Uganda killed at least 10 of the 25 they abducted. They attacked a Health Centre in Kaseta parish – Hoima District killing a Nurse, a soldier and taking 25 people hostage⁹⁸

Over 5000 people have been massacred by the ADF in western Uganda and Eastern Congo since 1996; local media quoted the Uganda army as saying. Uganda Army Commander James Kazini said that those killed by the rebels included more than 80 students of Kicwamba Technical College in Kabarole District, who the rebels burnt to ashes in their sleep

⁹⁵ <http://allafrica.com/stories/2007040800141.htm> (Chris Obore. "ADF death toll up" The Monitor newspaper, 8 April 2000)

⁹⁶ <http://allafrica.com/stories/20070416156.html>

⁹⁷ http://www.struggle-ws/africa/uganda/adf_1sep2000.htm/

⁹⁸ <http://edition.cnn.com/2000/WORLD/africa/08/16/uganda.violence.rent/>

in 1998. He said that those who surrendered included ADF chief of Staff Chris Tushabe and Chief of Records Sheikh Sadat Kinobe.⁹⁹

Aug 1, 1998, **BBC** reported that Uganda rebels attacked the western town of Kasese killing at least 13 people. About 100 well armed rebels of the ADF approached the town in the early hours of the morning. According to security sources, the rebels first blew up the electricity transformer, plunging the town into darkness. During the raid, the rebels burn at least 25 vehicles including 03 Buses and 04 Lorries. Several civilians were burnt alive when the rebels set ablaze two popular lodges. There were also two policemen among the dead.¹⁰⁰

June 9, 1998, **BBC** reported that rebels attacked a school in the west of the country, killing about 40 people. At least 10 others were injured in the attack. Witnesses said about 80 rebels overpowered an Army detach before attacking the school, setting dormitories on fire when the students refused to come out. About 100 students were unaccounted for by Monday evening, and there were fears that they may have been abducted by the rebels who have in the past kidnapped young men to bolster their forces.¹⁰¹

Dec 21, 1999 **BBC** East Africa correspondent Martin Daves quoted a government Newspaper in Uganda that rebels hacked to death 90 prison inmates whom they sprang from jail two weeks back.¹⁰²

Jan 17, 2000 **BBC** reported that ADF attacked a camp for displaced people in Bundibugyo district in western Uganda, killing at least 24 people and injuring an estimated 15 others¹⁰³.

⁹⁹ http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/200205/eng20020502_95084.shtml

¹⁰⁰ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/143523.stm>

¹⁰¹ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/109511.stm>

¹⁰² <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/574012.stm>(BBC East Africa Correspondent – Martin Dawes)

April 17, 2003, **StrategyPage** reported that Saddam Hussein's regime was said to be linked to ADF, a Ugandan rebel group with ties to other anti-western Islamic organizations. Secret Iraq intelligence service dossiers detailing Iraq's charge d'affairs in Nairobi, Fallah Hassan Al Rubdie, discussions with the ADF were found in their Baghdad headquarters among shredded papers.

A key figure behind the ADF is widely acknowledged to be a fundamentalist Islamic Cleric sheikh Jamil Mukulu. According to the Uganda government and Western Intelligence Sources, sheikh Mukulu became friendly with Osama bin Laden in the early to mid nineties, when the Al Qaeda chief was living in Khartoum.¹⁰⁴

April 18, 2003, the **Christian Science Monitor**, reported that a cache of files recovered from the bombed out headquarters of Iraq's intelligence agency shows that Saddam's regime had links to an Islamist terror group in Africa and had corresponded about opening a Baghdad training camp for the group. Perhaps the most interesting and complete file left untouched deals with the apparently long standing relationship between the Iraq intelligence service and the ADF of Uganda.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/606766.stm> (Anna Borzallo - BBC correspondent in Kampala)

¹⁰⁴ http://www.strategypage.com/qud/uganda/articles_20030417.aspx

¹⁰⁵ <http://www.csmonitor.com/2003/0418/p01s04-woiq.html> (Phillip Smucker and Faye Bowers, reporting in Baghdad and Washington)

According to UNHCR, over 138.000 people in Bundibugyo-Uganda lived in 40 camps, having been displaced by the ADF insurgency. The refugee population was estimated to be over 80 % of the District's population.¹⁰⁶

Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia reported that by 1998 the number of IDPs rose to over 80000. In Feb 1998, 30 students were abducted from a college in Kasese while in June 80 college students were burnt alive after they barricaded themselves in their dormitory to keep the ADF rebels out. The abduction of youth, as well as numerous acts of brutality led many to compare it to the Lords Resistance Army activities in the North of the country. Several bombs were also thrown in markets and restaurants in Kampala.

In 1999, the Government gained the upper hand forcing the ADF from their bases into small bands that had to constantly move to escape UPDF forces.

The UPDF blamed the Govt of Sudan for supporting the ADF in retaliation for Uganda's support for SPLA/M of Sudan. Other government officials suggested that DRC leadership was arming the ADF through the Hutu ex-FAR/interahamwe armed groups fighting in Eastern Congo as part of Kinshasa effort to expel the foreign forces. The ADF was cooperating with the various Kabila-allied forces operating in the region.

While fighting continued into 2000 with sporadic attacks, the UPDF was largely successful in destroying the insurgency and securing the Uganda conflict areas. A small ADF remnant remained in Eastern Congo¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ <http://library.thinkquest.org/25775/Uganda.htm>

¹⁰⁷ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Allied_Democratic_Forces

3.4.2 Was the ADF Violence Justified?

In view of the trends it is clear that the ADF violence was unjustified, in the sense that Uganda as a country is a secular State with no State Religion. All religious groups, acting in accordance with the Constitution of Uganda are equal in the eyes of the state and enjoy freedom of worship.

Chapter Four of the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda states;

A person shall not be discriminated against on the ground of sex, race, colour, ethnic origin, tribe, birth, creed, or religion, social or economic standing, political opinion or disability.¹⁰⁸

“Discriminate” means to give different treatment to different persons attributable only or mainly to their respective descriptions.¹⁰⁹

The **contingency view** reflected in the World Society School of International Relations clearly supports my argument. One Burton of this school of thought argues that the imperative to war does not come from the nature of the state or external relations, but from the way in which the environment acts on the individual. Burton argues that individuals have certain needs whether individually or collectively that leads to violent conflict within the system. Burton looks at the needs as; security, participation, identity which can be granted without a corresponding loss to the other party.¹¹⁰ This view in essence advocates for a

¹⁰⁸ The Republic of Uganda: Constitution of the Republic of Uganda 1995. Printed by Uganda Law Reform Commission: pp 39.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ J. Burton. Violence Explained (Manchester) Manchester United Press. 1997

healthy environment whereby there is mutual recognition and respect for each other's views and practices as long as they do not infringe on the law.

This is necessary for ensuring peaceful co-existence and avoiding violent conflict.

3.5 UGANDA GOVERNMENT RESPONSES TO ADF TERRORISM

3.5.1 Legal Responses

On 7th December 1999 BBC reported; "The Uganda Parliament has passed a Bill offering amnesty to rebel fighters in an attempt to end insurgencies in the North and West of the country"¹¹¹

In search for permanent peace, the government of Uganda through parliament put in place **The Amnesty Act, 2000** for forgiveness of treasonable acts and promotion of peace and reconciliation in the insurgency areas.

An Amnesty Commission was also established to receive and resettle the beneficiaries of this law.

"Amnesty" means a pardon, forgiveness, exemption or discharge from criminal prosecution or any other form of punishment by the state¹¹².

"Amnesty is extended to all Ugandans who have been involved in insurgency through;

Actual participation in combat.

Collaborating with insurgents.

¹¹¹ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/554780.stm>.

¹¹² Republic of Uganda. The Amnesty Act 2000 (Section 2) Uganda Government printers, Entebbe Uganda.

Committing other crimes to support insurgency or

In any other way assisting others involved in insurgency"¹¹³

"After reporting to the relevant authorities the reporter is issued with a certificate of amnesty"¹¹⁴

"The Demobilization and Resettlement Team (DRT) shall draw up programmes for demobilization, resettlement and reintegration."¹¹⁵

According to MONUC (UN Mission in D.R Congo) the Uganda Amnesty Commission opened its doors in Beni-Congo on 8 November 2005.¹¹⁶

In my view therefore, we should look at the Government Amnesty programme from the perspective of the **Nature Vs Nurture debate**.

Those who argue for nature contend that human beings are by nature violent and aggressive, and that this derives from an innate drive in human beings for domination.

Those who argue for Nurture state that human beings are not violent and aggressive by nature. That violence and aggression are conditioned by the environment in which people find themselves. Violence is therefore not inevitable in human society, and just as it was learned, it can be unlearned¹¹⁷.

In my opinion therefore, the government of Uganda in the spirit of reconciliation took the Nurture view with the hope of rehabilitating the minds of Insurgents and resettling them. Many of the ADF fighters and collaborators have taken the opportunity and benefited from the

¹¹³ Ibid section 3 (1)

¹¹⁴ Ibid section 4 (1) d.

¹¹⁵ Ibid Section 13 (b) (c) (d)

¹¹⁶ <http://www.monuc.org/News.asp?nes ID=644>

¹¹⁷ Makumi Mwangiru. Conflict Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management. Nairobi. Watermark Publications..2000

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amnesty after realizing the futility of the insurgency. Some of these fighters had received training in countries like Pakistan and Afghanistan where they embraced the radical Islamic Jihadist Ideology. The extremist Madrassas Islamic Schools in the region were also used by radical Islamists to indoctrinate the youth into radicalism and militancy and promoted home grown terror cells.

Following these acts of terrorism, the Uganda Government also put in place the **Anti-Terrorism Act 2002**.

It provides for suppression of acts of terrorism, provides for the punishment of persons who plan, instigate, support, finance or execute acts of terrorism, prescribes terrorist organizations and provides for the punishment of persons who are members of, or who profess in public to be members of, or who convene or attend meetings of, or who support or finance or facilitate the activities of terrorist organizations.

It further provides for investigation of acts of terrorism and obtaining information in respect of such acts including the authorizing of the interception of the correspondence of and the surveillance of persons suspected to be planning or to be involved in acts of terrorism, it also provides for other connected matters.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸ The Republic of Uganda. The Anti-Terrorism Act 2002. Published by Uganda Government Printers, Entebbe 2002.

3.5.2 Security Responses

The mission of the Intelligence Services together with the Army and Police Forces was to locate and neutralize the ADF that had invaded the country from DRC (then Zaire) in 1996.

In order to achieve their Mission, the Intelligence Agencies undertook the following tasks;

Locating the enemy.

Identifying their activities and plans.

Knowing their sources of supplies.

Identifying collaborators.

Establishing enemy strength (manpower and weaponry).

Establishing enemy movement patterns.

After getting the above information, the Intelligence and Security Services worked with the Operational squads and Zonal forces to uproot the terrorist groups.

In addition, the Intelligence / Security Agencies, in liaison with Resident District Commissioners, Members of Parliament and local council leaders carried out security mobilization/ sensitization so as to give confidence to the population and ensure vigilance. Through this mobilization, a good intelligence infrastructure on the ground called Popular Intelligence Network (PIN) was established and it enhanced intelligence gathering on ADF groups which were dislodged. This was because of timely dissemination of accurate actionable intelligence to the Government forces.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ Republic of Uganda: Ministry of Defence Policy Statement 2000/2001. KAMPALA

The Government of Uganda established a Joint Anti-Terrorism Task Force (JAT) in May 1999 when terrorist activities like bombings and sophisticated armed robberies were on the increase in the country and Kampala in particular.

JAT comprises of Chieftaincy of Military Intelligence (CMI) Internal Security Organization (ISO) External Security Organization (ESO) and Uganda Police – Criminal Investigation Department and Special Branch.

The formation of this Joint Security effort led to apprehension of many ADF terrorists and recovery of arms and other equipments. Hundreds of ADF fighters were also killed in action.

The enactment of the Anti-Terrorism Law of 2002 established the legal framework within which the counter terrorism effort is regulated.

Many ADF suspects were charged in courts of law and sentenced to prison terms, others were released on Amnesty after confession in courts.

Security Agencies also embarked on Joint Training Programmes responding to acts of terrorism.

In addition to improving knowledge and skills of the security personnel, the joint training courses enhanced interaction, which formed a basis for better teamwork.

In order for the Government of Uganda to **effectively protect the citizens and foreigners** living in the country it focused on possible terrorist manifestations inter-alia; Bombing, Stand off Attacks (shooting at planes and vehicles) Hijacking, Kidnapping, Assassination, Hostage Taking, Poisoning (CBRN), Cyber Terrorism.¹²⁰

¹²⁰ Republic of Uganda. Defence Policy – Mukono Publishers 2003. pp 9.

At airports, covert deployments to detect potential bombers were made, and vetting everybody working or accessing the airports and issue them with security passes with various levels of access.

The Authorities and Security had to secure the airport perimeter to deny intruders access, and also established access check points and barriers. Close protection of VIPs was also intensified. The screening of ceremonial gifts (bouquets, souvenirs etc) was also emphasized.

Along the key routes, covert deployment to detect and deter potential bombers was effected. During visits of senior officials, overt deployment to ensure domination of routes is also done. Crowd control at chokepoints (physical barriers and personnel) is ensured. Monitoring and control of movement of Fuel Tankers along the routes and in the towns is done.

During official functions, there is vetting and accreditation of all venue vehicles and drivers. Screening and checking all vehicles entering the venues and monitoring the movement of all the vehicles within the venues is carried out and barriers are erected as per the venue tactical plans.

Monitoring and securing the airspace is done using Air Defence, Airforce and civil Aviation Authority (CAA). Planes that have landed and parked are secured.

All crew members of aircrafts are accredited with special cards. All airfields in the country are secured and monitored at all times.

There are regular checks/sweeps of likely covers for roadside bombs – remote controlled and hidden (culverts, flowerpots, garbage heaps, abandoned vehicles, kiosks).

Covert and overt surveillance are deployed to detect and dismantle devices if sighted.

Screening parcels and packages destined to key institutions and installations e.g. Parliament Pigeon Holes is also conducted.

Control and domination of MANPADS (Man portable air Defence Systems) corridors which terrorists can use to shoot down planes is ensured, and domination of the surrounding areas of all venues and routes during functions.

At venues there is screening; using scanners, walk through metal detectors, hand probes, physical body checks, x-rays, sniff dogs/ machines. CCTV is also emphasized especially in big hotels.

During occasions, Aerial surveillance is also done to monitor the ground.

Sensitization of delegates is conducted and security Brochures are given out. The media is also utilized to provide information.

Again at venues, screening of parade participants, weapons and entertainers is done.

Electronic gadgets are screened and prohibited items are withheld.

Possible sniper positions e.g. high raise areas, abandoned buildings and lines of sight in built up areas are identified and dominated to deny the enemy opportunity.

At Hotels, service providers and employees are vetted, and operatives deployed at vulnerable points e.g. water reservoirs, kitchens, dinning halls and air conditioning systems.

CBRN detectors are also deployed. Close monitoring of deliveries and preparation of consumables at the various venues and locations is also done. During big functions, search

parks are put in place for clearance of deliveries to venues, and access is controlled to vulnerable points of contamination e.g. water lines.

As regards cyber terrorism (corrupting data and interfering with communication), vetting of ICT Providers is conducted. Installation of security software programmes (firewalls, anti-viruses etc) and use of passwords are emphasized.

There is control of access to data and communication centres and equipment.

As regards maritime security, intelligence personnel are deployed on islands and landing sites to monitor all vessels, identify and establish positions in possible enemy covers and deter illegal movements of people and items on the water. The intelligence deployments reinforce the patrols by police and UPDF Marines.

There is intelligence liaison with sister Agencies in the neighbouring countries to exchange information on terrorist plans and activities.

At borders, security and immigration personnel work jointly to detect and apprehend terrorist suspects. The electronic PISCES programme enhanced the monitoring capacity at the border entry/exit points.

Covert surveillance of suspected elements is done to keep track of their movements, activities, associates and plans.¹²¹

3.5.3 Diplomatic Responses

The Government of Uganda through bilateral meetings (*Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Ministry of Security*) with the Government of the Democratic Republic of

¹²¹ Source: Joint Anti-Terrorism Task Force (JAT) Headquarters, Kampala

Congo made several attempts to address the issue of the ADF along the common border in order to end their terrorist activities.

It should be noted that the ADF conscripted hundreds of Congolese in their force and also occupied a big number of their villages in Eastern Congo

The United Nations Mission for Congo - MONUC and the Tripartite Plus Joint Commission (Uganda, DRC, Rwanda, Burundi) facilitated by the United States Government are also trying to handle the issue of the negative forces hiding in Congo among them ADF which was defeated in Uganda.

3.6 Terrorism in the Name of Religion

It is now evident that ADF was promoting its Islamic political interests by using terrorist means so that the population succumbs.

One leading Gaza Muslim activist Abdullah Shami interviewed on the Israel Television Channel 1 on 9th December 1994 was quoted saying "We lack the arms possessed by the enemy, we have no planes or missiles, not even artillery with which to fight evil, the most effective instrument for inflicting harm with a minimum of losses is the suicide attacks, this is a legitimate technique based on martyrdom. Through such action the martyr acquires the right to enter heaven and liberate himself from all the pain and suffering of this world."¹²²

According to Bruce Hoffman, this exposition accurately captured the logic or strategy of terrorism as the only weapon available to the weak, to the powerless, in confronting a stronger and exponentially more powerful opponent.

¹²² Bruce Hoffman. *Inside Terrorism*. London, Cassell Group, 1998. Pg 99

Magnus Ranstorp, recognizes one common thread among terrorist acts; the perpetrators believed "their actions were divinely sanctioned, even mandate by God" Ranstorp charts the rise in terrorism for religious motives and reports the between the mid-1960s and mid-1990s there was a tripling in the number of fundamentalist movements of all religious affiliations. Nearly a quarter of all terrorist groups active in the world today are primarily motivated by religious concerns, yet these groups are also driven by practical political considerations - and it is difficult for observers to distinguish the political from the political from the religious in the terrorist acts these groups commit. Ranstorp concludes that Religious terrorism is anything but disorganized or random, but rather driven by an inner logic common among diverse groups and faiths who use political violence to further their sacred cause.¹²³

Mark Juergensmeyer looks at the complex relationship between religion and violence, particularly in the context of the militant Sikhs of India and the violence that seized the Punjab region in the 1980s. Juegensmeyer portrays the Sikhs as a group in crisis, their separate identity within the Indian family is in danger, Sikhs fear they could be reabsorbed into the amorphous cultural mass that is Hinduism, and disappear as a distinct religious community. Juegensmeyer concludes that in some instances, political issues can be mingled wit ha struggle for spiritual survival to create a cosmic struggle that validates violent means for religious and political ends.¹²⁴

¹²³ Magnus Ranstorp, "Terrorism in the name of Religion." *Journal of International affairs*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (Summer 1996)

¹²⁴ Mark Juergensmeyer, 'the Logic or Religious Violence,' in David C. Rapoport, ed., *Inside Terrorist Organizations* (Columbia University Press, 1988).

3.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined the genesis and evolution of the ADF and their futile attempt to take power to install a government based on Islamic/Sharia Law.

We have also seen the brutal terrorist acts inflicted on the population, and the Uganda government interventions to subdue the enemy.

In a nutshell, it was wise and good for the government of Uganda not only to use stick but also carrot to give a chance to the indoctrinated elements of ADF to get amnesty and resettle in society.

Chapter Four: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF RESPONSES TO TERRORISM

4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines, analyses and evaluates the legal, security and diplomatic mechanisms put in place by the National and Regional Authorities to counter regional terrorism.

Much as governments in the region have instituted various measures to address terrorism there are still weaknesses, inadequacies and challenges to grapple with.

Generally corruption and lack of investment in the development of professional public services in the region have contributed to weak government structures and processes, particularly those related to law enforcement and protection of national interests from threats like terrorism.

Low pay and poor work conditions have made security personnel vulnerable to bribery: Weak government control of territories, laxity in control of border and immigration entry points and poorly equipped, trained and paid security personnel have enabled terrorist groups to move into the region, establish cells and carry out terrorist attacks.

4.2 Legal responses

Prior to the adoption of resolution 1373 (2001) and the establishment of the Counter – Terrorism Committee, the international community had already promulgated 12 of the current 13 international counter terrorism instruments (see Appendix III). However, the rate of adherence to these conventions and protocols by United Nations Member States is low.

As a result of the attention focused on countering terrorism since the events of 1998 attacks in Nairobi and Dar-es- Salaam and the September 2001 attacks in the USA, there has been calls on states to become parties to these international instruments.

Gruen states that; according to United Kingdom Financial Services Authority, terrorist groups launder their money through online brokerage firms and other non-face-to-face media because it is difficult for these firms to know the identity of their clients. There are no thorough checks to corroborate the identities of their investors.¹²⁵

In Eastern Africa, there are also challenges in fighting money laundering and terrorist financing, Banks are usually reluctant to have stringent *Know Your Customer Programmes* to avoid inconveniencing their customers and lose them to competitors. Furthermore the regional economy is mainly based on cash transactions with few individuals and businesses having accounts in Banks and financial institutions, there is lack of relevant data on property and business ownership in the country where much of this illicit money is invested.

The adoption of specific counter-terrorism legislation is critical to ensure that the planning, financing, incitement and conduct of terrorism is criminalized to allow for extradition and other

¹²⁵ Madeleine Gruen. White Ethno nationalist and Political Islamic methods of Fundraising and propaganda on the Internet Paper presented at the 11th Annual Terrorism Trends & Forecast symposium, Morristown, NewJersey (May 20, 2003)

forms of international cooperation and to ensure that the criminal justice system is fully equipped to combat terrorism within the bounds of the rule of law.

The basic legislative requirements to combat terrorism are found in the 13 international conventions and protocols related to terrorism held by the United Nations, and the 1999 OAU convention on the prevention and combating of terrorism. (Discussed in chapter two).

However, not all African countries have a suitable legal framework to outlaw terrorism. In response to the UN Security Council Resolution 1373 (2001) requiring all countries in the world to implement the 13 international conventions and protocols, not all have ratified them. Even within the African Union (AU) only 46 members have signed the 1999 OAU Convention on the prevention and combating of Terrorism, and only 35 of these countries have ratified the convention.

Furthermore, even when the necessary commitments have been made at regional level, it is not always the case that the domestic legal system and its police and judicial capacities have been properly adjusted to ensure the implementation acceptable standards.

Whether due to lack of political will on the part of some government officials, lack of capacity within a government's bureaucracy, or simply the absence of adequate legislation, this may lead to situations where suspected terrorists are identified, but cannot be detained, questioned or put on trial. It may also prevent sufficient monitoring of terrorist networks, their communications and financing, in order to arrest terrorists before they launch an attack.

Another challenge faced by states in the region is that of obtaining information and finding the right formula for curbing illicit fundraising and financial transactions, while at the same time

ensuring that closing down implicated charitable organizations and financial-transfer mechanisms do not have unintended consequences on their societies.

Donohue while discussing the September 11, 2001 attack responses, states that; the US Government questioned more than 5000 non-citizens and held more than 1200 for further interrogation. The Attorney General refused to release the names and location of those held for questioning and the FBI conducted over 500 searches. The new USA Patriot Act required the detention of anyone the AG had reasonable grounds to believe was connected to terrorism and threat to National Security. Detention without trial could continue until one was cleared - no longer a threat.¹²⁶

In East Africa there are some complications in the legal system. Fighting terrorism in a democratic world is a bit difficult because some actions by government can be perceived by people as an infringement on their rights. For example the Uganda Constitution does not allow the state to detain any suspect beyond 48 hours before s(he) is tried in courts of law which is obviously inadequate to carry out thorough investigations before terrorist suspects are taken to court.

The Amnesty law in Uganda has also been abused by some terrorist elements that apply for pardon but later go back to their terrorist activities, it is used as an escape route. There is need for government to review the law so that Amnesty is only applicable to terrorists who surrender voluntarily excluding those who are arrested in action.

¹²⁶ Laura K. Donohue. Fear itself: Counter-terrorism, Individual Rights, and US Foreign Relations Post 9/11. Paper Presented at the International Studies Association Convention, New Orleans, Louisiana (March 2002)

Although there are adequate immigration provisions and procedures to deal with illegal persons, holders of forged documents, and the control of refugees, the countries of the region have been lax in implementing them. While some terrorists entered the region legally, others passed through border and entry points without proper documents or scrutiny by immigration personnel. Some of the terrorists were even able to acquire legal residences and travel documents that were reserved for citizens only. For example one Fazul Abdullah Mohammed (also known as "Harun") a Comoran citizen and one of the perpetrators of the August 1998 Embassy bombings was able to acquire through fraudulent means Kenyan travel documents that he used to plan his terrorist activities. All this points to the need for countries in the region to individually and collectively improve implementation of their existing laws and procedures.

4.3 Security Responses

It is clear that respective countries in Eastern Africa have already implemented or are in the process of implementing the required instruments to prevent their territories from being used to allow entry, harbouring or providing travel documents to suspected terrorists.

Despite these formal, structural and legislative measures most countries are faced with the long borders that are almost impossible to monitor. Although beyond the framework of this analysis, urgent assistance is needed to assist these countries with training and equipment to enable the protection of borders against transnational crime syndicates, as well as the movement of suspected terrorists.

In addition, sophisticated measures to prevent the illegal manufacturing of passports proves to be insufficient if the country is plagued by corruption within government departments. In

other words, syndicates will rather resort to bribing corrupt government officials than invest in expensive and sophisticated tools to manufacture illegal passports and travel documents.

The terrorists still pose a challenge to the security services. Despite the limited scale of transnational terrorist operations in Africa, the risk that they pose is very significant. Even a small number of al-Qaeda operatives – such as those involved in the 1998 bombings of the US Embassies and the 2002 attacks near Mombasa, Kenya – can launch deadly attacks, the implications of which will resonate for many years. Such small networks of terrorists have been very dynamic and effective in Africa.

In the Horn and East Africa, although Al Itihaad Al Islaami (AIAI) is widely reported to have been disbanded or at least broken into different groups and renamed as early as 1998, its former members have established new initiatives and continue to play important political and military roles in Somalia. This includes espousing Jihad against neighbouring countries and providing support for al Qaeda's East Africa Cell, under the banners of the Supreme Council of Islamic Courts.

Similarly as previously mentioned, the full array of militant Islamist cells inspired by al Qaeda and operating in North Africa has yet to be identified. Surely new groups will continue to be named and added to this list, but only as they are identified before or after launching and claiming responsibility for new attacks.

Furthermore, these terrorist groups have been successful in appropriating local African grievances as synonymous with their own agenda and integrating themselves into African communities by establishing family, business and /or criminal ties. This has been the case

where AIAI leaders in Somalia have wrapped themselves in the veil of Sharia Courts. These avenues of penetrating and operating on the continent make it extremely difficult for African governments and counter-terrorism efforts to identify, isolate and remove terrorist elements.

The other challenge to counter-terrorism efforts in the region is that there appears to be four main areas of terrorist activity that may not be full-blown 'safe havens' for terrorist operations but that have certainly proven amenable to continued terrorist activity; they include densely populated urban areas, vast rural, desert spaces, unpatrolled maritime zones, and areas of 'weak' and failing states outside any government's control. Despite efforts by countries in the region to train and equip security services, terrorist groups have continued to operate in these areas. This loophole is due to uncoordinated police and military efforts, weak border, port and customs controls, corruption and smuggling networks, access to financing through legal businesses, unregulated remittances and the diversion of charity funds, and the availability of weapons and explosives. While terrorists have yet to seize the opportunity to operate in East Africa's maritime domain, this area is equally vulnerable and may prove an inviting target for terrorist operations in future.

Ethiopia's military intervention in Somalia as a response to stop the Islamic Courts Union from consolidating power also calls for analysis. Somalis Islamic Courts fell even more dramatically than they rose. In less than a week in December 2006, Ethiopian and Somali Transitional Federal Government (TFG) forces killed hundreds of Islamic fighters and scattered the rest in a lightning offensive. The council of Somali Islamic Courts in effect dissolved itself surrendering political leadership to clan leaders.

This was a major success for Ethiopia, the US and the region who feared emergence of a Taliban-style haven for al Qaeda and other Islamist extremists. But it is too early to declare an end to Somalis woes, there is now a political vacuum across much of Southern Somalia, which the ineffectual TFG is unable to fill. Elements of the Courts including Shabaab militants and their al Qaeda associates are largely intact and threaten guerilla war. Peace requires the TFG to be reconstituted as a genuine government of national unity, but the signs of its willingness are discouraging, sustained international pressure is needed.

Ethiopia's military victory has dismantled only the most visible part of the Islamic Courts, the regional administrative authority in south central Somalia (including Mogadishu) which served essentially as a political platform for the Hawiye clan interests, other elements remain largely intact and have dispersed throughout the country.

Therefore, rapid replacement of Ethiopian troops with a broader, multilateral peacekeeping mission is essential to defuse public resentment towards what is considered a foreign occupation.

Unless the Transitional Federal Institutions (TFIs) are reformed in such a way that they are able to address grievances of all communities in Somalia, Somalia will remain fractured, anarchic and stateless-precisely the conditions that fostered the rise of the Islamic Courts in the first place¹²⁷

The Region's responses to terrorism are further undermined by Somali irredentism attempts. Since independence in 1960, the claim to Somali – inhabited territories in neighbouring countries has been at the root of three conflicts; between Somalia and Ethiopia, a long-

¹²⁷ See Crisis Group Africa Reports No. 116, *Can the Somali Crisis be contained?* 10 August 2006; No 100, *Somalia's Islamists*, 12 December 2005, and No 95, *Counter-Terrorism in Somalia: Losing Hearts and minds?*, 11 July 2005

running guerilla war in North Eastern Kenya and a short lived insurgency in Djibouti. Somalia's catastrophic defeat by Ethiopia in the 1977-78 Ogaden War should have put to rest any realistic ambitions Mogadishu might yet harbour with respect to these territories. The Islamic Courts attempts to revive Pan –Somali nationalism therefore, antagonized the country's neighbours, especially Ethiopia the largest, against whom most of the rhetoric was directed.

The Islamic Courts Pan-Somali orientation reflects the presence among its leaders of former members of al-Itihad al Islaami (AIAI). Its aims included unification of the Somali inhabited territories of the Horn under a single Islamic government, and a chapter remained active in the Ethiopian Somali region long after the organization's functional dissolution in Somalia.

Sheikh Aweys seems especially attached to the notion of an Islamist Greater Somalia. Barely a month after the Islamic Courts' victory in Mogadishu, he fired a broadside at Ethiopia in an interview with **Newsweek** "Really the Ogaden is a Somali region and part of Somalia, and Somali governments have entered two wars with Ethiopia over it, and I hope that one day that region will be a part of Somalia."¹²⁸

Apparently oblivious to the international concerns this raised, Aweys repeated his Greater Somalia vision in November 2006 in an interview with Mogadishu- based Radio Shabelle; "We will leave no stone unturned to integrate our Somali brothers in Kenya and Ethiopia and restore their freedom to live with their ancestors in Somalia"¹²⁹

¹²⁸ Rod Nordland, "Heroes, Terrorists and Osama" **Newsweek**, 23 June 2006

¹²⁹ "Regions in Ethiopia, Kenya should be part of Somalia – Islamist" Associated Press, 18 Nov 2006, at www.sudantribune.com/s/pip.php?article 18770

The Islamic Courts irredentist rhetoric was reinforced by close ties with the Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF) and the little known United Western Somali Liberation Front (UWSLF), both of which are struggling for self determination for the Somali region of Ethiopia. Until their defeat, the Courts allegedly provided military support to both organizations, which maintained offices and spokesman in Mogadishu, as well as to the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF).

The relationship between the Courts and the ONLF reportedly dates from around 2005 when UN Arms embargo monitors claim flights from Asmara-Eritrea bearing arms and ammunition destined for the ONLF began to arrive at Dhuusamareeb airstrip in central Somalia. The UN report states that from approximately the beginning, of February to May 2005, Eritrea supplied arms on some eight occasions to Aweys and elements of ONLF based in Galgaduud region. Between April and May 2005, approximately three flights from Eritrea arrived in Dhusamareeb carrying 270 trained and equipped ONLF militia.¹³⁰

Diplomatic sources in Asmara independently confirmed Eritrea's military support to the Islamic courts, ONLF and OLF.¹³¹

Efforts to combat extremism have become a central pillar of counter terrorism strategy in the region. Such efforts are known by a variety of names, including; combating ideological support for terrorism, winning hearts and minds, countering radicalization, and the war of ideas. While there is little doubt that isolating and marginalizing terrorists from public support is a critical task, there remain substantial gaps in strategic implementation of this task in the

¹³⁰ Report of the Monitoring Group on Somalia pursuant to UN Security Council Resolution 1630, May 2006

¹³¹ Crisis Group Interview, Nairobi, January 2006.

region. In part, this is the result of a substantial degree of confusion over the factors that drive or cause terrorism.

Two common notions are that terrorism is fueled by either the *lack of democracy* and the desperation associated with *extreme poverty*. On the one hand, repressive and unrepresentative governance, combined with popular anger towards governments inability to effect positive change. On the other hand, others see high rates of poverty and unemployment and other factors of marginalization of entire social groups as a condition that may create a pool of potential terrorist recruits.

Nevertheless, no single factor is sufficient to understand the root causes of terrorism. Many factors lead to the feelings of alienation and antagonism, which make terrorist recruitment possible. Authorities in the region must recognize that, in addition to poverty and unrepresentative governance, anger at unpopular policies of foreign governments for instance the US decision to invade and occupy Iraq – is associated with increased ideological support for terror. In the African context, sympathy for the plight of Palestinians among African Muslim communities is also a critical factor. Finally, terrorism does not begin as a popular movement or uprising, in Africa terrorist groups tend to begin with small, organized networks with leaders who invent, adopt and propagate specific ideologies that justify their recourse to violence.

There is therefore, need to always study each terrorist organization to understand its genesis, evolution and motive before prescribing a solution.

The political social and economic grievances that can be considered the root causes or drivers of terrorism in Africa remain unresolved. Despite efforts to encourage economic development and democratization, Eastern Africa region remains poor and in some countries

there are authoritarian, corrupt and ineffective governments. It is therefore understandable for the local people to be less concerned about the potential for a terrorist attack in their country than they are about the immediate problems of poverty, unemployment, civil war, diseases, corruption and lack of social services such as education and health care. As a result, the public's understanding of and support for the war on terrorism is limited.

From another perspective, another challenge to the responses to regional terrorism is that some African political forces and Islamic Movements have seized on counter-terrorism decisions at both national and international levels as targeting Islam.

With regard to the USA, for instance, many in the Islamic world have come to view the "war on terror" as a "war on Islam" and there are widespread concerns regarding the USA occupation of Iraq, the continuation of the Israel-Palestinian conflict, public perceptions of US practices at Guantanamo Bay and Abu Ghraib Prison, the creation of CIA "black prisons" and most recently the Israel invasion of Lebanon. In some countries, this has been reinforced by the abuse of the notion of a "threat of terrorism" as a potential justification for governments in the region to exploit citizens – both to garner increased international support (for money, weapons, or recognition) and to repress potential domestic opposition forces.

Islamists in Kenya are pushing to expand Islamic law, or sharia to include sentences of amputation in certain crimes, as well as stoning in cases of adultery, practices already in place in Nigeria. The chairman of Kenya's Council of Imams and Preachers, Ali Shee has warned that Muslims in the coastal and North-Eastern provinces will break away if sharia is not expanded. Tanzania is experiencing a similar push for Islamic law, Saudi Arabia is funding new Mosques there, and fundamentalists have bombed bars and beaten women they thought inadequately covered. Mohammed Madi a fundamentalist activist told Time Magazine in September 2003. "We get our funds from Yemen and Saudi Arabia, officially the

money is used to buy medicine, but in reality the money is given to us to support our work and by guns”¹³²

The quotation implies that militant Islam is making progress in East Africa. Such a perception might be reinforced by the fact that militant Islamic individuals and groups associated with al Qaeda, such as Somalia –based Al Ittihad al-Islaam, have been active in recent years in Kenya, a development that has alarmed Kenya’s government.

Rob de Wijk argues that a significant component of the new war – one that has been historically successful for both allies and adversaries of the United States – is the campaign to win the support of the populace of the opponent. In other words, the USA and its allies must also wage a battle for the hearts and minds of the people, in this case the Islamic World.¹³³

A major weakness of the Regional Counter -Terrorism measures is that their short and medium term strategies are only aimed at catching bad guys, providing training and to a limited extent, building up counter - terrorism infrastructure. In order for such strategies to address the problem of terrorism in the region, they must also seek “to reduce poverty and social alienation”.

Unless more resources are channeled into improving the environment that encourages terrorism – namely poverty – it is difficult to see lasting progress against this enemy. Consequently, long term strategies should aim at addressing the factors that create a conducive environment for terrorism including poverty, intolerance, political alienation and corruption. In the case of Kenya, investigations that followed the 1998 terrorist attacks

¹³² P Marshall, “Radical Islam’s moves on Africa,” The Washington Post, 16 October 2003

¹³³ Rob de Wijk. *The Limits of Military Power*, (In: Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism. Howard and Sawyer(Ed)Mc Graw Hill Dushkin Co. Guilford Connecticut 2002. PP 489.)

revealed that all these factors played a part. For instance Al Qaeda operatives used corrupt government processes to enter the country and settle among a poor segment of the population that thinks is alienated from the political system. The al Qaeda supporters established charitable organizations that were used as cover for laundering money, recruiting support and planning and executing terrorist acts.

East African Muslim Community, particularly that residing along the Indian Ocean Coastline and in the far-flung northeast bordering Somalia has felt alienated from the main stream political establishment and increasingly looked to Islamic agencies funded by Persian gulf donors to provide education health, and social welfare.

As regards security preparedness, Ellis analyzing US efforts to fight terrorism opines that one could even suggest that the knowledge base needed to confront the terrorist threat is already increasing, indicating the considerable strength we possess to counter the terrorist threat and our overall prospects for success in its management.¹³⁴

However, in Eastern Africa, some countries exhibit high degrees of fragility and inadequate capacity to effectively manage counter-terrorism activities. Even in more stable countries like Kenya, the State neither has the monopoly of coercive power, nor does it control its entire territory. Border areas and slums of big cities are defacto outside state control, for years, the northeastern region of Kenya that borders Somalia has been unsafe. Safer travel is only possible in military-protected convoys.

4.4 Diplomatic Responses

¹³⁴ Brent Ellis. Countering Complexity. An analytical framework to guide counter-terrorism policy making. (In Terrorism and Counter Terrorism Mc Graw Dushkin Company, Guilford Connecticut 2002. PP 120)

The fledgling trust among IGAD countries remains a major obstacle to collective counter-terrorism action. Although there is an understanding of the need for cooperation, the region is yet to embrace a shared vision that surpasses national interest. It is marked by political incoherence, distrust among political leaders, and lack of mutual comfort levels necessary to energize a collective antiterrorism agenda. Some countries are reluctant to co-operate fully with countries they consider their enemies. For instance because of deep suspicion of each other, there has been no cooperation between Ethiopia and Eritrea. So far Eritrea has declined to attend any meetings hosted by or in Ethiopia.

There is also discomfort between Uganda and Sudan, as between Ethiopia and may leaders in Somalia, especially over the issue of foreign troop deployment to Somalia.

Pursuit of Counter-Terrorist agenda where action is recommended depends on a modicum of trust. Activities like sharing of information and intelligence, use of extraterritorial investigations, and provision of mutual legal assistance presuppose comfort levels not yet attained among IGAD member states.

The annual Regional reviews indicate that terrorist threats to this region remain real and urge the commitment and collaboration of its member states and the international community in stemming them. While the region has made great efforts, a number of challenges at the strategic and operational levels hinder its ability to fulfill its commitments.

The tension between counter- terrorism and human rights is also linked to the domestic character of terrorism, which the Region must address if its agenda is to bear relevance for the African Region. While the global war on terrorism focuses almost primarily on international and Islamic terrorism, the Region cannot ignore local manifestations of terrorism. As the number of militias, warlords and rebels involved in violent activities

multiplies, even more worrying is their increasing adoption of terror tactics similar to those employed by international terrorist groups. There is also evidence of Islamic terrorist networks and organizations supporting and funding fundamentalist groups of other forms. For instance the Lords Resistance Army (LRA) of Joseph Kony in Uganda, reportedly depends heavily on the support of the Sudanese Islamist government.

The failure of regional bodies like IGAD to address these emerging webs of terrorist activities would open them to accusations of complacency and would erode their legitimacy.

4.5 CONCLUSION

The resources and attention devoted to counter terrorism in East Africa and the Horn are impressive but inadequate. Related to this are concerns that some countries enjoy favoured status from international partners and are accruing more benefits than their counterparts. Eritrea feels unhappy by what it perceives as a privileged position bestowed to Ethiopia, whose three battalions have been trained, and Djibouti which hosts the CJTF – HOA. Feelings of inequity do not augur well for regional co-operation and need to be addressed through approaches that pool resources and ensure their use for the benefit of the region. There is need to consolidate the legal, security and diplomatic mechanisms against terrorism and ensure their full operationalization.

Chapter Five: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter concludes the study and gives recommendations on the way forward in the fights against terrorism. The study examined the threat of Regional Terrorism at length in order to understand its nature and magnitude.

5.2 Conclusions

Chapter One inquired into the genesis and evolution of terrorism and how it has manifested overtime in different forms in the various areas of the world. It has been noted that as a result of technological revolution in transportation and communication, the psychological and political attributes of terrorism have been transformed and magnified. Even though terrorism has evolved from an old tradition, contemporary terrorism is indeed a new form of conflict.

It is therefore important that in the development of a counter-terrorism doctrine and capability, emphasis be place on a broader political context than the use of force alone, and it must also be recognized that terrorism is a manifestation of the changing nature of war.

Chapter Two examined the responses to Regional terrorism. The terrorist threat is unique in every country in the region, and therefore there is no single template for the necessary counter terrorism response. Governments must decide, usually in the context of developing a national strategy, how to employ the existing tools, instruments or capacities of state power

to protect their citizens and national interest. Traditionally these have been categorized in four general types:

Military instruments; commonly are used if an interest involves the use or threat of force. Decisions to use these instruments generally involve a careful assessment of the level and nature of the threat. Democracies tend to view use of these instruments as a last resort.

Diplomatic instruments are employed when it is necessary to communicate with external actors on a wide range of issues. Generally, these are used in two primary roles, negotiation and signaling. Negotiation involves deliberately structured communication between parties. Signaling (for instance, the recall of an ambassador for "consultation") is a unilateral way of communicating an important message.

Economic instruments are used to promote internal economic wellbeing, but also to influence external actors in ways that promote a range of national interests. These may include inducements such as economic aid and trade or punitive action like economic sanctions.

Informational instruments are used to mobilize internal support, but also to influence external actors and audiences. Generally, this will involve the use of media. It could also involve operations to influence the leaders or populations of other societies to support specific interests.

Most authorities recognize that these various instruments are most effective when combined in an effective strategy rather than use them in isolation. For instance, diplomacy is much

more effective if it can be combined with economic instruments. Out of necessity, military capabilities are often required to reinforce diplomatic and economic instruments.

Developing and applying these instruments to combat terrorism is an on-going challenge as governments throughout the world learn to confront transnational and sub-state extremist threats.

Chapter Three inquired into the genesis, evolution and activities of the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) which was used as a case study in this research. The study showed that there is attempt by some regional Islamic networks working towards elevating the perceived low political and economic status of Muslims in the region. They hope to achieve this through Islamic militancy to acquire political power and install political systems based on Islamic/Sharia Law.

It is therefore clear that Regional Terrorism is a real threat in Eastern Africa, either by foreign terrorists targeting their perceived Western "enemies" in the region or the domestic but foreign aided opposition groups adopting terrorism as a tool. The sponsors who are mainly extremist Muslims, scheme to export their Islamic radicalism in the region.

The regional States therefore have no option but work together and adopt strategies that will help fight terrorism by emphasizing regional cooperation in all the relevant spheres.

The success of counter-terrorism measures in Eastern Africa hinges on security co-operation between the members of the EAC and countries in the larger Eastern Africa region. The effectiveness of the EAC would, to a significant degree depend on the relationship it builds with other similar organizations across Africa, IGAD, SADC COMESA and AU. Given the overlapping membership in some areas they will have to work closely to harmonize their counter-terrorism strategies and plans.

Chapter Four critically examined, analysed and evaluated the legal, security, and diplomatic mechanisms put in place to counter regional terrorism.

It can be stated that despite the progress made, there remains considerable scope for improving the overall direction of domestic counter terrorism efforts in Eastern African. The key is to formulate policies that reflect an integrated and holistic approach to state security, both in terms of the nature of specific tools and programs as well as within the wider societal contexts in which they emerge. The goal should be one of sustained regional resilience that is effective against terrorist activity.

Therefore, the study has proved the **two Hypotheses right that;**

Cooperation and coordination among states in Eastern Africa is the only way to stamp out regional terrorism.

The current security and diplomatic responses are inadequate to produce lasting solutions to the threat of regional terrorism.

The **third Hypothesis** that; Current security and diplomatic responses offer lasting solutions to the threat of regional terrorism; is hereby disqualified.

5.3 Recommendations

Deducing from the above analysis and the hypotheses thereof, the researcher would like to make the following recommendations;

There is need to establish and coordinate fully various capacities in a national Security strategy to combat terrorism.

Adequate investment in Police capabilities is very important. At its root, terrorism is a violation of national and international law and whenever possible the role of police in bring

terrorist leaders and operatives to justice should be prioritized as the most legitimate means of addressing the threat.

Intelligence operations should be stepped up. Use of an array of human and technical intelligence assets to identify terrorists, penetrate terrorist cells and pre-empt planned attacks.

Anti-terrorism legislation should be strengthened to ensure that the planning, incitement and the conduct of terrorism is illegal, allows extradition and other forms of international cooperation, and ensure that the criminal justice system is fully equipped to combat terrorism within the bounds of the rule of law.

Capturing leaders of terrorist networks is critical as a means of eradicating the threat that they pose. This requires a shift from massed forces used in conventional wars to smaller units, including Special Forces and troops trained in counter-insurgency tactics.

There should be financial initiatives – as efforts aimed at freezing and disrupting the monetary flows terrorist groups rely on to sustain and augment their activities. Stringent laws should be enacted. Financial institutions and businesses should be obliged to co-operate and participate in fighting money laundering and terrorism financing.

Media and information campaigns should be conducted; these are used both to deny terrorists access to effective publicity platforms as well as to de-legitimize their actions in the eyes of the international community.

There should be socio-economic and development strategies. These are intended to diminish underlying conditions (e.g. grievances, frustration, and sources of tension including, poverty and weak government institutions) and deny the terrorists sanctuary and recruitment by adapting development programs to high risk areas and populations that provide tangible benefits.

There should be transparent conflict resolution processes. These measures are aimed at mitigating sectarian divisions and promoting peaceful inter-ethnic or religious co-existence and tolerance in order to stem violence and deny refuge and use by terrorist groups.

Constitutional guarantees are very important because they provide confidence. Legislation should be put in place to allow opposition groups to express themselves freely and openly within the confines of the legal political system, thus diminishing the excuse to resort to violence.

Legitimate concerns of socio-political injustices raised by individuals, groups or communities should be listened to by the authorities in government and addressed appropriately.

It is important to engage and maintain dialogue with local leaders and groups from whose community the threat may emanate.

It is absolutely necessary to establish a Joint Focal Task Force to carry out investigations, analysis and operations at the Regional Fusion Center operating full time.

There is need to improve regional security through continued cooperation among members in arresting and extradition of terror suspects in accordance with respective national and

international laws. It is important to develop joint guidelines for entry points in the region to ensure common practice by border officials.

Exchange of information should be enhanced by expediting coordination, and encourage direct exchange of information between and amongst security agencies in a timely manner.

Information should also be exchanged particularly concerning persons or organizations known to have, suspected of or with a potential of involvement in terrorism. A counter-terrorism data bank should be built in each member country accessible to members through secure communication links.

Counter-terrorism capability and capacity building should be ensured through training tailored to fit specialized requirements for disaster management, countering the financing of terrorism, countering cyber terrorism, immigration and customs control. Training focused on critical skills such as investigation, prosecution, research and analysis.

Governments should enhance their enforcement agencies capability to detect, prevent, investigate and swiftly respond to terrorist attacks. There is need to integrate technology in counter terrorism efforts through; building technological capacity to meet the challenges of modern communication technology. Counter-terrorism operatives should also exploit information and communication technology to identify and monitor the movement of suspected terrorists and their collaborators.

Mapping data and geographical information systems should be utilized to accurately identify and locate possible or suspected terrorist activities.

Security Agencies should find means consistent with national laws to thwart terrorists using electronic or wire communication systems and networks. Border and entry points should be equipped with better electronic means to capture biographic data and monitor cross border movements within the region. The capability to detect and identify explosives and other harmful substances should be improved.

Overall, there should be coordinating modalities; the institution of structures or bodies designed to ensure that separate counter-terrorism efforts do not duplicate one another and work in tandem under the auspices of a single, well planned and coherent framework.

5.4 Issues for further research

While this study has attempted an extensive analysis of regional terrorism and responses by the regional authorities, there are still gaps that remain, and further studies should inquire more onto the legitimate and illegitimate causes of terrorism. There is need for further study on issues of democracy, good governance, religion, social alienation, relative deprivation and poverty which are known to be the major factors leading to terrorism.

Limitations of the Study

While the researcher made all possible efforts to ensure that the study was conducted exhaustively, there were several limitations. Time available was not sufficient to conduct a thorough and more comprehensive study, and the resources available were not adequate to enable the researcher cover a wider area.

Nevertheless, the study was conducted well, and I believe it achieved its objectives as outlined in the proposal.

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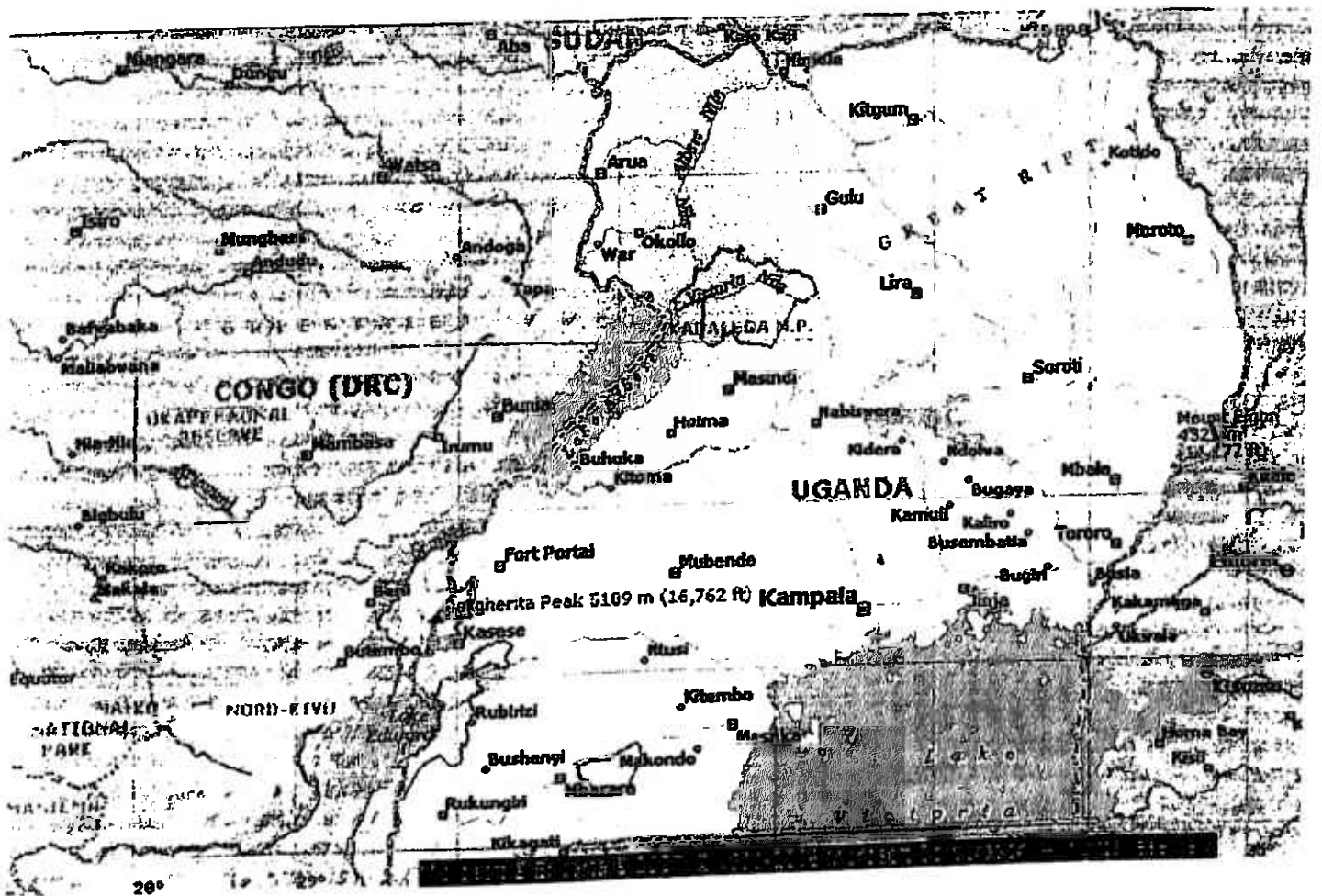
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Map of Eastern Africa – Source: Google



MAP OF UGANDA

Appendix III: International Conventions and Protocols related to Terrorism;

1. 1963 Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed On Board Aircraft
(*Aircraft Convention*)
 - Applies to acts affecting in-flight safety;
 - Authorizes the aircraft commander to impose reasonable measures, including restraint, on any person he or she has reason to believe has committed or is about to commit such an act, where necessary to protect the safety of the aircraft; and
 - Requires contracting States to take custody of offenders and to return control of the aircraft to the lawful commander.

2. 1970 Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft
(*Unlawful Seizure Convention*)
 - Makes it an offence for any person on board an aircraft in flight to "unlawfully, by force or threat thereof, or any other form of intimidation, [to] seize or exercise control of that aircraft" or to attempt to do so;
 - Requires parties to the convention to make hijackings punishable by "severe penalties"
 - Requires parties that have custody of offenders to either extradite the offender or submit the case for prosecution; and
 - Requires parties to assist each other in connection with criminal proceedings brought under the Convention.

3. 1971 Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation
(*Civil Aviation Convention*)
 - Makes it an offence for any person unlawfully and intentionally to perform an act of violence against a person on board an aircraft in flight, if that act is likely to endanger the safety of the aircraft; to place an explosive device on an aircraft; to attempt such acts; or to be an accomplice of a person who performs or attempts to perform such acts;
 - Requires parties to the Convention to make offences punishable by "severe penalties"; and
 - Requires parties that have custody of offenders to either extradite the offender or submit the case for prosecution.

4. 1973 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes Against Internationally Protected Persons
(*Diplomatic agents Convention*)
 - Defines an "internationally protected person" as a Head of State, Minister for Foreign Affairs, representative or official of a State or international organization who is entitled to special protection in a foreign State, and his/her family; and
 - Requires parties to criminalize and make punishable "by appropriate penalties which take into account their grave nature" the intentional murder, kidnapping or other attack upon the person or liberty of an internationally protected person, a violent attack upon the official premises, the private accommodations, or the means of transport of such person; a threat or attempt to commit such an attack; and an act "constituting participation as an accomplice".

5. 1979 International Convention against the Taking of Hostages
(*Hostages Convention*)
 - Provides that "any person who seizes or detains and threatens to kill, to injure, or to continue to detain another person in order to compel a third party, namely, a State, an international intergovernmental organization, a natural or juridical person, or a group of persons, to do or abstain from doing any act as an explicit or implicit condition for the release of the hostage commits the offence of taking of hostage within the meaning of this Convention".

6. 1980 Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material
(*Nuclear Materials Convention*)
 - Criminalizes the unlawful possession, use, transfer or theft of nuclear material and threats to use nuclear material to cause death, serious injury or substantial property damage.

Amendments to the Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material

- Makes it legally binding for States Parties to protect nuclear facilities and material in peaceful domestic use, storage as well as transport; and
- Provides for expanded cooperation between and among States regarding rapid measures to locate and recover stolen or smuggled nuclear material, mitigate any radiological consequences or sabotage, and prevent and combat related offences.

7. 1988 Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts of Violence at Airports Serving International Civil Aviation, supplementary to the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation (Extends and supplements the Montreal Convention on Air Safety)
(*Airport Protocol*)

- o Extends the provisions of the Montreal Convention (see No. 3 above) to encompass terrorist acts at airports serving international civil aviation.

8. 1988 Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Maritime Navigation
(*Maritime Convention*)

- o Establishes a legal regime applicable to acts against international maritime navigation that is similar to the regimes established for international aviation; and
- o Makes it an offence for a person unlawfully and intentionally to seize or exercise control over a ship by force, threat, or intimidation; to perform an act of violence against a person on board a ship if that act is likely to endanger the safe navigation of the ship; to place a destructive device or substance aboard a ship; and other acts against the safety of ships.

2005 Protocol to the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Maritime Navigation

- o Criminalizes the use of a ship as a device to further an act of terrorism;
- o Criminalizes the transport on board a ship various materials knowing that they are intended to be used to cause, or in a threat to cause, death or serious injury or damage to further an act of terrorism;
- o Criminalizes the transporting on board a ship of persons who have committed an act of terrorism; and
- o Introduces procedures for governing the boarding of a ship believed to have committed an offence under the Convention.

9. 1988 Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Fixed Platforms Located on the Continental Shelf
(*Fixed Platform Protocol*)

- o Establishes a legal regime applicable to acts against fixed platforms on the continental shelf that is similar to the regimes established against international aviation.

2005 Protocol to the Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Fixed Platforms Located on the Continental Shelf

- o Adapts the changes to the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Maritime Navigation to the context of fixed platforms located on the continental shelf.

**10 1991 Convention on the Marking of Plastic Explosives for the Purpose of Detection
(Plastic Explosives Convention)**

- o Designed to control and limit the used of unmarked and undetectable plastic explosives (negotiated in the aftermath of the 1988 Pan Am flight 103 bombing);
- o Parties are obligated in their respective territories to ensure effective control over Parties are obligated in their respective territories to ensure effective control over "unmarked"
- o Generally speaking, each party must, inter alia, take necessary and effective measures to prohibit and prevent the manufacture of unmarked plastic explosives; prevent the movement of unmarked plastic explosives into or out of its territory; exercise strict and effective control over possession and transfer of unmarked explosives made or imported prior to the entry into force of the Convention; ensure that all stocks of unmarked explosives not held by the military or police are destroyed, consumed, marked, or rendered permanently ineffective within three years; take necessary measures to ensure that unmarked plastic explosives held by the military or police are destroyed, consumed, marked or rendered permanently ineffective within fifteen years; and, ensure the destruction, as soon as possible, of any unmarked explosives manufactured after the date of entry into force of the Convention for that State.

**11. 1997 International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings
(Terrorist Bombing Convention)**

- o Creates a regime of universal jurisdiction over the unlawful and intentional use of explosives and other lethal devices in, into, or against various defined public places with intent to kill or cause

serious bodily injury, or with intent to cause extensive destruction of the public place.

**12. 1999 International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism
(*Terrorist Financing Convention*)**

- Requires parties to take steps to prevent and counteract the financing of terrorists, whether direct or indirect, through groups claiming to have charitable, social or cultural goals or which also engage in illicit activities such as drug trafficking or gun running;
- Commits States to hold those who finance terrorism criminally, civilly or administratively liable for such acts; and
- Provides for the identification, freezing and seizure of funds allocated for terrorist activities, as well as for the sharing of the forfeited funds with other States on a case-by-case basis. Bank secrecy is no longer adequate justification for refusing to cooperate.

**13. 2005 International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism
(*Nuclear Terrorism Convention*)**

- Covers a broad range of acts and possible targets, including nuclear power plants and nuclear reactors;
- Covers threats and attempts to commit such crimes or to participate in them, as an accomplice;
- Stipulates that offenders shall be either extradited or prosecuted;
- Encourages States to cooperate in preventing terrorist attacks by sharing information and assisting each other in connection with criminal investigations and extradition proceedings; and

Deals with both crisis situations (assisting States to solve the situation) and post-crisis situations (rendering nuclear material safe through the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)).