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INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DETACHMENT OF TERRORISM FROM RELIGION

CASE STUDY OF AL-SHABAB IN KENYA

M.Sc. THESIS

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FOREWORD

One of Africa's main problem is political structure of the states, I was sure that my thesis would involve this problem and its solutions, but this idea changed on 23rd February 2015, when security officers took me for extra security checks at Jomo Kenyatta international airport. The officers said that it was because of al-Shabaab security threat, and I fit the profile of the al-Shabaab members a young Somali and a Muslim. The group's activities has never affected me directly but for the first time I faced profiling in Kenya just because of my age, religion and tribe. After three minutes of frisking and questioning, I was allowed to proceed with my journey back to Turkey. The incident got me furious which drove me to do intense research on the al-Shabaab group which led me to making the decision to make it my thesis topic.

As sensitive and complex the topic might be, the Islamic and Somali cultural background gave me the motivation needed to finish the thesis in the required time frame. The thesis's aim was to prove al-Shabaab wrong in their claim that they are doing religious duty and in the process prove that Islam and other religions are against terrorism and I was glad that I did prove them wrong. Beside the al-Shabaab claims, there are other irregularities especially from the Kenyan government like religious discrimination and profiling which is not known to the public and those revelation made me curious to focus on the Kenyan government activities toward terrorism and in end, as you will see, it was clear how Kenyan government has failed its citizens in the war against al-Shabaab

Most of all, I would like to acknowledge, show appreciation and gratitude to my supervisor Assist. Prof. Gökhan Duman who helped and guided me through the process. Without his guidance and thoroughness it would have taken me much longer to finish my thesis. This study would not be possible without the courtesy and participation of Fatuma Hussein and Abdulrazaq Warfa.

May 2016   **Jamalodin Adam AHMED**

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ABBREVIATION

AMISOM	: Africa Mission in Somalia
ATPU	: Anti-terrorist police unit
AU	: African Union
GoK	: Government of Kenya
ICU	: Islamic Court Union
IR	: International Relation
IS	: Islamic State
KDF	: Kenya Defense Force
KKK	: Ku Klux Klan
LRA	: Lord Resistance Army
PBUH	: Peace Be Upon Him
START	: Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism
TFG	: Transitional Federal Government
UK	: United Kingdom
UN	: United Nation
UNDP	: United Nation Development Projects
UNHCR	: United Nation High Commission of Refuges
USA	: United State of America

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DETACHMENT OF TERRORISM FROM RELIGION
CASE STUDY OF AL-SHABAB IN KENYA

ABSTRACT

Kenya has been attacked several times in the last five years by Al-Shabaab, a terrorist group originally from Somalia. Kenya is accused of meddling with the group's affairs, which include the establishment of a sharia state in Somalia. Al-Shabaab which means youth, is an Islamic group that uses religion (Islam) to justify their aims and activities which comprise of terrorism among other inhumane activities just like the other Islamic terrorist groups.

Terrorism has been associated with some ideologies, but after the 9/11 attacks, religious ideologies become the predominant. Despite there being many religions, the main focus was narrowed down to one religion that is Islam, this is the consequence of the Islamic terrorist groups like Al-Qaida, Boko Haram and the al-Shabaab, who all have one analogy, Islamic faith. The connection between the Al-Shabaab (the group which has been culpable for many deaths in Kenya alone) and the Islam religion which also means peace, was reviewed. Furthermore, the review on other two Western religions (Christian and Jew) has disclosed their perspective on terrorism. The reviewing also involved the impact of terrorism and religion on global politics, Kenya's domestic and foreign policies

The literature research which consists of, written books, journal, and the Holy Scripts acknowledge that, no western religion advocates of terrorism. Al-Shabaab has been conducting their callous activities against Islamic teachings with killing innocents and destroying of properties, this is evidently shown in the Quran verses and the Islamic teachings which value human lives above all. Al-Shabaab is a political group which uses religion to attain support from the locals for manpower support and foreign sympathizers mostly for financial support. Their attacks on Kenyan soil are not religious as they claim, it is clearly due to the military operation of the African Union led by the Kenyan troops in Somalia.

Islam and the other two western religions don't promote or encourage terrorism therefore al-Shabaab's claim that they are fighting for Islamic cause is unfounded. The Kenyan government underestimation of al-Shabaab made the group have many successful attacks which almost brought religious tension in Kenya affecting the domestic politics. Since al-Shabaab group has only targeted Kenyan citizens the foreigners in Kenya have not been affected that much which might be the reason the foreign politics isn't affected.

DİN'DEN TERRÖR AYRIMI ÖRNEK OLAY KENYDAKI AL-SHABAB

ÖZET

Kenya son 5 yılda köken olarak Somalili olan Al-Shabaab tarafından pek çok saldırıya uğramıştır. Kenya, bazı etnik gruplara olan askeri müdahalelerden dolayı suçlanmışır. Buna neden olan etkenlerden biri de şeriyat devletinin Somali'de kurulmasına izin verilmemesidir. Al-Shabaab, gençlik anlamına gelmektedir. Dini kendi amaçlarını gerçekleştirmek için kullanan , faaliyetlerinde terörü ve insanlık dışı faaliyetleri kapsayan diğer İslamik gruplar gibi bir gruptur.

Terör bazı ideolojilerle bağdaştırılmıştır . Ayrıca 11 Eylül saldırılarından sonra bu dini ideolojiler daha da belirgin hale gelmiştir. Çeşitli dini düşüncelere rağmen, asıl odak noktası bir dine kanaat getirmiş olmasıdır ki o da İslamdır. Örneğin Al-Qaida, Boko Haram ve Al Shabaab gibi bütün bu İslamik terörist grupların tek bir benzerliği vardır o da İslam inancıdır.

Al-Shabaab (Kenya'da bir çok insanın ölümüne sebep olan bir gruptur) ile İslam (aynı zamanda anlamı barıştır) arasında bağlantı kurulmuştur . Üstelik iki farklı din arasındaki yeniden gözden geçirilme (Hristiyanlık ve Yahudilik) onların terör hakkındaki perspektiflerini açığa çıkarmıştır. Bu gözden geçirilme aynı zamanda Kenya'nın karakteristik özelliklerini ve dış politikasını, terörün etkilerini ve dinin dünya çapındaki siyasetini içermektedir.

Literatür araştırmasında kitaplardan, seyir defterlerlerinden ve kutsal yazılardan yararlanılmıştır. Ulaşılan sonuç hiçbir Batılı din terörü savunmamıştır. Al-Shabaab İslam'a karşı hissiz bir şekilde masum insanları öldürerek ve yaşam alanlarını yok ederek faaliyetler yürütmüştür. Bu faaliyetlerin yanlış olduğu Kuran'daki bir çok ayette ve İslamik öğretilerde bahsedilmiştir ayrıca insan hayatına her şeyden daha çok değer verilmesi gerektiği de gösterilmiştir.

Al-Shabaab siyasi grup olup insan gücü oluşturmak adına yerli halktan insan toplayarak ve aynı zamanda yabancı yandaş taraftarlardan finansal destek sağlayarak dini kullanan bir gruptur. Onların Kenya'ya olan bu saldırıları kendilerinin de ifade ettiği gibi dini açıdan değildir. Ayrıca Somali'de Kenyalı asker birliklerinin yönettiği Afrika Birliği'nin askeri operasyonuna karşıdır. Terör dünya siyasetini ve Kenya'nın yerli siyasetini etkilemiştir. Ancak Kenya'nın dış siyasetini pek fazla etkilememiştir.

Al-Shabaab'ın iddasına göre İslamiyet için mücadele edilmektedir ancak İslamiyet ve diğer iki Batılı dinlere göre teröre karşı çıkılmaklıdır ve terör onaylanmamalıdır. Bu da Al-Shabaab'ın iddasının gereksiz olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu faaliyetlerden bir tanesi de Hristiyanları hedef almıştır ve bu durum Kenya'nın iç işlerinde dini

gerginlikler çıkmasına sebep olmuştur. Bu dini gerginlik ve Al-Shabaab grubunun asıl hedefi Kenya halkı olduğundan dolayı Kenya'daki yabancı yurttaşlar bütün bu olaylardan pek fazla etkilenmemişlerdir .

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Din, Terör, Al-Shabab 9/11*

1.INTRODUCTION

"May we dwell in unity, peace and liberty" a stanza of the national anthem of Kenya has been a far fetch dream due to the fear ambiance that has besieged the citizens who sing it almost every week. When the al-Shabaab first attacked Kenya in 2011, it was presumed that, that would be the last attack due to the reaction and denunciation that followed the attack, disastrously five years later, over two thousand people lie dead in their graves, more than that number left with physical blemishes and million left in state of fear. It is discernible that Kenya is faced with grievous issue that jeopardize its feeble political stability notably when election are just around the corner.

According to the literature review in chapter two, the study will review in detail terrorism, religion and the case study (al-Shabaab), this will set the foundation for the study, as it will entail where, the three mentioned terms' (religion, terrorism and al-Shabaab) originate from and furthermore elaborate on how the terms have evolved, a fact that has given scholars hard time to explain them. The study will examine religion in four aspects as described by Dawn Perl Mutter, that are; occult religion, cult religion, extreme religion and finish with the traditional religion which will be the main focus of the thesis because it involves the three religions that will be discussed in the Chapter three. The religions are Jew, Christianity and Islam.

Unlike terrorism, religion has had its share amount of time in the shadows and it is rising attention makes it to find its way back into the global politics, but not for the right reasons. This and other paradigms will be reviewed in the sub chapter, which involves religion in the international relation studies. The last subchapter of the second chapter will review terrorism in international study, although there are many theories in international studies, the study will only review two major theories these are; realism and liberalism. The study will explain how they relate to terrorism and how the ideologist (scholars) perceive terrorism.

Chapter three attempt to assess the three western religions that are Christians, Jews and Muslims. Commencing with Christianity this chapter will involve the mentioned religions' history and current state and their perspective on terrorism (violence), the chapter is the   most essential as it analyses the three main religions from their different holy script (The Bible, Torah, Quran), which will be very vital in the conclusion part. The chapter, with example, will give a detail of the religious terrorist groups from all three religions like the Ku Klux Klan from Christian and al -Qaeda from the Muslim religion

As religion and terrorism have shaped the global politics, chapter four commences with the religion in global politics, here the study will elaborate how religion has been ignored in the system before and how it is making a comeback to the global politics. The second aspect of the subchapter is, terrorism in the global politics, here the main focus will be on terrorism attacks that have affected the global politics thus the mentioning of only the Islamic jihadist groups like the Islamic State of Iraq and Levant, Boko Haram, al-Qaida and the case study Al-Shabaab.

The second sub chapter will focuses on the case study, the al-Shabaab but first to comprehend the connection between al-Shabaab and Kenya, the study will go through the societal perception of Religion and Terrorism and its effect on Identity crisis in Kenya. The study will analyze how religion has been perceived before the first terrorist attack which happened in 1998 and how that attack and many other attacks that followed, changed the societal perception of religion. Events like the heroes who risk their lives to save Christians after a hijacking incident by the al-Shabaab in Mandera (Northern town of Kenya) will show how Somali or Muslim have regained their place in the state.

 The final subchapter will fixate on al-Shabaab's history, ambition, activities and their effects on domestic and foreign policies. The terrorist groups, though are as political as they can be, has had great success in conceding behind the religion curtain, why are they disguising behind the religious ideology? Why are they getting this excessive success rate considering their quandary? And an appealing question, why Kenya? All these and other questions will be answered in this sub chapter which will commence with Al-Shabaab's creation in 2006, how they have evolved

and their current situation followed by their activities in both Somalia and Kenya with more emphasis on Kenya as it is the case study. The chapter will conclude by analyzing the terrorist effect on Kenya's domestic and foreign policies.

The conclusion part involves mainly the contrast between the teaching of the Quran, Hadith and Sunnah of the prophet Mohamed and the activities of the Islamist or jihadist groups, especially al-Shabaab so as to get a solid answer to the research question "Does religion influence terrorism". By answering this the conclusion, based on the chapters will detach terrorism from religion in a clear and direct way possible.

1.1 Significance of the Study

Religious terrorism is a preeminent concern in the contemporary human society and a fast rising concern in Kenya, not only has the al-Shabaab single-handedly crippled Kenya security, but the East African region. The main aim of the study is, using the case study al-Shabaab to show that Islam does not advocate for violence, in the process the research will answer some of the questions like, what are the factors that encourage violence and why the religion ideology seem to work more than other ideologies that were used to encourage violence in the past.

The study's finding can be used to shape the people's views on different religion and may be even help against radicalization or biasness against a specific religion, by this, the study will architect tolerance or endurance within religions. Also the finding can be used to form change or amend new policies that will curb the al-Shabaab nuisance that has inflicted the region. The study will also answer the question as to why al-Shabaab has had a very successful series of attacks in Kenya more than any other state in the region. By this the study will bring to light the Kenya's government incompetence and reluctant on the convoluting subject matter.

There are thousands of researches on terrorism, especially after 9/11, which makes this topic one of the most researched in the field of social science, since the al-Shabaab case study is an emerging and uncharted case, there are very few research done in this area therefore the study will bring new information to the field. The

unexplored field factor makes the study significant, especially to researchers who are willing to research on al-Shabaab in the future.

The study's finding can be used to compare and contrast al-Shabaab and other terrorist groups for patterns or any similarities, so as to get a better understanding of religious terrorism in general. The understanding can be used to draw the line between the military jihad and striving jihad, which has been the controversy among the Muslim scholars. The study shows the views of other religion on terrorism and the study can be used as a tool of comparison that will lead to a better understanding of the topic and reduce the prejudice of mainstream media's propaganda that has for many years misguided and ill-advised the people.

The people who construe the Quran to their interest and portray Islam as violent, barbaric and backward religion have had their voices heard through violence, kidnappings and threats, from the side that denounces terrorism, our voices can be heard through research and publication, which can be used as reference to what the religion is all about. The jihadist, extremist and Islamist do not speak for all the Muslims they speak for the less than 2% from the Muslim population, the study will show a clear difference between the terrorist organizations' Islam and the normal practiced Islam or what Islam ought to be , although it's a long shot and a move that has been done by many scholars contrary to the current plight, the study's condemnation of the terrorist group will add a voice backing it up with Quran and Hadiths of the prophet (pbuh) against the Muslim terrorist organization, especially al-Shabaab and the mainstream media propaganda.

1.2 Scope of the Study

Religious terrorism is one of the most sensitive issues researchers have embarked on, and it has been an issue from the 11th Century to date, that is why, there are a lot of documented data about the issue. To focus on the case study, the dissertation has gone through history and commence from the first documented religious violence, which is during the Pope's era in the past Christ periods, then the study has fast forwarded to the 90s when the religious violence shifted to religious terrorism, during the 1991-2000 decade. The study will briefly review the general religious

related terrorist activities, but due to the case study, the study's focus will be the al-Shabaab's origin in early 2000 and more emphasis will be addressed to the years of 2011-2016, the time al-Shabaab inaugurated their activities in Kenya.

Al-Shabaab members claim they are conducting their activities based on Islam, which is why the study's main focus will be on the Subject, Furthermore to get a clear analysis and also to comprehend their stand on religious terrorism, the study will review the other two western religion these are; Christian and Judaism. Due to population and their influence in the global politics, the study will briefly asses two Eastern religions that is Hinduism and Chinese religions.

There are many jihadist groups in the world, though most of them have almost the same ideologies like the al-Shabaab, the study will focus solely on al-Shabaab. To Discern al-Shabaab first the study will review Somalia's history, only mentioning the pre-civil war, few consequential details and progress to the main focus, the post-civil war era which starts from 1991 this information and others will not only show the gradual formation of the group, but also the rise and fall of the group's activities in Somalia, how the group moved to other states and why they moved to the specific states.

The study will be a qualitative study which makes the methodologies and design based on written articles, books and research papers this automatically limits the study, there are many written data on religious terrorism, but very few written on the al-Shabaab which automatic cripple the scope of the study in terms of limited research materials.

Terrorist organizations' spokespeople and their leaders are most of the time in hiding and getting information from them has been a challenge for many researchers due to secrecy and deceptive information, this has been a problem for many researchers. For this dissertation's case study the limitation arise not only from the terrorist groups, but also from the governments involved especially Kenyan government who release contradicting or delay the information.

1.3 Methodology of the Study

The study will use interpretive qualitative research methods namely, literature research and narrative research. Literature research will involve going through the historical written documents which shows religious violence emergence and how it was justified. By this the study will have looked into the roots of religious violence (terrorism) giving the research gradual overlook of the subject. The authentic and valid archival documents shows the plight at that time, which will give the research a suitable foundation to compare the times. In addition to the research, the study will review old written documents that are found in many scholarly books like Assaf Mogahed's book, the roots of terrorism.

The study will use scholarly material from the vast library available on the topic and the news agencies in the terrorist activities section. Although this will be used in the comparison to the historical times. The main aim of this research method is to equip the study with enough information for the narrative research approaches. The study will focus on the religious Holy Script that is the Torah, the Bible and the Quran, supported by scholarly articles and books will also be reviewed specifically Bruce Hoffman "Inside Terrorism" and Ali Khan's "Theory of International Terrorism."

The above methodology is too general and to narrow it down to a case study, the study will use a different approach that is, narrative approach. The approach, although is exploratory in nature in this case there is limited access due to the unexplored nature of the case study, which the study will have to look at the written documents and make a connection or attachment to the case study. The approach will mainly focus on the activities of the group specifically in Kenya, which will force the study to focus on the news agencies for information but not their interpretations. By this the study will converge enough information to scrutinize the groups' claims. Also to understand more, this research approach will show how scholars have been denouncing the religious terrorist group, which so as to use a more efficient way to criticize and scrutinize the terrorist actions.

2. REVIEW OF TERRORISM AND RELIGION IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

2.1 Historical Background of the Terms

This chapter will focus on the historical background of the terms terrorism and religion and review how they correlate. First, it will start with terrorism. From the vast available citing materials, the study will focus the contemporary definition of the term then progress on to the origin. By doing this, the sub chapters will disclose how the definitions and adoptions of the terms have changed along the decades. Focusing on events like the Iranian revolution and 9/11, it will elaborate the reasons behind the variations of the terms and how the terms have been discerned in the contemporary world. Finally, conclude the subchapter by elaborating the evolution of the term terrorism that are *neo terrorism, religious terrorism, narco terrorism and cyber terrorism*

Second the study will review religion as a whole begins with definition and advance to categorize the religion in four categories. In addition, it will elaborate the differences in the categories giving example. It will consider each and every religion in the categories enlightening the main differences in their beliefs. Although there are other religions in the world the focus of the chapter will be on western religions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam and a special mention of the Eastern religions (Hindu and Chinese religions.)

Terrorism

Terrorism is at the peak of controversial phrases in the last two decades. It is normal for the term to have more than one definition. There are over 200 recorded definition of the term. The definition of terrorism has caused major division among experts who for years have worked on to find a universal, unbiased, impartial, accepted and objective definition. Some scholars say it is due to the fact that, past decade the

definition has changed more frequently and in the process losing its original meaning and taking a turn shifting to more of monopolizing with either religion or region. The definition of terrorism has been one of the universal controversies but in all the definitions the scholars agree on the use of violence, but the reason as to the use of violence is what brings the contrast in defining the term.

Despite the misconception and inclination in the definition, terrorism has found some exceptional words to capture its meaning not in full, but at least a balanced definition which does not involve religion or region. Some of the definition worth mentioning are the definitions of Assaf Moghadam. Enders and Sandler and Chomsky. Assaf Moghadam, defines terrorism as

> 'Premeditated violence, or the threat of violence, in the pursuit of a power or political aim, perpetrated by organizations primarily against noncombatant targets, and usually aimed at influencing a wider audience through the creation of fear'. (Moghadam, 2006, P. 5).

This definition is in line with the Chinese proverb "kill one and inflict fear in thousand people". Also definition of Enders and Sandler in the political economy of terrorism,

> 'Terrorism is the premeditated use or threat of use of extra normal violence or brutality by subnational groups to obtain a political, religious, or ideological objective through intimidation of a huge audience, usually not directly involved with the policy making that the terrorists seek to influence'. (Enders and Sandler 2002, P. 145-146)

This definition is also similar to Chomsky's (2001:19) definition, according to him terrorism is the use of coercive means aimed at populations in an effort to achieve political, religious, or other aims.

From the above definitions and many others that the study did not draft, led to the conclusion, beside the adversity of the definition, the scholars agree on the use of violence and fear but dissent on the logic or reason for the violent act. The reasons for some are subjective and others objective and thus the divergence.

In his book Assaf Moghadam (2006), he explains the origin of the word terror. He contravenes most of the scholars who have written about terrorism. The word *Terrere* is the original Latin word which paved the way for the word terrorism. *Terrere* mean to inflict fear through terror and install permanent psychological damage on the target. (Moghadam, 2006, P. 4). This has been the common ground and foundation for all the scholars who have tried to come up with the definition of

the term terrorism. The study agrees with the author, when he states that power and violent concepts seem to be closely related, when expounding terrorism, simply stating that "terrorism is a violent way to achieve power". Although power has been the reason for many wars and battles, but why is this struggle for power different? Why has the term terrorism changed or lost its original meaning?

Unlike the contemporary use of the word terrorism the term used to only describe violent activities albeit the use of violence was experience in earlier century, it was in the 16th and 17th Centuries when violence based on religion was practiced by China and Indian communities. The Indians *Thuggee* group, which means thug, practiced xenophobic acts, which was considered terrorist act. In the late 17th century it was more of antigovernment activities undertaken by no state or sub national entities, which were mostly done by groups who were antigovernment, in other terms revolutionists. The groups were considered enemy of the state automatically making them enemies of the people. The French *régime de la terreur* of the late 17th century was the main terrorist group. Terrorism was involved with revolutionizing people setting the foundation for democracy but it was later replaced by social and economic changes such as industrialization and universal ideologies such as Marxism or Communism. (Hoffman. 2006, Pp. 4- 6).

Early 19th Century the term experienced its first of many changes, the term lost its revolutionary spirit and the target changed. Instead of the revolutionists, the government was regarded as the terrorist and the target the mass or the citizens. Mussolini in Fascist Italy, Hitler in Nazi Germany, and Stalin in Russia are some of the authoritarian regimes that mobilized and deployed gangs to intimidate and frighten their political opponents so as to have maximum control over their territories. (Hoffman. 2006, P. 14)

After the Second World War anti-colonist groups in Africa, Asia and some parts of Middle East changed the term and added value to make it regained its revolutionary status. The anti-colonist groups opposed the colonization of the regions by the European powers in the 1940s and 1950s. (Hoffman. 2006, P. 16). They also campaigned for national liberation of the states their fight against the European powers led to them being labeled freedom fighters, terms which has slightly less

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judgmental tone than terrorism. An example of the anti-colonial group is the MAU MAU, in full "Mzungu Aende Ulaya Mwafrika Abaki na Uhuru" which means the whites go back to their land and leave the Africans with peace. According to literatures the colonist called the freedom fighters terrorists and the people called them liberators. Evidently the then Palestinian liberation leader, YASEER ARAFAT stated at the United Nation general assembly in 1974 in an controversial speech explained how the terms revolutionist and terrorist differ in aspects of which side the West is supporting (UN General Assembly, 13 November 1974).

Also the case of Mandela branded as a terrorism by British MP during the thatcher regime. (Bevins, 1996). The just cause made the revolutionist not seem as heroes but some groups like the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Quebecois separatist group Front de Liberation du Quebec and South Moluccan used terrorism as a mean to get sympathy and attention from international spectrum. (Hoffman, 2006, P. 14).

1970-1980s experience is mostly what was considered political terrorism mostly assassination of the leaders. This changed with the emergence of Islamic radical groups. The radical groups were against the West, United State America to be precise. In 1980s the term took a change of direction after the countless suicide bombings directed at the American diplomats in the Middle East and the rise of state sponsored terrorism. (Hoffman. 2006, P.270). The use of terrorism was a tool that laid a platform where weaker states (mostly Middle Eastern) would inflict damage to powerful states without repercussion of war against them. Suspected states that sponsored terrorist groups were Iran, Iraq, Libya and Syria. 1990s the term terrorism got more advanced and a bit complex with the rise of religion terrorism emergence of *narco-terrorism* and *neo terrorism.*

Narco-terrorism was the use of drug trafficking resources like money and weapon to gain some advance objective of the terrorist groups from the government. The advancements were to undermine the western society and also to undermine the successive government like Colombia and Peru drug cartels.

Neo terrorism is described as modern terrorism, which in many ways is different from the old terrorism. First, unlike neo terrorism, old terrorism, was more secular and considered reputation of the organization of the third parties like their citizen and

international actors or outside audience. The principal aim was to lure people moreover attaining sympathy which would later be persuasive to the people when joining the group incase at some point the terrorist group becomes a political party. Second, the old terrorism was more state centric like the anti-colonist movements or antigovernment movements in Africa and Asia. Third, old terrorism was done by known or obvious groups like early al-Qaida and Hamas, which consisted of 1000 people or less. Forth, the main concern were more of political, for instance the Irish Republic Army and the left wing revolution very little of the old terrorist groups exist now. Fifth, the old terrorist would embark on a task they would need an approval of the people.

In contrast, the new terrorism does not concern itself with the reputation, they even make the innocent the target furthermore take liability for the acts so as to install fear among the people. Like AL Qaeda after the 9/11 attack, they utilized the fear installed in people to make demands and seem more dangerous. The old terrorism has been replaced with highly motivated global organizations, where political agenda is not the driving force but religion. Due to ease in communication, their numbers are in millions in result it has more resources which makes it financially capable to afford the needed technology to produce weapons, recruit and train new members. Modernization and globalization have made it more accessible for the terrorist to conduct large scale attacks sometime simultaneously within a region like the East Africa US embassy bombings.

After the 90s activities, religious motivated terrorism is considered the most hazardous. The 'religious groups' leaders are very influential and find a way to psychologically control the members. Using religious books and teachings the leaders promise better life after death and justify their cause as the true cause in addition they preach that, the others are wrong, but why do people join? What are the factors that make them join? Is it a group or individual factor? Does the environment plays a role in it? To answer some of the question of the scholars have looked at, religious studies, political science, international relations, psychology and sociology disciplines.

The Manhattan world trade center bombing in 1993 was the first recorded religious attack on American soil more than 10 American lives were lost and many more injured. Federal Bureau of Investigation traced the terrorist to be members of a Middle Eastern terrorist group led by Ramzi Yousef who later was discovered by the FBI, that he had a plan to attack a major New York buildings including the federal building and the United Nation building. Although there were many other terrorist activities (India and Siri Lanka), the East African American embassy bombing and Manhattan terrorist attack was among the attacks that changed the term terrorism. The term was engrossed to religion and region that is Islam and the Middle East region respectively ergo islamophobia.

December 1990, the alleged plot to bomb the Los Angeles airport by Ahmed Resam was the ultimate terrorist activities that summarized the decade. The earnest of terrorism well known and understood. (FBI, 2015). It was in early 2000, when the term changed its meaning. The terrorist groups were more advanced and their activities were mostly focused, United State as the target. The anthrax attack, where terrorist groups used anthrax virus as a tool, and the USS Cole bombing in Yemen port were some of the main activities that redefined terrorism but the twist come after the 9/11 attack on the World Trade Center (Twin Towers). This event made the world tremble and more effort was placed to fight and avert any further terrorist attack.

The redefinition of the term terrorism was biased and full of misconception. The American people out of fear reacted by attacking the Middle Eastern people living in America thinking they were all Muslims. This clearly shows that the term was associated with Islam and the Middle East region. Despite many Muslim scholars condemning the attacks. The western media focused on the terrorist group thus spreading the misconception. It was after the attack that more researches were intrigued to research on the subject thus resulting to more complex theories on terrorism. The misconception lasted for almost two years before the researchers shed light on the dark misconception and the sad fact is until today the term is mostly associated with religion and region.

In the early 2000s, the world was stunned by the terrorist attack at the heart of New York. The famous 9/11 attack, which is the main event that made terrorism be what it is in the present day. Nineteen suicide bombers who hijacked the American planes and destined it into America's landmark building the twin towers and Pentagon killing thousand in the process. This event shed some light on the capability of the terrorist which increased fear among the people also known as the climate of fear as stated by (Netzley, 2014 P. 7). Senator John McCain, exhort in his book, Why Courage Matters and how fear has dominated the lives of the people, in addition the anthropologist Scott Atran reffered to the events of the 9/11 as the one attack that has spooked people in a way that has never been witnesses in the past (Atran, 2010 P. 2)

The terrorist attacks of this era were mostly against the US or western powers, such as, American consulate bombing in Pakistan in 2002, 2003 and 2004, the wave of attacks on western settlements and consulate in Riyadh and Jeddah Saudi Arabia which killed almost 70 people, the American consulate attack in Ankara Turkey in 2013, the Boston marathon bombing etc. This era was also critical due to the Arab Spring which saw government overthrown and militia gaining power like Libya, Egypt and mostly Syria which is now considered failed state.

The proclaimed revolutionist and the Islamic State in Syria and parts of Iraq pose a threat to the world with its public executions, attacks and threats hence creating another level of terrorism. September 11, 2015 the leader of al-Qaida Ayman al-Zawahiri denounces the Islamic State concepts and ideologies although both of them claim to be jihadist hence another baffling plight. (McConnell and Todd, 2015)

Today although there are many studies and articles on terrorism there is still a high level of ignorance among people on the issue. At the airport and in the streets thousands of islamophobia activities are reported. A clear precedent would be the case of an 8th grade Ahmed Mohamed from the United States of America who was arrested on September 2015, after the teacher thought the science project assignment was a bomb but it was a watch. This is one of the many misconception that still exist among people especially from the west.

Religion

There are more than hundred recorded religion with more than a thousand unrecorded religious movements and cults. With bits of resemblance, most of these religions are completely different from each other. It is strenuous to categorize the religion due to the fact that most religion are absolute, as in they believe their religion to be the one true religion and the others are all wrong to follow their religion. Dawn Perl Mutter Crimes (2003 P. 5), managed to categorize it into four categories. These are; occult religion, cult religion, extreme religion and traditional religion.

Occult religion comprises of Satanism, neo pagan, syncretic, Goth, vampire and fetish beliefs. They believe with unequivocal rituals they can intercede with the macrocosm. They are few in numbers, and in addition do their practices in secret unlike the other categories of religion. Cult religion is not all that far from occult religion. They form a bond based on one ideology therefore considers other religious ideologies invalid, consequently isolating themselves from the general public. They are mainly formed from the main stream religion. Unlike the occult religions they don't use specific methodology to alter with the universe but rather try to adopt the simple life possible like live without technologies.

Extreme religion consists of extreme orthodox and fundamental extremist who are also known as sects. They are mostly assumed to be from the traditional religion mostly Islam and Christianity. On the other hand they believe the mother religion to be compromised and refrain from the contemporary practices and practice the pure religion that was sent to the prophets.

Traditional religions are in many cases the mother religion of the above named categories. They constitute of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. These three religion have more or less the same history. All of them are belief in one God (monotheistic) and most of the prophets. Judaism is believed to start in the 8th century BCE and has stood the test of time incidentally 14 million people identify themselves as Jews in the contemporary world. They believe to be Abraham's descendants and they use the Torah as their divine book and the Western Wall in Jerusalem as their holiest shrine. Christianity and Judaism are just so similar in their beliefs. The Old Testament is

divided between the two religions. The difference is with the birth of Jesus Christ who is also one of the main disparity between Islam and Christianity.

Jesus's birth was a miracle according to the bible and Quran. Jews respect Jesus and consider him as only a teacher to some extent a prophet. On the contrary the Christians believe Jesus was the son of god, last prophet, messiah and fulfillment of the old testimonies prophecies. (The Bible, Isaiah 7:14; 9:6-7; Micah 5:2). Christians believe that Jesus was the messiah a fact that the Jews oppose. Christians believe Jesus to be a son of god and was brought to the world to save and guide humans. Christianity has the largest followers in the world. The religion has many branches although all of them believe in the same thing their model of worship is the distinction. Christianity believed in Jesus to be the last prophet and savior and there will be no other prophet after him a dispute factor between Islam and Christianity.

> 'And [mention] when Jesus, the son of Mary, said, "O children of Israel, indeed I am the messenger of Allah to you confirming what came before me of the Torah and bringing good tidings of a messenger to come after me, whose name is Ahmad…...' (Quran.61:6).

This Quran verse is addressed to the Jews saying to them that Jesus was a prophet. This proves Christians and Muslims agree that Jesus was a prophet of God. They differ on who is the last prophet. To Christian it is Jesus the messiah, but to Muslim is Muhamad (pbuh). Unlike other prophets, prophet Mohamed was from the Arabs and is KHATIMUL AMBIYAA (the last prophet), He faced lot of resistance from his own people but managed to spread Islam to all corners of the world. His effort has resulted to almost 2 billion people believing what he preached. He was granted the Quran which is the guideline to all Muslims. Like Christianity Islam has some sect like Shia and Sunni who agree with the prophet but differ on his successors specific Ali and 'Uthman (pbut). (Salahi, 2010)

All the three traditional religion shares the belief of God and creation and all value life as sacred. They all are against violence unless stated otherwise or some condition are met. The condition will be considered later in the study. Sects or extremist religion are pro violent and are the few, who annul the traditional religions reputation. More on religion and terrorism will be discussed in the later chapters.

Due to their population, there are two religions although did not fit into the mentioned categories, but are worth mentioning. These are; Chinese and Hindu religions. Chinese religion is not so organized and unified system of belief like the traditional religions, but mostly focuses on art and literature. The religion consists of three main traditions, these are Buddhism (The main tradition), Confucianism, and Taoism. Buddhism has been in existence for more than 2000 years and due to its wide spread it consists of three main branches of Han, Tibetan and Southern Buddhism. Buddhists are not strict monotheist tradition hence today people who don't affiliate themselves with any religion have participated in Buddhist activities. Confucianism and Taoism both begun under the Hun dynasty (202 BC-220 DC) and is mostly are responsible for the way the Chinese live in day-to-day life. Their followers are found mainly in Mainland China, Hong Kong and Macau.

Hinduism is the third largest religion in the world with over one billion people in the world. Unlike Islam and Christianity, Hinduism doesn't have a specific teaching doctrine or founder and it is said to be one of the oldest religions on the planet. Hinduism is considered a teaching which believes in karma and recantation which makes them distinct from other religions. Hinduism believe in many gods like Vishnu, Shiva and Brahman. They recite and follow the Vedas and Upanishad among other scriptures as their holy book. Hindus are mostly found in India and Nepal.

Religion as a way of life which affects every aspect of human lives like political, economic and social aspects. Its effect of course differs from religion to religion or affiliation degree. Religion and terrorism are very contentious issues in the contemporary world. Despite there be other religious terrorist groups, misconception and ignorance have configured specific religion with terrorism. Islam has been placed on the receiving end of this misconception. Army of god Eastern lightening (The church of the gospel's kingdom) the lord's resistance army (Uganda) are some of the terrorist groups from the Christian counterparts who for some reason media aren't interested in. In the later chapters I will describe the reason as to why this is the case.

Al-Shabab

Al-Shabaab in Arabic means youth or militia group. In 2006, the Union of Islamic Court (ICU) in Somalia started recruiting youth who are currently referred to as THE ALSHABAB, they did this in the name of uniting Somalia and fight against the west imposed lifestyle and psychology, which would be a perfect foundation for the sharia law. The idea of sharia law in Somalia was a threat to the west this is due to Somalis being known for their fearless and uncompromised stands. The West led by America decided to send soldiers to curb the group which by 2007 had taken over the majority of Somalia. America did not have soldiers to spare due to their voluminous ongoing wars so they lobbied for the United Nation and the African Union to send soldiers to Somalia. Numerous states saw the moves as biased and did not participate in the invasion only three countries got involved and that is where Kenya gets its place in the research. Ethiopia and Kenya saw al-Shabaab as a threat and for that it was a necessary move for them to join the African Union (Pflanz, 2015)

The attack on Kampala that killed more than 70 people was the beginning of series of attack that killed almost 2000 people. After the attack on Uganda, Ethiopia and Uganda pulled off their soldiers slowly but Kenya stood firm a decision which is criticized for, by some leaders. Kenya has been the only country, which al-Shabaab has managed to attack the reason will be explained in the subsequent chapters. After the attack the group pledge their allegiance to al-Qaida leader and with Medias help they got financial support from all over the world. It is said they have more than 7000 fighters mostly in Somalia and Kenya. Al-Shabaab claimed that Kenya is American puppet by invading Somalia and thus the series of attacks are revenge against the invasion and if the Kenyan soldiers continue to occupy Somalia and fight Al-Shabaab, the attack will continue, something Kenyan government is overlooking. This issue and many will be discussed in the later chapter of this research.

2.2 Religion in International Relation Studies

Religion has no clear definition but can be regarded as be as, traditional beliefs in a celestial guidance through prophet and holy books, It also an ideology, mostly unchanged or uncompromised that turns into belief. The belief unlike the

international relation or any other ideologies the religious ideology is presumed to materialize from a supreme being WHO is in control of everything on the galaxy.

M. Cox (2012), describes international relation as, the study that uses theories to analyze explain and comprehend the inter-State relation. The field also involves sensitive components that affect the interstate relation and are beyond the state jurisdiction example, anarchy, hegemony, globalization, terrorism, pollution, interstate wars and international migration. (Cox 2012, P. 65-78), There are many states, bodies or organizations that exist globally, for easy comprehension involved groups have been subdivided into two categories also known as actors. First the states, which are considered by many theories as the main actor in IR. States are entities that are defined by internal and external sovereignty population and territories, second the non-state actors. This category is more complex than the states because of the parties involved. Non-state actors involve international organization, multinational corporations and non-governmental organizations. International organizations involves only states, who have common interest, this can be political or social-economic interest example United Nation and African Union, multinational corporations mostly based their relation on economic as to gain market and investments opportunity examples are; Nike, Coca Cola and Microsoft etc. Non-governmental organization include charities, religion activist and terrorist groups, examples are Red Cross and Red Crescent, Hamas and amnesty international. This assertion will give spotlight to non-governmental organization that is terrorist groups, religious based charities and movements which are clear indications of religious input in the IR system.

The other imperative facet of IR is its theories, the two that have an unambiguous attachment to religion are realism and liberalism. Realism is more of power accumulation and attainment. Religious unity or division can get you the power or make one lose it. The religious unity or population has an impact on the domestic affairs, at the same time intervene or intercede the international policy a good example is the Jews lobbying against Palestinian lobbyist in the US policy making or the fight over the holy sites. Power is mostly attained by allies that is why leaders although being from a specific religion attend or organize special occasion for the

other religion or even put symbols of the religion like Christmas tree and Hanukkah Menorah so as to affiliate themselves with that religion an in the process gain support from different religion.

Liberalism is more associated with religion than realism because campaigns for world civilization, that will bring liberty and equality to all. The evolvement of liberalism gives it room for other transnational factors which affect the inter-state relation and religion is in the top beside economy. Religion can encourage peace, harmony, human right protection, a tool for international intervention, and ethnic Constructivism and Marxism do not have link with religion but nationalism as explained by Anthony smith (1999, 2000), has some similar factors in religion like historical myths and the concept of election. Nationalism has been influenced by religion in most cases

Religion as an ideology only goes as far as theory when it comes to practical implication in international relation or foreign policy, this is as a result of postmodernism and scientific breakthrough. Scientific breakthrough in explaining the world phenomena has made religion affiliation lose more its support resulting to lose its place in individual minds and its place in international relation. As explained earlier in the previous subchapter, there are more than enough religion and all of them different from each other hence the impossible task of making the ideological aspect of religion have its place in the IR system. Also since religious ideology is absolute and entails to different interpretation, it cannot be used as the main source of secular laws or constitution but it is always referred to in framing policies

In nature, the religious difference makes them a threat to each other and mostly emanate religious conflict. Religious conflicts are difficult to resolve because there is zero room for compromise. This conflict if not handle well could cross borders or become an international catastrophe which will affect international relation. Recent Middle Eastern conflicts like the Israel-Palestine conflict and Arab Spring and the 9/11 attack compelled religion into the global relations.

Although religion plays a vital role in the International relation it has been ignored by scholars and international theories in general. This is due to, first; the fact that international relation is more western and far eastern centric (USA,

CHINA AND Russia). Most states try to be as secular as possible that is separate religion and state affairs and loss of religious universal unity and practices. (Turner, 1991: P. 190–193)

Religion has had various impact on international relation the main aim being the Western and far Eastern states dominating the global relation. The leading with USA, Russia and China the ideologist mainly focus on economic aspects of the ideology that is capitalism and communism or Marxism. Also the main international platform the United Nation General Assembly or the United Nation Security Council is dominated by the same powerful states thus religion again faces some sort of discrimination. Turkish president Recep Tayip Erdogan made an argument that there was no Muslim permanent member in the United Nation Security Council and insisted there should be at least one Muslim state in the council. This argument was met with so much resilience from the Western states stating that, the permanent member states are not appointed, elected or selected based on religion. Overlooking the political reason behind Erdogan's claim, it is a clear evident how religion has lost its role in the international scenes. Back in the renaissance period the pope was the sole dominator of Europe and he ruled based on Christian teaching. The pope was very powerful that he could excommunicate another state and declare war or peace against another states. Unlike today those were the day religion had a place in the international spectrum.

Second is, the secularization of the states and behind the curtain role of religion in governance, led by the USA most western states are as secular as they can get. By enforcing equality before the law and authorize freedom to practice religion, they manage to keep their policy for freedom from religion and at the same time towards religion. They justify this case by saying secularism is not totalitarian or attack on faith they go to say that by keeping faith out of the governance it ensures balance since there are many religion in one nation and imposing the people to join the state religion will make people lose their national identities and violet fairness and mutual consideration that a nation should defend. Unlike the West the Eastern states have not managed to secure a stable secularism like India, Iran and Turkey. A special

mention to Turkey who after independence went full gear to reform the country away from religion and towards secularization by the first president M.K ATATURK.

The third reason is the lack of religious unity which makes it difficult for consideration in the policy formation. The previous subchapter elaborates how divided the religious aspects are and how they differ from one another. The sole religious group with unity is the Catholic Church from the Christians. The pope is the sole leader and he commands and speaks for the Catholics globally. Islam as the second populated religion has no sole leader, who can give a fatwa to Muslim. The Sunni and Shia have different ideas on leadership and mostly influenced by politics cannot agree on one leader like Iran and Saudi Arabia. The Ottoman Empire the last Caliph from the Muslim world. There is a conspiracy that, the western state doesn't want the Islamic community to unite because if they unite the power balance will shift and a lot of things will change starting with the Israeli state.

Religious practices have gone down in number which makes it fourth and my final cause. This has been discussed under some theories but after the enlightenment period it was bound to happen. People knew that the world was God's own creation and only He could understand but science and knowledge change that by explaining some of the phenomenon making religion seem less important. This was then, in the contemporary world technologies and the rush to make a living has made people not have time for the religion practices, although there are days set aside for praying (Friday and Sunday for Muslim and Christians respectively) these days, people prefer to rest and prepare for the coming week.

Although religion has been largely ignored it has managed to force its way into the international relation. Iran revolution, religious rights in the western states, religion-political movements in Latin America, ethno-religious conflicts like those in Chechnya, East Timor, Tibet, Sudan, Sri Lanka,9/11, population growth, contraception, and abortion were some of the events or issues that made religion crawl into the international system. This is why scholars have faced difficulty in coming up with a new ideology and would rather inflict the religious concepts in the already existing ideologies.

2.3 Terrorism in International Relation Studies

August 1998 normal Friday entered the history records as the worst terrorist attack to be witnessed in Kenyan soil. Without the knowledge of what was happening the Kenyan people were caught in between the fight, they were the collateral damage as the targets were the American consulate and its diplomats who did not suffer but escaped with small bruises. The attack saw 300 people lose their lives. (New York Times, 1998). The attack was a surprise to the state, it was after the attack that the majority of the citizens who before the attack were ignorant on the topic became aware that terrorism was an international issue. Like the rest of the world, the Kenyans looked at terrorism as West and East thing an issue which affects the parties involved. After the attack Kenyans were aware and become more careful on the issue but the 9/11 attack on the Twin Towers and Pentagon changed the whole aspect of terrorism, this made the topic so interesting or attention seeking that many universities introduced it to the social science faculties and nations like USA were willing to go overboard in dealing with terrorism with acts like the patriotic act and forming anti-terror special units.

Terrorism and the major international relation theories

International relation has been mostly described by theories that is why the study will look at the role of terrorism in the theory and how they relate. There are more than two theories but for the limiting the study, the research will only look at realism and idealism.

Realism

As mention in the previous subchapter the realism aspects are state centric, attainment and preservation power, security, anarchy and conflicts. The realist like Thucydides and Machiavelli believes that human are cynic and negative minded in other words political animals and humans should perceive the world without sugar coating it.

One of the principle of realism is, the state as the main actor. Omar Lizardo elaborates in his book how terrorism lurk into the IR system chooses the actor centric theory which is acknowledged by the research. For a long time the states have been

the only actors in the IR and it has been responsible for the production of domestic and international order through policy and sanctions, but recent global events have forced other actors into the scene. The other actors are many, but are categorized under non-state actors which makes two categories namely state actor and non-state actors. (Lizardo, 2002, 145-146)

As discussed in the previous chapters the state is the most active actor, state centric theory explains the state from one perspective, but I divided the idea into two that is states as the victim and state as the terrorist. State actors as the victim of terrorism is the norm and largely accepted fact, this is due to state properties or state elite as a target for terrorist attacks. This is evidently been the case as the assassination and state buildings being the major targets for the terrorist attacks. The terrorist attack are directed to a state and the citizen are by product of the terrorist larger aim which is the target (representative states) Goodwin (2006) refers this as "complicitous civilians". Infra-national entities is where by a group pose as terrorist are against a state like al Qaeda and America. In this case the state is always the victim. From the historical background of terrorism it was clear that terrorism was seen as the method to attain liberation but from who? To get liberation from corrupt dictator and functional governments who by the titles represent the states.

State terrorism is the oldest tactics used in military combat. To avoid the ramification expenses and other cons of war, states prefer to support dissenters, separatists, earnest politicians, or simply malcontents inside an adversary state. This strategy is good for both defense and offence. Using this tactic, 1970s the Nazis fascist and KGB killed almost thirty political emigre during the wars, while their counterpart Iranian agents assassinated double the number of political foes. Communist states publicly denied being involved in terrorism although Marxism/Leninism favored revolutionary violence which they called it national liberation.

After the Arab- Israeli war many states like Egypt and Libya supported and even trained the displaced Palestine so as to inflict damages to Israel without them getting involved in. Fast forward to present day politics the tactic is widely used by the west to get rid of the regime that is a threat to them and their people. Example Syria war, which has been a case for many conspiracies as Russia President, Vladimir Putin

claimed in an interview done by Valdai international club in 2014 that, the west led by US is supporting the rebel by paying the mercenaries, he even claimed to know how much the mercenaries were paid so as to remove the president Assad from power and in the process US gets the oil for very cheap. September 2015 leaked information proves Putin's point, when it was discovered that the America gave weapons and helped the Al Nursa group which is another wing of America arch rival and top terrorist group Al Qaeda.

Non-state actors which consist of the multinational groups NGOs and terrorist groups. Every group in this category has a role in the international sphere so as terrorism. Before it was a matter of region, but due to modernization globalization and technology terrorism has managed to cross continents. In domestic politics the terrorist group manages to manipulate the government to give them what they want, this has spread to the international level through kidnapping and killing in public. The terrorist groups be it political or religion affect the balance of world peace. Weapons availability makes them a threat to all other states thus the need to consider the terrorism aspect in the IR. Other aspects of realism are the power attainment and preservation which are the main aim of the terrorist group whether religious and political minded. Machiavelli states that religion can be a tool to attain power a claim that goes along with the "religious terrorism" (Machiavelli, chapter 6-7)

History shows that most Terrorist actors are not legitimate in the state they are in therefore settle for the use unlawful military tactics against the citizens of that state (Lizardo, 2002, P. 99). Although the aim of the terrorists is power, the terrorist group do not have the resources and technology to produce arsenal or army to make them use hard power but with the use of media they prey on sympathy from international spectrum thus to attain soft power. Like the Islamic state using religion to get support and funding for their activities.

Liberalism

Utopia minded liberals believe that the world is a place or situation, where we as human find ourselves and we can't transcend from it. How the human deal with the situation is what defines the liberals. Liberalist believe in individualism. Justice and freedom. Individualism involves people being unique and with different qualities,

freedom of thinking and justice and tolerance are concepts the study believe is more to religion. Liberalist are strong campaigners of justice similar to religion, they believe in people are ought to get what they deserve in life.

Liberalism believes in the state but also includes the economic, social, religious movements and other factors that influence the IR. Unlike realism competition among states or individuals are not the main stream, but cooperation between the involved parties are the key to a better world, a concept religion or rather the relative religious scripts seem to campaign for.

Liberalism opposes terrorism or any form of violence since it hinders the development of the humans and the liberalist have manage to come up with systems that have tried to prevent wars and promote cooperation through trade and free movement, this is evidently seen with League of Nation, UN and the EU institutions taking charge of the global politics. Terrorism encourages the use of violence or any necessary means to achieve your goals, which are what the liberalism have been against. Liberalist believes in cooperation association and peace dominions. Terrorism has no place in the liberalist mind.

3. THE UNCERTAIN CONNECTION BETWEEN RELIGION AND TERRORISM

Terrorism has been linked with religion for very long time, groups like al-Shabaab, al-Qaida, KKK and Lord Resistance Army all have had claims that the book they follow or the religious teaching goes along with religion. Although there are many religion the study will only focus on the three monotheist religion, will start with Christianity followed by Judaism and conclude with Islam.

3.1 Christian Perspective on Terrorism

> 'You have heard that it was said, 'Eye for eye, and tooth for tooth.' But I tell you, do not resist an evil person. If someone strikes you on the right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if someone wants to sue you and take your tunic, let him have your cloak as well. If someone forces you to go one mile, go with him two miles. Give to the one who asks you, and do not turn away from the one who wants to borrow from you' (The Bible, Matthew 5:38-42).

The famous phrase is the root on Christian's view or point against violence, but is that the case? Is that what the crusaders who were ordered by the Popes did? The past decade religious violence got rebranded and was attached to the term terrorism. This is due to the analogous characteristic in the method or approach to violence and its goals. For centuries religious violence has been the sole mechanism used to spread religion and conquest of new territories. This medieval root of interfaith violence was justified by the popes. The pope encouraged his followers to fight against the Jews who he claimed did not follow Jesus, furthermore crucified their messiah (Riley. P. 55).

This was after the first wave of crusade in early 1800s when the pope ordered the slaughtering of the Jews, which paved the way for the second wave of crusade some years later. This was the crusade theory (Sapir, 2002, P. 7). The theory was the sacred violence tradition, which had root in the Roman Empire, who governed the empire that suffered under the pagan predecessors. The Roman Emperors said to be

special servant of god, used that title to rationalize the violence as a command of god and also moral, noble and ethically neutral, thus the participant believed they were executing god's duty. As explained in (The Bible, Roman13: 4) how one shouldn't be afraid if he is fighting against evil and he is a servant of god

In Livonia the indigenous pagans posed a menace to the church resulting to the pope innocence the III ordering the crusader to invade Livonia, he convinced the crusaders that the Pagans were imminent threat and for this he gave a decree to attack and remove the Pagans. The crusaders believed they were going for pilgrimage and would travel light with armor and food only and when they accomplished their task they would return with token as indication that they finished their pilgrimage after which the crusaders earned the title "knights of Christ."

 By the early 19th Century Jerusalem was turned into a pure Christian city and as an evidence of divine intervention, the crusaders managed this although they were weaker than their opponents. This was later followed by the pope declaring war on the pagans, inspiring the crusader through offering the remission from sin. The pope encouraged people to cleanse themselves and find righteousness through fighting the enemy, also the pope sent a crusade to butcher the Turkish population in Nicaea. (Sapir, 2002 P. 9)

The focus of the crusaders was to spread the word of god and to impose damage to the infidels, this was replaced by liberation and the target was not based on religion but their ideologies. Although the focus changed there were some groups who still went on with the religious violence. Religious violence lost its significance when people started to question the moral behind the incursions. Religious terrorism which is more definitive and encompass the goals and the target replaced religious violence. Anna Sapir defines religious violence as the exertion of physical force on human beings, whether by societies or individuals, that is primarily motivated, and explicitly justified, by the established beliefs of their religion. (Sapir, 2010, P. xvi).

After the French revolution not only did the Christian ideologies evolve but all religion ideologies did. This was as a result of the rise of nationalistic ideologies like the Marxism which forced the religious violence lose its focus. During and after the world wars the term religious violence was replaced by religious terrorism. Some

argue that religious violence was broad and based on interpretation, a fact that the study agrees with, but also does not see the difference in religious terrorism either.

After the cold war the rise of population and urbanization led to the depreciation of the existed ideologies' influence and paved way for modernization. The raise of modernization is said to have led to rise of religious terrorism due to religious fanatics opposing the fast rising modernization. (Moghadam, 2006, P. 109). The anti-modernist assumed modernization was taking over their traditional ways like, the place of woman in the society, the dress code and sexual openness. The clarification brought a clear distinction between the old and new testament, which one is tolerable to violence and one encourages peace and harmony. Christians at this time did not consider the books but the situation. They lack the uniqueness which ought to be the expression of that faith. Thus theologies become mechanical exercises that justify the positions adopted, and justify them on grounds that are absolutely not Christian. The Christians are to follow the state law and if the state declare war the Christian can engage in the war but not hate the enemy. "Christian paradox" an impossible theory as the Christians are supposed to kill the enemy and at the same time engage in compassion. (Ellul, 2003, chapter 2).

As the Islamic based terrorism dominating the media, the Christian based terrorist groups were overlooked and this gave them the cover that needed to conduct their malicious activities. One of the group is anti-abortion principled terrorist group known as the ARMY OF GOD in the United States, who campaigned for use of violence against abortion. The group claimed they protect Gods natural phenomenon. From 1980 to present day their activities have included killing, kidnapping, onslaught and damaging of properties. These attacks mostly targeted the clinics and doctors who practiced abortion, although the US government knows about this terrorist activities, it has fail to prevent or apprehend the perpetrators despite their anti-terror available resources.

Christians have managed to disguise the terrorist activities only in the western states. Terrorist organization like the Eastern Lightening or Church of Almighty God in China have managed to conduct their activities in the name of Christianity. (China for Jesus) The group which most Christian religious leaders have disassociate with, claiming it a cult and has no religious foundation. The world is coming to an end and the Yang Xiangbin is the redeemer of all humanity are some of their fundamentals notion. The irony is that, the US would be so committed with the anti-terror campaign and not focus on the leader of this Christian organization who resides in America. Their latest activity was 2014 when six of group members ambushed and killed a woman in china because of a phone number. (New York Post, 2014)

White supremacist groups also have been involved in terrorist activities this groups include the preeminent Ku Klux Klan (KKK). The protestant based group has been against immigration and used violence toward other races notably, the African Americans in early 90s. Mugging, public whooping, executions and leaching were the common act of violence used against their targets. The group which is over a century old has had variations in management and goals but the Christian fundamentalism that drives it has not been lost over the years. The extremist members believe against the interracial intercourse, homosexuality, abortion and the main one, the mixing of races.

> 'We are not so much anti-black as we are so much as pro white, there are many organization that are working for the blacks and we are simply an organization that is working for the interest and ideal and culture of the white people' (Duke in one of his speeches)

The inhuman acts led to the groups' image being damage and to repair the damages people like Duke got involved in dialogs which raised some doubt on the foundation of the KKK. Many left the main organization to form more militant groups who continued with the assaults. The study considered this to be the worst Christian terrorist groups although the western media would gallantly show you the Chinese or the African Christian religious groups instead.

To finalize the Christian terrorist group is the "jihadist" version on the Christian aspect. The Lord Resistance Army (LRA) in Uganda, which is the only Christian terrorist organization the West has publicly condemned. The irony is the LRA as dangerous as it is, has no difference from KKK or the Church of Almighty God. Then why the sole condemnation? Is it because of the terrorist group is from Africa or is not from the western sphere that the media is focusing on them this much or what is the reason? The LRA in Uganda is known for kidnapping killing and damaging of properties just like the other Christian groups the only different is the used children as soldiers. Known for the extremist foundation the leader KONY, is a wanted person by the International criminal court. The word "Christian jihadist" is hardly used in relation with the LRA, but in fact, the LRA's tactics are just like those of ISIS or Boko Haram.

From the above events we cannot conclude that the Christian religion agrees or supports the terrorism act although it hasn't been on the condemning side either as they have been condemning the Islamic counterparts. The New and the Old Testament contradict on violent and thus the confusion. St Peter version of the New Testament is widely followed thus making the Mosses "an eye for an eye" quote irrelevant. Christian all over the world today consider the Islamic counterpart a threat without knowing that within their own faith there are groups who do more or less the same thing as the one they are pointing finger at.

The Christian teaching entail the rejection and condemnation of both revolutionary violence and the violence of the established powers.

> 'The wolf shall live with the lamb, the leopard shall lie down with the kid - The cow and the bear shall graze, and their young shall lie down together; and the lion shall eat straw like an ox - They will not hurt or destroy on all my holy mountain; for the earth will be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea' (The Bible, Is.11. 6-9)

Also the phrase "Thou shalt not kill", are the fundamental guideline which the Christian should follow or in the Christian states made to be a law. Religious leader like Father Maillard claim that religion and worldly affairs should be separated, this is the only way Christianity can stay with the brotherly love Jesus campaigned for. (Ellul, Jacques 2003 P. 35). A group of religious leader quibble that, the pope in preaching the gospel created qualm in the main aim of the gospel which is to preach

justice and not convert and increase the number of believers. The Christians are to discourage violence, encourage revolution and should serve as arbitrator between the powerful and the oppressed who are in need of intercessors. (Ellul Jacques, 2003 Chapter 1)

The study concur that, just like Muslims and Jews, the Christians are against violence in the name of religion as described by many theories. This study will focus on two theories, this are pacifist theory and just war theory. Pacifist theory elaborates that under no circumstance is war justified, simply there is no room for violence. The theory was used as early as the third century with leaders like father Justin insisting on peace among humans and less killing even if it involves the act is just. The theory is based on an incident when Peter one of the disciples wanted to defend Jesus Christ when he was attacked in gethsemane. Jesus told him to halt and said, "One who lives by the sword will die by the sword" a phrase the fathers used in defending their stand against Christian violence. The theory also believes that, war go against the ethic of love between humans,

> "You have heard that it was said, 'You shall love your neighbor and hate your enemy.'
> But I say to you, love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you' (The Bible, Matthew 5:43-44).

The theory believes that Jesus was a pacifist and so are the Christians. As history entails this changed with the Roman popes, which brings us to the second theory.

This study believe that the just war theory was a way for the Christians to justify violence or pretext to engage in war. The theory developed by Augustine and later refined by Thomas Aquinas has been the pivot point for the Christians, who engage in violence. These are the three assumptions the just theory is basing its foundation on. Based on just war theory by Aquinas the Christians can engage in wars, but must fulfill some conditions this are; there must be a just cause, just intention, war as a last resort, formal declaration, Limited objectives, Proportionate means and Noncombatant immunity. The first four condition have faced criticism from Christians and other religion due to the unclear status of the conditions, which has resulted in humans depending on interpretation of the people engaging on the war, who most of the time are bias and subjective.

The study can substantiate that, Jesus campaigned for love, conformity, accord, peace and compassionate and also believes that the if Christians are deem to follow Jesus, they should castigate the religious violence and in the process renounce terrorism and what it stands for. Simply the Christian perspective on terrorism as explained above is, no to violence and since we are human and even when we don't want we find ourselves in the position where violence is inevitable. If any Christian is in that position then he should follow the just war rules laid by Aquinas and not their irrational reasoning.

3.2 Judaism Perspective on Terrorism

Judaism, the oldest monotheist religion which openly defied the polytheist religions has historical tracks from 3000 years ago. Religion unlike ideologies don't have a waves of the highs and lows but every religion faces the threat of extinction. 3000 years is a long time to be in existence, some of the reasons that kept them in existence will give the study a clear perspective on the Jews perspective on violence.

The divine scripter, the *Torah* is said to be more of violence than peace. Christians have sometimes claimed that Judaism is a violent religion and the god of Israel is a violent god (Heft, 2004 P. 74–87). In the scripters there are many verses that proclaim that it was god who ordered the violent acts. Such as (The Bible Deuteronomy 3:3-6) we read,

> 'so the lord our god also delivered into our king Og of Bashan, with all his men, and we dealt them a blow that no survivors was left....we captured all his towns; there was not a town that we did not take from them; sixty towns... we doomed every town –men, women and children-retained as booty all the cattle and the spoil'

Also in (The Bible Deuteronomy. 7:1-2)

> 'when Adonai your God brings you to the land that you are about to enter and possess and his dislidges many nation before Tou, Hittites Giirgahites Amorites... seven nation much larger than you and Adoni your god delivers them to you and you defeat them you must doom them to total destruction grant them no terms and show no mercy' And Joel (4:9-10),

The verse encouraging people to prepare for battle. The above verses simply encourage violence, Interpretation and contextualization of the above verses can be really hard to defend, due to its clear nature of the violence oriented terms. The

verses above might be the reason why they have been in existence for the three millenniums. There are many other verses like the psalm and Isiah 11, where love and unity is encouraged also and due to its contradicting nature Hebrew Bible is not a good source of law or guideline when it comes to Jew's perspective on terrorism or generally religious violence.

Christianity used the New Testament which led to the rabbinic Judaism who preferred the oral Torah instead of the written Torah (Christians Old Testament), evidently the Jews drew a line between them and the Christians who later become the Roman Empire. An Empire whose only mission was to spread Christianity. Led by the popes, the crusaders conquered the Jews cities, the pope ordered the crusaders to invade and kill anyone who defiled Christianity. The crusaders believed they were servants of god and thus carried out this task full hearted and managed to conquer the Jewish settlements, this resulted in the formation of the first terrorist group ever.

The group carried out their attack using small daggers resulting to them being called *Sicarii* which means dagger in Latin, the group's main aim was to resist roman rule in the region. Until his assassination, their leader Menahem ben Jair, the grandson of Judas, encouraged the resistance against the Roman Empire. After the fall of Jerusalem the group just like the contemporary terrorist groups used different tactics to cripple the roman rule. The tactics included, attack on the people, raids and kidnapping. The so-called *Sicarii*, who murdered men in broad daylight in the heart of the city. Especially during the festivals they would mingle with the crowd, carrying short daggers concealed under their clothing, with which they stabbed their enemies. Then when they fell, the murderers would join in the cries of indignation and, through this plausible behavior, avoided discovery. (Zalman, 2014) The *Sicarii* conducted their activities in the defense of their lives and properties against the Roman a valid reason indeed, one can argue but aren't the Hamas and Palestinian Liberation Organization groups doing the same?

The *Sicarii* is mostly confused with the zealots, which was more of political than religion minded, later went through some changes with the emergence of the rabbinic Judaism. The *Rabbani* sect was more passive and had no bloody history unlike the mother religion of *Sicarii*. This was the case until the 19th century where many

drastic changes like, the holocaust and the formation of the Israeli state made them join hand and use any means necessary.

Through the century the battle for Jerusalem and establishment of the control changed hand from the Jews to the Arabs and then the Christians. This was the case until the early 20th century when the nations decided to form states and the Jews, who were spread throughout the world started to go back to Palestine seeking a state of their own. The British, who had the mandate over Palestine allowed the Israelites to settle and encouraged the Arabs to form a coalition with the Jews. Not trusting the British the Arabs refused the demands and started attacking the Israel settlements this went on until the WW2

German Nazis regime led by Adolf Hitler had a conspiracy that the Jews wanted to rule the world and the Nazi using pragmatic means focused on eliminating the Jews (Dr El-Shahaw, Allah and Space, P. 143). The pragmatic means included the mass execution from all over Europe, which led to more than eleven million people executed five million of them Jews. The executions which mostly targeted the Jews also included the romans slaves, ethnic poles and the disabled people. The British led coalition defeated the Germans stopping the inhumane killings. Due to the expatriation of many Jews, there was a mass migration of Jews from Europe to the Palestine states, which was encouraged by the United Nation General Assembly through the passing a fateful plan to divide Palestine into two, the Arab and the Jews states but Jerusalem placed under international law. The Arab did not want any part of the land given to the Jews, knowing this the Jews went on and did as fast as they could to get recognized as a state by USA and Russia, a move which provoked the Arab states but Israel was ready for combat and defeated them and on May 14th Israel was declared a state. They not only declared themselves a state but also prevented Palestine to be a state until recent years. It was in that moment that for the first time since the Roman Empire that the Jewish people had a nation-state of their own.

The Jews believe that the lord brought them back to Israel and they fully deserve to be there, a fact the Christian argue with historical tales from the Bible. It is said that Moses led them to the promise land but since they dint believe, they couldn't enter

and it's after forty years that they finally entered. After they entered they started sinning again and they were expelled from the promise land again for 70 years. From this the Christians believe that only believing Jews would be allowed back to Israel by the lord, a fact which raise some concern like are really the people occupying the Israel believers of the lord?

After a little disgracing, we can easily say that Judaism does not encourage violence but its follower's campaign for violence than peace and it has resulted in the world formation of the terror triangle as described by Ali khan in his book theory of international relation. The terror triangle consists of aggrieved populations, suppressive entities, and supportive entities. The aggrieved population and supportive entities will be elaborated in the next chapter. Suppressive entities are as the name state are entities which subdue or vanquish a group based on the ethnic difference. They revoke justice and not pay attention to the grievances of the target population, who later revolt and become the aggrieved population in this case the above definition defines the Israel state.

The study can clearly state that Israel as a state has been involved in killing of children and innocent people and this does not mean the Judaism does encourage this action, but they are not doing enough to stop the Zionist from committing this inhumane acts.

No matter the perspective of the Judaism on violence and terrorism in general the Jews action clearly show where they stand on the violence and their actions and reactions has had an effect on international politics. Prominent politicians especially from the Middle East claim that the power and influence the Israel states possess is the reason for many immanence of many religious terrorist groups in the region. A prominent English politician George Galloway, claimed in an interview that the invasion of Iraq by the US was due to the threat the then president Saddam Hussein posed on Israel among other reasons of course this is just one of the speculations surrounding the Mid-East crisis. (YouTube, *inside Aljazeera,* 2013)

3.3 Islam perspective on Terrorism

December 2014 a bus heading to Nairobi from Mandera Northeast part of Kenya was hijacked by militia group and taken to the woods, the passengers were told to alight from the bus as the militia group vetted the passengers one by one and if they failed the vetting they would meet their death. The vetting process is the part which this study is concerned with. According to the eye witnesses the vetting process was to identify if a passenger was a Muslim or not. If the passenger was a Muslim they would be told to go back to the bus and the non-Muslims were told to move aside, later the group mercilessly shot all the twenty eight non-Muslim passengers that were on board. The group left the bus there and disappeared in the woods. (Obuluster, 2014).

The Kenya security forces were late to the scene and could not identify the perpetrator, but later the Al-Shabaab militia group took full responsibility and promised for more attacks, sad to say they kept their promise with a similar attack eight months on university some 300 miles from the previous attack. Al-Shabaab spokesman when claiming responsibility of the attack claimed that the group is fighting for the "Muslim believers" and that's the logic of killing only non-believers. Al-Shabaab vetting is interesting and very attention seeking, one comedian advised Kenyans to memorize some verses of Quran as it might come in handy. (Levs and Yan, 2015)

Sheikh Ali Dere Al-Shabaab leader in an interview on channel 4 news stated that before the Al-Shabaab group came to play, Somalia was in ruin and no one cared but after the group came to play the infidels were not happy and started to interfere with their affairs and that's the reasons for the attacks. (Osman, 2013) Just to be clear the stated affair is more of political and not religion as their vetting process would dictate. Al-Shabaab, Islamic State, Al Qaeda, Boko haram and many more Islamist terrorist groups have manage to depict the picture that their action are in accordance with Quran and the teaching of the Prophet Mohamed (pbuh) and arcane the political intention behind the cloak.

Muslim believe exclusively one God (Allah), He is the same God that is worshipped by Jews and Christians and He is the sole and sovereign absolute of the universe.

Islam is said to be true religion and was sent to all mankind till the end of time. They believe in many things, but the part that deals with this studies is, the peace and war concepts. The word ISLAM is derived from Arabic word SALAM, which means peace and also SILM, which means to submit your will to Allah (s.w.t). Dr. Zakir Naik defines Islam in the most honorable way possible "Islam is peace acquired through submitting to the will of almighty God" (Dr. Naik, 2015). The definition clearly shows where the religion stands when it comes to violence and terrorism.

Islam as a religion has been associated with terrorism for decades despite there being a clear distinction between the two, scholars and especially the media after the 9/11 attack, deluded people by quoting some part of the holy book asserting the direct relation between Islam and violence. It was until recently that researchers established that although many terrorist groups are Muslim, not all Muslim are terrorist and Islam doesn't encourage violence. Trying to make sense of the situation, scholar like Dr. Daniel Pipes, came up with explanation that the extreme and violent side can't be classified as Islam but Islamist. This notion has received criticism especially from the Muslims who claim that there is no difference between a Muslim and an Islamist.

The study agrees with Dr. Pipe in that, it is about time the fallacy about Islam is established, so far the only logic explanation given which explains the events from the 11th century of the Assassins to the most recent events of the Islamic State, is his. The Assassins famous for the dagger attacks on prominent people was the first Islamist group that was determined to eradicate anyone in its path, they used violence in the spread of Ismaili version of Shiism across the Middle East. The Group considered themselves as "messengers of God" and fearlessly assassinate the leaders of the non-believers in broad daylight. They continued the abominable acts until the Mongol invasion in the 13c. The assassins created a clear distinction between them and the other sects (*madhhab)* of Islam (Shia) and it would have been unjust to classify all Muslim as terrorist as done today or to conclude that Islam as a religion encourages violence.

The media which is the widely used as a source of information, unfortunately are to blame for the misconception, prejudice and their eagerness to disseminate propaganda regarding Islam as an extremist, fundamentalist and barbaric or savage

religion among others disinformation. In article on Newsweek magazine on 16th April 1979 writes, there are more than 60.000 article or books have been published against Islam in a span of 150 years. (Dr. Naik, 2015). To attain rating which in tales to more money, the media agencies are more concerned with the juicy story rather than the truth. "Security fears as Obama heads to terror hotbed" was the news headlines on CNN regarding Obama visit to Kenya. To a news agency "Obama is going to his father's home land" wouldn't interest people, but terror hotbed is juicy enough, to even create a tweeter ridicule against CNN with the #SomeoneTellCNN, which got more than 70.000 tweets mocking and demanding apology from the news agency. The media for a long time have misguided people on some essential terms and interpreted this terms to their satisfaction, (Twitter 2015).

One of the term is jihad. Jihad one of the most controversial terms in the world not just to the non-Muslim but even to the Muslims themselves, the term is sensitive and depends on interpretation. Jihad is derived from Arabic word *Jahada* which means to endure, straggle or strive, and in religious context it means to strive against one own evil inclination also to strive and struggle in the battle field in self-defense. The word jihad is the thin line between the Islamist jihadists and Muslims. As Muslim focus on the other form of jihad like the spiritual and financial jihad, the Islamist focuses on military jihad.

The Muslim believe, the striving and struggle with one self as more valid than the aspect of defending the religion, furthermore Muslim believe that the greatest jihad is with one's own self. Islam as a religion doesn't distinguish between civil law and religious law both are considered as one due to its main source, the Quran. The true sharia law is a balance path between the worldly pursuit and a spiritual freedom which addresses the believers to establish and maintain socioeconomic status within themselves and with the non-believers. Like the word jihad sharia law has had a number of misinterpretation but that is not media's fault but the extremist groups.

After 9/11 the media, scholars and the terrorist used the Quran to interpreted the attack, the irony is, all of them found an approach to justify their perspective. They used different verses that suit their need without the consideration of the history behind the revelation.

Quran was revealed in two stages Makkah and Madinah. The Makkans were the first people who the religion was sent down upon. The Makkah Quranic verses are more of allure or enticement to Islam unlike the Madinah verses, which were revealed to the people who already submitted their will to Allah and the verses were more of guidance than allure. The people who mostly interpret the Quran and claim that Islam supports violence don't have the right historical background, evidently if they did, they will understand the religion stand on explicit matters especially violence.

Islam was introduced to the Arabs when they lived in ignorance era (*jahiliya*) and they opposed the religion and would go to any extent to prevent their extreme barbaric culture, this led to prophet moving from Makkah to Medina, where He managed to establish an authoritative system and was constantly under threat from the Makkans, this is where the prophet practiced jihad of military and not holy war. According to Mufti Menk (scholar and prominent speaker), the verses in the Quran and the hadith act of violence or defense, relate to the threat that the non-believers posed on the religion and this is where the most misinterpretation is evidently witnessed. (Menk, 2012). The beheading of people, suicide bombings, attacks the convoy of land cruisers in the middle of desert with a black flag militia shouting Allah Akbar all are believed to be military jihad *(Qital)* aspect rather than the spiritual aspects.

Qital (military jihad), is the physical aspect of defending against oppression or *zulum*, the Quran encourages *Qital* especially against ruthless and unjust rulers who oppressed the Muslim nation community or even state,

> 'And what is [the matter] with you that you fight not in the cause of Allah and [for] the oppressed among men, women, and children who say, "Our Lord, take us out of this city of oppressive people and appoint for us from Yourself a protector and appoint for us from Yourself a helper?' (Quran- 4:75)

> 'O you who believe! Stand out firmly for justice, as witnesses to Allah, even as against yourselves, or your parents, or your kin, and whether it be (against) rich or poor: for Allah can best protect both. Follow not the lusts (of your hearts), lest you swerve, and if you distort (justice) or decline to do justice, verily Allah is well acquainted with all that you do'. (Quran 4:135)

First and foremost, murder is forbidden in Islam unless it's against injustice. There are a lot of verses that discourage killing of one person let alone the people,

'….. Whoever saves one - it is as if he had saved mankind entirely. And our messengers had certainly come to them with clear proofs. Then indeed many of them, [even] after that, throughout the land, were transgressors' (Quran, Ma'idah' 5:32)

'Nor take life – which Allah has made sacred – except for just cause. And if anyone is slain wrongfully, we have given his heir authority (to demand Qisas or to forgive): but let him not exceed bounds in the matter of taking life; for he is helped (by the law)' (Quran, al-Isra' 17:33).

These verses has been the pivot point of controversies as the JUSTICE term is up to interpretation and is also where both sides have managed to find perspective to suit their needs. Muslim live by this rules and many examples set by prophet (pbuh). This is what the Islam is all about spiritual balance between the worldly affair and the hereafter and from the almost two billion Muslims the majority live with this principal no matter the sect they belong to.

The oppression of Muslim men, women and children, evacuation from their houses, restriction on economic and social lives, prevention of basic supplies and commodities all fall under the right to *Qital,* but only if there is no other way to go about gaining freedom. "But if the enemies incline towards peace, do you also incline towards peace. And trust in God! For He is the one who hears and knows all things." (Quran-8:61). The mujahedeen in Afghanistan who fought the soviet soldiers is a clear example that the war wasn't anyway related to Islam as a religion, but the fight was to gain independence of Afghanistan people. The same can be seen in the contemporary world in Israel and Palestine war.

There are other verses that encourage fight against oppression and it this verses that the media and the bias scholars used to claim that Islam encouraged violence, the previous chapters we can see that the Torah and the Bible, all at one point encourage violence but depending on the situation. The Bible and the pope ordering holy wars against the Jews are seen as viable situation but a few verses from the Quran with the wrong interpretation and Islam is easily branded as violent religion which led to the rise of Islamophobia especially in the west.

 Islamophobia is the dislike of the Islam religion or lack of religious humility towards the Muslims, This is said to be the result of the media and the stereotyping of the illiterate people who believe what they hear or read in the mainstream and social media. This is the case even in institutions firsthand experience will back the

claim that due to affiliation to the religion Muslim are treated different at the airport or government institutions. After 9/11 the ignorant people who went on rioting and looting the shops belonging to Muslims did not know that there were Muslims who died in the twin tower attacks. Mohamed s. Hamandi, an ambulance driver died while he rescued the lives of the survivors in the attack also Rama Sali seven months pregnant Muslim woman who was on board flight eleven. (Discover the truth about Islam, 2011)

The islamophobist do not understand that, the terrorist group do not discriminate on their attacks. The act of prejudice against Muslims have been reported over the years, discrimination and attacks on the Muslim especially ladies due to the *hijab.* The perpetrators mostly go unpunished and the Muslims are faced with paradox as to what step to take during this kind of action.

Islam allow the fight against oppression but with some limitation and some extreme supervision by the responsible leaders, who are also responsible for peace and warfare. There are ways to go about launching an attack and warfare, under Islamic law the declaring of war must be done by a duly constituted leader a (Calipha) or imam of the Muslim community and not random person. Osama bin laden of the al-Qaida and Al Baghdadi of the Islamic States, who have publically declared war against the West have not met any of the above qualification, they are not close to even being Caliphas which in other word, their cause to inimical to Islamic teaching.

'Abu Bakr al-Siddiq, the first Caliph, strictly ordered his armies strictly commanding them to engage in war considering the human value of people

> "I instruct you in ten matters: Do not kill women, children, the old, or the infirm; do not cut down fruit-bearing trees; do not destroy any town" (Malik's Muwatta', "Kitab al-Jihad.) (Walker 2015)

The closest companion of the prophet and the first Calipha ordered his army not to kill innocent and destroy properties, fast forward to the contemporary world where the so called Islamic groups are attacking the innocent, killing children and destroying properties worth millions in the name of the Islam but which Islam?

Islamic law clearly is against *hiraba.* Hiraba is disrupting or posing threat to the free passage of humans by corruption and other unlawful means this include the

brigandage, highway robbery and extortion rackets. The Al-Shabaab hijacked a bus full of passengers and took more than 200 hostage, Al Qaida and Islamic state have taken hostages in exchange for ransom either money or prison exchange.

In *Sura Maidha* Allah states that the perpetrators to this kind of act are to be amputated. It is clear that the bias scholars and especially the media skipped this part when they were busy informing the world that Islam is a religion violence and only understand the language of force.

In April 2014 Book haram abducted more than 250 girls from Choboko village in Northern Nigeria and there number of attack on Mosques and churches is a clear evident that this kind of acts are not in concur with any Islamic teaching, if they did adhere to Islamic teaching, they would know better than to kidnap and kill people in their worshiping place. (Abu-Bakr, 2014). This also applies to the other terrorist group like Al-Shabaab attack on a churches in Mombasa city and Garissa town between June and December of 2012. (Daily Nation, 2012). The leaders of the group or people who support the attacks came out claiming it was for Allah, but is it? Are the leader the imams really leading us in the right direction? Are the Muslim supposed to follow these kind of leaders?

Osama bin laden (deceased al-Qaida leader), Abu-Bakr al Baghdadi (Islamic state), Ayman Al-Zawahiri (al-Qaida), Qasim Al-Rimi, Abu-Bakar Shekeu, (Boko Haram) Abdi Godene and Ahmad Omar (al-Shabaab) are all leaders of alleged terrorist groups, their common background of Madrasa education gives them title to be called *ustadhs* which means teacher. They are supposed to use the attained knowledge to guide people from wrong and command good if not just teaching of Quran is enough as the prophet instructed, but they have done the opposite in most cases in the name of protecting the religion, but as it is claimed they have more hidden agenda than that. What about the sheikhs who publicly endorse the terrorist group and preach to mass to join in the fight.

Sheikh Aboud Rogo, a controversial Muslim cleric from Mombasa Kenya, who was mysteriously gunned down by unknown assailants was among the first Muslim leaders who has encouraged violence in public in Kenya. He without fear claimed Al-Shabaab had the right to do what they were doing and encourage Muslim youth to

go to Somalia join the group and train for the protection of religion and also there were claims that he was obtaining funding for the group, in one of his video he state "the attack that happened on Sunday in Garissa is okay that Garissa people should not allow churches in their town" (Vice news) although he was charged with hate speech, the message was out. He was shot and killed months later after he publicly claimed that "they" were after him and this not only angered his supporters but the sympathizers also who demonstrated after the killing. The killing is said to have made more youths from Mombasa to join Al-Shabaab group to retaliate the killing. Similar case in Palestine, Afghanistan and Iraq after the 2003 invasion where the people resorted to this sort of groups as the invaders are superior and the only way to fight them is through the groups.

There are many Muslim leaders and organizations who have publicly and privately condemned the act of terrorism, they in one voice say that the act of the terrorist are not in relation with the Islam teaching and as a result they have been a target for the terrorist groups. The Organization of Islamic Cooperation members, Saudi Arabia's grand mufti, Abdulaziz al-Sheikh, the country's top religious authority, said that terrorism is anti-Islamic and said that groups like the Islamic State which practice violence are the number one enemy of Islam a notion that Turkey and other states fully acknowledged (Hashaballa, 2014).

4. RELIGION AND TERRORISM - THE KENYA FACTOR. A QUESTION OF AL-SHABAB

4.1 Religion and Terrorism in Global Politics

Global politics involve security, power, energy, environment, economy and other determinant that shapes the international system. The 9/11, the London bombing and other terrorism and non-terrorism related activities have made security to be the top priority in the global politics with religious terrorism dominating the headlines. This has led to many exotic phenomenon like the Islamic state in Syria, USA's domestic political preliminary election debate, the Iran nuclear plans, and the Arab spring. This and many other events just show how religion and terrorism have had an impact on global politics. This chapter will assess the global politics and amplify the role of religion and terrorism respectively.

Religion in global politics

Timothy Shah assert that despite the importance of religion in the global politics it is one of the ideology that has received less attention in regard to policy making and the balance of world affairs. (Shah, 2012, P. 3). Religion directly or indirectly alter the global politics. Although the nation-state notion was not yet in place, religion has been in the global politics for centuries. Early 19th Century modernization, industrialization, democratization, globalization and the rise of other ideologies like nationalism, has made religion lose its fundamental place in the global aspects, but according to some scholars it is slowly making a resurgence, which will be discussed later in this part.

Although this was only experienced in the West, 1960s, the questioning of the existence of super natural beings (god) increased, the famous "is god dead?" article on the Times Magazine on April 6th 1966, is a clear implication as to the hierarchy of religion. This was as the repercussion of bleak occurrence of the 19th Century like

the World wars, genocides, nuclear bombs, and the cold war. One can argue that this is one of the logic that prompt secularism.

Secularism, is the notion of separation of religion from state. That is, the religion's beliefs loses its cultural influence, authority and significance in the state affairs. Religion or rather faith was perceived as the sole source of knowledge or answer to phenomenon that existed in the planet and the galaxy, but after the enlightenment period this idea changed and humans, through science realized that they could explicate the world's phenomenon and in the process find answers to what bewildered them during that period. This led to the shift from depending on religion to the rational and autonomous thinking to comprehend the world. (Edkins and Zehfuss, 2008, P. 111)

Another reason that paved way for secularism is the establishment of the sovereign state, which was to reduce the power of the church so as not to have a state religion, (Edkins and Zehfuss, 2008, P. 113). People related to each other based on states they belonged to unlike before when they related on the religious affiliation, this concept made religion become more of a private matter and it was no longer the source of law, as the law was made by the rulers unlike the previous eras when the Monarchs ruled based on the irrationality of religion. According to secularization theory religion lost its place in the global politics but not for long as religion slowly finding its way into the United Nation Security Council, the EU parliaments the presidential debates and many other international platform.

Religion is slowly making its way into the global politics which goes along with the argument of Samuel P. Huntington, the clash of civilization. He stated that after the cold war, the world will neither be divided by political lines nor political ideologies but rather through cultural lines or religious affiliation like the Hindu, Orthodox and Islam civilizations among others. The new concept will in turn make the world major players change their policies based on the contemporary concepts so as to maintain their status. (Huntington, 1996, P. 22-49).

Monica Duffy in one of her conferences titled: ''The resurgence of religion in global politics'' expounds that, modernization failing to deliver, democratization failing people especially in the Middle East, globalization not living up to its competence

and increase in population like in India has led to religion resurgence in the global politics. Simply the ideas that undermined religion in the past failed and its deficiency is what empowered the religion into fortuitous resurgence. (Duffy, 2015)

Turkey is a good example as explained by Bulent Daver, after independent the state using the *Kemalism* ideology, managed to retain a coherent line between religion and politics (*laiklik*) (Daver P. 29-40). That had been the case until June 28th 1996 when for the first time since Turkish independence, the prime minister of the state was from an Islamic based ideology. Numerous states have managed to establish a secular state but others like Greece, Germany, Saudi Arabia, Malaysia, etc. are not completely secularized. Although this is the case, there are some events that brought back the theological aspects in global politics like the Iranian revolution and the Afghan-soviet war.

1979 revolution of Iran through a referendum led to the formation of Islamic republic of Iran, the theological revolution led by Ayatollah Khomeini was against the western influence in the state among other grievances. The formation of the Islamic based state was met with lots of criticism, but it fell on deaf ears as the Khomeini went on with establishing his rule over the state. The west led by the USA imposed sanction and embargo on the new government, but this did not stop Iran, resulting in many years of Iran's isolation from global politics. (Dr. Gürbüz P. 108-121).

The Soviet Union superiority against the rebels in Afghanistan made the rebels appeal to the outside world for help and the help was countered by jihadist who gave all they could to the cause, one of the people who did that was Osama Bin Laden, the man who the study argues, rejuvenated religious terrorism into global politics. (Jalali and Grau, 1995, P. ix). The war ended with the Afghan rebels being victorious and the rebel interpreted that as a sign that they could defeat the powerful states if they coalesced, this resulted in the rise of religious terrorism as it will be discussed later.

The internal political atmosphere is a shadow of the global politics, that is, the way the people or the politician's votes are influenced by many factors among them religion, in religious states like Saudi and Israel, religion is the main dominant rational behind many political voting and the appointment to top office like ambassadors, who are appointed to represent the states in the international platform.

Although the ambassadors mostly vote based on state's interest there are some situation that religion has been the main differentiating factors when voting like the case of the United Nation Security Council voting regarding the Israel and Palestine situation.

Saudi Arabia and Iran, both Islamic state but different sects believe in spreading their sect through the region as to gain more control of the region. Religious based Internal politics of a state can easily erupt to being an international scene like the Saudi-Iran tension early 2016, which led to both countries cutting diplomatic ties with each other and Iran giving 48 hours for Saudi diplomats to leave the country, all this because of Nimr Al Nimr a Shia cleric who was among the 47 prisoners executed on 2nd January 2016. (Chulove, 2016).

Internal religious conflict between Hindu and Muslims in India, Jews and Muslims in Palestine Buddhist and Muslims in Burma etc. have caused many deaths and displaced many more raising the alarm in all international platforms. The most commonly discussed is the Israel-Palestinian conflict which has been the main talk in global politics for over three decades is a significant example to how internal politics can change global politics. Likewise Northern Ireland religious division has drawn a line as the protestant wants to stay in the United Kingdom while catholic wants to separate themselves from the UK although there are other factors to consider the religion aspect makes it rather an international case (BBC, 2016) These are some of the internal religious factors that shows the role of religion in the global politics.

Religion has been the silent driving force for various foreign policies, wars and invasion in the recent years. It is argued that despite there being other factors the then UK prime minister Tony Blair and USA president G.W Bush's policies were mostly influenced by their religious beliefs, similarly many decision taken and voting of the United Nations Security Council substantiate the idea of religious clout, (Wynne-Jones, 2009). In the preceding decades the USA approached all aspects as they perceived it or how they should be perceived and this created tension, as many part of the world did not interpret the same manner as the USA did, aspects like democracy and secularism, other states like Iran thought the aspects were an adoption and assimilation of the western culture. This made the USA to formulate

their approach in many aspects among them other religious belief so as to maintain their superiority in the global politics, USA managed to open state sponsored fellowships that deals with contextualization of religion and it has involved other religious leader to find a platform so as to comprehend the other religions and change their approach

Religious leaders have a very imperative role in the global politics, like the pope among others when he visit any part of the world although he is not a political figure he is always welcomed by presidents and diplomats and his messages and opinion are considered before any decisions are made concerning the global politics.

Terrorism in Global Politics

9/11 attack was the pivotal point in the global politics, the world shift its attention from economy, globalization, humanitarian issues, environment and others to geopolitical and security issues. One of the main issues of past two decade has been terrorism and religious terrorism to be unambiguous. Technology and globalization significantly made transfer of information, capital and people easy and the arms very accessible by anyone with the right resources and in the process boosted the capability of the terrorist organizations.

As discussed earlier in this study, the term terrorism had gone through some changes and those changes led to different interpretation, but the use of violence to attain power is the agreed upon definition, although there are many type of terrorism and categories (state based and none state), religious terrorism has had indisputable impact on the global politics as it has led to strengthening of state, security, military repression and political ideals thus the reason the study will divide the aspect of terrorism in global politics into two, that is the religious terrorism and other types of terrorism.

Religious terrorism has had an important role in global politics since the 20s, but it was in the late 90s and early 2000 that the world realized its significance with attacks in East Africa and the famous 9/11. After the East Africa bombing the leader of the group that claimed responsibility Osama Bin Laden was the most wanted man in the world but it was after the 9/11 that USA started taking extra measures to apprehend

him and any members associated with radicalized group. G. Bush after the attack said

> 'Americans have many questions tonight. Americans are asking: Who attacked our country? The evidence we have gathered all points to a collection of loosely affiliated terrorist organizations known as al Qaeda. They are the same murderers indicted for bombing American embassies in Tanzania and Kenya, and responsible for bombing the USS Cole.' (The White House, 2001)

After this speech that the world saw a different aspect of the super power state. Appetite to pursuit and apprehend the terrorist drove the congress to pass the legislation to enact the "Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism (U.S.A. P.A.T.R.I.O.T.) Act which justified the surveillance of the public and the use torture and other different method to attain information that were vital for the security. Many especially the human right activist were against the unlawful activities in the Guantanamo bay claiming it is against the American Laws and the human right acts (Bellamy. 2005 P. 227). In the spirit of dismantling al-Qaida and remove the Taliban from power USA and its allies led an operation towards Afghanistan. Although Osama was not apprehended the Taliban was removed from power and Karzai was handpicked to lead the state. This was followed by the operations in Iraq which was totally interest based as Bellamy argues that the involvement of USA in other states is due to their interest which involves their safety. (Bellamy, 2005 P. 275)

Despite the climate of fear, war on terror and media propaganda, the attacks did not stop on the contrary the terrorist groups through the internet, media and other method recruited a higher number of people than before the 9/11 attack. Many international platforms are dominated by religious terrorism, radicalization and islamophobia, especially after the emergence of the Islamic state and other events such as the Arab spring, the killing of Osama bin laden, M. Gadhafi and Saddam Hussein. The 2011 Arab Spring was supposed to liberate the Arab states and within some months Tunisia, Yemen, Oman, Jordan and Algeria were under new government or undergoing reforms. Egypt, Libya and Syria revolution process taking a different toll on the global politics. In Egypt, the Military and the Islamic brotherhood exchanging power, in Libya the death of M. Gadhafi and the ambiguous plight of the state, in Syria Assad refusal to step down and the highlight of the Arab spring "the Formation

of the Islamic State" which has single handed taken religious terrorism to a state of art magnitude.

November 13th 2015, gunmen and suicide bombers attacked different places in the city of Paris almost simultaneously killing 130 people and injuring many more. The act that was describe as an act of war by the president Hollande, was the worst terrorist attack on western soil by the Islamic State "the attack is an "act of war" Organized by the Islamic State (IS) militant group" (Boyer, 2015) prior to this attack the group had conducted many other attacks like the Charlie Hebdo 7th January 2015, Turkish peace rally in 10th October 2015 and mosque in Yemen bombings 24th September 2015, these kinds of attacks, Syria plight and Americas presidential debate made terrorism the media's headlines and the worsening of the situation shapes global politics in a way that has never been seen before.

The Assad regime is in melee predicament with the opposition and the IS terrorist group fighting for control, Iran and Russia are helping the regime while the United States is against both Assad regime and the radicalized jihadist which makes them settle with supporting the opposition militia, who first priority is to remove Assad from power. The study deduces that America compromised and dealt with the imminent threat which was the terrorist group as removing Assad will make the IS group more powerful to even take control over Syria and part of Iraq, An arduous plight and with regional powers like Turkey and Saudi involved the quagmire gets more complex and the inclusion of the Kurds and Al-Nusra groups makes it more ambiguous. The explained situation summarizes the impact the religious terrorism in the international politics.

US antiterrorism efforts in Pakistan, Iraq, and Afghanistan came with costs in both money and lives. War on terror has cost USA 4 trillion dollars and more than 800 million to maintain the Guantanamo Bay in Cuba furthermore war on terror has displaced more than 7.8 million people to the refugee status. (Netzeley. 2013, P. 24) The situation in Syria as a result of IS attacks and afraid of being caught in the middle of the war the world's super powers are involved led to many fleeing their home fearing for their lives this has led to the 2015 refugee crisis that dominated the

political arenas until the Paris attacks. A photo of Aylan Kurds perturbed the world as to what extent people were willing to go to escape their ill-fated states.

The world led by Turkey, Germany and the Eastern European countries are trying to manage the crisis though it is proving to be a very difficult job as many states fear that there is no proper vetting process that would identify the terrorist from the normal refugee and the Paris attack and San Bernardino attacks although had nothing to do with the refugees still had an impact on the crisis, the same is seen in the African region with Al-Qaida Boko Haram and al-Shabaab causing mayhem in their respective regions.

Boko haram and Al-Shabaab in Western Africa and Eastern Africa respectively have shown allegiance to the al-Qaida and IS terrorist groups. Early 2015 the internet and news agency reported on the development of the allegiance of Boko haram to IS. Through an audio recording of the leader Abu-Bakr Shekeu, that was posted on the groups twitter account stating that the group is pledging their alliance to the Islamic State terrorist group. (Elbagir, Cruickshank and Tawfeeq, 2015). The two terrorist groups are so effective in their East and West regions of Africa, with attacks that has claimed more lives than the Islamic State terrorist group's attacks. In previous decades, Africa political forums were mostly dominated by normal problem such as corruption, hunger, civil war etc. but recently with the emergence of radical groups the continent's first priority is security and how to tackle radicalization of the people. Al-Shabaab's impact on the East Africa has been limited due to the Kenyan government's efforts and the plight of Somalia as a state but that cannot be said for the Boko haram in West Africa with Nigeria Cameroon and chad crying foul against the religious group.

Beside religious terrorism there are very many aspects of terrorism and one which has managed to get the headlines in the global politics is the political terrorism. Political terrorism in the early 90s, was more of revolution and was associated with the left wings or nationalistic ideologies, these included, Indian, Polish, Irish, Macedonian Serb, Armenian, and terrorist groups. (Mogahded, 2006, P. 52). Political Terrorist groups as non-state actors affects the way the state actors interact be it diplomatic, socio-economic and cultural relation this in the end lead to the state

actors enacting sanctions or embargo to the states that they feel have affiliated themselves with the terrorist groups or are related to state terrorism like Iran.

4.2 Societal Perception of Religion and Terrorism and its Effect on Identity Crisis in Kenya

Kenya, a home to more than 35 million people is a majestic land with so many miscellaneous wild and artificial features. Since independence in 1964, Kenya has been harmonious land with tribal conflicts from time to time. Until 1992 Kenya was a one-party state and that might be the argument as to why Kenya hasn't strode towards progress as anticipated. Kenya has had oodles of difficulties in almost all sectors health, education, agriculture, economy etc. but it is slowly turning the table and the future looks prosperous. In 1992 multiparty system was introduced, Kenyans were perplexed due to no preceding political culture and most people with no one to turn to, settled with their tribal leaders and that is the reason as to why Kenyans are detached by tribal ethnicity.

There are more than 42 tribes in Kenya with over 1000 clans and sub clans, these tribes are mostly identified by regions and it reflects in the political affiliation and voting during elections. The tribal line has been the prevailing identity for Kenyans, even up to date, employments, enrollments and appointments are mostly done through tribal lines rather than follow the right procedures.

Tribal conflicts that still happens, were the main national security issue until the August 1998 bomb blast that claimed almost 300 lives and injured more, (Mckinley, 1998) Prior to that, people had only one dividing factor and that was tribal. The Islam and Christian tension was initiated by the bomb blast and incited by the reaction, thereafter Kenyans were no longer divided solely by tribal lines but on religious line too. Almost half the population in Kenya are Christian and this makes Kenya a Christian dominated country with Islam second on the list and other religions mostly traditional filling up the population.

The Arab traders came to the Kenyan coast in the 1880s and unlike the colonist they associated with the locals which led to intermarriage between them and the locals consequently making the coastal town a Muslim dominated area, their association led

to established rule that made the colonist not to impede with the rule of the coastal town. The British colonist came to Kenya in 1920 and settled in the rich and fertile or arable lands of the country and in the process spread Christianity to the land which means that the arid and semi-arid areas like the North and Northeastern part of Kenya were not directly affected by colonization, that is the logic, today the coast, Northern and Northeastern part of Kenya are occupied by Muslim and other region mostly occupied by Christians. Despite religious differences Kenyans dwelled in peace and free from religious jitteriness but after the 1998 bombing the religious tension has fluctuated.

Kenya has eight regions, the regions are mostly dominated by the major tribes but after the bomb blast the tribal antagonism was set aside and people related on a different platform which changed the identity facet of the country. People from same region and most probably same tribe would be for once on the adversary thus the identity crisis. Before the attack there were some parts of the country where the population didn't care about religion, but after the blast people were concerned as to which religion one belonged to.

August 7th 1998 bomb blast was the first major terrorist attack since the state got independence, the government and its citizen did not have an idea of how to react to the blast. The government, like the many attacks that followed, relied on the international intelligence for information, while the citizens were glued to the television to find the answers. The bomb targeted the USA embassy and it's was Al-Qaida who took responsibility of the attack and the name Osama bin Laden was the most mentioned name on the news for many weeks. Like many part of the world many Kenyans rely on news for information and that is where the religious division commenced. International news agencies all reported on the Islamic jihadist Osama bin Laden and his ideology and although many Muslims were not aware who he was or what his ideologies were, they were associated with him or with his group. After a long debate it was apparent that the Kenyans were not the target but collateral damage to a war they did not know existed. There were biasness especially in the security check points directed toward the Muslim but it did not last long until the Al-

Shabaab terrorist group took over Somalia and things changed completely in the region.

Al-Shabaab driven by their extreme ideology took over Mogadishu after the Ethiopian troops invaded the capital replacing the Islamic Court Union (ICU) from power in 2006, the ICU group expunge the tribal determinant that divided Somalia for many years, they foisted the Islamic brotherhood ambiance furthermore united the Somalis and set sharia law to guide the part of the country under them. After defeating the Ethiopian troops in Mogadishu the group gained momentum and were more rigorous and chastise the people who contradicted the sharia law with whipping, stoning, and executions among other inhumane actions. Their operations heighten apprehension to the region and to the international realm, the West led by USA decided to purge the group in Somalia for reasons that will be conferred in the next subchapter. The study argues that USA had a lot on his plate and didn't want to get involved in another war and that's why they had to get the African Union involved. African Union led by Uganda sent troops or peacekeepers to the war inflicted country.

Al-Shabaab responded with attacks towards the states that sent troops, it started with Kampala the capital of Uganda July 2010 an attack that claimed 85 lives. (Aljazeera 2010). This was followed by many attacks in Kenya. Sheikh Fuaad Mohamed Khalaf "Shongole" an al-Shabaab ideologue declared the group had shifted the war to inside Kenya and he called on all Muslims in Kenya to take revenge, claiming the government has killed Somali children both inside Somalia and Kenya. Sheikh Fuaad added that they shifted increased attacks in Kenya as revenge for the military operation. (Reuters, 2014.) After the Kampala attack Uganda and Kenya openly said it won't cease to send the peacekeepers to Somalia. As al-Shabaab is the sole reason they are in Somalia. (Aljazeera, 2010) This to the terrorist group was an invitation to war cause after this is when the attacks started.

Up to the Westgate Mall attack, there were more than a dozen grenade attacks within Kenya, but the attack didn't increase the religious tension, then the attack on West gate mall happened. On 21st sept 2013, the attack claimed more than 70 lives and property loss of close to a million dollars. (Howden, 2013) The attack involved a

four days siege in a mall 5 km from the city center on the commercial subunit of Nairobi's Westland. It was a retaliation against the Kenyan troops in Somalia. The local news agencies, witness accounts and the government all contradicted in their statements, but the CCTV footage evidently showed the ferocious killings of many lives and the heroic acts of the rescue process. Alimann Manji, a radio reporter hosting a cooking competition on the top floor of the mall, gallantly decide to engage two terrorists in a dialog. First question was, if he was a Muslim, then they told him to say the *shahada* (phrase every Muslim should know), after which they permitted only him and his wife to leave the sieged premise. Another witness a driver Ali Gitonga who was shot by the terrorist, as he was taken to the hospital he was saying *shahada,* the police thought he was a terrorist, although the terrorist incident had a lot of controversy as Mohamed Ali and Allan Namu reported on their investigative reports and documentary,(The Inside Story, 2014). It was clear who the terrorist were and what their grievances were, again from above documentary Alimann Manji, the reporter stated that, when he engaged the terrorist in dialogue not to kill the women and children for they were innocent he said that the KDF in Somalia are not considering that innocence context, why should they?

The groups attacks created tension within the Muslim community, clerics based in Eastleigh Nairobi Kenya Sheikh Mohamed Abdi Umal, received death threats from Al-Shabaab after issuing a *fatwa* (judicial opinion) that decried the Westgate attack and declared it *haram* (unlawful). Al-Shabaab called the clerics and politicians that encouraged the fatwa as "evil scholars". The attacks raised more identity questions when, MP Kamukunji constituency (Somali dominated) was attacked in a mosque. Al-Shabaab is fighting for the Muslims as they claim then why are they attacking the Muslims? Yusuf Hassan the study understands is one of the unique Kenyan politician who has managed to identify his legacy by development and progress and not by his tribe. This was the paradigm that faced Muslims who were caught between Christian's misconceptions and al-Shabaab attacks and claims.

The Westgate siege created an ample identity gap between the Muslim and Christians in Kenya. After the attack, Mombasa a Muslim populated city was raided by anti-terror police in suspicion of being a haven for recruitment of the Al-Shabaab

group. The raids subjected to explicit mosques and clerics, were countered with protest from the youths, which deduces that, they supported the group while the study discern that, they were only against the incarceration and detention of the innocent.

The Mombasa protest were as a result of some Islamic leaders' apprehension. The government justified the raid based on some controversial clerics like Abud Rogo and sheikh Makaburi, who publicly supported the group's ideologies and actions, in an interview with Vice Press Sheikh Abubakar Shariff Ahmed (Makaburi), claimed that the group had a right to defend itself from the Kenya defense force. (Vice News, 2014). This raids divided the coastal town of Kenya into a religion victim situation that is the Muslim perceived themselves as the victim due to their faith furthermore Kenyan government as the perpetrator.

The incidents and attacks created many speculation that the jihadist only killed people from other religions, a speculation that was proven when the group attacked a bus in Mandera, killing 28 Christians sparing the lives of the Muslims and the attack on Garissa University months later. (Mutiga, 2015) After the Garissa attack which claimed almost 150 lives Kenyan citizen's perception altered and Christian perceived themselves as the victim and the Muslims were perceived as the perpetrators. Many led by church leaders and politician pleaded with the government to help with the process of the Christians students from the area. (Mutiga, 2015)

First hand evidence of the harassment at the airport and the raids in Muslim dominated areas was a clear misconception that dominated the mind of many Kenyans for many months after the attack. Attacks on public transport, worshiping centers and businesses increased the tension with the security being high and the religious based harassment deepening. Somali and Muslims face harassment every day from the security officers and this doesn't not help abolish the misconception.

Late 2015 Daystar University in Nairobi staged a drill and the people who acted as terrorist wore and talked like the Somali based group, people not knowing that it was a drill, one woman lost her life after a stampede broke out. The wearing of *kanzus*, *imamah* and speaking in a Somali accent was recorded by the eyewitnesses, this was offensive to Somali and Muslim community as that is what the normal clothes people

wear on Fridays and in some part every day. (Aljazeera, 2015) A university level education institution can use such detailed information for just a drill shows how Kenyan Somalis are perceived, which not a new concept is.

After independence the North Eastern was reclaimed from Somalia by first president Mzee Jomo Kenyatta this meant that there were Somalis from Kenya who shared culture, history and religion with the Somalis from Somalia, due up to the same features, it is difficult to differentiate a Somali from Kenya and one from Somalia and to date the border between Kenya and Somalia is not guarded and the disregard by the government makes the Northeastern people secluded. Essential documents like the identity cards are very hard to get, people from these regions affiliate themselves with the Somali country more than they relate with the Kenya. The Kenyan government has neglected the northern part of the country with health, education facilities not in good condition and no tarmacked road that link the town with the major cities. As a result this makes buying commodities from Nairobi very expensive unlike buying it from across the border which are very cheap due to no taxation in Somalia. The studies understands that the negligence is the reason for low patriotism level and low turnout in political events and election (political culture)

Muslim clerics and extra judicial killings like Aboud Rogo, Makaburi and others in Mombasa were arrested then followed their mysterious deaths especially of Aboud Rogo, who was as arrested in January 2012 and charged with possession of illegal firearms, ammunition, hand grenades and detonators charges was cleared off, but still this made people question the worshiping places they went. Some mosque were put under investigation and some Muslims' accounts were frozen due to suspicion that, they were either funding or helping in the recruitment process of the terrorist groups, this caused havoc as many of the arrested were mostly innocent and the government did not consider their side of the story, people especially, the youth sympathized with the terrorist groups. After the death of Aboud Rogo, Sheikh Makaburi publicly claimed the government was planning to kill him months later, he was shot dead in a cryptic manner, which led to days of protest in Mombasa. Leslie Lefkow of the human right requested the government to investigate the murders of the three clerics. (Human Right,Watch 2014). The government should protect their citizens not kill

them, if the government fails to do that then who do we turn to. The Muslim youth especially the Somali Muslim have had their identity as Kenyans questioned now their faith was put to question.

The Kenyan troops being in Somalia brought debate between the government and the opposition as the government insisting the Kenyans soldiers will not be leaving Somalia and the opposition claiming that the government should bring back the forces so as to defend the country which was definitely under attack. President Uhuru Kenyatta and R. Odinga leader of opposition, heightened the political atmosphere with both campaigning for their respective stands on the Somalia troop's involvement. In many rallies Raila called for the KDF's withdrawal from Somalia and accused the government of using the worsening security situation to score political points against their political adversaries, while the government insisting the KDF will stay in Somalia until job is done. Both the government and opposition have politicized the Al-Shabaab terrorist threat which in Kenya translate to two tribes the Luo (opposition) and the Kikuyu (government) and this was celebrated by the Al-Shabaab as the senior fighter Sheikh Mohammed Dulyadeyn posted an audio message saying the tribal political division will soon lead to religious division between Islam and Christians (International Crisis Group, 2014.)

Disseminating of the propaganda was halted by heroic act of some Muslims Somalis who defended the Christians against the terrorists. A bus from Mandera was attack by the terrorist group, just like the previous attack, but this time the Muslim who were on the bus did not allow the terrorist to kill the Christians. After the bus was hijacked an eye witness reported that they gave the Christians (ladies) *hijabs* to cover themselves so as they could be identified as Muslims the ladies were saved this way but for the men there was no way to cover the fact that they were Christians and that is when the famous Mandera heroes stood up against the terrorist condemning them and telling them off by stating that the group should kill them before they kill the Christians, One of the heroes was injured in the process.(Daily Nation, 2015) This story was received with the highest honor as it was clear that not all Somali Muslims are terrorist. Religious leaders and politicians all praised the heroes, the study will like to emphasis that the Madera heroes wherever they are, summarized the study in

one incident. The perception changed completely and things are again back to the tribal division just like the old times although it is not known till when the situation will remain the same.

The Mandera heroes received accolade from everyone and after a long time Kenyan people finally understood what the Muslims especially, the Somalis were trying to say all along, that Islam is not about killing and fighting and although the terrorist are Muslims, they use the same religious book, they use the same mode of worship and they use the same phrases like Muslims, not every Muslim concede to the radical ideologies of the terrorist, the Mandera heroes should be an very good example to the West especially USA who are ignorant on the religious terrorism issue due to their media and few of their ignorant leaders.

The Mandera heroes showed Kenyans that although they are Somalis and they are Muslims we don't acknowledge what the group has been doing. Somalis are slowly getting their place back in the nation as the Mandera incident increased the nationalistic ideology especially when the government took the responsibility of paying the bill of one of the Mandera heroes and getting an honor award at the State of Union in April 2016. (Kermelioti, 2016) After a long time North eastern province is seen as part of Kenya and although it is still early to tell if the situation will change it is a good step towards a different identity that is Kenyan Somali peaceful Muslims. This has shown immediate consequence with the reopening of Garissa University which has admitted students from all over Kenya. Students reported to class on the opening day a clear sign that the religious difference is slowly fading away.

4.3 Al-Shabaab's History, Activities and Effect on Kenya's Domestic and Foreign Politics

Wilson airstrip in Nairobi was crowded with military personnel, politicians, religious leaders, diplomats and press on the evening of 18th January 2016, they all canceled their Sunday evening plans to be at the airstrip to receive the bodies of the soldiers who lost their lives in an attack early morning of 15th January 2016. Early morning attack on the African Union camp (Kenyan troops) left 100 plus soldiers dead and many more injured. The somber disclosure touched every Kenyan citizen and one of

the rare moments of patriotism in Kenya was evident. How did it happen? How can a country which is not at war lose 100 soldiers in one attack? Was invading Somalia the right move for Kenya? Is the price (of lives and displaced people) worth the cause? What is the cause? To find the answers to this questions that many Kenyans and the world are asking, the study will commence with the history of the terrorist group that has caused death of over 2000 Kenyans, their activities that led to the invasion by Ethiopian troops and African Union peacekeeping mission, how the local people who are terrified of the group are affected in their day to day lives and how the group has shaped Kenya's foreign politics.

Al-Shabaab's History

Somalia gained their independence on 1ˢᵗ June 1960, beside a coup that took Said Barre to power, it was normal state until the 1991 coup that stirred the clan based civil war, which has claimed many Somali lives. The exile of Said Barre (*comrade Said*), the president of Somalia until the coup, meant that the state was without a leader and the war lords took over specific regions. The civil war brought Somalia's institutions to a halt the most affected was the agriculture sector, which led to a famine that made it to international headlines and called for humanitarian help. Internally displaced people and refugees deserted Somalia into the neighboring countries most of them entering Kenya and Ethiopia with a few of them crossing the sea to Yemen. USA invaded Somalia to restore some system that will allow the UN relief aid to enter Somalia and reach the affected people. Mike Pflanz of the telegraph, wrote how G. Bush senior accepted UN's request of soldiers who their main aim was to defend the humanitarian operations in Somalia (Pflanz, 2011). Somali people did not like the idea of the foreigner controlling their land and they retaliated killing 19 and wounding 80 American soldiers. The Americans withdrew from Somalia but the Unite Nation did not withdraw completely, they established relief institutions that are still working even today.

The post invasion period involved some regions of Somalia like Jubaland in the South and Putland in the North, cutting ties with Mogadishu and establishing their own clan based authorities, but this did not stop the inter clan clashes, which were experienced especially main towns like Mogadishu. In 2004, the rebel groups agreed

to form a transitional government that will bring some order into the state. The state's new Transitional Federal Government (TFG) led by Abdullahi Yusuf comprehended the difficult task that awaited them and he requested the support of the African union peace keepers, a move that was criticized by many Somalis. Some order or system was restored but it was not due to the new transitional government but due to Islamic Court Union (ICU) the source of al-Shabaab group.

The founders of Islamic Court Union were from Al-Ittihad Al-Islami (AIAI, or "Unity of Islam"), group that came with the motto *itaqil llah (*fear Allah*)* managed to established a dominion based on sharia law, eradicating the clan based relation therefore reducing conflicts, a an admissible prospect for a state that has been in division for more than a decade, they pursued their cause until it got the international headlines with its extreme executions and inhumane punishments. The USA was apprehensively concern that the ICU would be al-Qaida haven for recruitments and other activities while Ethiopia, the study understands was worried that the group will be a threat to its large Christian population which has had feud with Somalia in the past. G. Bush stating, that Somalia becoming a safe haven for al-Qaida members and activities it biggest concern in Somalia (Mukoma Wa Ngugi, 2013). USA's shared interest approved the invasion of Somalia by Ethiopians troops that removed the ICU from power on Dec 2006, but this move gave birth to the shadow military branch of the ICU, The Harakat al-Shabaab al-Mujahidin famously the al-Shabaab.

The ICU was against the transitional government asserting that it was made to the interest of the West who the ICU called infidels. The TFG was established in Kenya Nairobi under the watch of the African Union and many international bodies. Beside some Somalis especially the ICU members, the other parts of the world saw the transition government as a move that will sustain some order and bring peace in the war inflicted state. The ICU already dominating some parts of Somalia wasn't ready to give up their territory to what they called infidel's puppet.

2006 the group using guerrilla tactics and spiritual ideologies fought the Ethiopian militaries and gained control of Somali key points like Kismayo and Mogadishu, which were later taken from them by the Africa Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) peace keepers. The enmity between Somali and Ethiopia made Al-Shabaab use nationalistic ideology to recruit the youth and get help from the locals. This was the case until the 2009 African Union peacekeepers replaced Ethiopian troops in Somalia.

The Ethiopian invasion ended in 2009, but the soldiers were replaced by over 9000 Burundi and Uganda soldiers under the African union peacekeeping mission. The involvement of the African Union was a declaration of war according to Sheikh Ali Dere al-Shabaab spokesman. The mission is said to be the reason the al-Shabaab become a regional problem, something the foreign members were not aware off. According to the article by Jeremy Scahill shows there was a rift between the al-Shabaab members and the foreign members who thought al-Shabaab were global jihadist who were more of religion but they found out al-Shabaab was a regional political motivated group and most of them went back to their native homes. (Scahill, 2015)

The first international attack came at the cost of 70 lives in Kampala Uganda at rugby club and an Ethiopian restaurant on Sunday of 11th July 2010.(al jazeera, 2010) The study understands the twin attacks targeted the Ethiopians and Ugandans, that way al-Shabaab revenged Ethiopia and Uganda's involvement in Somalia. The attack was condemned by many moreover the attack officially made al-Shabaab a regional security threat. Al-Shabaab was accused to being responsible for attacks in the southern or the coastal part of Kenya and in 2011 Kenya joined the African Union and commenced the military operations in the southern Somalia driving out the groups from the area.

Kenyan military force being well equipped and the help of the USA airstrikes managed to dislodge the group's strong hold and strategically momentous area of Kismayo, this attested the decline of al-Shabaab and victory to TFG and the AMISOM until the attacks in Kenya (that will be discussed in the next sub chapter) increased. Kenyan government took upon itself to eliminate the terrorist group. Al-Shabaab posed threat when they started to recruit Kenyans to their cause, before the

group only recruited from Somalia based on nationalistic logic that is to fight the Ethiopian invaders, but as time went by the leader Godane started recruiting from neighboring Kenya especially the Northeastern Kenya and the coastal towns like Mombasa Malindi and Lamu. Al-Shabaab has been up to date, using twitter account and video on social media to recruit members who are not in Somalia, in addition it is said the link to al-Qaida give the group connection to the regions members who worked with Osama bin Laden when he was in Sudan. Al-Shabaab in Somalia has a root a path that led to the rise that is, the leadership gap created by the clan based conflicts.

The groups recruitment bases were, the coastal town of Mombasa, some parts of capital Nairobi (Eastleigh), and Garissa and Mandera in the North Eastern province, it is through the common language and religion between the al-Shabaab group and the recruiting towns that made al-Shabaab crawl into Kenya and become one of the main security issues for the Jubilee government. The radical preachers who were in the recruiting schemes used their influence to take people especially youth to Somalia for training before they became members of al-Shabaab fighters. In the Kenyan coast radical clerics like aboud Rogo and Makburi inciting the youth to fight the infidels, in one of his lectures Aboud Rogo is heard saying that the al-Shabaab are fighting the right cause because the Islam religion is a religion of the weapon, he continues "in Kenya you can't get a weapon leave alone a place to practice but in Somalia you will be given a weapon and lots of practice in the trainings." Aboud Rogo and Makabur's mysterious deaths have raised more question than answers and it has made the radicalization of the youth more complex than it was before (Vice News, 2014) Al-Shabaab graduation ceremony of 2013 was recorded by channel 4 news reporter Jamal Osman shows that many of the graduating members were from Kenyan origin due to the coastal Swahili accent only spoken in Kenyan coast and Tanzania. Also the reporter claimed that there were some recruits from Europe although he didn't interview them.

The group's impetus momentum is increasing unlike the previous reports that claimed that it will decline, one of the main thing that has managed to increase its influence and activities it, its funding. Although there are no direct funding, its tie to al-Qaida is said to have some monetary benefits, also according to the report from the U.N. Monitoring Group on Somalia and Eritrea, the group has sources of finance that include Contribution from the sympathizers, taxes on good and services into and from Somalia among others. Furthermore the Kenyan government 2015 froze many accounts that they suspected funded the terrorist groups most of them were of Somali origin from Eastleigh, a commercial place dominated by Kenyan Somalis.

The USA strikes on al-Shabaab camps in 2008 killed Aden Hashi who led the group from its establishment and Ahmed Abdi Godane took over as the leader, his authority is said to be the reason for the group insurgency to international realm. He imposed harsh sharia law with punishment for people who went against it. (McCrummen and DeYoung, 2008). His rule was political and religious, he used violence in Somalia and other states like Uganda and Kenya and diplomatic in recruiting especially in Kenya. His reign as a leader of the group ended with a strike from USA's strike that killed him on September 2014.

It was under Godene's rule, the USA declared al-Shabaab as international terrorist group on March 2008, and the decision was influenced by the five coordinated suicide attacks on Somali government official, United Nation official and Ethiopian consulate. In 2008, the US Government designated al-Shabaab as a Foreign Terrorist Organization under Section 219 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (as amended) and as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist entity under Section 1(b) of Executive Order 13224 (as amended). In 2012, the United States offered rewards for the capture of several al-Shabaab leaders. (Counter terrorism guide,) In 2008, the FBI launched Operation which was to track the people going to Somalia to evaluate if they are going to join Al-Shabaab. (Yan, 2015) USA's decisions and efforts did not stop the attacks furthermore it provoked al-Shabaab to pledge allegiance to al-Qaida leader Ayman Zawahiri

The death of Godene in 2014 was a huge blow to the group and the leadership was passed over to Ahmad Umar who had a hard task of resurging the groups' image that was declining, his desperation was seen after the threat video to the West was an imitation of the Islamic state's video. As Paul Hidalgo warned in Foreign Affairs after the death of Godane: Paul Hidalgo argued that Ahmed Umar will fill the big gap left by his predecessor by increasing the number of attacks (Hidalgo, 2014) Paul Hidalgo states that the death of Godene has weaken the structure of the group the group members will start to look for inspiration from other places like Islamic state. The study argues against Paul's idea in that, Al-Shabaab group has gotten more tactful in their attacks like the Garissa university attack in Kenya and their retaliation against the AMISOM in Somalia and also recruiting tactics like the video that included D. Trump a republican presidential aspirant, stand on not allowing Muslims in the USA for a period of time

Under the new leader, the group has developed with different attacks that specifically killed Christians and in 2015 their main target was recruitment with spontaneous attacks that were more deadly than the previous attacks. The group in 2016 faces uncertainty due to their early 2016 attack on the Kenyan soldiers who are backed by the African union in Somalia. Kenya government has already launched many airstrike on groups suspected base with the president of Kenya Mr. Uhuru Kenyatta insisting that the soldiers will continue to back the TFG and will not leave Somalia until that is accomplished, (Maruf, 2016) The group will face fierce repercussion for their attacks on the soldiers continued the commander in chief.

The other uncertainty is brought about by the Somalia parliament voting on whether the Kenyans soldiers should stay in Somalia or leave, the Kenya star wrote "At least 160 MPs voted for the motion, in which they singled out the Kenya Defense Forces and demanded they leave the country forthwith" (Adow, 2015). If the AMISOM leave Somalia it will be TFG alone battling the terrorist group who will definitely try to claim back the significant and strategic points that the AMISOM took from them, if the group manage to claim the strategic locations especially Kismayo it will again stabilize their financial weakness and the group will become again powerful in

Somalia. Furthermore it is not known whether the group will stop attacking Kenya if the Kenyan troops leave Somalia.

AL-Shabab Activities

Al-Shabaab a radical jihadist group that has single handed made East Africa lose more than 2500 lives and many more wounded, the group has genially taken responsible for many attacks and activities. Many of their activities of which they claim were for religion (Islam) have been in humane. The group since its revival in Somalia has been active in and outside Somalia, this sub chapter will scrutinize it's activities in two categories that is activities in Somalia and outside Somalia especially Kenya.

Al-Shabab's activities in Somalia

The invasion of Ethiopia into Somalia spiked the group into full military force unlike before where they were not that cogent under the Islamic Court Union (ICU). Their activities started as nationalistic ideology where the group auspiciously managed to persuade many people that the Ethiopian soldiers were invading their country and they were sent by USA, that mentality made the group find sympathizers from the local people who helped the group to make the Ethiopian soldiers retreat from further progressing into Somalia, the group took this as a good sign. Despite the setback the Ethiopian soldiers did not entirely disengage from Somalia but retreated which meant that the group will have to settle for other tactics if they are to infiltrate and cause damage furthermore demonstrate their exasperation against the Ethiopian soldiers, this forced them to generate diverging tactics from the usual.

The al-Shabaab group imitating other terrorist groups like al-Qaida, started using suicide bombers and their first of many targets was the Ethiopian troop's camp, the suicide concept was not common in Somalia prior to the 2007 suicide bomb on Ethiopian troops, Stig Hansen on his article (Revenge or Reward? The case of Somalia's suicide bombers) argues that Somalia's suicide bombers are new concept. (Hansen, 2010).

The first active attack on the enemy was on March 2007 when Adam Salad Adam, a normal business man who had dealing with the Ethiopian soldiers drove his car that

was loaded with explosive to the Ethiopian troops' camp, when the car exploded the soldiers who were close to the car died and many were injured, records shows 73 soldiers died while many more injured. (BBC, 2012) The group to glorify their success recorded the bombing and later posted on the internet, this showed a new trend that the group have adopted, new tactics and are executing them with success.

This was followed with similar attacks but the one that made the headlines when the group showed what it's capable of by organizing 5 simultaneous suicide bombers within 30 minutes that targeted the UN agencies and the government buildings. The attack that killed almost 2 dozen people among them secretary and adviser to the president and brought tension to the few months of calmness, The morning attack started in Hargeisa then the presidential palace, Ethiopian consulate and UN camp, Reported New York Times. (Ibrahim and Gettleman, 2008).

After the suicide bombs in 2008 the group's activities were more toward state who sent soldiers to Somalia, but in 2013, a suicide bomber blew himself up with the barricade, later armed terrorist members breached the barricade and enter the Mogadishu court premises killing the courts guards. People jumped out of the windows to safety, but there were some who were trapped inside the courthouse among them was Mohamed Hassan a deputy attorney general who was inside the compound spoke through mobile phone gave details account of the attack the attack had no official death toll but it is assumed to be around 30.

On the same day there was another explosion on a government building along the airport road, although there was a convoy of Turkish and the African Union envoy passing it is not clear if they were the target, the second bombs killed one person and injured the three Turkish envoys said Turkish official (Ibrahim, 2013) The same suicide tactic was used to enter UNDP premises on June 2013, this was the first direct attack towards the UN premises. The al-Shabaab terrorist group which took responsibility were actively shooting for 90 minutes before the African Union peacekeepers came and challenged the terrorists killing the attackers, the attack claimed the lives of 22 people among them four foreign UN security staff, four local guards and seven insurgent (Abdi Sheikh, 2013).

Months later the group attacked the presidential palace killing more than a dozen people, the attack was on February 2014. Sheikh Abdul Aziz Abu Musab, the group's military spokesman, told the AFP news agency that the group stormed the presidential palace and the caused damage. (|Daily Nation, 2014). The attackers who wore army uniforms were the majority who died, they stormed the state palace (Villa Somalia) but did not manage to get to their target president Mohamud and he immediately responded with harsh words comparing the terrorist group to desperate dying animal.

2nd day of 2016, on an early morning, the group attack the El Adde camp of the (AMISOM), which is occupied by Kenyans troops. The attack used the same suicide bomber tactic to break the barricade and enter the premises, shooting killing more than 100 Kenyan soldiers. This is the largest number of soldiers Kenya has lost in one incident. There is no clear statement from the Kenyan government as to how the attack took place or the causality, according to some report by the voice of Africa says the locals of that area knew of the attack and left the location the previous night. Sheikh Abdi Asis, al Shabaab's military operations spokesman, told Reuters that they were in control of Ceel Cado and have hostages and military equipments in addition to the body of the dead soldiers. (Omar and Abdi Sheikh, 2016)

Beside the military activities the terrorist group has been involved in, there are other activities that keep them in existence, one of them is recruiting. Al-Shabaab has eminently managed to lure people especially the youth from all over the world to become al-Shabaab fighters. The plea has been successful mostly in Somalia and Kenya with a few recruits from diaspora, like the case of Minnesota USA losing over 40 young men who responded to the callings. Burhan Hassan a seventeen year old "A" student who was reportedly lost but later turned up in Somalia where he was killed. He joined the group and like many of his kind they come through Kenya and either drove through Northeastern province or ship to Somalia via Indian Ocean ports. (CBS, 2009) Other activities involves controlling the strategic location for their benefits one of the location is Kismayo port, here they would smuggle commodities like sugar and rice from Pakistan and export charcoal, khat and fish to the Arab states, the terrorist group in return get revenue that amounts to millions of dollars per year,

the study understands that the AMISOM went after the port so as to cut the financial source which crippled the group.

Al-Shabab's Activities in Kenya

Kenya has had six terror attacks from 1975 to 2010, among them the deadly 1998 bomb blast that claimed more than 300 lives, but between 2011 and 2015 Kenya has peculiarly been hit with over 80 terrorist attacks with all of them the al-Shabaab taking responsibility. In reference to the national consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START 2015) ,it is clearly that al-Shabaab have had more than 80 attack in region with Mandera leading with nineteen attacks and bottom of the list with five attacks up until 2013. In 2011 Kenya agreed to comply with the African union request to join Uganda and Burundi peace keepers in Somalia. The soldiers were in support of the TFG that faced resistance from al-Shabaab and other militia groups. The soldiers left for Somalia with optimism that, they will emancipate Somalia and bring calm to the region, but the government of Kenya did not account for the groups' competence of attacking Kenyans or if they did, they did not take ample precaution to ensure that did not happen cause after the soldiers left for Somalia that's when Kenya faced the wrath of the jihadist group.

After the invasion of soldiers to Somalia, the group started to recruit from Kenya and using the local youths started the attacks, 24th October 2011. A grenade bomb thrown in a bar, explodes killing one person and injuring more than 20, Charles Mwaura, the bar owner, told Reuters, that there was chaos and blood everywhere he looked. On the same day in Nairobi another grenade explodes this time the causalities are more due to the attack's location.

The grenade exploded on the center of Nairobi Machakos bus terminal in the rush hours of the day when it is most crowded killing 5 and injuring 69 people. The grenade was directed to a moving public transport minivan. The twin attack's implication was massive, the Kenyan government belatedly understood the implicit retribution the group has been admonishing about. (Bayoumy and Maina, 2011) After these attacks there were assorted small attacks in the bordering towns like Mandera and Liboi targeting battalion heading to Somalia.

On 18th November 2012 a minibus was flared up by a bomb killing 10 people and injuring more in the Somali dominated neighborhood of Eastleigh in downtown Nairobi, Reuter's photographer at the scene of the blast said, people were carrying injured and the dead into police cars for transportation to either the hospital or morgue (Mukoya and Makori, 2012,). Three weeks later another grenade explodes this time not on a minivan but mosque after the *isha* prayer on 7th December, the attack claimed 5 lives injuring 8 among them the area MP Yusuf Hassan.

2012 had no distinction as the attack persisted, with attack on the coastal town of Mombasa, the attack on May and June 2102 targeted bars and entertainment centers like the Bela vista restaurant and Jericho beer garden, the attack claimed one and three lives respectively injuring more than 35. (The Telegraph, 2012). After this attack the anti-terror polices converged in Mombasa and started door to door operations, following on a lead they pursued two suspects who instead of being arrested blew themselves up committing suicide and killing two officers with them. The anti-terror police efforts yielded exceptional outcome as the attack deviated from coastal town to Garissa where the group has had most of its activities.

Garissa is a Muslim Kenyan Somali dominated town with small percentage of Christian living there, the group made the Christians the target and on 1st July 2012 they attacked two churches killing 14 people and injuring 66. The group used grenades and guns on the town's Catholic Church and the African Inland Church (AIC). (Daily Nation, 2012). Unlike the other attack this was the first attack that targeted the other faiths only. Months later the group again conducted similar attack killing one person and injuring more, the attack on November 2012 targeted Christian administration police, the iron sheet roofed building that blew up was used as worshiping place for the police unit. (Daily nation, 2012,), this attack was the last one for the year but there was more fierce attack the coming years.

The terrorist group continued their relentless killing spree when they attacked a restaurant in Garissa on 16th January 2013 killing five people and injuring same number of people, the Garissa County Commissioner Mohamed Maalim, gave a detail account of the event, but with no mention of the suspects or plan. (The Telegraph, 2013) The attack was followed by many mini attacks including one on the

World Food Program compound in Mandera. The attack on 18th April at Kwa Chege hotel 400 meters away from Garissa police station left six people dead and ten wounded, the attack was the same as the previous attack in the town with masked men opening fire at the people. The president ordered a probe into the killings but nothing has revealed to the public up to the writing of the thesis.

August 2013, al-Shabaab militias attack Galmagal administration camp in Fafi killing four and injuring one, getting away with weapons. (Jubat, 2013). A month later the Westgate siege happened, the most distressing terrorist attack to be conducted by the al-Shabaab before that time, 21st of September 2013 Nairobi and most probably entire state was in utter shock. The Saturday started normally on busy commercial Westland part of Nairobi, the afternoon like other weekend the Westgate mall was crowded with shoppers bustling within the deluxe mall and then gun shots were heard from upper floor and the entrance, confusion drove people into many directions most of them trying to exit the premises meeting with the attackers who shot straight at them killing many in the process.

The attackers were later identified as Khatab alkene (somali), Abu-Bakr al Sudan (Sudan), Omar Nabhan and Umeyr (Kenya) entered the mall, Frank Musungu, a sergeant major in the Kenyan navy who was inside the mall said that, he witnessed the four men entering the premises as they shoot at the people heading their direction, seconds later a grenade explodes. The grenade created more chaos and after three minutes the mall was under their control, the security officers not knowing what was happening took a while to respond giving the terrorist time to go floor by floor killing people. (Howden 2013) The CCTV footage shows the attackers not slightly interested in any of the possession that the fancy mall shop's had. The police, army and later a special unit trained in Israel and America were all involved. The attack later turned to a siege with hostage's rescue that lasted for days, confusion and contradicting statements made the rescue efforts difficult.

It looked like a war zone said Abdi Yusuf who was one of first the people to respond and was tagged a hero for his effort in rescuing the people. (Laing, 2013) The shootings the siege lasted for four days with 67 dead and many more injured. The attack showed many flaws the Kenyan government had, furthermore it showed how

they were unprepared to deal with an incident like this, and there were four attackers not fifteen as the internal security cabinet Olelenku stated.

> 'This happened on the heart of their country and it lasted for days, they still don't know how many they were, or if the four men escape or not. That's shows how weak they were and we are happy for their weakness' Ali Dere stated. (Vice News, 2014).

The attackers were from different terrorist groups, but they joined in Somalia, where they trained and that's how they managed to plan such an attack. Jamal Osman a reporter from channel 4 asked Sheikh Ali Dere the spokesman of the group why they attacked the Westgate mall, he responded with the accusation that Kenya attacked the group, after the group issued warning as what the attacks would lead to, but the Kenyan government defiled the warnings and that's why they had to send a message. Jamal the interviewer asked him if Al-Shabaab will continue attacking Kenya,"the Westgate attack was not war was a message to show them how war is like, remove your army or we will continue" he responded. (Vice News, 2014). President Uhuru who lost a nephew and the wife, emotionally addressed the aghast nation insisting the soldiers will not be leaving Somalia, while government stuck to its word so did the group with more attacks.

10th December 2013 the group attacked a police car spraying bullets killing four officers, three days later they attacked with twin grenade attack that killed one person in North Eastern Wajir town. A day later a grenade is thrown into moving public transport minivan in Pangani 100 meters away from Pangani police station and CID headquarters, the grenade attack killed six people. (Reuters, 2013) this attack was followed by many attacks among them the killing of six worshipers at the joy of Jesus church in Mombasa on 24th march 2014. The attack was said to be as retaliation of the nearby mosque attack by the government in suspicion to be link with al-Shabaab recruitment scheme. The church leader claimed that the attack was a revenge move from the Muslims who faced raids from the anti-terror police in the past weeks. (Kenya Morning Star News, 2014).

4th May 2014, KBT 090S and KAW 027H plated public transport buses heading to the eastern suburbs of Nairobi were simultaneously bombed killing three people and injuring almost 100 people. (The Daily Nation, 2014). A month later the Mpeketoni attack that claimed 48 lives happened, the attackers hijacked a van and moved to the

nearby police stations killing the officers and stealing the weapons, the attack lasted for most part of the night, the masked men killed anyone who was unable to recite the Quran and torching buildings the witnesses stated, local resident Anne Gathigi told the AP news agency, that her husband was short after the attackers found out he was Christian (BBC, 2014).

The religious profiling attacks proliferate with the Mandera bus attack on 22nd November 2014, a bus heading to Nairobi from Mandera was hijacked by masked men who took it to the bushes, the bus had 60 passenger, the attackers profiled the passengers based on their religion and the Muslims were given directives to go back to the bus while the 28 Christians who were mostly teachers going for December holiday were viciously killed, two were beheaded while the others were shot al shabab claimed responsibility, Sheikh Ali Mohamud Rage, a spokesman for the group, told Al Jazeera that Mandera attack was as revenge to the government of Kenya for activities against the Muslims .

The attack was condemned by many especially the council of churches, the government responded with more patrol roadblocks and arresting of the suspected but that didn't stop the group from attacking again. (Aljazeera, 2014) One and half week later the same kind of attack was witnessed not far away from the bus attack on 2nd Dec 2014 the attack was more of religious profiling which cost 36 lives of the Christians who were working on the quarry mines near Mandera. (Daily Nation, 2014,).

The group's activities went on through 2015 with most devastating and unexpected attack that claimed the highest number of causality over the years of al-Shabaab's attack. Early morning attack on Garissa University, Waliula student leader testified to the reporters how the students and the security officers were scared and were scared after they knew the attack was more serious than they thought. The gunshots were followed with a siege that ended with 147 people dead most of them students. Witnesses stated the attackers Mohamed Ali Abdikar, Hassan Aden Hassan, Sahal Diriye, Osman Abdi and Rashid Charles, profiled by religion sparing the lives of Muslim and killing the Christians. Joel Ayora, who was on the campus and witnessed the attack, said gunmen burst into a Christian service. Taking hostages from the

service, they then shot only Christian students and spared the Muslim students they encountered on the hallway. (Levs and Yan, 2015).

The time of this writing the last activity which the study consider very vital, is the first failed attack which took twitter by storm by Menders heroes' hashtag that trended on 24 December 2015. The attack bared similarity with the previous bus attack but this time led by Salah (hero Salah) stood up and defended the Christians on board the bus. Ali Roba the governor told daily nation that the attackers profiled by religion but the Muslims led by Salah, refused to be separated from the Christian knowing what will happen if they allowed the separation. (Daily Nation, 2015). Teacher Salah was injured in the process and weeks later lost his life, his death again trended on twitter with #herosalah, (Twitter 2016), his heroism shook the world as many especially the leaders hailed his action, it was a clear message that the terrorist lost the battle. Kenya will not be divided by religion as they expected and he got honored by the president Uhuru Kenyatta months later in the state of union speech. (Kermeliotis, 2016)

Al-Shabaab activities in other places

al-Shabaab have not have so much activities going on outside Kenya and Somalia but the Uganda and Djibouti bombings that killed almost 100 in total, the Uganda attack targeted the Ethiopian restaurant the football fans watching the world cup at Kyadondo rugby club killing 75 people. (Rice, 2010). The guardian reported, the Djibouti attack was not as big as the Kampala one, the two suicide bombers enter the elite restaurant mostly crowded by foreigners and minutes later detonated the bombs killing themselves and one Turkish citizen injuring more.

The attack on Djibouti was interesting since Djibouti did not send soldiers into Somalia so why did they attack? Two days later al-Shabaab taking responsibility said that they targeted the European concentrated crusaders and NATO allies. The study understands that the distance and language barrier has limited the al-Shabaab activities in places like Burundi who were the first state to send troops also the security of Ethiopia has limit their activities (News MaxWorld, 2014)

Al-Shabaab Effects on Kenya Domestic and Foreign Politics

"If I die in the war zone, box me up and send me home, put medal in my chest, tell my mom I did my best………," a poignant Poem posted by Kenyans in the social media after Somali the El Adde attack. (Twiter 2016) 2016 January was different the whole country was in bereavement state after the 100 plus soldiers killed in El Adde Somalia camp, as the family of the soldiers received the bodies of the dead ones and others relieved that their sons only got injured. Kenyan are starting to question the government over its mission in Somalia.

Since 2011, Kenya has been attacked more than 100 times its effect felt by the family who lost their loved ones and the injured ones, there was no attack of this magnitude towards the Kenyan troops before, this adds up to the earlier questions the previous coalition government couldn't answer about keeping its citizens safe. This sub chapter will focus on the effect of al-Shabaab on the government and on the citizens following it with how al-Shabaab has effected the foreign politics.

Al-Shabaab effects on Kenya domestic politics

Prior to the 2011 invasion of Kenyan troops in Somalia, there were discrepancy within the government of Kenya weather to dispatch troops to back the TFG in Somalia or not, due to expenses and the ambivalence of the invasion Kenyan government decided to train some Somali people so as they could pass on their attained dexterity to others in Somalia, according to WikiLeaks the government said it would train 40 local personnel but they were planning to train 4000 people from Mandera and Garissa, this was met with denunciation from local leaders like Adan Duale and Adan Keynan who were opposing the move claiming it was not in the nation's interest. Hon. Duale at a news conference stated that the government does not have a right to get involve in Somalia and if they get involved they will bring the war into Kenya, also stated that the youth from his constituency should refrain from the government plan reads a cable filed by Mr Ranneberger. (Daily Nation, 2015)

Wetangula the then foreign affair cabinet secretary, Raila Odinga the then prime minister and Yusuf Haji the then defense minister lobbied for the troops to be deployed to Somalia with USA senior official hesitating, In a cable describing a January 26, 2010 meeting with Assistant Secretary of Defense Alexander Vershbow,

Mr. Odinga stated that, should the Somalis transition authority fails the terrorist group will seize the opportunity and take control. (Daily Nation, 2015,). Kenya government wanted to legitimize their invasion with support from the USA but that didn't happen, a senior security official stating that they understood the plight but are not in a position to help. The USA skepticism puzzled Government of Kenya as to why the USA government backed Ethiopian forces and its distancing itself from the deployment of soldiers to Somalia, the study deduce that the change of administration (from Republican to Democratic president) in the USA government is the main reason they kept their distance with the Kenyan request.

Kenya proceeded with the invasion to Somalia with *Operation Linda Nchi* (operation protect the country). The battalion fought the terrorist group from South up to Mogadishu, it was a success mission due to Superior weapon and dedicated military personnel. Although their invasion was an instantons accomplishment with exertion like taking of the main source of fund and strategic location of the Kismayo port and weakening of al-Shabaab in Somalia, they brought the fight to the door step of Kenyans with attack on the Coast town, Nairobi and assorted location in the North Eastern part of the state.

Subsequently to the post-election violence in 2008, the government was politically precarious but they somewhat agreed on security affairs, the Jubilee government that came to power in 2013 inherited the *operation linda nchi* and all its consequences. The attacks raised more question on the government's ineptness to protect its citizens, the government reacted with many arrest, mysterious killings of clerics, incursion in mosques and Islamic institution (Madrasa) and freezing of individuals' or organizations' bank accounts that were suspected to have a link with the group. After the series of attack the government incompetence to safeguard its citizens was apparent, the opposition lead by Raila Odinga taking advantage of the situation by censuring the government for its lackadaisical approach to its citizens' safety, despite him being one of the leaders that lobbied for the *Linda Nchi Operation* with claims that the country is facing problems and one of the main problem is the al-Shabaab. Andrea Schmidt, 2014)

The Westgate, Garissa University, Mpeketoni and the killing of soldiers in camp El Alde which had a death toll of more than 350 lives heightened the situation and raised more questions as a result of the government contradicting statements like minister of defense, Olelenku (after the Westgate siege) said there were 15 attackers in the Westgate siege while the CCTV showed only four people furthermore the looting and the lost property from the fancy mall was not done by the terrorists so who did it? The Garissa attack, the government had intelligence that the group will attack a university but they couldn't figure which one, as they were focusing their attention on other universities the Government of Kenya did not consider Garissa university, which is the only place in entire North Eastern province with a large number of Christian population in one location also the university is located meters away from an army camp and less than 5 km away from Garissa police station, why did they take that long to respond? Mohamed adow reported that the Government officials had information that al-Shabab would attack a higher education campus. (Adow, 2015)

The Mpeketoni attack took 8 hours, where was the government all that time? The government dodge the questions blaming it all on the al-Shabaab, despite there being a lot of political tension in the region, some went ahead and accuse the government to be behind the killings, and finally, the latest attack on the soldiers, there are sources which say the people living nearby knew there was going to be an attack and left the previous night why didn't the troop's intelligence pick up on that? Also question surrounding the exact number of soldiers who lost their lives, al-Shabaab claim more than a 100, Somali official claim 200 and the GoK hasn't officially released the exact number of soldiers, the study discerns that the Somali official digits are factual and GoK to curtail the impact of the attack, is maneuvering the media and with it the people of Kenya.

The groups' aspiration was to annex a religious segment to the tribal division that has haunted Kenya for a very long time. Al-Shabaab claimed that its fight is to liberate "all Muslim lands under Kenyan occupation", including "North-Eastern province and the coast". (Barnes & Abdille and Yusu, 2015). They practically managed achieve their goals, the two Garissa church attacks and the two Mandera attacks that killed

almost 70 Christians was met with resentment protest against Muslims, followed by withdrawal of teacher, health workers and many manual workers from the regions, this impaired the regions' sectors chiefly education and health, this sentiments were castigated by the people but government did not arbitrate as much as they should have. The study fathoms that, if the government intervened as they are deemed to, they will be culpable for the lack of security in the area. The Northeastern region has been marginalized and due to the new county system it was moderately showing advancement with new infrastructure and development but after the attacks the segregation was felt once more and this time it was not because of tribe but religion.

Late 2015 the Mandera heroes who stood up for the Christians, changed the Christians perspective and the church leaders and many organization hailed the heroes. This cleared many conscience, citizen of Kenya eventually comprehended the al-Shabaab's intention and the mindset of most Muslims in Kenya, if not all, the fortitude showed how abortive al-Shabaab's plan were, the act also showed the people were doing their part in fighting the terrorism and the government was again on the spot for the insecurity of the country which will be the main talking point come 2017 election.

The new county system that came with the Jubilee government was a success and it has been for many part of the countries especially the segregated parts, but the inevitable security issue has brought it down to its knees. The literacy level in Northeastern part of Kenya is very low therefor the region depends on professions from other regions who are mostly Christians. The government's impotence to provide the much needed security to the workers, the workers pulled out for safety reasons. The leaders of the region are politically crippled as they want to help and bring development to their people but the government can't provide the security. The government in respond decided to build a 700 kilometer along the Somali-Kenya border with only control entrance, so as to keep the al-Shabaab out of Kenya. John Allan Namu's documentary by Aljazeera shows that government though allocated the money several month prior to the release of the documentary nothing has been done yet, and the security personnel who were posted to guide the workers, were not there, most of them being in the coastal towns. (Namu, Aljazeera, 2015) This raised

more questions as to why nothing was done and where did the money go? The study understand that this is another corruption scheme that the Jubilee government has been involved with since they come to power others include the National Youth Service youth funds scheme and Eurobond scandals.

Kenya has been a safe haven for al-Shabaab which has made the anti-terror police unit face a difficult task. the Anti-Terror Police Unit was set up to use intelligence to protect and arrest the terrorist but it has failed to do that and it has settle for collective punishment, that is, after an attack they raid a Muslim or Somali majority places arresting every youth in suspicion with terrorism, this has led to many youth disappearing and many mysterious killings. According to Human Rights Watch's report. (Adow, Aljazeera, 2015,). If they continue the mistreatment and harshness towards the Muslim Somalis, it will definitely cost the jubilee votes come 2017.

 After the many attacks the government of Kenya decided to raid Eastleigh and arrest the Somali immigrants who are in Kenya illegally, a move that was criticized by many Kenyans due to the way they conducted the operations. The government officers badgered the immigrants beating them and keeping them in inhuman conditions, there were claims that the security officers looted and stole while doing the raids, after many complains from the leaders the government decided to take them to Kasarani sport center, where they were vetted one by one to see if they were Kenyan or not, this was the worst move a government would do since the terrorist were not refugees but the radicalized recruited Kenyan citizens UNHCR condemned the action by the security officers. (UNHCR, 2014). The mistreatment worked for the al-Shabaab's ideology, al-Shabaab in recruiting scheme claimed that the government of Kenya was harassing innocent Muslims and Muslims must join the group so as to defend their honor, this appealed to many youth like the case Belavista attack suspect Thabiti Yahya who got a life sentences in 2015.

The study infers that, corruption has been one of the key determinant al-Shabaab has had triumph in Kenya, the most corrupt sector the police in 2011 Arrested Samantha Lewthwaite (the white widow), a wanted British radicalized jihadist who is suspected to be behind the Westgate Mall attack and released after she bribed the officers although official report says she convinced the police she was a normal tourist, the

government has used al-Shabaab situation to extort money from innocent people. September 24th as I was going to Dadaab refugee camp on the border of Somalia our convoy was met with more than 10 roadblocks with harsh army personnel who harassed and demanded that we give them some money in spite of us having committed no crime. Also the above named documentary shows Kenyan police arresting innocent people in the Somali dominated area Eastleigh and not in the most dangerous region in Nairobi like Korogocho and Mathare which in tales to mistreatment based on ethnicity something Kenyan Muslims have been dealing with since independence The Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC) found that the country's Muslim community faced institutional political, social, and economic discrimination. (Adow 2015).

After the attacks the western countries issued a travel ban to Kenya especially to the touristic region of the coastal province, this crippled the tourism sectors, but it also hide the incompetence of the ministry. The new cabinet secretary of tourism Najib Balala has transformed the tourism industry. The al-Shabaab threat is still there the only thing changed is the administration of the sector. The study using the above hypothesis thinks that, if the government changed the sectors' administration and post more credible people the al-Shabaab threat will not be an issue come 2017. The jubilee government have worked hard and it is evidently that they changed the country for the better and come 2017 they will be favorite but first they need to deal with al-Shabaab threat, it will be sad that the jubilee after all the hard work to lose due to the terrorist group, the 2017 debate will be security and corruption since corruption is a common thing in the system that leaves the insecurity as the major issue.

Al-Shabaab effects on Kenya's foreign politics

Kenya has been on the receiving end of terrorism ranking 3rd in Africa after Nigeria and Somalia and 15th globally, the unaltered radicalized faction has shaped Kenya into a security haunted state with reports like "Kenya as hotbed of terror" on CNN, the pope coming to Kenya despite the security concerns and Ben Carson a former republican presidential candidate canceling his Kenya tour due to security issues. Jubilee government led by Uhuru Kenyatta has been compelled to deal with security

as the main issue regardless of there being other grievous meticulous matters like education, agriculture and health issues reported daily nation.

Before the 2011 invasion of Somalia, Kenya had good relation with the west and it was a strategic, anchor and critical state in the counter terrorism in the African region to the USA that is logic behind the humanitarian development and security assistance that the Kenyan governments have received over the years. (Ploch, Blanchard, P. 1), after the invasion the help did not stop but failure of the government to provide enough security to the foreigners in the country led to travel bans and relocations of international organizations.

"Hundreds of UK tourists are being evacuated from parts of the Kenyan coast, after the Foreign Office warned of a "high threat" from terrorists." reported (BBC 2014) After the government of the UK issued the warning, this was one of the many warnings imposed by the western countries due to al-Shabaab threat, it was clear that the security officers could not deal with the terrorist groups. The travel advisory caused tension between the Kenyan and the UK government. UK envoy said that the travel ban is objective and they shared their concern with the Kenyan Government, in response Kenyan leaders urged the president to take firm action against the UK with some threatening that if they think that Kenya is unsafe, they should all leave Nyali MP Hezron Awiti asked the President to negotiate with Britain., this created tension between the long military cooperation between the British and the Kenya government which led to the report that President Uhuru Kenyatta is said to have rebuffed UK's request of meeting with British Foreign secretary. (Daily Nation, 2015)

June 24th 2014 the daily nation reports on US agencies relocation due to security, Mr Matt Herrick US envoy wrote. Kenya has been home for many international organization's main offices but the al-Shabaab threat has made the organization to consider some other places like Ethiopia. The move did not only mean relocation but the agencies decided that they will sponsor less conferences and training session in Nairobi contradictory to the previous years, this shook the dainty relation that exists between Kenya and the USA due to the president and vice president being charged at the international criminal court.

Kenya has been a safe haven for Somali refugees who flew due to anger and war in their homeland, the Daddab camp, the largest refugee camp in Africa has made Kenya an important partner in the international organization like the UN, and other organizations which have been helping the refugees through Kenya for more than 20 years. The cooperation proved to be advancing but the refugee camp has also been a safe haven for al-Shabaab members who camouflage as refugee and plan attack. After the Garissa attack the leaders of the area led by Garissa Township MP Mr. Duale demanded the refugee camp be closed as the attacks that has affected the region in the previous years were planed from there. The leaders, who included Governors Nadhif Jama (Garissa), Ahmed Abdullahi (Wajir) and Ali Roba (Mandera) argued that the region had borne the brunt of attacks because Kenya has hosted refugees from Somalia for too long (Daily Nation, 2015,), if the refugee camp is closed the refugee will have to go back to Somalia where the international organization wont operate as candidly as they were in Kenya, which will lead to a humanitarian crisis. The al-Shabaab group has put the government of Kenya in a quagmire, either upset the international organization and in the process host nations of the organization or to deal with its security and close the refugee camp.

unlike the Islamic state terrorist group al-Shabaab do not claim to conquer a land in Kenya as that is Somali issue, this has made the group's activities to have more effect on the domestic politics than the international, beside some small hiccups like that of the UK travel advisory, the USA agencies relocating and the cowardice move by Ben Carson, Kenya has continue to invite investors from Asia and Europe with so much success like the Konza city projects, furthermore Kenya with its insecurities has managed to host president of United States Barack Obama and the Pope Benedict, also the country has managed to host the World Trade Organization (WTO) ministerial conference in Nairobi, with this the deduces concludes that al-Shabaab threat has had very less impact on international politics.

5. CONCLUSION

It has been established that individually the two terms (terrorism and religion) have a sense of connotation and originality, but when one endeavors to integrate the two terms, they lose their authentic and explicit definition. Unlike religion, where beliefs and metanarratives are implicated, thus hard to define, terrorism has been defined and redefined by many scholars and despite the many definitions, the scholars acknowledge the use of violence to attain the grievances (power) which are backed by ideologies. Religious terrorism ensues when the ideology that drives the group is religion.

The main ideologies which are effective in International Relations are human thought ideologies, which is intermittently in question and criticism, but religions are God directed belief therefore no alteration or criticism is condoned. There is no international relation ideology that directly links with religion or beliefs and the study assumes that, this might be the rationale behind it being disregarded in the IR studies. Although this is the case there are some aspects of each ideology in each religion or the other way round. Liberalism, which campaigns for equality, liberty and harmony, go along with the discussed religions, the same can be said for terrorism except this time its realism as the theory. According to classical realists, humans are negative self-centered and selfish and these aspects are the main driving force instead of logic of humanity, this literally depicts the terrorist groups.

Unlike ideologies, religion is more of a belief, this is why followers do what they are instructed without questions or reasons. This belief has been behind so many humane events, but is mostly known for its antagonistic events instead. The study discern that, Christians, Jews and Muslims all have identical roots, their discrepancies are on; holy scripts, last prophet and method of praying. Through the protocol outlined in their respective holy scripts, three main western religions have found a balance between survival and extinction, However the holy scripts are ambiguous or contradicting, which makes their followers to settle for the interpretations and clarification from the religious leaders who sometimes are bias.

The old and the new testament of the bible contradicts when it comes to violence which leaves to the interpretation just like the Quran and Torah. The Quran's interpretation depends on the history of the revelation of the verses and the situation changes based on that, the same can be said for other faith's holy scripts. All the three discussed religion denounce violence in all aspects, Although this is the case the world has lost many lives due to religious wars and violence, the study relates these actions to human's greed, appetite for power and blindly following the realist minded leaders who have corrupted the teachings to substantiate some of the acts that were not commanded by God nor practiced by the prophets, others not only don't they follow the scripts but go against it, like introducing religion separation.

The societal perception in Kenya has changed from the classic tribal ethnic based on religion affiliations, due to some events the religious division is slowly reducing, but still there is some sort of discrimination towards the Muslims especially Somali Muslims. The lives were lost, properties were destroyed, and the environment of fear the Kenyans have suffered in the hands of the terrorist group Al-Shabaab can't be put into words. The study concludes that, leadership gap in Somalia is what drove the state to a humanitarian crisis, the rise of militia groups and finally the rise of ICU, which is the mother organization of al-Shabaab. The study understands that the ICU group was successful in uniting Somalia but the aftermath of the unity was the harsh and strict sharia law which were somewhat inhumane and attracted the attention of the West.

Ethiopia's and United State of America's involvement in Somalia were exclusively political and it is due to their involvement that the al-Shabaab came to exist. Their (Ethiopia and USA) interests drove al-Shabaab to recruit based on two ideologies; nationalistic and religious ideologies. The study argues that, nationalistic ideology did not bear much fruit due to Somali's plight, however due to deep rooted Islamic beliefs in Somalia, the terrorist group used that to incite the Somali people with much success. The group's first activities against the Ethiopian troops was a triumph, which demonstrates how Ethiopians were unplanned in invading Somalia. Their defeat was the reason that drove the African Union to get involved and the African Union's involvement resulted to the regional attacks exceptionally in Kenya. By this,

the study anticipates that, if the Ethiopian soldiers managed to defeat the group, there wouldn't be any need for the AU involvement thus no attacks to the other states.

The African Union's superior weapons and well trained soldiers were among the reasons the group lost its strategic places like Kismayo and Mogadishu, the study asserts that, group's leader Godene evil genius, calculated that, militarily they couldn't defeat the AMISOM, so he settled with attacking the states that sent troops that is; Uganda, Kenya and Burundi. Burundi's distance from Somalia and its Christian population made it a hard target for the group, but Uganda despite its Christian population, the group managed to attack. Kenya's Somali population and Muslim dominated areas created the atmosphere that natured the terrorist attacks.

Terrorist groups' activities have forced the international system to enhance their security and arsenal in general, but Kenya underestimated the group's adeptness and that is the reason behind the many successful attacks in Kenya unlike the other states in the region. The study believes that the Kenya security officers' corruptions and incompetence give the group a perfect dwelling that ensures they can evade apprehension. Regardless of the "good" intelligence, the government has been lethargic in responding to the intelligence and attacks in most cases the miscreant walking free. The terrorist group has brought many sectors (health and education) to an impasse, especially in Northeastern province of Kenya due to mass movement of Christians from the areas on account of insecurities. This and other government's inefficiencies support the allegation that, the Kenyan government is somewhat responsible for the terrorist activities rise in Kenya.

One of the main aspirations of al-Shabaab was to convulse the political stability of Kenya by introducing religion as an ethnic diversity. The only common ground between the terrorist group and Kenyans were religion and Somali language, using these, the group begun radicalizing the youth especially from Coastal towns and Northeastern province. The group was successful in recruiting due to the Muslims from these regions experiencing segregation and harassments from the past and current governments, in addition the help from some extremist clerics who encouraged their mass to join the group added to their success. The study infers that

if it wasn't for the Mandera heroes, al-Shabaab would have achieved the goal of separating the state in religious lines.

The Quran has verses against injustice and encourage harmony between interfaith, the group's justification of their many attacks in Somalia and Kenya is that, it's against injustice, but when it comes to the method of pursuing the justice they don't follow the hadith and Sunnah of the prophet Muhamad and his disciples. The study, although not fully thinks that, the groups' grievance as right or deserving as they can be, they are demanding it in a wrong way and in addition the study predicts, if al-Shabaab backed the transitional federal government there wouldn't be these much chaos.

The group justifies their cultural insanity by stating that, they only started the series of attacks after the Kenyans soldiers started their operations against the group in Somalia, the study finds their reason preposterous because the Kenyan troops had a mandate to fulfil under the African Union. The group leaders preached against the infidels (AMISOM) who were in Somalia, this is enough reason to substantiate that the pursuit of the organization is not at all religious but political.

"No killing of innocent" this does not need a holy script to prescribe it as wrong nonetheless, if at all there must be a holy script saying that is wrong, the Quran and the Hadith do that very well. The group driven by the power to control Somalia have killed innocent and destroyed properties worth millions of dollars. The study concludes that their activities are not in line with the Islamic teaching as expounded in chapter three. Rules of war, according to Islamic teachings states, do not kill innocent, woman, old, monks, patients, infants, and children also don't demolish temple or any worshiping place, agriculture, water supply and buildings. Al-Shabaab activities involves more than 2000 dead people, the attacks on market, government buildings and Churches and even Mosque in Nairobi, Garissa and Coastal town of Kenya and many other parts of Somalia.

These are enough evidence to detach the terrorist group from Islam. Also the group claim to be strict followers of sharia law, but the same law states that, killings in worshiping places no matter which religion is wrong, it's hypocritical that they use religion as they wish, stoning people for fornication, and amputating the thieves because they are not following the sharia law, but they too are not following it in regards to their attacks on religious shrines and other activities which makes the terrorist group two faced bigots.

Just like Boko Haram, al-Qaida and currently Islamic State, al-Shabaab use religion to manipulate their followers to cult level radicalization, the study concurs with scholars in regards to the terrorist group targets the poor and low self-esteem related people, who follow them frantically. The groups deceive their followers that they are conducting religious duties while in reality, knowing it's just to quench their thirst for power and control.

Al-Shabaab have exhausted all the necessary ideologies to gain control of Somalia, they commenced with sharia law based ideology, then the Ethiopian involvement made them transcend to nationalistic ideologies and settled with religion ideologies. The nationalistic ideologies didn't work fully because it was only address toward the hostility between Ethiopia and Somali. The studies concludes that since al-Shabaab activities in Kenya doesn't include taking of land or to overthrow the government, the other ideological tactics wouldn't be successful and that is the logic behind the groups settling with Islamism as the ideology so as to recruit and conduct attack in Kenya.

The transcending from a failed ideologies to a successful one shows how realist minded terrorist the al-Shabaab is, and their attacks have no Islamic foundation. The leadership of al-Shabaab should stop misleading the people that they are fighting for the Muslim people cause, any person who wants to see will see that, they are not, but are guided by realist ideologies. It is evident the Al-Shabab use religion to motivate its militants, however their goals suit well within the context of political terrorism more than religious terrorism, which makes al-Shabaab an example of politically motivated terrorist organization.

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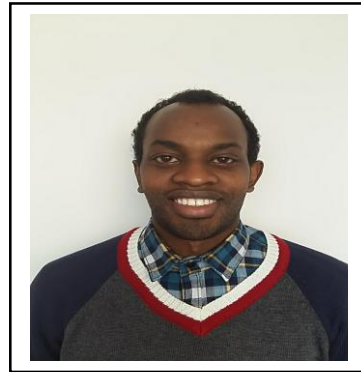
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