

## Restructuring security in Africa beyond the millennium: Al-Shabaab menace in Kenya

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### Abstract

This paper interrogates using a positivist thinking how security in Africa can be restructured beyond the millennium. The authors underscore that security concerns in Africa have indeed been wanting and the continuity of the same in the close of a millennium is a necessary issue to worry scholars, governing elite, partners, and the general citizenship. This discourse in the scary security issue of our time in the East Africa region erstwhile dotted with many other conflicts require practitioners and the civilians and other external stakeholders to play a role in restructuring security if it be re-strategizing the existing strategies or overhaul of existing frameworks. The security concerns are made worse by the Al-Shabaab menace in the Kenyan landscape. The paper begins by a general comparison of the security concerns in Africa of the past millennium with the current emerging security issues; it then focuses on the dynamics of the security concerns in Africa, and then lastly thinks of restructuring this security beyond the millennium. The study adopts a qualitative approach in arriving at its conclusions.

**Keywords:** Terrorism, Terror, Security, Al-Shabaab, Somalia, Kenya.

### Introduction

The single most security concern in the East Africa region and Horn of Africa today stands out to be terrorism by Al-Shabaab. Even though other security issues such as ethnic conflicts exist, piracy take side stage, and inter-state tensions over 'unresolved' territorial land suffice, non-the less Al-Shabaab insurgency is a real time concern.

Africa's dynamic security environment is characterized by great diversity— from conventional challenges such as insurgencies, resource and identity conflicts, and post-conflict stabilization to growing threats from piracy, narcotics trafficking, violent extremism, and organized crime taking root in Africa's urban slums, among others (Africa Center, 2015). This characterization is by far way down the security concerns in Africa which are widely encompassing more issues and complex than the citation mentions. For example in this diversity, security issues pertaining neo-nationalism and ethnic based insecurities, democratization and governance insecurity, and the strongly emerging economic insecurity. Even though, these concerns may not partake total independence from each other, they bear unique interrelated characteristics.

Today, Africa is faced with security concerns of all sorts. As the bigger Nigeria grumbles with Boko Haram, Burundi is struggling with election related security emanating from presidential term limit. Egypt, Libya, and North African states are facing security related to Global Urban Uprising (GUU), a surge that led to sweeping changes in the long serving regimes and to this date unlike what Chinua Achebe said, the centre cannot hold yet. In Southern Africa, xenophobia is casting shadows of doubt on this African economic giant while on the other hand Zimbabwe is contending with economically generated insecurity due to President Mugabe's anti- White settler policies and his desire to hold onto power.

The Eastern Africa countries are similarly facing serious security concerns over the past years; security of politics of formative stages in the youngest state of South Sudan, the

Somalia instability and its spillover effects of terrorism in Kenya, election related security and human migration issues, and ethnic insecurities. Kenya seems to be facing much of these yet it is perceived an economic giant in this region. The other security menace in Africa is the almost permanent unstable Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) which is huge in size and resources and continues to remain a battle ground for both African states and silently European states.

Kenya has recently suffered security problems arising from attacks by Al-Shabaab ragtag whose base is in Somalia. These bombing and shooting of soft targets has led to a number of loss of lives of innocent students, citizens, and church goers. As a result, Kenya decided to send its armed forces Kenya Defense Forces (the KDF) to Somalia to stabilize the situation. Yet despite that, the terrorists have continued to wreak havoc in Northern Kenya, Lamu, Garissa, Nairobi's Eastleigh and even the tourist hub, Mombasa.

East African countries have employed various approaches to deal with these security threats including but not limited to police rebuttals, specialized unit reprisals and military deployment in the affected districts of the nations. Nonetheless, the strategies used so far could have been good but the progressive successful attacks by Al-Shabaab reveal need for retention with changes or a total overhaul. It is in line with these problems that the paper argues re-strategizing response strategies. This calls for a general need to approaches in dealing with security issues in Kenya and the entire East Africa which is becoming a soft spot for terrorism. Terrorism is generally agreed that terrorism is a special firm of political violence. It is not a philosophy or a political movement. It is a weapon or method which has been used throughout history by both states and sub-state organizations for various political causes and ends (Paul Wilkinsin, 228-229) [5].

### **Characteristics of Terrorism.**

Terrorism has a number of characteristics:

- It is premeditated and aims at creating a climate of extreme fear or terror.
- It is directed at a wider audience or target than the immediate victims of the violence.
- It inherently involves attacks on random and symbolize targets, including civilians.
- The acts of violence committed are seen by the society in which they occur as extra-normal in the literal sense that they breach the social norms this causing a sense of outrage.
- Terrorism is used to try to influence political behavior in some way e.g. to force opponents into conceding, some or all of the perpetrators, demands to provoke an overreaction to serve as a catalyst for a more general conflict or to publicize a political cause (Wilkinson, P.228).
- It becomes international terrorism when the citizens of more than one country are involved.
- Internal terrorism is confined within the border of a single state but international because the terrorists will look across their borders for political support, weapons, funds and safe haven

### **Causes and Implications of Modern Terrorism**

All forms terrorist threats had always existed in our midst e.g. it was used by the Sicarii and Zealots against the Roman occupation in Palestine, but terrorism was equally unleashed in the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries as a weapon by the radical Islamic sect (ibid., 229)

Indeed revolutionaries (such as Fidel Castro and Chee Guevara) used the tactics of bombing and assassination in their unsuccessful efforts to destroy autocracy e.g. in Latin America, Russia and the Balkans. In 1950s terrorism became the primary weapon of movements engaged in anti-colonial struggles e.g. Mau Mau nationalist war in Kenya between 1952-1956 and the Jews used it against the British mandate in Palestine and the FLN fight the French colonialism in Algeria.

International incidents of terrorism have increased tenfold since 1968 and now directly affects to some degree, over half of the countries in the international system and Africa included (Wilkinson, 230). What factors have escalated the acts of terrorism across the world in recent past? The most fundamental cause remains 'the deep and bitter ethnic, religious and ideological conflicts which remain unresolved and which fester in the international system, spawning many forms of violent conflict including terrorism.

Another cause of inter terrorism is the Arab-Israeli conflict. In the wake of Israel's defeat of conventional military power of the Arab states in 1967 militant Palestinians decided that terrorism -hijacking, bombings, and sudden attacks was their only remaining weapon. This led to a whole new wave of terrorist's activity coming from the Middle East or conducted within Middle Eastern countries.

Separatist movements in the name of decolonization has made terrorism even more intractable. New and fragile political system wish weak economics and institutions find themselves confronting fundamental challenges to their authority and legitimacy on the ground that the new state is denying them right of self-determination e.g. this states exist in Asia and Africa where there are several movements against them and

sometimes they are waging full - scale insurgencies and frequently resorting to terrorism e.g. Boko Haram in Nigeria ,Somalis in the Republic of Somalia ,South Yemen ,Ukraine.

Another underlying cause has been the global strategic balance of power which has existed right from the end of the second world war up to the Putin era in Russia in line with the nuclear balance terror between superpowers approach to proxy war, terrorism became more attractive as instruments of policy for states and sub-state organizations such as national liberalize movements e.g. South Sudan, such approaches are low -cost, relatively low-risk and yet afford the possibilities of high yield in terms of weakening ,penetrating or even gaining control through covert means.

Fundamentally, terrorism was also motivated by the post-war international system put in place by the Marxist -Leninist regimes and their client communist movements many of which used guerilla war, terrorism and other techniques of revolutionary warfare on an extensive scale and which have acted as a major conduit for exporting theoretical and practical knowledge of these methods of warfare around the world.

Another factor that heightened the acts of terrorism was the technological transformation of the world - such as TV, Twitter, Facebook and internet which greatly influenced the growth of terrorism e.g. civil aviation and air travels created new soft targets for the terrorists to exploit. The terrorism TV satellites and internet and the media to gain instantaneon, worldwide publicity and coverage enabling them to glorify and magnify the element of fear and create awareness of their cause of demands on a large scale than the assassins of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Most significantly, the sudden proliferation of modern weapons and technologies have given the terrorists a great boon, providing them with plastic explosives, house made bombs, petrol bombs, automatic rifle guns and highly accurate light weight portable firearms such as the UZI sub-machine-guns.

The success of terrorist methods in achieving publicity cannot be gainsaid. Though terrorism does not win strategic political goals, it has an impressive record in gaining massive world - wide publicity, extortion of large ransom payments recruiting young and unemployed members and chamfrictioning their demands.

States in East Africa such as Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, south Sudan and Rwanda have suffered sporadic and at times, sustained attacks but have failed to come up with new strategies to deal with the security threats. They failed to take firm action against terrorists, due to a plethora of weaknesses; double standards and outright complicity. The entire international system must rise to the occasion take a determined action to deal with terror. Effects of terrorism have far-reaching implications i.e. it is an intolerable attack on the individual human rights of the innocent a huge majority of fatalities and deaths are caused through terrorism who attack unarmed University students and pedestrians in Nairobi, Garisa, Lamu and Mombasa.

The victims included civilians going about their peaceful and lawful business e.g. Al-Shabaab attack in Kampala when people were watching a World cup football match, the attacks in Lamu in 2014 when people were watching world cup football, the attacks in trading malls and supermarkets such as Westgate in Nairobi on innocent customers enjoying their weekends or the explosive attacks on taxis and matatus in Mombasa, the killing of over 140 University students at

Garrisa University College in April 2015 was an attack on fundamental human rights depriving innocent people of their right to life. These murders were caused by Islamic Jihadists in pursuit of religious fanaticism.

Al-Shabbab has thus made terrorism in East Africa a severe and protracted challenge in the well-being and security of local communities and even tourists leading to possibility of creating polarization between Christianity and Islam in East Africa. It has severely damaged the process and state of law and orderly government and threatened the economy by damaging trade.

In addition there has been destroying of valuable resources, scaring away investment and killing innocent lives in the major towns and cities in East Africa. In most severe attacks that have been witnessed in Northern Kenya, terrorism is threatening to render the whole of that region ungovernable and spreading the possibility of provoking full-scale civil war and religious altercation. Terrorism has affected education in the county of Garrisa where non-Muslim teachers fearing for their lives have refused to resume their teaching duties in Secondary schools since last year, same as teacher colleges, Universities and public service thus threatening the provision of essential services to the innocent people of Garrisa, Lamu and to some extent, Tana River districts.

In the recent past international terrorism has intensified e.g. the September 11 2001 attacks of the trade centre in the USA, sabotage bombing of airliners in flights the 1989 terrorist bombings of the French UTA airline over the Niger desert with loss of 171 lives the use of car bombings in public places with the aim of creating maximum carnage in Mombasa and Lamu in 2013/2014.

### **No Justification for Terrorism**

Today the idea of universal moral standards and principle is under severe attack. Things are made worse by the belief that one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter thus causing moral questions with difficult answers.

Even if Al-Shabbab have genuine grievances and legitimate sense of injustice and claims to speak for and represent its professed constituency, we must not condone their use of terrorist violence lacking innocents boys and girls in schools, trading malls and churches yet the use of force may be justified in particular circumstances like in the case of Mau Mau war against British colonialism in Kenya except that terrorism is a special form of violence involving deliberate attacks on innocent civilians.

The doctrine of using a just war against tyranny and oppression can be allowed as was the case of ANC guerilla war on the Apartheid system of South Africa but "terrorism is an unmitigated evil. It has flouted the bans principles of humanitarian law and enforcement of basic human rights such as right to life yet some of the most oppressive regimes in North Africa in Libya, Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia during the Arab spring were overthrown without resorting to the kind and scale of terrorism intessed in Kenya and Nigeria perpetrated under the guise of Islamic fanaticism and purify some of the innocent University for being Christians were not even practicing Christians and hardly attended church services if at all but they were killed for merely having a Christian name in today's globalizing and liberal democratic political system, terrorism by Al-shabbab can never be justified as a means of struggle. A truly democratic political system offers numerous non-violent channels of political protest, lobbying, advocacy

and electorate competition. Al-Shabaab could possibly change the leadership in Somalia through democratic means and not use violence. As Wilkinson state 'it is a violation of democratic principle when fanatical minorities behave like petty tyrannies ,resorting to the bomb and the gun to impose on their fellow citizens what they are unable to achieve through the ballot box' (p.236).

In an article 'Islam and Terrorism' it is said that the current crisis and revival of Islam began in the 1970s and has since imposed a major presence e.g. the Shah of Iran was toppled in 1978revolution, the American diplomats were taken hostage in that revolutions name and held for 444 days from late 1979 to Jan 1981,even the Grand Mosque in Mecca came under siege in Nov 1979,the American trade centre in New York was attacked in September 2001,President Anwar Sadat of Egypt was murdered in October 1981 by a group that claimed Islamic purity in Egypt ,the Libyan strong men become a victim of Islamic uprising and he was finally killed with the help of the Americans in 2005, elements of fundamentalist Muslim engaged in hostage –taking and suicide bombing and throughout in 1980s and 1990s violent confrontations between Muslim groups and government increased in Indonesia, Nigeria, India and Kenya which was attacked by terrorists in 1998 when the American embassy was bombed James Piscarotu laments that 'Muslim activism has widely been perceived as inherently militant or fanatical and perhaps drawing on an entrenched mythology of natural civilization conflict and fanaticism (p.311 Piscaroti). Western democracies such as USA and the UK have frequently feared that the contagion of Islamic revolution would spread to the detriment of their interests across the world.

### **What is security?**

There is a general consensus that security implies freedom from threats to core values for both individuals and groups but there is a debate whether the focus should be on individuals, national or international security (Rengger, 232). Barry Buzman (1983) refers the concept of security that includes a range of issues such as political, economic, societal ,environmental and military aspects Growing economic and political integration through the European union, African Union and regional blocks such as East African community, undermine the cultural political order based on nation – states leaving nations such as Kenya exposed to larger frameworks which allow foreigners to aerially gain economic access across the borders thus security. For instance the failed state of Somalia refugees into Kenya from 1991 fueling terrorism because of the porous borders between the two neighbours.

The fragmentation of Somalia into various functions created the problem boundaries increasing regional instability in the horn of Africa. The rise of globalization threatens the nation states but also brings new risks and dangers as Africans cross the Mediterranean Sea to enter the E.U but globalization dues not lead to the demise of the state may be its transformation in light of new global agenda on security. In the aftermath of the 9/11 in September 2001 the world become polarized in terms of enthusiast and class, violence became more globalized and fragmented globally networked and financed ( Baylis, 234)

On how best to achieve national security writers such as Hobbes, Machiavelli and Rousseau viewed the international system as an oven a where state, would seek to achieve their own security at the espouse of the neighbours and inter-state

relations were seen as a struggle for power, so permanent peace was unlikely to be attained. The states merely engaged in balance of power to prevent any of them from achieving overall dominance and hegemony (Baylis, 243).

Security is the degree of resistance to or protection from harm i.e. applies to any vulnerable and valuable asset such as person, dwelling, community, nation or organization. According to the Institute for Security and Open Methodologies (ISECOM), security provides a forum of protection where a separation is created between the assets and the threat. Perception of security may be poorly mapped to measurable objective security as the fear of earthquakes has been reported to more common than the fear of slipping on the bathroom floor although the latter kills many more people than the former.

National security is a concept that a government along with its parliaments should protect the state and its citizens against all kind of national threats (crises through a variety of power projections such as political, power, diplomacy, economic power, military might and so on. The concept developed in the USA after the World War II. It initially was concerned with military might but now it is a wider range of facets all of which impinge on the non-military or economic security of the nation and the values espoused on the national society. As a corollary in order to have national security, a nation needs to possess economic security, energy security; environmental security and so on. Security threats include not only the conventional enemies such as the other nation states but also non-state actors such as violent drug cartels multinational corporations and NGOs curtailing natural disasters. Measures taken to ensure national security include;

- Using diplomacy to rally allies and isolate threats
- Marshalling economic power to facilitate or compel cooperation
- Maintaining effective armed forces
- Implementing civil defense and emergency preparedness resources e.g. anti-terrorism measures and legislation.
- Ensuring resilience and redundancy of critical infrastructure
- Using intelligence services to detect and defeat or avoid threats and espionage and to protect classified information
- Using counter – intelligence services or security police to protect the nation from internal threats.
- Walter Lippmann in 1943 defined security as “a nation has security when it does not have to sacrifice its longitude interests to avoid war, and is able if challenged, to maintain them by war”

The 1996 definitely by the national defense college in India accretes the elements of national power its understanding “National security in an appropriate and aggressive blend of political resistance and maturity, human resources, economic structure and capacity, technological competence, resources and finally the military right” (Rengger, 244) <sup>[4]</sup>. In Harvard university history professor Charles Maier defined it in 1990 “National security is best described as a capacity to control those domestic foreign conditions that the public opinion of a given community believes necessary to enjoy its own self-determination or autonomy, prosperity and wellbeing”.

### **National Security and East Africa Region in Perspective**

The origins of the modern term national security as an ideology of maintaining a stable nation can be traced back to the peace of Westphalia wherein the concept of sovereign state ruled by a sovereign, became the basis of a new international order of nation states. Thomas Hobbes in this 1651 work “Leviathan” stated that a citizens yield to a powerful sovereign who in turn promises an end to civil and religious war and to bring forth a lasting peace and give him the right to conduct policy, including wage war or negotiate for peace for the good of the common wealth.

Military security implies the capability of a nation to defend itself and/or later military aggression. It implies the capability of the nation to enforce its policy choices by use of military force. The term is considered synonymous with security in its usage

Political security was offered by Barry Buzan, Ole Waever, Jaap de Wilde as an important component of national security in their book “security a new framework for analysis” which specifically addresses threats to sovereignty. System referent objects include nation-states, and transnational groups of political importance include tubes, monodies e.g. Somalis, religions organizations, systems of states such as E.U and the UN etc and the means of interactions.

In the current security overtures among inter-state security in Africa, a number of intercourses and cold exchanges exist. Mesfin (2015) <sup>[11]</sup> observes that Uganda has historical, security, political and economic interests which prompted it to intervene militarily in South Sudan in support of a poorly organised government fighting for survival and entirely dependent on oil revenues. Historically, Uganda provided substantial political and military support to the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement (SPLM) during its armed struggle against Sudan – which reciprocated by giving support to the Lord’s Resistance Army. In this millennium again Kenya has not had it safe with Uganda. There have been hiccups necessitated by Misingo Island, a Kenyan island now a diplomatic row between these two key countries to East African Community (EAC).

### **Chronological Al-Shabaab Recent Attacks on Kenya**

Al-Shabaab terrorists’ attacks on Kenya between 2011 and 2014 increased. Consequently, Kenya has seen an upsurge in violent terrorist attacks since late 2011. The Kenyan gout asserted that many of the murders and bomb blasts were carried out by Al-Shabaab in revenge for operation *Linda Nchi*, which is a coordinated military Nissan between the Somalian military Kenyan military that began in October 2011 when troops four Kenya crossed the border into the conflict zones of Southern Somalia. The back of the attacks were increasingly carried out by radicalized Kenyan youth who were hired for these heinous attacks. These were death squads, which carried out many of the callings under the orders of a government security council. So many attacks happened on the Kenyan soil. The first attack by Al-Shabaab was on a blue – caller bar known as Mwaura’s in Mfangano Street in Nairobi on Monday 24<sup>th</sup> October 2011. The grenade killed one person dead and wounded more than 20 and the police said the weapon used was a Russian made F.1 grenade. This was followed another blast at the Machakos Bus terminal where 59 men and ten woman were hospitalized. The attacks came only two days after the US warned of an “Imminent” terror attack following Kenyan troop’s incursion into Somalia in October 2011.

In 2012 a number of attacks were reported in the local dailies in Kenya e.g. in January 2012 there were three reported attacks including the locally of the chair of the community peace and security team in Hagadera camp and several police officers, the Kenyan police seized explosive equipment in an into camp in Dadaab complex, arresting mine suspects in February Al-Shabbab claimed responsibility for an attack that resulted in the death of a police officer and a civilian, on 10<sup>th</sup> March 2012, six were killed and over sixty were injured after four grenades were thrown into a Machakos bus station in Nairobi on Sunday 29<sup>th</sup> April 2012 an attack took place at God's House of Miracles at Ngara Estate in Nairobi, the grenade used had been made in China on Tuesday May 15<sup>th</sup> three grenades were hurled at Bella Vista night club in Mombasa killing one and leaving five others injured, the attacker also fired indiscriminately after he was denied entry into Bella Vista Club.

On 1<sup>st</sup> July 2012 masked gunmen attacked two churches (the Central Catholic Cathedral and AIC Churches in Garissa), located 140 kilometers from Somalia border, it killed 17 people and left 50 injured and the dead included two police officers, 4 men, nine women and 2 children. On 21<sup>st</sup> September 2013 armed gunmen attacked the Westgate shopping mall in Nairobi killing at least 69 people and injuring more than 175 and even the president Uhuru Kenyatta reportedly lost a very close family member in this attack. On 16<sup>th</sup> June 2014 at least 48 were killed when suspected Shabaab militants from Somalia stormed into a Kenyan coastal town and launched a major assault on a police station, hotels and government offices, police reported around 50 heavily armed gun-men drove into the town of Lamu on a Sunday they shot randomly at citizens some of whom were watching the World cup in local bars and hotels.

In late 2014, two attacks believed to have been carried out by Al-Shabaab killed 64 persons in Mandera County. On 22<sup>nd</sup> November 2014, gunmen attacked a bus travelling from Mandera to Nairobi, killing 28 persons, worthy teachers and government workers heading to Nairobi for December holidays and on 2<sup>nd</sup> December, 2014 AL-Shabaab militants attacked and killed 36 quarry workers many of who were non- Muslims near Mandera town. On 2<sup>nd</sup> April 2015 gunmen stormed the Garissa University College in Garissa, Kenya killing 147 people and injuring 79 or more. The responsibility for the attacks was claimed by Al – Shabaab, an offshoot of Al-Qaeda. The gunmen took over 700 student's hostage, freeing Muslims and killing those identified as Christians, the siege ended the same day when all the four attackers were killed by the Kenyan special antiterrorist forces, Recce squad.

The attack was the deadliest in Kenya since the 1998 United States embassy bombing with more than the 2002 Mombasa attacks, when terrorists attacked on Israelis owned hotel and a plane belonging to an Israeli airline in Mombasa on 28<sup>th</sup> November 2002, an al-terrain vehicle crashed through a barrier outside the paradise hotel and below up killing 13 and injuring 80, in addition two surface-to-air missiles fired at an Israeli charter plane. Almost simultaneously, after the hotel was attacked, two shoulder launched Strela Two (SA-7) surface to-air- missiles fired at a chartered Boeing 757 airliner owned by Israel based Arkia Airlines as it took off from Moi International Airport. The Arkia charter company had a regular weekly service flying tourists between Tel Aviv and Mombasa

thus threatening the tourist industry, the backbone of the Kenya's economy.

### **The Dynamics of the Security Concerns in Africa**

Mesfin (2015) avers, the newest state in the Horn of Africa has become an arena where powerful neighbours manoeuvre for regional influence. The deteriorating security situation in oil-rich South Sudan took neighbouring states by surprise, but they have risen to the opportunities the situation offers. Uganda and South Sudan, Ethiopia and Eritrea, Kenya and Egypt support different proxies and their competition could plunge the region into chaos. As South Sudan struggles with a military and political crisis, the Horn of Africa has turned into a region of burgeoning geopolitical significance with crucial military, diplomatic, energy and hydro-political issues.

The security situation in the Horn of Africa remains fragile, Mesfin continues to highlight. Not least because of the ongoing crisis in its newest but fractious state. Since December 2013, government and opposition forces in South Sudan have been locked in a full-blown political and military crisis. Embroiled in serious internal security and political problems as well as its military involvement in Somalia, Kenya unquestionably wishes to preserve its economic and financial interests in South Sudan which were endangered by the current crisis.

According to Plessis (2015) <sup>[12]</sup>, violence, terror and organised crime are the prominent new agenda items at the World Economic Forum (WEF) on Africa in Cape Town this week. Conflict and state fragility are now mainstream in talk about African development. They featured in Davos earlier this year; and economics – as WEF's *raison d'être* – is merging with security and politics like never before. Business used to consider human security only when it hit the bottom line. But corporates and investors are now encouraged to see themselves as part of society, and to think more intelligently and responsibly about how violence affects development, stability and prosperity.

In the WEF 2015 global risk analysis, interstate conflict scored highly on likelihood and risk. Failure of national governance was the third on the risk scale, but not even in the top 10 for impact. The situation is different in Africa, where failure of governance is the biggest risk and the challenge is one of conflict and violence *within* countries, not between them. Intra-state conflict-related deaths on the continent have been rising since 2010. Terror groups also capitalise on economic weakness, governance deficits and lack of effective services to recruit from marginalised populations.

He adds that some say that Africa is the new frontier in the global war on terror. The headline acts are Boko Haram and al-Shabaab, which between them killed 8 000 people in 2014. But that is a sideshow compared to the millions of deaths from poor governance and unequal development. Many African governments' response to terror often makes matters worse. From Burundi to Djibouti, the rulers hype the war on terror as a convenient shield for their own illegitimate machinations.

### **Restructuring this Security beyond the Millennium: Containing Security Dilemmas**

It might be assumed by the authors that security in Africa needs restructuring when it doesn't at all. So then, we may ask; is there need for restructuring security in Africa? And what is this restructuring all about? The former question can be answered in affirmative that, one, the need for security is why

states exist; secondly, as Chitiyo (2015) <sup>[9]</sup> point, there has been a conjunction between security and development throughout the continent's history. Pre-colonial states and communities were well aware of the complex, constructive and destructive relationship between security and development.

The latter part of the question restructuring security may have myriad meanings. Harsch (2009) <sup>[8]</sup> in a view of Liberian situation notes from the words of says Lieutenant Eric Dennis, who teaches international humanitarian law to recruits that "Liberia is building a new army and we are very strict regarding its standards." In a country where previous armies-government and rebel alike-committed widespread atrocities. Lieutenant Colonel Georges Mukole told a group of Congolese officers, "We soldiers are a reflection of the people, and therefore we must conduct ourselves so that the people see themselves in their army".

Harsch continues to observe the imperative of security restructuring by noting that from South Africa to Burundi and Côte d'Ivoire, a number of other countries in Africa are also seeking to restructure and professionalize their armies, police and intelligence services. The process is fraught with difficulties, but is increasingly seen as vital for the continent's long-term peace and stability. One of the most far-reaching and successful military restructurings in the continent took place in South Africa. It was so fundamental and sweeping that South Africans prefer to call it a "transformation," not just a reform. Ban Ki Moon in the same article asserts, "Security forces that are untrained, ill equipped, mismanaged and irregularly paid are often part of the problem, and perpetrate serious violations of human rights."

While the above notions about restructuring seems very much in line with security need in Africa, we tend to think there is much more to this issue beyond the transformations from the first three decades of independence to date. Why? Because, the decades identically known as independence era had some semblance unique to those security needs which to date may need serious re-think especially in terms of strategy(ies). For example, having camp - security vs marauding-security; Leen vs Mass security, traditionally G4-gun carrying security vs conventionally armed security.

Whereas these strategies may all be very important, the situations and circumstances must dictate whichever is applicable and when. Full time camp security who cannot respond to insecurity because of means to access insecurity is as good as no security. Marauding security who cannot take strict orders from the dispatching command is likewise inept. However, conventional means used by enemies of security apparatus using new technology with no respect to human values must be faced with a much smarter outfit security who should be always ahead in the game of security.

There is no rejoicing in training physical strength in members of artillery when a frail individual can physically eliminate a thousand of them in a battalion or barrack in seconds. In addition to the approaches that have been successfully practicable in security of the past functioning in the designs of the world war models, the need to embrace technology at the core of security operations and intelligence needs much emphasis. Corrupt deals like procurement using the security system of any kind is a state mass suicide deal knowing that states are supposed to protect their citizens which forms the possible optimum populace force that can ever be imagined.

Many more questions to ask in security restructuring may include, how safe are our water reservoirs? What about the connecting bridges? What about electric generation centres? What about the big marketing stalls? What about the rail stations and big hotels? Have our attention as informed people understanding our current battlefronts taken heed of all these? Or we must wait until an occurrence is visible then we follow. Pre-emptive and reactionary strategies are all good. Whereas pre-emptive may be physically visible, it is not always the case. Reactionary is good when the response is marched by access speed and results realized are satisfactory yet where the means and system is inefficient then a need for a better option needs adoption.

## Conclusions

The paper has able given a panoramic critical analysis of the whole problem of security in Africa, East Africa and Kenya in particular. It has been ably argued and pointed out in this article that Africa's dynamic security environment is characterized by great diversity – from conventional challenges such as insurgencies, resource and identity conflicts, and post-conflict stabilization to growing threats from piracy, narcotics trafficking, violent extremism, and organized crime taking root in Africa's urban slums, among others. With the determined perpetuation of terrorist acts against, the region by Al-shabaab, there is profound desire to re-examine the security strategies in place with a view to restructuring them so that such measures can effectively deal with any threats arising from those negative forces that yearn to destroy our freedoms and sovereignty.

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