Ethno Religious Dimensions of Global Terrorism: Interrogating the West's Complicities in Independent Africa

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ABSTRACT

Ethnic and religious reasons account mostly for the amorphous and intractable nature of contemporary terrorism. It equally explains the vigour, intensity and determination with which modern terrorists either achieve their objectives or pay the supreme price. Arising from worries on why ethnic and religious elements, rather than accounting for national and international unity have become indoctrinating factors for terrorism. This paper, deploying mostly secondary sources subjected to qualitative analysis, investigates the role of the West in colonial and post colonial Africa with a view to determining the complicities underneath Western colonial and international policies and how these contributed and still contributes to the growth of ethno religious elements as factors for terrorism. It joins in advocacies for redirection of Western disposition to religions; dismantling and readjusting colonial delineations and amalgamations; and revisiting of dispositions towards Arabs in international politics.

Keywords: Ethnic; Religion; West; Terrorism

INTRODUCTION

The plurimorphic nature of the concept, "ethno-religious" extremism poses the major debacle awaiting a researcher on the subject. This derives partly from Bartok's view that religion and ethnic dimensions are only two of many aspects of terrorism. He elucidates further that other dimensions can emanate in form of state terrorism, narco terrorism, bio terrorism, international terrorism, and group terrorism [1]. He further contends that terrorisms vary not only in terms of tactical and operational choices and actions but also in terms of frames of legitimization. For instance, ethno-political separatism, dogmatic Puritanism, religious and ideological extremism and hegemonic tendencies [2].

It therefore suffices to argue that ethno religious extremism is one of the plurimorphic explanations of terrorism as it simply is terrorism under the auspices and umbrella of ethnic and religious reasons. With this in mind, it may seem apt and plausible to assume that ethno-religious terrorism in Africa can be explained validly in two epochs. First was the entrance and practice of Islam in Africa and second was the entrance and practice of Christianity, through missionaries, in Africa. The phenomena therefore can be explained in terms of a tendency of religiously-drunken Africans seeking pure and undiluted versions of

these religions to take to arms to saturate their remote and immediate environments of infidels and or nominal believers or unbelievers. Still improper is the attribution of narrow and near mono-causal explanatory framework to terrorism in Africa. This work attempts therefore to explain ethno-religious crisis on Africa from; for instance, colonial policies of the Western imperial powers in Africa; international implications of the Israel-western relations over the Palestine imbroglio; implications of the superpower dichotomy in the Middle East and Asia during the cold war, exploitation of Africa in pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial era as well as elements of intolerance and class stratification between the international divides of north and south.

EXPLANATION OF TERMS

The concept **'ethnic'**, can best be understood through an examination of its etymological origins. The term ethnic has Latin and Greek origins-*ethnicius* and *ethnikas* both meaning nation. It can and has been used historically to refer to people as heathens in undeveloped sense [3]. Nnoli asserts that ethnicity is a more universal concept than tribalism which was preferably used by the African colonialists. He further says that ethnicity is a social phenomenon associated with the identity of members of the largest possible competing commercial groups seeking to protect and advance their interest in a political system [4]. For the social scientists, ethnicity is a shared racial, linguistic or national identity of a social group. They however are of the opinion that the concept of ethnicity varies from country to country [5].

Alison Gray is of the opinion that ethnicity is:

> *The ethnic group or groups that people identify with or feel they belong to. Ethnicity is a measure of cultural affiliation as opposed to race, ancestry, nationality or citizenship. This ethnicity is self perceived and people can affiliate with more than one ethnic group[6].*

For the purpose of this work whose concern is a blend of ethnicity and religion, ethnicity is simply a sense of identity of belonging to a place in which a sense of community is shared among a people who usually have a common public goal viz a viz other communities.

RELIGION

Edward Tailor constructs religion as "belief in spiritual beings". He therefore places emphasis on religion as a cultural system that includes doctrines, rites, sacred texts, typical group structure and the like [7]. Similarly, William James' view that religion is "the feelings of acts and experiences of the individual men in their solicitude, is in same direction with A. N. Whiteheads context that religion as what the individual does with his solitariness [8].

Yinger, defines religion as the system of beliefs and practices by means of which a group of people struggles with those ultimate problems of human life [9]. Religions by the definitions are not like social organizations where social workers or relief workers simply focus on a specific type of problem like crime or poverty. The goal is nothing short of the transformation of the entire human race which the believer believes should be part of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Being who owns the entire universe.

It therefore can be derived that ethnic nationals whose shared experience and aspirations converge in various ways including religion can pursue an agenda viewed as a common goal. It suffices to say that ethno religions extremism is simply the quest and actual act by which an ethnic group, whose religions elements

form part of the greater binding force, engage in the pursuit or realization of an agenda geared towards attaining some fundamental principles in line with the doctrines of the religion and attainment of the acceptable interests of the ethnic group.

The **West** in the perspective of this paper refers to the United States and European nations. It may not strictly mean only nations in the capitalist blocks in the cold war era, rather in this context, it encompasses developed nations in Europe and America who played roles in the colonization of nations in the 19th and 20th centuries and determine the course of international politics in contemporary times.

EVOLUTION OF ETHNO RELIGIOUS CRISES IN AFRICA

One feeling that follows the belonging to an ethnic or and a religious group is the feeling of exclusion from other religious and ethnic groups. It is this peculiar feeling of, we versus they, that awaken or engender the sense that the other

religion(s) or ethnic area(s) nurses aspirations and ambitions contrary to that of our ethnic group. This sense of separation earns intensity with time and becomes a breeding element of crises.

EUROPEAN SLAVE TRADE AND THE JIHAD

In the case of Africa, what occurred in pre-1800 era was more of ethnic or communal conflicts arising basically from incompatible goals, usually arising from trade, land disputes, women, child trafficking or other issues of pride, ego, or interests. At a narrower sense, kinsmen, clansmen, and in a broader sense people of same ethnic origin may find themselves in crisis with other groups. Sometimes wars ensue in which deaths may have been recorded.

The patch work of heterogeneous political system characterizing pre-colonial Africa was consistent with division in ethnic

lines. This meant that, as in contemporary world, resources, mostly the scarce ones were sources of conflicts in Africa. For instance, the Bunyoro-Buganda conflict of 1600, the Guouma-Songhai conflict of 1488 and a series of wars connected or wholly occasioned by European slave trading[10] which also ended with the end of the Atlantic slave trade. The 'slave wars' among kinsmen, communities or clans or ethnic areas saw an era of constant ethnic/clan conflicts in Africa which, with enormous consequences, had no religious dimensions. Despite that religion was not the underlying motive behind these wars whose end saw the era

of ethno religious wars of Muslim expansion, European commercial interests were basic to the causes of these wars.

One of the most pronounced ethno religious wars of pre-colonial Africa was the Jihad of the Fulani across West Africa. It was a war of the Fulani ethic stock against the Hausa who were mostly Pagan, itself viewed as repugnant to the dogmas of the Muslim doctrine.

Islam was introduced into Hausa land about the 14th century by foreign malams and merchants such as Wagara Arabs and the Fulanis,[11]. The Fulani was said to have migrated over the centuries from Futa Toro area of Senegal and had settled in towns and villages of north-western Hausaland[12]. This led to highly mixed societies of pagan Hausa and Muslim Fulanis. Adeleye asserts that this mixture between Islamic adherents and indigenous Hausa stock led to a gradual polarization of society along the lines of two conflicting religio-political ideologies [13].

Led by Shehu, Usman dan fodio, the Fulani Jihad opened a new wave of conflicts that came with religious undertone. This meant that the Fulani ethnic group embarked on the war of conversion and expansion under the auspices of the doctrinal provisions of the Quran. The 1804 Jihad therefore was an ethno-religious and extremist conflict in West Africa. Contentious as the motives are, objective scholars are of the plausible view that, though in line with the provisions of the Koran on the abode of the infidel, political as well as socioeconomic reasons coated with religion were among the promptings of the Jihad of 1804 – 1810 [14].

The 1804 ethno-religious conflict of the Fulani-Hausa polarized the area and surrounding ones. It led to the spread of Islam over West Africa, in which Nigeria saw the spread of Islam up to the northern part of Yoruba land.

ARBITRARY AMALGAMATION AND DELINEATIONS

The Berlin conference of 1885 marked the final round table discussion in which Europe decided to establish firmer grip over their individual spheres of influence. This culminated into the colonization of various countries in Africa. Colonial policies occasioned by different purposes, including the need to reduce the cost of governance, shortage of manpower and manageable communication horizon among others led to the amalgamation of several parts of the colonies. This meant creating political entities by uniting hitherto separate ethno-religious groups some of who knew little or nothing about their neighbours.

The unification implied creating new competitions, environments and needs

among the newly fused ethno-religious groups. It marked the beginning of politics of ethnic identity in most of Africa.[15]. In Nigeria for instance, the British amalgamation of the Muslim north with the Christian missionary influenced south was to be a source of ethno religious tension in post-colonial Nigeria. Similarly, internal administrative delineations done without consideration of ethnic or tribal affinities were sources of conflicts. Some clans were carved into countries, regions, divisions or provinces into which they have had lifetime and lifelong adversaries. Also, some were carved into communities with which they share little or no pre-colonial historical and cultural background. These resulted

into conflicts that are ethnically and sometimes religiously motivated.

These divisions sometimes disproportionately increase the numerical strengths of some political units thereby shrinking others. The later, in efforts to regain power and detached brothers, or gain political power finds justifications in resorting to conflicts on ethnic or religious lines. In fact, it is on these grounds that Ruby and Shah posit that religion is a major source of identity in Nigeria [16]

Negative implications of colonial amalgamations on ethno-religious crises in Africa, is viewed from the same lens as the implications of arbitrary delineations and divisions of peoples into administrative units. This has very many implications part of which are: separating a people who, from the period of separation magnify the things that separate them while undermining the integrative ones; creating new identities which form a background to new group formations; ossifying divisions through disproportionate allocation of resources; unhealthy alliances and re-alliances in efforts to win issues of interest; thickening the line created by religious differences among various groups; causing more division among people who otherwise have a shared sense of oneness. These exacerbated both ethnic and religious differences among colonial subjects and peoples whose interpersonal and inter-social relationships in subsequent times go sour. Over time, these divided groups go far apart usually by emphasising loyalty on whatever slightest ethnic and religious lines.

EXCLUSIVENESS OF COLONIAL POLICIES

In most of colonial Africa, at one time or the other, the colonial governments initiated systems of divide and rule, encouraged for the following reasons: creating or encouraging divisions among the subjects to prevent links that could challenge the colonial powers; aiding and promoting those who are willing to cooperate with the sovereign; fostering distrust and enmity between local rulers; discouraging meaningless expenditures and unifications that increase the capacity for political and military unity, and ease in administration, among others. This strategy was the foundation to the ethnic problem that resulted in the death of many Rwandans in 1994. Germany and Belgium ruled Rwanda and Burundi in a colonial capacity. Germany deliberately placed members of the Tutsi minority in positions of power. Belgium later took over in 1916 and rearranged Tutsi and Hutu groups according to ethnic origin which equally implied socioeconomic divisions. These divisions continued after independence and culminated into genocide in 1994 [17].

In Nigeria, what later became Nigeria was administered as two separate protectorates. Despite the amalgamation of 1914, Afigbo reminds that "throughout this period, the British saw Nigeria as a loose federation of two different cultural and administrative worlds"[18].On the cultural side, the south was, throughout the period seen and characterized as pagan and barbarous [19]. Lugard introduced the indirect rule aimed at coercing the people into being loyal to their chiefs who were also loyal to the colonial authorities. These divisions which were in line with ethno-religious divisions of the sections of the country exacerbated the already visible divisions among the different sections that make up Nigeria. This trend outlived colonial rule and was entrenched in the people's

national life and thus a continuous sources of conflict in post colonial

Nigeria,[20].

COLONIAL POLICIES OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT AS SOURCES OF ETHNO RELIGIOUS CRISES

Colonial policies of underdevelopment in the different sectors were heavy vectors of ethno religions crises in Africa. These range from education, health, economy, transportation to tax policies, among others.

The system in most of Africa were Muslim enclaves were censored against missionary penetration by the colonial administration manifested in creation of two educationally unequal societies. Most of the Muslim areas became educationally underprivileged on the eve of decolonization due mostly to colonial legacies of disallowing missionaries free and equal access to colonial areas. Abubakar buttressed this point by asserting that:

Northern conservatism

was heightened by the British through limited encourageme nt they gave to western education and the stifling of Islamic education [21].

Little did the colonial administration realize that the shift from her initial strict polices on education to the introduction of a policy to learn to write in Boko (Roman Script) bore with it enormous consequences. It came with it a sharp distinction of the classes separated by the ability to write the Boko and on the other side, the inability to write.

TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION

The amalgamation of formally separate units did not necessitate, in colonial thoughts, reasons and justification for interlinking through access roads, the various sections of the country. Most access roads and rail lines in colonial credit were specifically designed, not to improve inter group relations but for specific purposes of transporting produce from points of abundance to the sea ports. Attempts at improving inter-group relations were rear in colonial considerations.

This deficiency, no doubt did not encourage crossbreed of cultural and religious elements among the different sections of the amalgamated nation. As posited earlier, colonial communication barriers instituted to forestall polluting the "disciplined" sections of the colonial

enclave was inimical to communication among colonial subjects and sections [22].

Taxation was one of the misnomers of the West in Africa that could aggravate puritanic wars. The forceful overthrow of the supremacy of the Fulani ruling class in northern Nigeria by British colonial conquerors were, to the Fulani, an affront to not just the ethnic stuck but also their religious sensibilities that could be overthrown when the colonial supremacy erodes at independence.

In most of Africa, the colonialists imposed on the people a system of government and administration alien to them. In northern Nigeria for instance, where local administration was directly linked to religion, Caliphate and Emirate officials received taxes from the populace

as one of the spiritual mandates of Allah [23]. This trend was distorted by the invading British colonialists whose mission brought European imperialist aims to fulfilment especially in tax collection and administration. According to US Library of Congress:

> *The emirs retained their caliphate titles but were responsible to British district officers who had final authority. The British high commissioners could depose emirs and other officials… caliphate officials were transformed into salaried district heads and became in effect,*

agents of the British authorities responsible for peacekeeping and tax collection [24].

This perhaps means that the caliphate served as a means through which dissent was suppressed even when they arose from contempt over taxation. Altering one of the basic elements of a people's way of life can become a veritable source of ethno-religious revolt, especially at independence.

Jettisoning the economic base of the Fulani elite was on itself a source of contempt. This was to become a plausible reason for disdainful condemnation of the West over the generations whose perception of the West is that they were usurpers of ethno-religious rights. This perhaps forms a reason for uprisings against Western cultures in mostly Muslim areas.

COLONIAL RELIGION

Portugal, Belgium, Germany, France and Britain, colonizers of Africa, were by the time of conquest, Christian and or secular nations. Administrative exigencies tolerated and encouraged the activities of missionaries albeit unequally. In many parts of colonial Africa, Christian missionaries penetrated 'pagan' and Muslim enclaves in efforts to Christianize the people. This bred antagonisms between Islam, Pagan and Christian missionaries. This is not unconnected with Young's position that:

> *Islam represented the most comprehensive ideological*

challenge to hegemony available to Africa at the moment of subjugation. In the hands of determined adversaries of colonial rule, it offered a transcendental justification for resistance and a religious imperative for politico-military organization beyond

ethnos and polity as these then existed [25].

Resistance, contempt and loathsomeness against the encroaching "infidel" bred distaste that survived colonial rule. In post colonial Africa, explanations for ethno religious insurgencies can emanate from colonial religious activities. Insurgencies in West Africa mostly tilt toward rejecting Western values, most of whose foundation were colonial. It therefore suffices to agree and submit that the West, through colonial policies and administrations bred in Africa a division between ethnic groups by adding or amplifying divisions through adding religious dimensions to the already existing ethnic divides.

This aspect is worsened by the secularization of most colonial and post-colonial laws of ethno-religiously divided African nations. These laws, most of which were Anglo Saxon in origin were seen by the Muslem and pagan adherents as a continuation of subjugation by infidels. Religious wars, latent or manifest, were results of this distaste. This perhaps explains aspects of the motive of Boko Haram in northern Nigeria and activities of the Alshabab in Somalia (mostly against western ships).

NEO-COLONIAL POLICIES

Neo-colonial policies are continuations of western policies in Africa after decolonization. This phase was designed to perpetuate western economic benefits in Africa and therefore Africa's wellbeing was not factored in the planning and execution of the stage of imperialism. Beginning from colonial economic legacies, aided by repugnant tax ordinances to colonial educational, health, transport, legal and religious policies to post colonial entrenchment of neo-colonial policies, Africa in the final analysis are deprived, debased and extorted.

The exhaustion through extortion of Africa created and continues to create atmosphere for ethnic competition and rivalries. This, exacerbated by religious divisions along the arbitrary colonial boundaries, took deeper ethno-religious dimensions over time. Distrust arising from colonial alienation of ethnic groups in the same country and over exploration of national wealth occasioning poverty and the deep rooted religious schisms due largely to pattern of missionary activities, itself a function of colonial policies, gave rise to ethno religious conflicts of no mean dimensions. Similarly, the deliberate underdevelopment of some sections of African societies while insignificantly ameliorating same (underdevelopment) in others held and still holds ominous consequences for Africa and a source of ethno religious crisis [26].

THE WEST AND THE ARAB WORLD

The West's inconsistency in defining what connotes terrorism and the complications arising from this in relation to their relationship with the Arab world is a factor of ethnic and religious crises in the world. Also, the West's inclinations towards Israel in the "Arab-Israel conflicts portray them as ready targets for Arab terrorist attacks. Added to this is the complex web of antics that played out between the rivals of the cold war for which terrorism is variedly defined by

statesmen some of who see some terrorist attacks as liberation struggle. The constant faceoff between the West and the Arab/Muslim communities can be explained from the perspective of the West's obvious support for Israel in the several Arab-Israel conflicts. Both the US and Britain have shown overt inclination towards supporting Israel as manifest in their indisposition towards granting Palestine state.

In an expression of dissatisfaction against US' support for Israel, Muslim extremists, especially in the Middle East, deploy violence as a show of contempt against US' policy on Palestine. Internationalization of this trend is partly a source of global terrorism in the 20th and 21st centuries. Suicide missions, extended intifada, cross boarder bombings, hijacking of aircraft and mass shootings ,etc have taken centre stage in the international system. Some in Africa, others in Europe and most with cross boarder and cross continental effects.

Imobighe asserts that what constitutes terrorism in one place may be liberation struggle or resistance movement elsewhere. He drew instance from the role played by America in support of Osama Bin Laden's Muhajudeens in Afghanistan in 1979. In the ensuing melee, the US supported and covertly financed Osama's mission to purge Afghanistan and the Middle East of soviet presence. Afghan and Arab fighters against the soviets were labelled Resistance Movements or Freedom Fighters by the United States [27]. This took another twist when, in the post Cold War era America's foreign policy became unfavourable to the Freedom Fighters and Resistance Movements whose show of distaste towards America was later branded, terrorism.

Possessing knowledge of US military technological hardware operations as well as having a fairly good knowledge of American military tactics, these "Resistance Movements" intensify efforts towards globalizing terrorism. With his first onslaught in the Sudan in the 1990's, Osama Bin Laden began his terrorist operations aimed at Western concerns, institutions and affiliates. This perhaps explains attacks on Hosni, Mubarak from Sudan in the 1990's and the 2001 attack on the United State's World Trade Centre and the Pentagon. It is also likely that it was in retaliation to the vigorous anti terrorist stance of the US that the terrorists blew up American embassy in Nairobi and Dar es Salam. Expectedly the US responded by launching attacks on Afghanistan and bombed a chemical plant that was producing weapons for al-Qaeda in Sudan. The US equally mounted vigorous search over Somalia with a mission to capture and prosecute perpetrators of those attacks against the US.[28]. These events placed Africa as a rogue territory, to extents that, terrorist attacks on Europe were linked to cells in Morocco, Libya, Somalia and Algeria.

THE CROSS CONTINENT FACTORS

That ethno-religious crisis is palpable in Africa as it is in Asia and Europe holds implications for global peace. This point gains more validity when viewed from the perspectives of the objective of most of the contemporary terrorist cells. These groups seek first to return to the pure and undiluted state of Islam allegedly polluted by Western civilization. In recent times, slight changes in ideologies of the Islamic fundamentalists favour the status of Islamic states,[29] seeking to overthrow the existing near secular international system. This new agenda for the

attainment of Islamic States seem to have emerged a unifying ground for some extremist groups scattered around the world. Some authors believe that Boko Haram, though not evidently linked to al Qaeda and ISIL, may achieve this status in a short while [30]. Links equally may be existing between the al sha baab and the other terrorist groups in other continents of the world.

With the ISIL in the Middle East, Alshabab in the horn of Africa, Boko Haram in West Africa, and Al Qaeda scattered here and there and their concerted efforts to suppress the West's ability to stand against extremism, and the West's seemingly resilient stance to continue to put up resistance, anti terrorist and anti-extremist policies instituted to combat the terrorist activities of extremists, these extremists have resorted to attacking soft and vulnerable targets in countries where resistance is less stiff To this end, Governments have continued to receive succour from either the US, Britain, Canada or France, etc against terrorism. Coepner informs that, whether seeking the defeat of al-Qaeda or recently the Islamic State, the United States government has been prosecuting war on terror for nearly 15 years. Tangible costs to the US include 6,874 service members killed, 2.4 million Americans sent to fight, an estimated 4.4 trillion dollars spent [31]. This is corroborated by US Office of Management and Budget's overview of International Assistance Programmes which said that the US will provide extensive assistance to states in the forefront of anti-terror struggle, both in terms of financial assistance and training [32].

On a joint level, majorly the West and perhaps other nations have through the instrument of the United Nations sponsored anti-terrorist laws. Among many, the UN sponsored sanctions against terrorism succeeded in passing UNSCR1267. This aims at preventing and tracking the activities of terrorists especially al-Qaeda and other Taliban groups. Similarly, the United Nations General Assembly in 2006 enacted and adopted the Global Counterterrorism Strategy (GCT) which aims at eradicating terrorism, a function vested on the counter terrorism implementation task force.

Ethno-religious conflicts and crises are usually outflows of extremism mixed with ethnic sentiments. This phenomenon, which usually are conceived at a more micro level gains widespread acceptance among adherents of a religious ideology whose agitations, at a national line, tae up ethnic attributes. This them should imply that the ethnic features and characteristic as a defining feature may not visibly appear at the international and global levels. Yet the emphasis on the religious background of these crises derives usually from ethnic identity.

CONCLUSION

Ethno religious crises in West Africa are usually among the established religions against themselves. Often, these religious extremists, whose ethnic base form basis for operation resort to using terrorist attacks in attaining their aims. In Nigeria, the Boko Haram, whose major principle is to enforce a dethronement of all Western ideologies and principles have taken to bombing institution, churches, mosques and other establishments. Also, they have resorted recently to kidnappings and sacking of communities.

The activities of this sect have recently been noticed to cut across national boundaries into contiguous nations within West Africa. From Nigeria, the activities of Boko Haram extend to southern Cameroun, Chad, Niger, etc. It has been speculated that it hopes to establish links with terrorist-religious bodies in the northern and horn of Africa, implying a linking up between pockets of extremists in Libya and al-Shabab in Somalia. Perhaps extending across the sub regions of Africa will ease the link with the ISIS, the al-Qaeda and any other willing to globalize.

It is plausible to argue that Euro-American imperialist ambitions and practices were among the factors that promoted ethnic and religious crises in not just Africa, but other parts of the globe. Especially the Islamic notion that Western ideologies and ways of life overshadow Islamic principles is a major cause of ethnic crises. Also Euro-American positions on international issues involving Islam as well as some colonial laws were in the list of factors that exacerbated ethno-religious crises from some perspectives.

Ossifying the bond of unity among extremists and enhancing determination of adherents to ensure eradication of Western norms were and still are the Western polices on terrorism exerted through national and international policies of the West and Western led multilateral organizations. Identifying this, advocacies are made for policy makers to seek ways to accommodate religious rules in both national laws and international norms. Also, proper considerations should be given to issues that are held dear to religious faiths. The Palestine question should be addressed.

Similarly, arbitrary colonial divisions and amalgamation of nations in Africa and other colonized areas should be revisited. Incompatibly arising from amalgamation of peoples who were hitherto unknown to themselves or whose cultures are extremely divergent should be reconsidered and revisited. More so, the raging feeling of exhaustion arising from extortion, oppression and suppression of Islamic and traditional religious adherents, especially during colonialism, should be addressed. Colonial boundaries should be dismantled and peoples should be allowed, through referendum, to belong to places of their wish. These the paper believes will relieve feelings of exclusion among peoples of different religious and ethnic background.

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