Effective Counter-Terrorism

A Critical Assessment of European Union Responses

Quaker Council for European Affairs

There is no way to peace along the path of safety, for peace must be dared, it is itself the great venture, and can never be safe. Peace is the opposite of security. To demand guarantees is to mistrust, and this mistrust in turn brings forth war. To look for guarantees is to want to protect oneself. Peace means giving oneself completely to God's commandment.

Dietrich Bonhoeffer, 1934
Commentary on Psalm 85: 9-13

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction

This paper examines the phenomenon of modern terrorism in the European Union from a Quaker perspective. It provides a series of aspirations and recommendations.

The paper is split into seven main sections:

Section One explores perceptions, perspectives and definitions of terrorism
Section Two explores the threat posed by a range of fears and the root causes of modern terrorism
Section Three examines the actual terrorist threat to EU Member States
Section Four assesses the limitations of 'security-based' or counter-terrorist activity modelled on counter-intelligence methods
Section Five offers recommendations for effective global action on counter-terrorism
Section Six details regional options
Section Seven provides a summary of conclusions and recommendations.

KEY POINTS

- Terrorism is a multifaceted global phenomenon. It occurs in many guises and locations. Terrorist acts have been justified by a plethora of different ideologies and grievances.
- Countering such a broad issue requires an equally broad package of responses that must be implemented at all levels of global society.
- Attempting to solve all terrorism-related issues is impossible and counterproductive. Generalising about huge populations and problems can lead to the adoption of simplistic responses.
- Acknowledging, exploring and addressing the role of government policy in radicalisation processes and terrorism are important.
- Governments' use of fear through the war on terror to justify military spending and intervention, greater powers for public officials and the secret services, cracking down on communities and limiting civil liberties needs to be monitored and countered.
- Countering this threat from fear, in all its guises, could be a defining political activity for Friends in the 21st century, as the pacifist reaction to the two World Wars was in the last.
- Global and EU responses to the latest terrorist threat continue to prioritise security-based traditional counter-terrorist activities. This is ineffective against modern terrorism.
- Addressing the root causes of modern terrorism, taking a longer view, and facilitating multifaceted, multilayered dialogue is vital for successful counter-terrorism.
- It is difficult to define 'victory' over terrorism. However, 'victory' over terrorism could be seen as having been achieved when the committing of terrorist acts has stopped sustainably and for the foreseeable future, because no-one sees a benefit in pursuing whatever political or social agenda they might have, whether legitimate or not, through random violence.

It is our responsibility as Friends and as citizens to encourage decision-makers to take a longer view and to look at the root causes of radicalisation and of terrorism, with the aim of bringing about positive peaceful change based on mutual respect and dignity, not fear.

KEY RECOMMENDATIONS

- The EU definition of terrorism needs to be re-examined. An emphasis needs to be on the humanity of terrorists and victims, human rights and inclusiveness.
- The EU should, in re-examining its own approach, seek to initiate a new round of UN discussions aimed at reaching a universal definition of terrorism.
- More effective engagement on solving the problems of Israel / Palestine is vital. The EU needs to do more to encourage a positive US approach, and develop new ways of influencing the Israeli Government in particular.
- European Friends could collaborate on starting pan-European, inter-regional interfaith dialogue programmes. A major topic for discussion could be the use and misuse of fear in religion and politics. The European Commission could make it clear that, where such initiatives are

suggested, it will provide the required support.
- The EU could facilitate and encourage multilayered, intercultural dialogue programmes between its own Member States and countries in the Middle East. It could also increase cultural exchange programmes. This could be included in existing policy frameworks, including the Neighbourhood Policy, and the Barcelona Process – which seek to promote peace, security and stability around the EU periphery.
- The EU should explore ways to empower organisations working towards understanding the root causes of radicalisation and the root causes of terrorism. It should take heed of such studies' findings.
- The EU should work with organisations exploring more restorative justice alternatives in dealing with radicals and terrorists.

Intelligence and security recommendations

- Develop a stronger operational and tactical intelligence structure that is firmly wedded to democratic principles.[1] The EU should also work with important partner countries to develop links between terrorism analysis centres and share analysis of risks and countermeasures. All these actions should be supported by the development of international standards for security measures[2] firmly wedded to democratic principles.
- Expand cooperation with national and regional terrorism analysis centres outside the EU
- Seek to increase participation in the US -led Proliferation Security Initiative
- 'Affirm unequivocally, in the development of the EU-wide counter-terrorism policy, that renditions are unacceptable, as is the use of 'diplomatic assurances' in cases where people would be at risk of torture or other ill-treatment.'[3]
- EU Member States should ensure the accountability of foreign intelligence agencies by:
  - Prohibiting the practice of mutual assistance in circumstances where there is a substantial risk that such cooperation would contribute to unlawful detention, torture or other ill-treatment, "disappearance", unfair trial or the imposition of the death penalty
  - Taking immediate steps to develop and implement a regulatory framework governing the activities of foreign intelligence services, so as to provide effective safeguards against human rights violations.[4]
- The EU Counter-Terrorism Coordinator (CTC) should encourage Member States to set up new intelligence sharing bodies separate from domestic security services, at pan- EU level.
- The CTC could propose, in consultation with Member States, a list of confidence building steps for Member States' intelligence agencies to engage in. This could aid in building trust and lay the foundations for greater cooperation and information sharing. The CTC can also encourage greater use of EUROPOL and EUROJUST.[5]

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[1] *'Partners in crime: Europe's role in US renditions '* Amnesty International report:
http://web.amnesty.org/library/index/ENGEUR010082006
[2] ibid
[3] ibid
[4] ibid
[5] EUROPOL is a pan- European policing body that coordinates cross- border operations and helps national forces. EUROJUST provides Member States with advice on extraditing suspects across EU borders

CONTEXTUALISING TERRORISM

> *There are people in the world so hungry, that God cannot appear to them except in the form of bread.*
>
> Mohandas Gandhi

Global crisis management priorities have negatively shifted due to the 'War on Terrorism'. According to NBC figures, approximately 2,929 terrorism-related deaths occurred worldwide between September 11th, 2001 and September 2004,[6] yet three million people died of AIDS in 2005 alone; [7] over two hundred times as many deaths. More than 50,000 women die each year as a result of pregnancy and childbirth complications.[8] In the United States, those killed by gun violence each year far exceeds those killed by terrorists. [9] In the EU alone, 41,600 people died in road traffic accidents in 2005[10] - nearly three times the total *global* number of victims of terrorist violence. 2005 was an excellent year in drawing attention to the plight of the global poor yet the new war paradigm continues to take precedence in drawing on resources that could be far more compassionately and practically utilised.

Arguably, the greatest threat humankind faces is the self-inflicted destruction of our world on which we depend for our survival. Increasingly severe international disputes over finite fossil fuels, water and fertile soils may mark the germination of this threat.

The threat of terrorism pales in comparison to other global challenges yet, listening to some government spokespeople and monitoring mainstream media, you would not think so.

DEFINITIONS OF TERRORISM

Definitions of terrorism are notoriously divisive and have been so for decades. Disagreements have prevented consensus over a universally accepted United Nations definition, although this has not halted the adoption of several international conventions dealing with specific aspects or forms of terrorism, as well as of multiple UN resolutions on the issue.[11]

'Criminal acts, including (those) against civilians, committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily injury, or taking of hostages, with the purpose to provoke a state of terror in the general public or in a group of persons or particular persons, intimidate a population or compel a government or international organisations to do or to abstain from doing any act, which constitute offences within the scope of and as defined in the international conventions and protocols relating to terrorism, are under no circumstances justifiable by considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or other similar nature.'

UN Security Council Resolution 1566, October 2004
(Passed unanimously)

THE EU DEFINITION

The EU has a common definition of terrorism. It was set out in the June 2002 Council 'Framework for Combating Terrorism'. Although parts are taken from the UN definition, it is not without faults. According to the definition, terrorist offences are committed with the aim of:

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[6] *'Worldwide terrorism-related deaths on the rise: NBC News findings run counter to recent Bush administration claims.'* 2/10/2004: http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/5889435/

[7] *'Unhappy Anniversary' The Economist* 3-9 June 2006, p 22

[8] *'Human development report'* UNDP 2003, New York, Oxford University Press

[9] Paul van Tongeren, Juliette Verhoeven and Jim Wake *'People Building Peace: Key Messages and Essential Findings*, in Paul Van Tongeren and Malin Brenk (eds) *'People Building Peace II: Successful Stories of Civil Society.'* London, Lynne Reiner, 2005, p 76

[10] *'Road safety: we must do more.'* European Commission press release, 22 February 2006: http://europa.eu.int/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/06/202&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en

[11] *'The EU's definition of terrorism'* German law journal report: http://www.germanlawjournal.com/article.php?id=434

'…seriously intimidating a population, or unduly compelling a Government or international organisation to perform or abstain from performing any act, or seriously destabilising or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or an international organisation'.

The following shall be deemed to be terrorist offences:
(a) *attacks upon a person's life which may cause death;*
(b) *attacks upon the physical integrity of a person;*
(c) *kidnapping or hostage taking;*
(d) *causing extensive destruction to a Government or public facility, a transport system, an infrastructure facility, including an information system, a fixed platform located on the continental shelf, a public place or private property likely to endanger human life or result in major economic loss;*
(e) *seizure of aircraft, ships or other means of public or goods transport;*
(f) *manufacture, possession, acquisition, transport, supply or use of weapons, explosives or of nuclear, biological or chemical weapons, as well as research into, and development of, biological and chemical weapons;*
(g) *release of dangerous substances, or causing fires, floods or explosions the effect of which is to endanger human life;*
(h) *interfering with or disrupting the supply of water, power or any other fundamental natural resource the effect of which is to endanger human life;*
(i) *threatening to* commit any of the acts listed in (a) to (h).[12]

THE OFFICIAL FBI DEFINITION

'Terrorism is the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives.'[13]

It is important to note that neither the EU, nor the FBI definition explicitly or even implicitly recognise state terrorism. People can be terrorised by states and non-state actors. The term 'terrorism' was initially applied to the Jacobins in the 'state of terror' of the French Revolution.[14] Examples of modern state terrorism could include torture, the threat and reality of the Soviet gulags, the collective punishment of Palestinians, intimidation and heavy- handed military activities against civilians in Grozny, Baghdad or Darfur.

The EU Network of Independent Experts on Fundamental Rights is a monitoring body comprised of experts from EU Member States.[15] It expressed concern over the looseness of this definition, a definition which most Member States have simply taken into their own legislation. The committing of 'terrorist' offences is generally being met with extensive curtailment of civil liberties. To halt this, a more precise definition may be required,[16] or a greater emphasis placed on human rights, common humanity and civil liberties. Anti-terrorism legislation has already been used to break up peaceful protest in EU Member States. The independent experts took the view that Member States must provide control mechanisms within their own legislation to better protect fundamental rights.[17]

In essence, the EU and FBI approaches are definitions viewed through the lenses of the most powerful. It is important to note that one person's terrorist is another person's freedom fighter,

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[12] Full document available here: http://www.statewatch.org/news/2001/sep/terrorism.pdf:

[13] United States Federal Bureau of Investigation is the US domestic security service: http://www.fbi.gov/

[14] *'War against terror' 'The Friend',* 11 November 2005: http://www.quaker.org.uk/Templates/Internal.asp?NodeID=91884

[15] The EU Network of Independent Experts on Fundamental Rights has been set up by the European Commission upon the request of the European Parliament. It monitors the situation of fundamental rights in the Member States and in the Union, on the basis of the Charter of Fundamental Rights. It issues reports on the situation of fundamental rights in the Member States and in the Union, as well as opinions on specific issues related to the protection of fundamental rights in the Union. More information is available here: http://cridho.cpdr.ucl.ac.be/AVIS%20CFR-CDF/Avis2006/CFR-CDFAVIS2-2006.pdf

[16] *'Anti-terrorism policy',* EurActiv article, first published 11 March 2005: http://www.euractiv.com/en/justice/anti-terrorism-policy/article-136674

[17] ibid

and to acknowledge others' views. Nelson Mandela was considered a terrorist by many for years. He now receives levels of international reverence usually reserved for the UN Secretary General. Former Israeli Prime Ministers were involved in acts, which viewed through the EU and FBI lenses, would have been considered terrorist prior to the creation of the Israeli state. Definitions need to be expanded to include state terrorism. More flexible international debate is required. A universal definition of terrorism would provide a vital platform for the creation of binding international law and effective multilateral action.

Below are some new definitions of terrorism:

- *The culmination of individual, extended, repressed fear and rage, based on injustice or great pain.*
- *The ultimate expression of fear, frustration and / or disillusionment with family, society and / or international politics.*
- *The result of a desperate attempt to create meaning and purpose in the life of a person who feels neither.*
- *The natural action of a cold-blooded killer.*
- *The deliberate mortal targeting of civilians for political, religious or economic purposes.*

These definitions are incomplete and simplistic. They simply serve to emphasise the lack of humanity in the current, dominant strains of discussion. Hopefully they may challenge us to think more about the roots of terrorist acts, the discourse of war and the paradigm of the 'War on Terrorism'.

The term 'terrorism' has undergone a major transmutation. For many it no longer describes a method but, instead, implies unequivocal moral condemnation. Rather like the word 'heretic', the word 'terrorist' automatically contains moral judgment within it.[18] For some, 'terrorism' has been branded the new, pure evil. The simplistic discourse of the 'War on Terrorism' has brought about this broad intellectual retreat from addressing the root causes of modern terrorism or considering the grievances of terrorists, and thus from coherent discussion of how to effectively counter it in the medium to long-term.

TOWARDS MORE HUMANE DEFINITIONS

> *'Our grief has turned to anger, and anger to resolution. Whether we bring our enemies to justice, or bring justice to our enemies, justice will be done…..'*
>
> US President George Bush
> Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People, 20 September 2001

Anger is a natural, personal and collective initial response to acts of terrorist violence. Yet, anger and fear can be counterproductive when they drive policy; they are emotions that need to be transformed. Fear or anger-driven policy responses make further cycles of fear, injustice and anger far more likely.

Reactions to violence based on fear are far more likely to perpetuate violence. Perpetuating violence is not effective counter-terrorism. Alleviating fear and anger is difficult. Working to recognise and emphasise our universal humanity *will* aid in this process.

A definition provides the basis of perception and approach. Emphasising common humanity within a definition of terrorism will impact on how debates surrounding it are approached; it will help to prevent the dominance of fear in policy-making.

A more effective definition of terrorism would also contextualise it as an intra-human activity. In a climate in which emotions run high, irrational actions are more likely. Calmly stating the obvious may contribute to rebalancing the debate, and help to halt counterproductive irrational policy choices.

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[18] *'War against terror' 'The Friend '* , 11 November 2005

If a definition presents a picture of a purely military problem, the natural response is purely military. If the definition acknowledges that terrorism is a human, social, political *and* security problem, the natural result should be more effective, multifaceted counter-terrorism.

QCEA offers the following definition. It is largely drawn from the Friends Committee for National Legislation (FCNL) website,[19] with some alterations and additions.

Terrorism is an intra-human activity. It is committed by people, against people.

It is also a tactic, whether used by an established government, a revolutionary group, or an individual. Terrorism includes threats or acts of violence, ranging from depriving others of their basic human rights, to property destruction, physical violence, torture and murder.

Terrorist acts are consciously chosen and committed for purposes that go beyond the violence itself.

Terrorist acts are usually undertaken for a political goal, as distinguished from crimes committed for personal gain or private vengeance or because of mental derangement.[20]

THE THREAT OF FEAR

Fear: noun, an unpleasant emotion or thought that you have when you are frightened or worried by something dangerous, painful or bad that is happening or might happen;

Fear: verb, to be frightened of something or someone unpleasant

Cambridge dictionary online[21]

Fear makes us irrational. Fear distorts our views. Fear invokes primordial instincts in us. Primordial instincts are not conducive to effective problem solving, although understanding them is important. The perception of a terrorist threat, real or imagined, naturally engenders a number of fears within us. We are afraid of losing our lives, our families, our friends and our liberty. Whilst fighting or taking flight is the instinctive response to fear, neither response conquers our fears. To conquer these fears we must positively engage with them and understand what is behind them. We should not allow primordial instincts to control our reactions.

An attack on individuals or groups causes people to band together in fear, for a sense of security and strength through solidarity. When a state is attacked, the government would seem to be the natural place to turn for such security. US President Bush's job approval rating soared after the September 11th attacks, peaking at 92 percent on 9 October 2001 - the highest ever result recorded in US opinion polls.[22] A climate of fear can be beneficial for governments. It may make it easier for them to legitimise policies and actions which would otherwise be unacceptable.

The 'rally round the flag effect', brought about through a climate of fear, may increase the likelihood of the regime's re-election. The Bush administration is well aware of this. Following the inadequate initial federal response to the devastation left by Hurricane Katrina in September 2005, President Bush called for a return to the 'spirit of 9/11'[23] – perhaps partly to counter his abysmal approval ratings which had, at that point, dipped below forty percent for the first time.[24]

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[19] *'Terrorism: the new warfare',* Friends Committee for National Legislation website:
http://www.fcnl.org/issues/terror/sup/stmt_terrorism.htm

[20] The full text of the source article can be found on the Friends Committee for National Legislation website, here:
http://www.fcnl.org/issues/terror/sup/stmt_terrorism.htm

[21] Definition can be found here: http://dictionary.cambridge.org/define.asp?key=28248&dict=CALD

[22] http://abcnews.go.com/sections/us/dailynews/sept11_yearlaterpoll020910.html

[23] *'Besieged Bush evokes 9/11 spirit'* The Hindu, 12 September 2005:
http://www.thehindu.com/2005/09/12/stories/2005091204631400.htm

[24] ibid

To prevent potential public backlashes, governments may *overreact* to a threat and ultimately cause more harm than good. Drastic responses can increase levels of fear amongst the population, which may, in turn, increase public calls for more restrictive measures. Freedoms could then be eroded through a negative spiral of action and reaction, underpinned by fear.

September 11th 2001 was a cataclysmic event, harshly highlighting vulnerabilities within all societies. September 11th occurred over five years ago. No major terrorist attack has occurred in the United States in the intervening years. No links between al Qaeda and the Iraqi Government were established before the invasion, and no Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) were found in Iraq afterwards. Basing policy on fear, the US administration has made a number of strategic, operational and tactical errors costing hundreds of thousands of lives. These, and other failed policies, have required the US regime to increasingly stoke public fear in an attempt to perpetuate the 'rally round the flag' (or regime) effect.

By contextualizing the September 11th attacks as 'an attack on our freedoms' the US and other governments are misleading their own populations. The idea of liberty and freedom lies at the core of US values and history. Those in power are aware that nothing would galvanise that nation more than an attack on this core element of its identity. It is clear that the al Qaeda network's grievances are with aspects of US foreign policy, not the freedoms enjoyed by American citizens. A major threat to individual liberties in both the US and EU stem from reactive government responses to terrorism, not terrorist acts themselves.

Terrorism is not the *greatest* mortal threat to US and EU citizens, yet media coverage and government rhetoric and action often imply that it is the *primary* mortal threat we face. The disproportionate fear we feel today contributes to scape-goating, racial profiling, injustice, police over-reaction and the distortion of policy priorities. It can also lead to greater violence, as marginalised communities may react to injustice.[25]

Attempts to reduce a phenomenon such as Islamist militancy, with so many varied manifestations, all based in specific local, political and historical contexts, to a single overarching concept are bound to fail.[26] Yet the use and abuse of fear in contexts such as the 'War on Terror', as well as responses to anti-social behaviour, individual and institutional racism etc. constitute a major threat to human progress. Countering this threat, in all its guises, could be the defining political activity for Friends in the 21st century, as the pacifist reaction to the two World Wars was in the last.

THE WAR PARADIGM

> *'The desire of one power for absolute security means absolute insecurity for all the others'*
>
> Henry Kissinger

At the political level in the US, and to a lesser extent, in Europe, the fear of losing domestic support, global strategic superiority, financial pre-eminence and a technological edge all drive this new war paradigm. At the individual level it is born of fears for individual safety, and the safety of peoples' loved ones. Such fears are psychologically and democratically linked; they feed off one another.

Following September 11th the United States and its allies attacked Afghanistan and drove the Taliban from power, jailed al Qaeda members and their sympathizers, froze assets,[27] identified an "axis of evil", passed new and more stringent security measures, legislated new powers to domestic spying agencies and increased funding to their intelligence services. They unseated Saddam Hussein, whom they had previously supported in the Iran / Iraq war. Yet after five years and the expenditure of hundreds of thousands of lives and hundreds of billions of dollars, euros and pounds

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[25] The widespread protests following the publication of cartoons depicting the prophet Mohammed in a Danish newspaper (and reprinted elsewhere in Europe) exemplifies this. Many of the protests included acts of extreme violence and arson including in Damascus, Syria, and Beirut, Lebanon

[26] Jason Burke *'On the Road to Kandahar'* London, Penguin, 2006, p 18

[27] The US has a range of unilateral and multilateral instruments to 'combat terrorist finance.' A major organ lies within the State Department, the 'Office of Terrorism Finance and Economic Sanctions Policy'. More information can be found at http://www.state.gov/e/eb/c9997.htm

sterling, there remains what Jürgen Habermas, a German philosopher, calls a 'vague feeling of angst:' an indefinable, yet precise sense that somehow and in some way we in the West have gotten this thing, this 'war on terrorism,' very wrong.[28]

> *'The 'War on Terrorism' has become rhetorical, it's become a paradigm, and that paradigm leads Americans to allow themselves to arrest without trial and incarcerate indefinitely, in the framework of a military conflict'*[29]
>
> Gijs de Vries, Counter-Terrorism Coordinator of the European Council
> 6 June 2006

On 20 September 2001, in an address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People, US President Bush said

'…. Our response involves far more than instant retaliation and isolated strikes. Americans should not expect one battle, but a lengthy campaign, unlike any other we have ever seen. …we will pursue nations that provide aid or safe haven to terrorism. Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists.' [30]
Our war on terror begins with al Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated.[31]

The indefinite state of war could make any regime of the Bush administration's choosing a target at any time. It is driven by and heavily reliant on a culture of fear.

The new paradigm has brought about a new emphasis on state security, eclipsing progressive human security ideas. This emphasis has been reinforced by a compliant media, extensive and well targeted government information campaigns, and the specific privileging of 'official' intelligence to the executive. When the full power of the state is harnessed behind the promotion of military and coercive orientations to security, it is extremely difficult for more pacifist non-state actors' voices to be heard.[32]

A SELF- DEFEATING FEAR-BASED CONSTRUCT

Terrorism is an activity, a tactic. An activity is not a physical object; an activity cannot be destroyed. You cannot make war on activity. Terrorism is committed by human beings, against human beings. Humans are complex beings; any response to this human activity called 'terrorism' should respond to this complexity.

Unfortunately the West, including EU Member States, have made 'hunting terrorists' a priority – sharing intelligence to intercept transnational networks and increasing security services in size, budget and role. This is part of the problem caused by a response based on a 'war paradigm'. It presents other equally significant problems:

It pulls resources away from more pressing global conflicts and problems
It is politically unsustainable[33]
It has negatively impacted on international multilateral progress - the international politics of fear over the politics of trust[34]

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[28] *'How to lose the war on terror. Part 3: An exchange of narratives.'* Asia Times, 3 June 2005:
 http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Middle_East/HF03Ak01.html
[29] Mr. de Vries gave the keynote address at an Anti-Racism and Diversity European Parliamentary Intergroup seminar on 'Counter-terrorism and ethnic profiling,' 6 June 2006
[30] US President George W. Bush in an address to the Joint Session of Congress and the American People, 20 September 2001
[31] ibid
[32] Kevin P Clements *'The War on Terror: Effects on civil society actors in the field of conflict prevention and peacebuilding'* in Paul Van Tongeren, Malin Brenk (eds) *'People Building Peace II: Successful Stories of Civil Society.'* Lynne Reiner 2005, p 76
[33] Democratic societies may punish those in power. The November 2006 Republican defeat in the US mid-term elections was arguably a public backlash against a lack of progress in Iraq
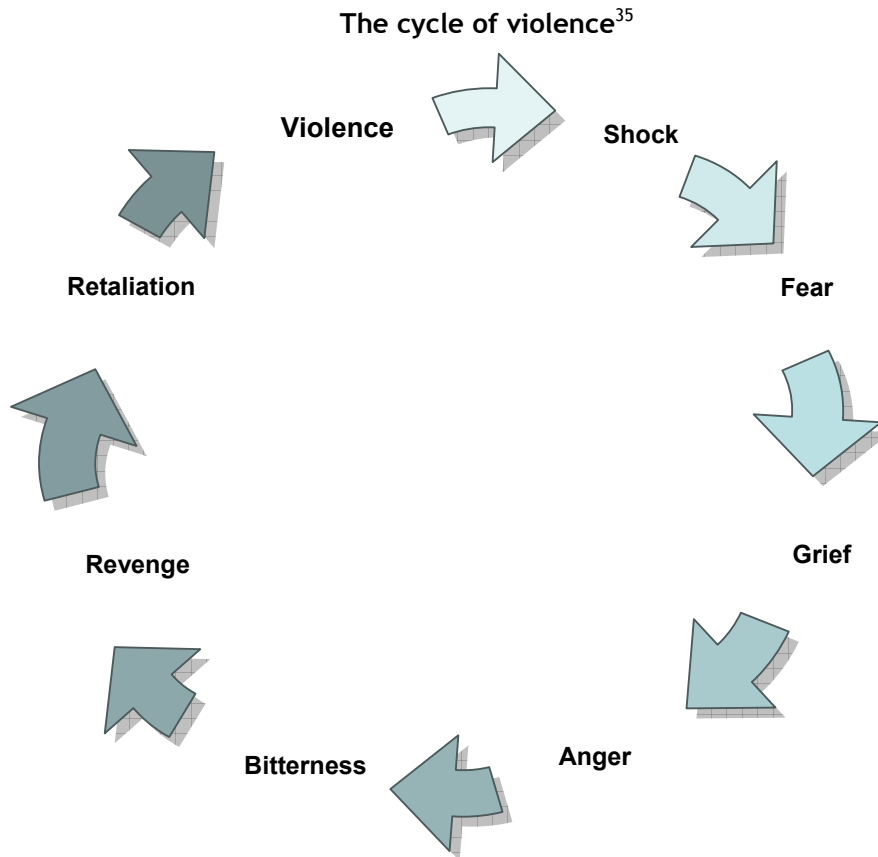[34] Kevin P Clements *'The War on Terror: Effects on civil society actors in the field of conflict prevention and peacebuilding'* in Paul Van Tongeren, Malin Brenk (eds) *'People Building Peace II: Successful Stories of Civil Society.'* Lynne Reiner 2005,

It has damaged national and international laws that apply to criminal acts; it has weakened the sources of our own long-term protection
- It tends towards military solutions as being the most effective
- It replaces/supersedes the necessity of examining the rationale or grievances behind terrorist acts
- It may cause us to betray our own core values
- It neglects the possibility that the terrorist groups can evolve into peaceful political movements.

The cycle of violence[35]

Violence → Shock → Fear → Grief → Anger → Bitterness → Revenge → Retaliation → Violence

FEAR, VALUES, IDENTITY AND THE LANGUAGE OF WAR

The language of war is an important aspect of the war paradigm. The divisive 'them and us' discourse generates real problems when attempting to build bridges between peoples, states and cultures.

A number of strategic thinkers have spoken of the necessity of conviction, or 'moral force' as an effective force multiplier in warfare.[36] A soldier entirely convinced of the righteousness of his or her actions will not hesitate to pull the trigger, nor will a soldier that sees his enemy as less than human. The 20th century witnessed [37]the ultimate effects of dehumanisation at Auschwitz, Kigali, Nanjing and elsewhere. Words like 'enemy,' 'crusader,' 'infidel,' 'target' and 'terrorist' have all become part of the polarising language of this latest war.

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p 76
[35] The diagram is based on ideas in Scilla Elworthy and Gabrielle Rifkind's *'Making Terrorism History'* Oxford, Rider, 2006, p 44
[36] A force multiplier is a military term referring to a factor that dramatically increases (hence "multiplies") the combat effectiveness of a military force. Each factor may apply more or less under different circumstances
[37] See Carl Von Clausewitz *'On War'*

Quakers argue that killing other human beings is wrong. In the words of London Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in 1943:

'We know that God dwells with men and that by turning from evil and living in his spirit we may be led into his way of peace. That way of peace is not found in any policy of 'unconditional surrender' by whomsoever demanded. It requires that men and nations should recognise their common brotherhood, using the weapons of integrity, reason, patience and love, never acquiescing in the ways of the oppressor, always ready to suffer with the oppressed. In every country there is a longing for freedom from domination and war which men are striving to express. Now is the time to issue an open invitation to cooperate in creative peacemaking, to declare our willingness to make sacrifices of national prestige, wealth and standards of living for the common good of men.'[38]

Quakers believe that there is 'that of God in everyone' – it follows from this that to kill another human being is to kill that of God in them. That can never be the right action to take and it can never lead, ultimately, to a greater good.

In order to legitimise taking lives, many people would need to be certain that their actions are justified by a greater good – and that their foes are truly evil. Killing is unacceptable in civilian life; perceptions and values need to be altered in order to justify wartime murder. Language helps in making this value change, by simplifying our identities and perceptions, and stripping our adversaries of their humanity. In the language of war, US troops are either 'freedom's fist,' or 'infidel crusaders' rather than unique human beings, each with equal value. Both sides strip each other of their humanity, and in so doing further deny their own.

Language links identity and the reshaping of values in wartime. It can encourage violence. Each aspect reinforces the other. Violent atrocities appear to legitimise primitive views of opposing sides. Both violence and simplistic perceptions are reinforced by the language of war. All three aspects feed off one another, and polarisation and conflict increase. This makes dialogue-based resolution increasingly remote. All we are left with is 'a confusion of misunderstandings, crude stereotypes, parallel absences of self knowledge'[39] and escalating violence.

Such crude stereotypes may lead us to believe that the term, the 'Islamic world', describes a uniform monolith where odd creatures called Muslims live their lives according to an arcane and reactionary religion, repressing women and wearing peculiar clothes. Yet in reality it is a hugely varied and dynamic spiritual, cultural and political faith that defies definition, geographically, ethnically or racially.[40] Islam is a label that has been applied to many things, but describes none of them adequately.[41]

QCEA challenges this language of war and all it implies, a language which is being used by global leaders as well as soldiers. QCEA challenges us, other Quakers, other citizens and decision-makers to think critically about the language we use and the constructs that underpin it. A shift away from a culture of fear requires this.

THE FEAR THAT UNDERPINS TERRORISM

We share many fears with European Muslims, and with many of those who would be labelled terrorists. They fear for their families, friends and their own security. They may fear for their livelihoods and lifestyles.

Fundamentalism is often described as a world of simple, inflexible certainties - black and white, good and evil, right and wrong – crusader and terrorist. Fundamentalism is often born of 'a profound insecurity which impedes the openness to change, to the others, to what is different.[42]

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[38] Britain YM, Quaker Faith and Practice, section 24.09, 1994

[39] Ken Booth and Tim Dunne (eds) '*Worlds in Collision. Terror and the Future of Global Order* ' Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2002, p 5

[40] Jason Burke '*On the Road to Kandahar*' London, Penguin, 2006, p 12

[41] ibid

[42] Jaume Flaquer Garcia '*Fundamentalism: between perplexity, condemnation and the attempt to understand. Cristianisme / Justicia booklets N, 121, p 6*

Political violence is often based on fundamentalist views. Fundamentalist views are typically rooted in fear. In order to effectively counter terrorism, we need to understand the process that leads to this hardening of views. We need to understand the fears and emotions that fuel this process. The following section seeks to explore such processes of radicalisation.

FEAR OF CHANGE AND CULTURAL ECLIPSE

'There has always been fundamentalism, because man has always had reasons to fear change.'[43] As with homophobia, racism or sexism, simplistic fundamentalist views are born of the perception of threat, regardless of whether this threat is real or imagined.

People derive security from their culture. Culture can provide the individual with answers to the most essential questions.[44] When people see their culture or value basis threatened, they may perceive this as a threat to their identity, their very core. In the minds of some, the global advance of western culture[45] and secular modernity may present such a threat.

When people's lives are transformed by rapid modernisation, for example when sudden oil wealth precipitates a change from tribal to high-tech society, the uncertainties this brings with it may leave such people specially susceptible to extremist ideologies.

FEAR OF OPPRESSION AND INJUSTICE

In the case of al Qaeda, faced with what they would view as an ongoing litany of grave injustices against Muslims, the response appears to be to pull up the psychological drawbridge and man the physical cannons. Within western states[46], Muslim communities in particular may fear heavy-handed government counter-terrorist actions, and the rise of racism and xenophobia. The sense of brotherhood, within an all embracing ideology, serves as a powerful contrast to the increasing alienation and disaffection young people may feel at home.[47]

Al Qaeda has taken issue with recent US foreign policy orientation and actions in the Muslim world. Some have further intellectualised their fears by contextualising them in their view of history. In their view, the current war between the United States and themselves is but the latest chapter in the ongoing wars between the 'infidel' and 'Muslim' worlds. Paying tribute to the days of a strong Islamic empire that was culturally, scientifically and strategically more advanced than the West provides comfort in a time dominated by profound insecurity.

Western activities within the Muslim world may naturally give rise to such fears. Grievances could include:

- European colonialism
- Tacit approval of Israeli territorial expansion and ethnic cleansing
- The Franco-British invasion of the Sinai peninsula
- The US / UK instigated Iranian coup, reinstating the Shah
- Military aid to both Iraq and Iran during their long brutal war
- The Gulf War, Iraq war of 2003 and ongoing occupation
- Aid and support to corrupt and undemocratic Arab regimes.

To effectively counter fear and anger within certain Muslim societies[48] we must reverse the destructive policies and attitudes practised with regard to those societies. Western[49] and other governments need to ensure that exploitation of resources and imposition of cultural change is not

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[43] ibid p 7

[44] ibid p 8

[45] See Definitions, Appendix 1

[46] ibid

[47] Jaume Flaquer Garcia. '*Fundamentalism: between perplexity, condemnation and the attempt to understand,* Cristianisme / Justicia booklets N, 121, p 22

[48] See Definitions, Appendix 1

[49] ibid

practised and further, that the treatment of Muslim communities within western societies[50] is just.[51]

FEAR THROUGH TRAUMA

'Many Palestinian families that identify with fundamentalist groups like Hamas[52] have experienced their own family trauma. They may have witnessed a deep humiliation or act of violence committed against someone close to them.'[53] Traumatisation, when placed in a context of political instability and economic decline, can often facilitate radicalisation. This, in turn, can result in the embracing of fundamentalist views and even political violence.

Examples of traumatising humiliation could include:

• Experiencing violence or the murder of someone close
• Being publicly strip searched (even if 'only' in front of family members)
• Having one's property broken into and entered by 'security forces'
• Being incarcerated or having someone close incarcerated without explanation
• Witnessing the breaking of local taboos by foreign forces.

All the above aspects bear the hallmarks of a poorly managed counter-insurgency campaign. All have been extensively documented in Iraq and Palestine. The globalisation of the media and communications technology increases the recruiting power of such injustices. Internet users anywhere in the world - could be drawn towards radicals and radical views through watching internet videos of injustices in Baghdad or Bethlehem.

The natural emotions that follow such acts are anger, despair and revulsion. Some people may be unable or unwilling to transform these emotions, and may become consumed by them. This may lead to radicalisation. Beneath such all consuming anger may lie a real and deep-seated fear of the perpetrators, born of the recognition of the harm and humiliation they can inflict. Environments in which the traumatised individuals receive no constructive emotional support make it more likely that anger will take hold, and the individual may adopt radical views.[54]

FEAR AND FAITH

Religion alone is not a direct cause of terrorism. Alongside economic, political and social well-being, religious beliefs only contribute to political radicalisation when they are considered to be undermined to unacceptable levels by certain individuals. Support for radical Islamist groups can be seen to rise alongside discontent with the political and economic status quo, for example. Appeals to religion are often used as a way of framing or representing a struggle in terms that a political constituency will understand rather than the determinants of strategic choice.[55]

Religious goals, ideologies and motivations are often interwoven with those that are economic, social and political. A group's decision to turn to violence is usually situational and due to the cultural / religious environment. Religion can become a tool to mobilise and legitimise.

FEAR AND SOCIAL DYNAMICS

Fear binds us in the search for comfort and security. When individuals are exposed to trauma and humiliation in a context of social and political violence, they 'tend to experience these both as an individual and as a member of a group.'[56] If traumatised individuals are received by a fear-based

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[50] ibid

[51] Other destructive policies and attitudes must also be reviewed. These may include continued support of Israel and a (perceived) lack of support for the Palestinians

[52] Hamas is a pre-eminent Palestinian Islamic political party and social organisation. Its roots lie in armed resistance. It has dispatched numerous suicide bombers into Israel during the most recent (2nd) intifada

[53] Scilla Elworthy and Gabrielle Rifkind 'Making Terrorism History', Oxford, Rider, 2006, p 20

[54] For example the case of Abdel Baset Odeh, who killed 28 Israelis and tourists in 2002. Odeh was traumatised after being unable to marry his fiancée following interference from the Israeli Shin Bet (security intelligence)

[55] 'Addressing the Causes of Terrorism: Volume 1' Club de Madrid series on Democracy and Terrorism. Club de Madrid, Madrid, 2005, p 15

[56] Scilla Elworthy and Gabrielle Rifkind 'Making Terrorism History' Oxford, Rider, 2006, p 38

culture, they will lack encouragement to try and move through their emotions towards a more positive future.

In environments where fear and anxiety are perpetual and prevalent, groups adopt such fear-based social structures to defend against the effects of fear and humiliation. The militaristic martyrdom cultures of Hamas and Hezbollah illustrate this.[57] In such environments religious fundamentalism will self -perpetuate and become firmly entrenched in local culture.

Social psychology, or the analysis and study of group dynamics and behaviours, could provide analytical power in understanding how radicalisation occurs. Terrorists may have subordinated their individual identity to a collective identity, so that what serves the group, organisation or network is of primary importance.

MYTHS AND FEAR

The current climate of fear has "strengthened Islamophobia in EU Member States" [58] (and elsewhere) and perpetuated fear-based myths among a number of ethnic groups. These myths, and the fear that underpins them, reinforce ethnic polarisation and encourage the adoption of extremist views amongst all ethnic groups. The spread of extremism fuels mutual fear, suspicion and radicalisation - perhaps contributing to eventual violence. The following section seeks to explore what impact destructive myths have on radicalisation processes.

FEAR, MYTHS AND VIOLENCE

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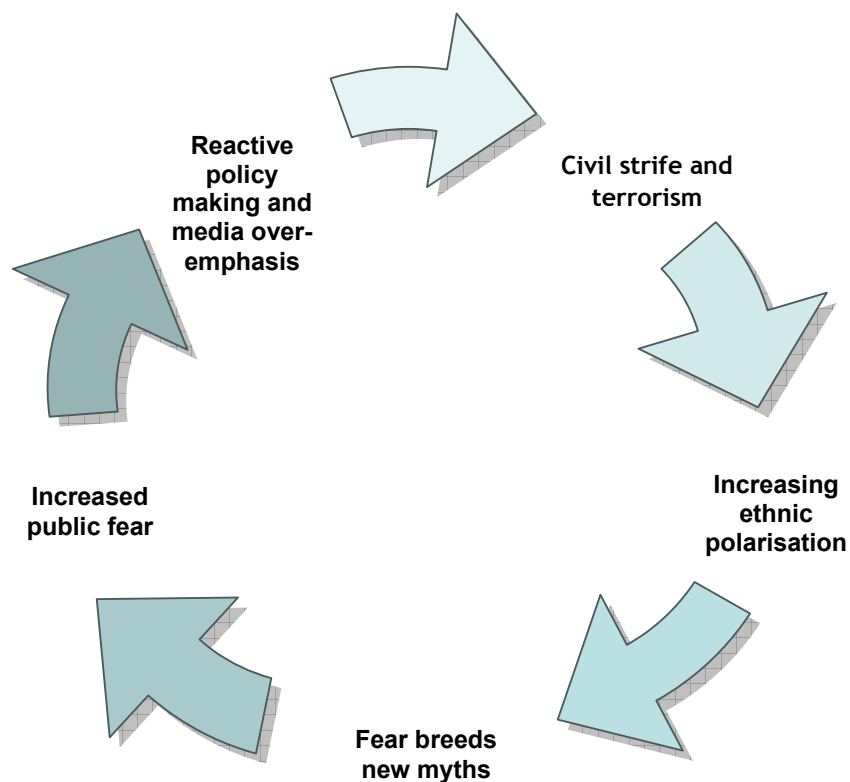
[57] A reverence for martyrdom is prevalent with the Shi'ite strain of Islam
[58] Quote from Gies de Vries, Counter-Terrorism Coordinator of the European Union, 6 June 2006

Failure to counter the overarching culture of fear and the socio-economic grievances of EU minority groups may lead to internal strife on a far greater scale than that which occurred throughout France in late 2005.

FEARS OF 'EURABIA'[59]

In 2004, the White House's favourite Arabist scholar, Bernard Lewis, gave a warning that Europe would turn Muslim by the end of this century, becoming 'part of the Arab West, the Maghreb.' [60] Other misguided academics and sensationalist journalists have further cultivated and spread this myth. In reality this assertion is numerically unsound. Muslims will not constitute a majority in any current EU Member State at any time in the foreseeable future. The EU is home to 20 million Muslims (highest estimate),[61] or roughly 4% of the EU's inhabitants. That figure would reach closer to 17% if Turkey were to join. Even taking into account Christian and agnostic Europe's low birth rates, Muslims will account for no more than a tenth of Western Europe's population by 2025.[62] Besides, Europe's Muslims are not homogenous; Britain's mainly South Asian Muslims have far less in common with France's North African migrants or Germany's Turks than they do with other Britons.

In a number of ways this fear-based myth mirrors fears in the Muslim world about cultural eclipse and western domination. European populations may feel a threat to their own identities through increasing immigration and a lack of integration. Implicit within this fear is that Muslims represent a force which will come to culturally dominate Europe – and one that perhaps would seek to do so. This is simply not the demographic reality nor is it the desire of the majority of Muslims. These fears could be countered by greater socio-economic integration, dialogue and informed debate.

THE ISLAMIC 'FIFTH COLUMN'

This is the fear that a sleeper group of Muslims is waiting to strike at the heart of liberal societies in which they have strategically located themselves. Its roots lie in our fears for personal safety in the light of media and Government overplay of the current terrorist threat. It reaches back to old Cold War era fears. Implicit within the idea of a 'fifth column' is an over-exaggerated threat – It equates an entire community with a tiny militant minority. There are fewer than 20 million Muslims in the EU, the vast of majority of whom are peaceful, tolerant individuals.

Proponents of this myth could cite recent events in their arguments; the riots in France's *banlieues (suburbs)*, the uproar about the Danish cartoons of the Prophet Mohammed, the murder of Theo Van Gogh (a Dutch film maker) [63] and the July 2005 London bombings. These events help to show that, in general, EU Member States are failing to adequately integrate particular minority groups, minority groups are failing to integrate themselves, or both. Addressing these needs will facilitate greater integration, dialogue and counter fear. Countering this fear and addressing these needs will halt the myth of a fifth column becoming a self-fulfilling prophecy.

THE 'CLASH OF CIVILISATIONS'

In the 'Clash of Civilisations' Samuel Huntingdon writes:

'…the West needs to develop a more profound understanding of the basic religious and philosophical assumptions underlying other civilisations and the ways in which people in those civilisations see their interests. It will require an effort to identify elements of commonality between Western and other civilisations.'[64]

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[59] *'Tales from Eurabia'* in *'The Economist'* 24-30 June 2006, p 11

[60] ibid

[61] Mirjam Dittrich *'Muslims in Europe: Addressing the Challenges of Radicalisation.'* European Policy Centre Working Paper No. 23, March 2006

[62] ibid

[63] ibid

[64] Samuel P Huntingdon *'The Clash of Civilizations.':*
http://www.georgetown.edu/faculty/irvinem/CCT510/Sources/Huntington-ClashofCivilizations-1993.html

Rather than illustrating the inevitable trajectory of future history, the value of Huntingdon's report lies in its ability to serve as a warning against the damaging effects of the continuation of cultures of fear and militarism. The clash of civilisations is an idea, a concept and for some, a mentality; but his ideas hold little water when superimposed on current political realities.

Current events can be explained through a number of theoretical frameworks. This is just one. Again, the danger lies in the way individuals may naturally latch onto this theory to historically legitimise and intellectualise their fear. This may be manifested in fear-based policy-making, racism, Islamophobia or other forms of prejudice. Adopting this view of the world makes this theory a reality in the minds of more and people. It is another self-fulfilling prophecy. It can also be reduced to destructive, misinterpreted sound bites. Thankfully the EU "fundamentally rejects the idea of a clash of civilisations".[65]

The root causes of terrorism are broad. Fear plays a key role. Countering our fears is struggle, a struggle to improve. This is also known as 'greater jihad'.[66] As individuals, groups and societies we must maintain a positive and idealistic vision of the world in which we live, and how we wish the world to be. How we view the world determines how we interact with it. Adopting an overly negative or fear-based view of the world may cause us to act destructively. It may impact on the shape of the world when it is passed on to future generations.

THE TERRORIST THREAT

Terrorism is not a new phenomenon in Europe. Groups like the IRA in Britain, the Baader-Meinhof gang in the former West Germany, the Red Brigades in Italy, and ETA in Spain have all mounted successful operations over the last few decades. Despite having transnational logistical and criminal support apparatus, these groups broadly target a single enemy state, and operate in a localised area. These traditional threats are in decline, yet new self-styled jihadi terrorist threats have recently demonstrated their reality in both Madrid and London.

AL QAEDA AND GLOBAL REVOLUTIONARY WAR

Al Qaeda

Al Qaeda ('the base' in Arabic) was formed in 1988 under the leadership of Osama bin Laden. The organisation follows an interpretation of the Islamic concept of jihad which condones extreme violence aimed at certain targets, including civilians. Al Qaeda has shown both the motivation and ability to murder military personnel and civilians on many occasions and in different countries. Many people and agencies were aware of the organisation's existence prior to September 11th 2001, however, the attacks in the United States on this day led to overwhelming international attention. The ideology of al Qaeda is now widespread and its influence goes far beyond its status as a military group. The threat of terrorism stemming from al Qaeda's ideology is now defined more by the fault lines within societies than by the territorial boundaries between them[67], rendering traditional national military responses largely obsolete. Unlike the traditional localised groups in Europe,[68] the threat from al Qaeda is global and diverse. All al Qaeda members seek to attack Western interests wherever they find them. Violent attacks on this premise have occurred in New York, Amman, Istanbul, Nairobi, Madrid and London. Other attacks, including bombings in Bali and Egypt, were carried out by groups affiliated with al Qaeda.

Whereas traditional terrorist networks[69] aim to have 'a lot of people watching and not a lot of people dead', it appears that with many of their attacks, al Qaeda aims to have 'a lot of people watching, a lot of people dead' and a lot of people inspired to take similar, independent action. The general tactic of those claiming to represent al Qaeda is to mount coordinated suicide attacks

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[65] Quote from Gies de Vries, Counter-Terrorism Coordinator of the European Union at a speech at the European Parliament, 6 June 2006

[66] The concept of the 'greater jihad' is one widely (but not universally) accepted in Islam. It is acknowledged as meaning the inner struggle to improve towards moral discipline and commitment to Islam and to political action

[67] *'The 9/11 Commission Report'*: http://www.9-11commission.gov/report/911Report.pdf p 362

[68] See Definitions, Appendix 1

[69] ibid

using car, truck, aeroplane or human bombs. By attacking symbolic targets, which are often soft targets (difficult to protect and involving potentially large numbers of civilians), such as public transport systems, Western embassies and the World Trade Centre complex, these attacks appear to be designed to maximise carnage and economic destruction.

Insurgency

Insurgency is a method of warfare. It has been used in civil wars and in struggles against occupation and entrenched authorities. Insurgency could be defined as a condition of revolt against an unwanted authority. It is less than an organised revolution yet is coordinated and deliberate and could ultimately lead to one.

According to Mao Zedong, insurgency was supposed to create public support for the rebel movement and thus enable the formation of a conventional army that would ultimately defeat the government. Mao offered a three-stage model of revolutionary warfare: political preparation, limited attacks and, eventually, conventional war.[70] In a number of ways al Qaeda's vision for Muslims runs parallel to this strategy.

Terrorism is often categorised as being separate from insurgency as it is indiscriminate. However this is misleading; the two clearly overlap. Mao's model has been successfully demonstrated in China and Vietnam and, to a lesser extent, in Nepal. Terrorism was used by the Viet Cong and National Vietnamese army extensively in the early days of the war with the South.

Counter-insurgency campaigns fall somewhere between ordinary policing and conventional warfare. Such campaigns are normally conducted as a combination of conventional military operations and other means, such as propaganda, psychological operations, and assassinations.[71] Heavy-handed South Vietnamese Government and US responses to terrorism and insurgency aided in filling the North Vietnamese ranks with new recruits. The same principle may apply on a smaller scale when heavy-handed police action is taken against suspected terrorists within EU Member States. Alongside socio-economic exclusion, radicalisation and mutual violence may increase and eventually we may witness a limited form of insurgency emanating from disparate 'ethnic pockets' in European cities.

TERRORIST STRATEGIES AND CONSEQUENCES

Bin Laden's strategy has always been to 'bleed' the US of political will and economic and military resources by forcing them to fight in distant Muslim lands. His so-called 'holy warriors' would have a number of advantages and benefits in these environments:

- A greater ability to blend in and hide amongst a more sympathetic local population
- A greater recruiting pool
- A greater cultural awareness.

Washington planners had been advised, even by their own intelligence agencies, that the invasion of Iraq was likely to increase the risk of terror at home.[72] The policy makers' logic was that the US and its allies could keep the war 'over there,' and away from their own streets. The radicalisation of 'homegrown' terrorists illustrates one aspect of the tragic simplicity of this grand strategy.

The weapons utilised by the world's most technologically advanced militaries remain inadequate for fighting effective counter-insurgency campaigns. Israel's 2006 August war with Hezbollah illustrates this. Among strategists, much public emphasis has been placed on decreasing civilian casualty numbers as a result of the use of precision-guided munitions. Yet the main reason for the adoption of such weapons is the greater likelihood of hitting the target. A 500lb bomb dropped from 10,000 feet to kill one insurgent leader is excessive. It is still certain to cause considerable

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[70]Sunil Dasgupta '*Why Terrorism Fails and Insurgencies Sometimes Succeed*' Brookings Institution, 4 January 2002: http://www.brookings.edu/views/op-ed/fellows/dasgupta_20020104.htm

[71] Conventional warfare could be defined as inter-state conflict fought by organised national militaries. World Wars I and II, the First Gulf War and the Iran / Iraq war were all considered conventional wars, although some involved the use of 'unconventional' weapons

[72] Noam Chomsky '*War on Terror*' Amnesty International annual lecture, 18 January 2006

civilian casualties and, consequently, to swell the insurgent ranks with bereaved and angry relatives and observers.

US intelligence agencies have confirmed the new role of Iraq in producing more people willing to fight. The National Intelligence Council reported in 2004 that 'Iraq and other possible conflicts in the future could provide recruitment, training grounds, technical skills and language proficiency for a new class of terrorists who are 'professionalised' and for whom political violence becomes an end in itself.'[73] Shortly after the London bombings of July 2005, Chatham House released a study concluding that there is no doubt that the invasion of Iraq has given a boost to the al Qaeda network in propaganda, recruitment and fundraising, while providing an ideal training area for terrorists. It also reported that the UK is at particular risk because it is the closest ally of the United States and is a pillion passenger of American policy in Iraq and Afghanistan.[74]

'SLEEPER' CELLS

Thousands of militants from many countries passed through al Qaeda training camps in Afghanistan prior to the overthrow of the Taliban regime.[75] Many of these may have returned to western countries using false documentation, making them virtually untraceable. A report released in January 2005, by the US National Intelligence Council, confirmed that Iraq has replaced Afghanistan as the training ground for the next generation of 'professionalised' terrorists.[76] According to this report, a system of clandestine support networks funnels foreign terrorists to Iraq from the Middle East, South and Central Asia, the Caucasus and Europe. These networks could pose a threat to their parent societies after the immediate conflict in Iraq diminishes.[77] It is important, however, to remember that it is impossible to provide accurate figures on the number of these individuals. It is also important to note that it is easy to buy into the myth of an 'Islamic fifth column,' as mentioned in Section Two, and that it may be in the interest of governments to play up the threat to justify unacceptable activities. Such activities could include overly intrusive surveillance techniques or incarceration without trial.

'HOMEGROWN' TERRORISTS

It appears that the London bombers were 'homegrown' terrorists, travelling to Pakistan and making contacts with al Qaeda figures on their own initiative. 'Homegrown' militants may locate information on explosives and weapons through the internet. They may be more adept at staying under the local security radar, using more traditional methods to communicate. 'Homegrown' terrorists may have had little or no traceable contact with known international terrorists and extremist groups. Intelligent, meticulous and motivated groups may be totally impossible to intercept effectively.

Today a disproportionate number of Muslims living in Europe are unemployed and drop out of secondary school without any qualifications. There are a multitude of reasons for this, yet flawed integration policies, which stemmed in part from viewing Muslim immigrants as temporary 'guest workers', play a role. Today, of the 15 to 20 million Muslims in Europe, 5 million live in France, 3.2 million in Germany, and about 2 million in the UK. Sizeable Muslim communities also exist in Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands and increasingly, in Italy and Spain.[78] Failure to socially and economically integrate these groups may aid in increasing radicalisation and perhaps 'homegrown' terrorism.

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[73] ibid

[74] 'Security, terrorism and the UK' ISP/NSC Briefing paper 05/01, July 2005:
http://www.chathamhouse.org.uk/pdf/research/niis/BPsecurity.pdf

[75] Paul Wilkinson 'International Terrorism, the Changing Threat and the EU's Response', Challiot paper no. 84, October 2005, Institute for Security Studies: http://www.iss-eu.org/chaillot/chai84.pdf

[76] Dana Priest 'Iraq new terror breeding ground' Washington Post, 14 January 2005: http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A7460-2005Jan13.html

[77] 'Country reports on Terrorism 2005' US State Department, Office of the Coordinator of Counter-Terrorism. April 2006, p 14

[78] Mirjam Dittrich 'Muslims in Europe: Addressing the Challenges of Radicalization.' European Policy Centre Working Paper No. 23, March 2006

THE WMD TERRORISM NEXUS

The term WMD or 'Weapons of Mass Destruction' usually refers to nuclear, chemical or biological weapons. Concerns have been raised about the use of WMD by terrorists.

In 1995 members of the Aum Shinrikyo cult released lethal amounts of the deadly sarin nerve gas into the Tokyo subway system during morning rush hour. They transported the gas as a liquid solution, tightly contained in packages made to look like lunch boxes or bottled drinks.[79] They punctured the packages with umbrellas and left them in subway cars and stations. The attack killed twelve people, and sent more than 5,000 others to hospital. To obtain the gas, the group successfully recruited bright young university graduates, particularly scientists, and put them to work developing biological and chemical weapons.[80]

In stoking fear and overplaying the threat, individuals and groups have cited this attack as a model for Europe. In the current climate it is possible that extremists could enlist students to their cause, yet conventional explosives are far more widespread, and the ingredients are far more accessible. It is more difficult and more risky to obtain biological, chemical or nuclear materials. Therefore it is less likely that would-be terrorists would opt for this approach. In fact, talking up the possibility of WMD terrorist attacks may, in itself, be interpreted by potential terrorists as a challenge to show that it can be done.

While the threat posed by the use of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons for terrorist purposes is relatively low, al Qaeda, for example, have been active in their pursuit of these types of weapons. Al Qaeda members have repeatedly attempted to obtain nuclear material and came closest in 1993 when they reportedly bought a metre long cylinder of supposedly weapons-grade uranium from a former Sudanese minister. The $1.5million fee proved to be wasted, however, as the cylinder was found to be defunct. Before the invasion of Afghanistan, al Qaeda's Darunta training camp (in eastern Afghanistan) was strongly focussed on development of chemical and toxic weapons and was run by the organisation's WMD chief, Abu Khabab.[81] Thousands of men passed through this camp to develop skills in this area. Furthermore, in 1999, bin Laden stated that "acquiring nuclear and chemical weapons is a religious duty".[82]

It is important to focus on the numbers of militant radicals that reside in the EU - far fewer than the media or governments imply. To reduce the appeal of extremism we must address the root causes of it. The arguments of extremists must be shown to be ludicrous in relation to the behaviour of the western world.

THE LIMITS OF 'LAST LINE' COUNTER-TERRORISM

WHAT IS COUNTER-TERRORISM?

Counter-terrorism activities include policing and intelligence (information)-led activities. In EU Member States, counter-terrorism activities are usually undertaken by the domestic security service, police forces and occasionally the military. Special Forces[83] are often used in surveillance and apprehension operations. Military units can also be involved in raids, operational planning, bomb disposal and other areas. 'Sharp end' counter-terrorism also involves apprehension, prosecution, surveillance of people and material, as well as interrogation and incarceration.

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[79] Council on Foreign Relations information page on Aum Shinryko:
http://www.cfr.org/publication/9238/aum_shinrikyo_japan_cultists.html

[80] ibid

[81] Who was supposedly killed in a US air strike on the Afghanistan/Pakistan border in 2006

[82] Rahimullah Yusufzai, "Osama bin Laden lashes out against the West," *Time* magazine, 11 January 1999

[83] Special Forces are elite soldiers tasked with uniquely arduous and dangerous combat tasks. These include long- range reconnaissance throughout enemy held territory, covert anti-terrorism and counter-insurgency actions and target acquisition in hostile territory. The US 'Delta Force' and UK 'SAS' are famous Special Forces units.

Inter-ethnic and / or religious dialogue, integration initiatives, negotiation, social and political inclusion initiatives and preventing radicalisation should all be considered part of countering terrorism.[84]

'Sharp end' counter-terrorism practitioners use a number of sources to locate and identify terrorists:

- Human Intelligence (HUMINT): information received from people. Intelligence practitioners typically cultivate sources known as 'agents' and strategically locate them in order to obtain the most useful information.
- Signals Intelligence (SIGINT): information gathered through the interception of electronic communications such as telephone conversations and emails.
- OPEN SOURCES: Information that is already available to the public, such as newspapers, academic journals and the work of most think tanks.

Intelligence Sources

Human Intelligence	Open Source		Signals Intelligence
	Newspapers Publications Monitoring of groups, gatherings, meetings etc	Internet Aerial photography in the public domain Satellite information in the public domain Blogs Internet chat rooms Listserves	
	Surveillance of individuals Infiltration of groups Accessing financial records Monitoring financial activity	Phone tapping E-mail monitoring Tagging Classified satellite intelligence Classified aerial photography	
	Closed Source		

Counter-terrorism is seen by EU Member States as a sensitive area, tied in with ideas of national sovereignty, independence and security. EU counter-terrorism is largely the work of individual Member States. In general, the EU counter-terrorism emphasis and implementation has been on 'sharp end' counter-terrorism improvements, not on addressing root causes and socio-political grievances that fuel terrorism.

FAILURES OF 'INTELLIGENCE-LED' COUNTER-TERRORISM

'The Agencies cannot know everything about everyone, nor can they intercept and read every communication (which in any event would be a gross violation of human rights). There will always be gaps in the Agencies' knowledge.'

Intelligence and Security Report into the London Bombings of July 2005

Marc Sageman, a research fellow from the Foreign Policy Research Institute and former CIA operative, recently completed a comprehensive study of 400 Islamist terrorists who had been

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[84] Please see QCEA's briefing papers for details on EU counter-terrorism activities at:
http://www.quaker.org/qcea/briefings/terrorism/index.html

involved in attacks against the US. According to his research, these al Qaeda members join the 'jihad' at the average age of 26.

Let us assume this is right and these 400 individuals did join the jihad at age 26. If that is so, it is likely that they would have taken up contact with other radical people some years before, i.e. in their early twenties.

If terrorists (or those suspected of being terrorists) only appear on the security radar when they associate with other known extremists, this is likely to be during their early twenties. However, at this stage, they may already be too inclined towards extremism for any intervention to be effective in halting this process.

Intelligence-led counter-terrorism is a critical element in halting attacks, yet it must be seen as the *last* line of defence. Effective counter-terrorism would require us to understand how the lives of such people are influenced in the twenty years **before** they are radicalised. Effective counter-terrorism would prevent these people from ever becoming threats.

Intelligence-led, minimum force police action should be taken against those that already pose a threat, yet preventing more people becoming a threat is the key to halting more attacks in the long-term.

Intrinsic to a purely security-based approach are a number of problems:

• An emphasis on 'wiretapping' may cause radicals to revert to basic communications methods making most SIGINT methods a waste of time
• Intelligent militants will stay away from known radicals and places at which radicals congregate, making area surveillance a worthless drain on resources
• Tense armed raids based on poor intelligence may only increase cycles of radicalisation and violence
• Certain intelligence gathering methods infringe upon civil liberties[85]
• Intelligence can be selectively interpreted or manipulated by the executive. This is especially true if policy decisions are based on information provided by intelligence organisations alone.
• Monitoring telecommunications and emails can generate a surplus of information, leading to further resource wastage.

THE LIMITS OF HUMINT (HUMAN INTELLIGENCE)

Al Qaeda is not only a fixed structure, but is also a widespread ideology and umbrella group. The structure of the network varies from that of more traditional organisations[86] and individuals who align themselves with al Qaeda often act outside any structural framework at all. In many cases it is impossible to trace the orders received by militant 'operatives' back to the central, al Qaeda structure.

The British Security Services gained tactical intelligence on Irish terrorism by cultivating agents who rose through the formal structures of the IRA. Local al Qaeda cells plan and execute attacks independently of a solid command structure, rendering the gaining of tactical intelligence against such diffuse groups far more problematic.

A DRAIN ON LIMITED RESOURCES

According to the official enquiry into the London bombings, the British Security Service had come across two of the July 7 London bombers on the peripheries of other investigations. At that time their identities were unknown to the British Security Service and there was no appreciation of their subsequent significance. According to the report, as there were more pressing priorities at the time including the need to disrupt known plans to attack the UK, it was decided not to investigate them further or seek to identify them. When resources became available, attempts were made to find

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[85] Including unauthorised phone tapping, intercepting e-mails and indiscriminate CCTV surveillance which is accessible to the intelligence services
[86] See Definitions, Appendix 1

out more about these two and other peripheral contacts, but these resources were soon diverted back to what were considered to be higher investigative priorities.

All EU security services have limited resources. Halting radicalisation by addressing the grievances that fuel militancy will ease the pressure on the EU security services.

SUICIDE BOMBING

Suicide bombing presents a number of major problems for domestic security services. Lebanon, Israel, Palestine and elsewhere have shown that this form of terrorism is impossible to stop.

Suicide bombers may detonate their explosives whilst being apprehended, or at any time of their choosing. This makes it more likely that police will kill the potential bomber on sight in order to save their own lives, or the lives of surrounding civilians. For intelligent radicals who are keen to increase the cycle of violence illustrated in Section Two, suicide bombing is far more likely to be effective. The tragic death of Jean Charles De Menezes, killed by the London Metropolitan police in July 2005, illustrates this. The only way to halt this cycle in the long-term is to address the roots that lead to such acts. Determined and intelligent suicide bombers are virtually impossible to intercept effectively.

HEAVY- HANDED TACTICS

> *'The indiscriminate arrest and detention of young Asian men has helped to alienate, marginalise, and criminalise the Muslim communities'*
>
> Dr. Ghayasuddin Siddiqui, (leader of the Muslim Parliament of Great Britain) [87]

Heavy-handed policing or counter-insurgency tactics are linked to the concept of 'fear through trauma' in Section Two (see p 15). There is no evidence of anything even close to organised insurgency anywhere in the EU. Yet increasing feelings amongst minority groups of being 'under siege', humiliated and isolated through aggressive police activities may increase militancy. A negative spiral of harsh and/or illegal state responses and increasing terrorism could eventually lead to small-scale organised campaigns of violence, probably emanating from urban ethnic pockets.

Effective counter-insurgency and counter-terrorist strategies must separate the militants from those who harbour them,[88] be it in Iraq or Denmark. To separate militants from the wider community, the emphasis must be on 'hearts and minds' work rather than on 'search and destroy.' As illustrated in Vietnam, Iraq and the Afghan-Soviet war, the trouble with the 'search and destroy' approach is that the destruction outweighs the search.[89] Wanton destruction only serves to increase public sympathy for those attacking authority.

'EXTRAORDINARY RENDITION'

The 'extraordinary rendition' programme has highlighted the fact that foreign intelligence agencies operate covertly in Europe outside the rule of law and without accountability.[90]

The CIA 'extraordinary rendition' programme illustrates one area in which the EU and other European states appear to have colluded in human rights abuses in the name of the 'war on terrorism'.

Extraordinary rendition is the CIA's term for its practice of sending captured terrorist suspects to other countries for interrogation. Because some of those countries torture prisoners, and because some of the suspected terrorists 'rendered' by the CIA say they were in fact tortured, the debate

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[87] Robert Verkaik *'Muslim leaders blame Blair's war on Iraq for increasing alienation', The Independent*, 1 April 2004, p 11

[88] Lawrence Freedman *'A New Type of War'* in Ken Booth and Tim Dunne (eds) *'Worlds in Collision: Terror and the Future of Global Order',* Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2002, p 40

[89] ibid p 40

[90] *'Partners in crime: Europe's role in US renditions'* Amnesty International report, 21 June 2006:
http://web.amnesty.org/library/index/ENGEUR010082006

has tended to lump rendition and torture together. The CIA has sent people to Egypt, Jordan and other Middle Eastern countries perhaps because they can be tortured there, [91] and coerced into providing information they would not have given up otherwise.[92]

President Bush confirmed the existence of secret US prison facilities abroad in September 2006. Secret prisons were the subject of previously unsubstantiated media allegations and investigations by the Council of Europe, the European Parliament and Human Rights Watch. [93] Some of these detention centres may have existed in Council of Europe member states.

The US Government has attempted to dilute the legal framework protecting its prisoners of war. It is widely held by international legal experts and within international conventions that, as a minimum, all detainees are entitled to humane treatment that meets their basic needs, are to be protected against torture, inhumane, cruel or degrading treatment, and may not be subjected to punishment without a fair trial.[94] A Council of Europe investigation into alleged secret detentions and unlawful inter-state transfers of detainees in Council of Europe member states concluded that European states must have been aware of the illegal foreign activity taking place. The appointed Rapporteur, Dick Marty, resolved that "…some Council of Europe member states have knowingly colluded with the United States to carry out such unlawful operations [as depriving suspects of their basic human rights]; others have tolerated them or simply turned a blind eye."[95] Such activity has undoubtedly further increased the phenomenon of Islamic radicalisation therefore increasing the threat of terrorism, not countering it.

A detailed Amnesty International report on the rendition scandal states:

An ostrich approach to renditions does not absolve Europe's governments of their responsibility for the abuses suffered by people they have allowed to be illegally transferred from, through or to their territory. Some of the victims have ended up in the torture centres of countries such as Egypt and Syria.[96]

Traditional security-based anti-terror tactics have limited value against the new, globalised terrorist threat. They must be part of a broader, more comprehensive and more nuanced strategy.

Truly 'intelligence-led' counter-terrorism would lead us to consider the traditional or 'security-based' approaches as the absolute 'last line' of defence, not the top priority in countering terrorism. Apprehending those that intend to kill is important, but leaving our responses to this late in the day amounts to wanton neglect and irresponsibility.

EFFECTIVE GLOBAL COUNTER-TERRORISM

The following section presents a Quaker perspective on what would constitute an effective response to terrorism. It also poses some questions and gives practical recommendations for the EU and its Member States to consider.

GLOBAL VALUES

It is no coincidence that a number of foreign hostages held by Iraqi insurgents were filmed clothed in orange jumpsuits, similar to those worn by detainees at Guantanamo Bay. Our counter-terrorism actions can only be effective if we make sure we live out the values we preach. Removing hypocrisy will aid in removing animosity.

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[91] It is worth noting that in intelligence circles it is widely recognised that torture is not conducive to obtaining accurate intelligence from detainees

[92] David Ignatius *'Rendition Realities'* in *Washington Post* , 3 September 2005:
 http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A18709-2005Mar8.html

[93] Statewatch Observatory on CIA rendition flights in Europe: http://www.statewatch.org/rendition/rendition.html

[94]ibid

[95] Parliamentary Assembly Resolution 1507 (2006)

[96] *'Partners in crime: Europe's Role in US Renditions'* Amnesty International report:
http://web.amnesty.org/library/index/ENGEUR010082006

We live in an age in which international challenges cannot be solved by individual states. Economically, politically and militarily,[97] the limits of unilateral action are being continually illustrated. Our own security, stability and prosperity increasingly depend upon that of others. Global problems, such as the effects of climate change, require global solutions. Global solutions require broad international consensus.

To achieve international consensus we must shift away from interactions rooted solely in national interest. We must demonstrate, through our interactions, our recognition that the problems facing other people and other states are also problems facing us. A shift towards a global 'rights and responsibilities-based' approach may provide the framework for greater consensus and success. A rights and responsibilities-based approach supersedes divisive and fear-based national agendas. This approach acknowledges and respects the dignity and value of all people as equals.

Such a value change needs to rise from the grass roots level. As individuals we must seek to live these values ourselves. Through leading by example, we will earn respect and give inspiration. This is the logical and morally acceptable way to influence others.

> *Quaker peace testimony involves thinking and uttering the unthinkable in the conviction that this may lead to a fundamental shift in attitudes. What is idealistic in one generation becomes a cherished right or precept in the next. The peace testimony also means working for forgiveness and reconciliation and dwelling in a sense of our shared humanity.[98]*

VICTORY OVER TERRORISM

As outlined in Section One, international terrorism is but one of the global challenges we face. A 'victory' over terrorism could be seen as having been achieved when the committing of terrorist acts has stopped sustainably and for the foreseeable future, because no-one sees a benefit in pursuing whatever political or social agenda they might have, whether legitimate or not, through random violence.

A victory over terrorism would replace a culture of fear with a culture of respect, engagement, vigilance and solidarity. Effective counter-terrorist policies would not lead to an indefinite self-perpetuating state of global conflict. They would ultimately lead to the cessation of terrorist, state and inter-ethnic violence.

Establishing a culture in which traditional counter-terrorist activities remain the absolute 'last line' of defence will significantly aid in countering terrorism in the long-term.

EFFECTIVE GLOBAL ACTION

Achieving an environment where violence cannot flourish requires the creation of an (international) community which values the good in everyone and respects the diversity of faiths.

Countering terrorism on a global scale would require a steady commitment on the part of the world's dominant states to behave as if the humanising of globalisation is a priority.[99] Some questions and some broad objectives follow.

Increased international efforts to solve festering conflicts and strengthen failed states

The Israeli / Palestinian and Israeli / Arab conflicts in particular are cited by numerous militants as a key grievance and motivation for terrorism.[100] Greater international emphasis on a just resolution to this conflict in particular will aid in halting recruitment and radicalisation all over the world. The

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[97] An economic case: the failure of the sanctions regime against Saddam Hussein's Iraq. A political case: the ongoing failure of the United States to diplomatically isolate Iran. A military case: the failure of a small coalition of states to effectively counter the new global terrorism

[98] *'The Quaker testimonies',* published by the Quaker United Nations Office, New York: http://www.quno.org/newyork/Resources/AllQuakerTestimonies.pdf#search=%22quakers%20terrorism%22

[99] Club de Madrid series on Democracy and Terrorism, *'Addressing the Causes of Terrorism: Volume 1',* Club de Madrid, Madrid, 2005, p 21

[100] ibid p 21

United States is pivotal. Terrorist groups often thrive in areas of weak governance. Lebanon, Afghanistan, Palestine, Somalia and areas of Pakistan all illustrate this. These states require increased international engagement, in the form of targeted aid. Nation-building requires significant resources, time and effort from those in the affected area and from the international community as a whole.

Development assistance

Development assistance is closely linked with strengthening weak states and promoting a more equitable world order. The EU is the world's largest contributor to development assistance and has focused at least some of these resources towards increasing stability, democracy and the support of human rights in a number of countries. In particular, the EU's ability to hold out the 'carrot' of membership to a number of countries has assisted in driving forward a security agenda in them. Yet much more could be done and questions remain. Development, including work on developing and stabilising sustainable political structures and on conflict prevention, is long-term work and needs to be sustained both in terms of political will and resource allocation. Development assistance, conflict prevention, sustainable long-term economic development strategies, institution building, capacity building and good governance are all part of the picture, as is the support of these policies through the trade practices of donor countries.

Promoting democracy and equality

Past overt and covert intervention by western states into Muslim countries has aroused a climate of suspicion. Stoking further Muslim anger against the West is a risk; it increases the likelihood of terrorism. Democracy cannot be enforced on peoples and/or states. Fomenting dissent, terrorism and insurgency to overthrow regimes has been used in the past. It could be used under the banner of 'promoting democracy.' Yet this is not moving a country towards democracy; it is bringing it closer to anarchy. It is also unlikely that those advocating and engaging in terrorism will be committed to human rights and democracy in power. The EU can and does aid and support human rights groups and the development of an open civil society among autocratic and/or theocratic regimes but more can and should be done.

The EU is one of the main donors to the Palestinian Authorities but this very important assistance is undermined by the inability of the EU to send clear and strong messages to the Israeli Government against their attacks on Palestinian people.

One of the main criticisms made by many people, including some Muslims and Muslim groups, is the apparent hypocrisy in the western approach to different countries, different conflicts and different groups of people. A more even-handed approach and even just greater honesty in acknowledging the political agendas would go a long way towards improving this.

So long as people in some parts of the world can clearly see that the West, and with it the EU, do not mean equality when they say equality, they lay themselves open to both criticism and attack.

Effective and equitable resource management

Markets are not underpinned by moral or social concerns. Conflict over finite fossil fuel deposits and/or water could contribute to conflict in the future. A drive for global solidarity on resource management will contribute to maintaining peace. Multilateral political agreements over access to resources should be reached.

Consensus building, multilateral activity and strengthening UN apparatus

The United Nations Commission on Human Rights, in Resolution 2005/80, decided to appoint a special rapporteur on the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms while countering terrorism, for a period of three years.[101] The EU must work to ensure that this post is effective, influential and continued after this initial period.

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[101] Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights while Countering Terrorism, Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees: http://www.ohchr.org/english/issues/terrorism/rapporteur/srchr.htm
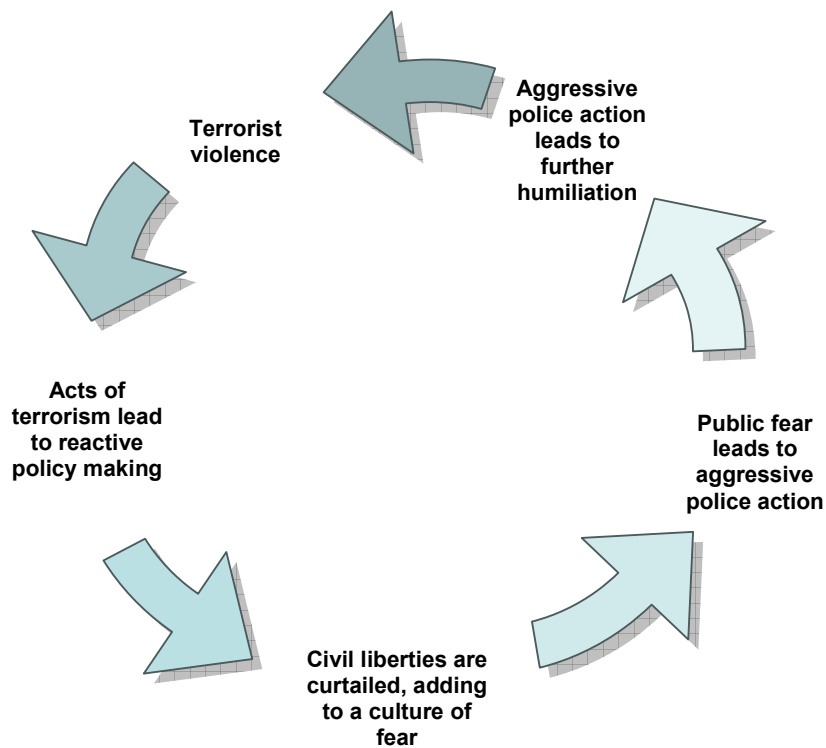
It should be remembered, however, that in many regions of the world there is little or no confidence in what is achieved or represented by the United Nations. This is the case for many individuals in the Middle East, for example.[102] Any increase in UN influence must be accompanied by programmes and structural reform to increase confidence in UN activities.

EFFECTIVE REGIONAL COUNTER-TERRORISM

As a model for multilateral cooperation and regional governance, the EU is in an ideal position to promote international approaches and frameworks through which to counter terrorism effectively. It must seek to ensure the protection of human rights and dignity in such approaches.

TAKING THE LONG VIEW

As the cycle below illustrates, relying solely on policing and 'last line' counter-terrorism activities can be dangerously counter-productive.

Terrorist violence

Aggressive police action leads to further humiliation

Acts of terrorism lead to reactive policy making

Public fear leads to aggressive police action

Civil liberties are curtailed, adding to a culture of fear

To wind this cycle down, we must decrease the number of people involved and all related violent incidents. Avoiding all forms of aggressive state action and alleviating fear should be the two main issues. Police action must be delicate, culturally sensitive and based on solid intelligence with an emphasis on minimum force. Alongside this, adequate social, educational and familial changes must occur to halt radicalisation.

The implementation of EU counter-terrorism policy continually prioritises the pursuit of terrorists. Countering, challenging and understanding terrorists' core grievances should be given equal attention.

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[102] Evidence of which was seen at the United Nations offices in Beirut, Lebanon, where many protesters destroyed property and held anti-UN banners during the conflict between Israel and Hezbollah, July 2006

THE CASE FOR DIALOGUE AND EDUCATION

The challenge is not that of convincing others that our way of life, our religion, or our structure of governance is better or closer to truth and human dignity. It is to be honest about the sources of violence in our own house and invite others to do the same. Our global challenge is to generate and sustain genuine engagement that encourages people, from within their own traditions, to seek that which assures the respect for life that every religion sees as an inherent right and gift from the Divine.[103]

International and domestic intercultural and interfaith dialogue mark key elements in bridging the cracks of conflict. To tackle the roots of terrorism, we need to enter into dialogue with militants, understand their grievances and explore why they think we bear responsibility for these.[104]

Western societies are far from perfect. We must question ourselves if we are to improve our own lives and societies. The following are some questions for further discussion which may help in this process:

- How do power structures within our education and social systems and families bring about frustration among our youth?
- Do power structures, or a lack of power, influence the adoption of radical beliefs and behaviours?
- How has the revision of traditional gender roles in families changed us and our sense of personal value?
- As our lifestyles change, are value systems being lost or altered along the way? What kind of impact does this have?
- What are the limits of tolerance? Is it not an artificial liberal idea? If so:
- How do we positively connect with those we used to just 'tolerate'?

We must engage in discussions with greater urgency on how to educate young people. We must examine the role of values in education. Engaging with young people before radicalisation takes place will aid in preventing reliance on armed force later.

We should seek to understand, explore and, in some cases, contribute to alleviating the grievances listed by Islamic extremists. 'To do this we must have dialogue between western and non-western societies whose sense of injustice is the most acute'.[105] The point of the dialogue is to:

- deepen mutual understanding;
- facilitate greater empathy;
- take a critical look at oneself; and
- to build up mutual trust and arrive at a more just and balanced view of the contentious issues, historical events and the world in general. [106]

The dialogue cannot achieve these objectives if it is purely a public relations exercise or if those participating are too frightened to offend, or too obsessed with political correctness to be honest. It must be robust, frank and critical; telling the truth to each party as it sees it.[107]

The dialogue must take place at all levels in society, including inter-state, academic and public debate which will need to include each society's mass media. Results and participation must be openly accessible.

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[103] Sharon Hoover *'Answering Terror: Responses to War and Peace After 9/11/01* in Ken Booth and Tim Dunne (eds) *'Worlds in Collision: Terror and the Future of Global Order.'* Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2002, p 41

[104] Bikhu Parekh *'Terrorism or Intercultural Dialogue'* in Ken Booth and Tim Dunne (eds) *'Worlds in Collision: Terror and the Future of Global Order',* Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2002, p 274

[105] ibid p 274

[106] ibid p 274

[107] ibid p 274

Non-Muslims cannot hope to understand why Muslim societies[108] feel so strongly about certain issues or define them in certain ways unless we understand their wider systems of meaning and values or cultures. Similarly, Muslim societies cannot understand western societies without understanding the internal structures, dynamics and tensions that exist within them. In neither case does there exist a uniform structure, attitude or ideology. Just as western society cannot be generalised to support certain values, Muslim societies cannot be categorised either. The substantial sharing of culture and ideas between these societies throughout history and in modern times demerits the accuracy of any crude separation between them. The dialogue between western and Muslim societies thus moves freely between substantive issues and their historical interpretations and cultural contexts; it is necessarily complex and messy.[109] The dialogue will aid in countering fear and destructive generalisations.

To gather people together, whether hundreds of millions of people across the globe or fifty people in a London Underground carriage, and to categorise them as one thing or another; as enemies or friends; as western or eastern; as believers or non-believers; is something no-one should ever do. To emphasise the distance when there is so much that is increasingly close is not just dangerous, but is wrong.[110]

Consensus secured at one level of the dialogue may facilitate dialogue at all other levels. The dialogue will not be about specific political issues and conflicts, such as in Israel/Palestine or Iraq, nor is it solely about global inequality, poverty and resource management. 'Our aim here should be that each side better understands the concerns and constraints of the other and strives to reach a mutually acceptable compromise. Our hope here is that western and Muslim societies (as well as all others) will avoid the interrelated vices of narcissism and demonisation of the other, will appreciate each other's strengths and inadequacies, and will develop over time a shared global perspective in which deep differences are admitted but not allowed to get out of control.[111]

The EU is in the perfect position to facilitate and encourage a multi-level dialogue between nations, faith groups and ethnic groups. Developments have begun in this area through such policy frameworks as the Barcelona process. Yet they remain relatively embryonic, under-resourced and are not considered as the high priority they should be.

INTERFAITH DIALOGUE

In the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, many Christian groups in Europe were regarded as dangerously subversive, and what might now be called 'terrorists'. Catholics and Protestants alike were at different times imprisoned, tortured and executed. At times in the seventeenth century it was illegal to be a Quaker; adult Quakers were imprisoned and children who kept the meetings going were beaten and threatened. Officers of the law entered our places of worship and broke up Meetings for Worship. This experience reinforced our belief in the importance of religious freedom, the freedom to worship without state interference and the freedom to form and express one's own beliefs…..We should live by our beliefs, provided that no harm is done to others. What we claim for ourselves we cannot deny to others.[112]

Interfaith dialogue must be initiated alongside political discussions. All the major monotheistic religions have fundamentalist fringes. Many of these fundamentalist fringes wield disproportionate influence on global affairs. Many argue that fundamentalist, apocalyptic Christians are a negative influence on US politics, and the Israeli/ Palestinian conflict in particular. Extremist Zionists hold disproportionate responsibility for ethnic cleansing and the Jewish settlement programme in

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[108] See Definitions, Appendix 1

[109] Bikhu Parekh *'Terrorism or Intercultural Dialogue'* in Ken Booth and Tim Dunne (eds) *'Worlds in Collision: Terror and the Future of Global Order',* Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2002, p 274

[110] Jason Burke '*On the Road to Kandahar*' London, Penguin, 2006, p 281

[111] ibid p 275

[112] Appendix D: Response to the Home Office Consultation on Preventing Extremism Together: Places of Worship. Reference: minute 8 of Meeting for Sufferings held on 5th November, 2005 at Britain Yearly Meeting. To read the Meeting for Sufferings response in full, see http://www.quaker.org.uk/shared_asp_files/uploadedfiles/C90BF85A-4844-4FAD-A9D5-0B5476F7C682_preventingextremismmfs.doc

Palestinian lands. Militant Islamists have committed numerous atrocities against innocent Westerners and Muslims alike.

Some areas for interfaith discussion could include;

• The role of fear in religion and religious organisations
• The role of religion as a channel for political or personal rage and manipulation
• How this could be countered.

Through interfaith dialogue, Quakers could encourage examination of the use and the role of fear in all religions, and also how fear affects interpretation, political decisions and violence.

RESTORATIVE JUSTICE

When attempting to bring about justice, we should not solely focus on the deeds of terrorists. We should address the root causes pf the deeds. Tackling the root causes of terrorism requires us to aspire to talk to terrorists in a manner in which they may decide to respond constructively. This will not always be possible but efforts should be made when opportunities present themselves. Furthermore, concerted efforts should also be made to seek out such opportunities.

Purely retributive methods of dealing with apprehended terrorists can further exacerbate grievances. Reactive responses can lead to moral, physical and legal headaches which may add weight to the arguments of militants. More restorative judicial processes could at least be considered. These may not always be successful, yet do not all people bear the responsibility to at least try and chart a better path?

Restorative justice methods work within the criminal justice system. They seek to help the offenders to understand the effects of the acts they have perpetrated on others and on the community. Restorative justice methods focus on the victim, the offender and the community; they are not skewed towards the needs of victims. Such processes could allow for real rehabilitation, as it allows us to engage in dialogue and value-based discussion with those who may wish to commit acts of terrorism. It would allow us to understand and counter the root causes of terrorism.

In a 'best case' scenario, former terrorists or terrorist sympathisers may re-enter society and actively engage with and 'de-radicalise' others. This could only occur if they themselves had been engaged through a constructive process in the criminal justice system. This might make them ideal ambassadors in countering radicalisation and terrorism in their own groups. It will not work with everyone, yet locking up terrorists, without at least attempting to positively engage with them, precludes the opportunity of creating such key ambassadors. Similarly, setting up blanket bans on dialogue with terrorist groups denies their entry into any political processes, making violence appear to be their only tool of demonstration.

And finally, if society eagerly respects the rights of those who threaten or use violence against it, and treats them as human beings with human rights, the tone of the entire debate could change.

The EU is in an ideal position to commission studies and to explore restorative justice techniques to better engage and reintegrate disaffected minorities.

INTELLIGENCE AND SECURITY ACTION

EU and Member State actions
Some technologies, such as biometrics, camera surveillance, and radio frequency identification tags arouse differing levels of concern in EU Member States. The political challenge is to find a socially acceptable balance, which naturally will vary from country to country and will depend on threat perceptions.[113]

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[113] Peter Munday, Michael Pakenham et al. '*New European Approaches to Counter Terrorism* ' ESSRT Final Report, 21 March 2006. Download the full report here: http://www.thalesresearch.com/Default.aspx?tabid=465

Achieving the right balance between civil rights and security is challenging. A broad democratic debate on threats and responses offers the best guarantee that tougher security measures and enhanced powers conferred upon intelligence services and police forces have public consent. Some anti-terrorist measures in Europe have required citizens to sacrifice civil liberties – for example, by diminishing privacy, restricting free speech and extending periods of detention without charge. In some Member States, government proposals have aroused lively discussion but in others there has not been serious public concern. Research into public perceptions of terrorism and organised crime, as well as citizens' feelings of security and insecurity, is needed. When it comes to striking a balance between strategic and everyday threats, citizens tend naturally to be more concerned about those with a high probability of occurrence.[114]

The European Union as a whole could develop a stronger operational and tactical intelligence structure that is firmly wedded to democratic principles. 'A High Representative for Internal Security should be appointed.'[115] The EU should also work with important partner countries to develop links between terrorism analysis centres and share analysis of risks and countermeasures. All of these actions should be supported by the development of international standards for security measures,[116] firmly wedded to democratic principles.

 Recommendations for the EU and its Member States:

•   Expand co-operation with national and regional terrorism analysis centres outside the EU
•   Seek to increase participation in the US-led Proliferation Security Initiative[117]
•   The EU should 'affirm unequivocally, in the development of the EU-wide counter-terrorism policy, that renditions are unacceptable, as is the use of "diplomatic assurances" in cases where people would be at risk of torture or other ill-treatment'[118]
•   EU Member States should ensure the accountability of foreign intelligence agencies by:
•   "Prohibiting the practice of mutual assistance in circumstances where there is a substantial risk that such cooperation would contribute to unlawful detention, torture or other ill-treatment, "disappearance", unfair trial or the imposition of the death penalty
•   Taking immediate steps to develop and implement a regulatory framework governing the activities of foreign intelligence services, so as to provide effective safeguards against human rights violations."[119]

Divorcing counter-intelligence and counter-terrorism

On a practical, day to day level, intelligence is the raw material of all police work. Only the complete and timely availability of terrorism-related data enables police and other law enforcement agencies to counter terrorism across borders. As has been previously mentioned, with the globalisation of terrorist networks, structures and aims, international cooperation is vital in halting attacks. In practice however the exchange of data between national and international law enforcement agencies continues to be reactive rather than proactive. Indeed, in most cases, terrorism -related information is transmitted only following a request.

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[114] ibid

[115] ibid

[116] ibid

[117] Quoting the British American Security Information Council web page on the Proliferation Security Initiative: http://www.basicint.org/nuclear/counterproliferation/psi.htm :
"The US- led Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) forms one strand of the 2002 US National Strategy to combat WMD proliferation, which called for a comprehensive approach to counter the threat of WMD reaching the hands of terrorists. Frustrated efforts to prevent the delivery of a shipment of North Korean SCUD missiles to the Yemen in December 2002, added further impetus to the PSI launch. President Bush formally announced the initiative on 31 May 2003, in Krakow, Poland. The PSI is an activity, not an organisation. The project has been in existence for over three years. It has halted a number of illicit weapons trafficking operations. Friction remains regarding PSI interdiction of shipping and International Maritime Law. The EU should contribute to ironing out these ambiguities"

[118] Peter Munday, Michael Pakenham, (et al) '*New European Approaches to Counter Terrorism*' ESSRT Final Report,
 21 March 2006. Download the full report here: http://www.thalesresearch.com/Default.aspx?tabid=465

[119] *Partners in Crime: Europe's Role in US Renditions*' Amnesty International report 21 June 2006:
http://web.amnesty.org/library/index/ENGEUR010082006

Like counter-terrorism, intelligence, as a concept, needs to be expanded. Areas such as natural disaster prevention, seismic monitoring and the effects of climate change could be included.

Today's 'Islamist' terrorists would be considered enemies of most states. Countries share similar goals in this area; they are not operating against each other as they would be in espionage work. The globalisation of terrorism and the convergence of aims among states should encourage greater information sharing, and increasing operational cooperation.

As stated in Section Three, counter-intelligence operations are practised by individual state institutions, such as domestic security services and police forces. In many EU Member States, domestic intelligence services take the lead. Most of these services were created to counter espionage, to catch spies, not to counter terrorism. In practice, some overlap exists between counter-intelligence and counter-terrorism operations, yet differences exist.

In counter-espionage, states are working against each other; therefore international cooperation is limited and ad hoc. With so many opponents, security measures are stringent and exacting. Yet these levels of secrecy for counter-espionage work are not necessary in countering terrorism. Identities of both counter-intelligence and counter-terrorism practitioners do need to remain secret. Yet in countering modern, global terrorism, international cooperation is of fundamental importance, so a greater degree of openness is required.

As counter-terrorism is largely practised by those working for counter-espionage organisations, they are subject to the same severe security measures. To protect the identities of counter-espionage practitioners, and facilitate greater international counter-terrorism cooperation, counter-terrorism must be further separated from counter-espionage. In other words, new counter-terrorism bodies should be created in EU Member States, to facilitate greater cross-border cooperation.

As long as counter-terrorism work is largely practised by organisations primarily designed for counter-espionage, intelligence sharing and international cooperation is more likely to be ineffective.

Separating counter-terrorism from counter-espionage would also aid in bringing counter-terrorism work more in line with the key democratic principles of accountability and transparency.

A list of confidence building steps for Member State intelligence agencies to engage with each other could be proposed by the Counter-Terrorism Coordinator (CTC). This would aid in building trust and lay the foundations for greater cooperation and information sharing. Creating new bodies to facilitate sharing would be a waste of time and resources if trust does not underpin action.

The CTC should closely monitor and evaluate intra-EU intelligence cooperation to identify weaknesses and suggest solutions. The CTC could also encourage greater use of EUROPOL and EUROJUST.

The EU Counter-Terrorism Coordinator is ideally situated to present the case for this divorce of counter-terrorism and counter-intelligence to EU Member States. He is also ideally positioned to propose new lines of communication, and new bodies to encourage greater cooperation with other regional organisations.

Inter-regional cooperation
Numerous regional counter-terrorism bodies have been established since 11th September 2001 yet there are clear deficiencies in data sharing and intelligence cooperation at the global level. EU organisations, not only the intelligence services of Member States, should establish working links with other regional counter-terrorism centres, such as that operated by the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation in Tashkent.

If firmly wedded to democratic principles and respect for human rights, EU developments in counter-terrorism cooperation could provide a model for greater effective global action. The EU could also provide the political impetus and financial support required to strengthen fledgling UN counter-terrorism apparatus.

EU counter-terrorism collaboration with other regional bodies could set a democratic example to more repressive regimes, as even tacitly allowing repressive practices would be clearly counter-productive to EU aims and values. As with trade and aid, counter-terrorism know-how and the transfer of related technology, could be effective diplomatic carrot and stick tools.

Divorcing counter-terrorism from counter-espionage in practice and organisation, as well as creating new multilateral organisations would provide other major benefits:

• It would contribute to the demilitarisation of intelligence. Too heavy a military influence often leads to myopic perspectives, analysis and resource allocation;

• It would help to halt executive branches of governments from applying pressure on the agencies concerned to reach the conclusions they desire. The politicisation of intelligence leads to ineffective analysis and ineffective action.

• Varied perspectives would help to preclude 'mirror imaging' (viewing those you seek to learn about as having the same values, aims, methods and drives as your own).

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This paper has attempted to shed some light on key issues related to terrorism and how to effectively counter it. It has provided some points for discussion and brought together different examples of Quaker thought on these issues. Questionnaires were sent to numerous European Quaker Meetings, groups of European Friends were consulted, workshops were held and extensive internet and print research was undertaken to achieve this. Some global, regional and local recommendations follow.

Terrorism is a multifaceted global phenomenon. It occurs in many guises and locations. Terrorist acts have been justified by a plethora of different ideologies and grievances. Countering such a diffuse and broad issue requires an equally broad package of responses. These must be implemented at *all* levels of global society to achieve the best effect.

There is no universally recognised definition of terrorism. Although this is unlikely to change, reaching such a consensus would provide a platform for the creation of binding international law, and more effective multilateral action. A definition which deliberately emphasises the humanity of both victim and perpetrator of terrorist acts may aid in countering terrorism more effectively. Emphasising the humanity of terrorists could help in precluding their demonisation. Demonising terrorists only aids in fuelling a 'them and us' mentality and discourse which, in turn, leads to further ethnic, religious and political polarisation. It increases the likelihood of terrorism. 'Victory' over terrorism means bringing about the end of *all* related violence. A rights-based, humane approach to solving problems like terrorism would be far more successful than attempting to make war on it.

- *The EU definition of terrorism needs to be re-examined. An emphasis needs to be on the humanity of terrorists and victims, human rights and inclusiveness.*
- *The EU should, in re-examining its own approach, seek to initiate a new round of UN discussions, aimed at reaching a universal definition of terrorism.*

We must seek to prevent radicalisation. Preventing radicalisation may mean halting the perception of a threat to those who choose to become terrorists. This requires a deft, more nuanced approach and a more balanced set of policies towards Middle Eastern states in particular.

- *More effective engagement on solving the problems of Israel / Palestine is vital. The EU needs to do more to encourage a positive US approach, and develop new ways of influencing the Israeli Government in particular.*

Acknowledging, exploring and addressing the role of fear in radicalisation processes and terrorism is important. This use of fear in international terrorism, the war on terrorism, anti-social behaviour, various forms of racism and other areas constitutes a major threat to human progress.

Understanding the emotions, concerns and needs of others on an individual level will greatly aid in countering fear. Moving past purely nationalistic approaches to international issues would also help. Fears serve as a major motivation behind terrorism; understanding them and acting accordingly would lead to better results. Countering this threat of fear, in all its guises, could be the defining political activity for Friends in the 21st century, as the pacifist reaction to the two World Wars was in the last.

- *European Friends in particular could collaborate on starting pan-European, inter-regional interfaith dialogue programmes. A major topic for discussion could be the use and misuse of fear in religion and politics. The European Commission could make it clear that where such initiatives are suggested it will provide the required support.*

Similarly, a wider, multifaceted, multilayered, frank and honest dialogue needs to be held between 'western' societies and those that feel most aggrieved by western attitudes and policy. It also needs to span inter-ethnic divides within the EU.

- ***The EU could facilitate and encourage multilayered, intercultural dialogue programmes between its own Member States and those of the Middle East. It could increase the number of cultural exchange programmes. This could be included in existing policy frameworks, including the Neighbourhood Policy, and the Barcelona Process, which seek to promote peace, security and stability around the EU periphery.***

Europeans could and should facilitate a deeper examination of values and how we educate our young.

In December 2005, EU Member States ratified a new EU counter-terrorism strategy.[120] The strategy is built upon the four pillars of Prevent, Protect, Pursue and Respond. Implementation continues to heavily prioritise pursuing terrorists, at the expense of preventing radicalisation. Despite a seemingly comprehensive framework, the greatest challenge to the EU over the next few years is, arguably, to bring about an effective long-term strategy.

Solving the problem of modern terrorism will not occur overnight, however many new and intrusive security apparatus are created. Civil society organisations and individuals must democratically pressure politicians to ensure our *long-term* security, by attempting to effectively address the *root causes* of modern terrorism.

An emphasis on short-term results could lead to long-term destabilisation. Visible, 'instant impact' responses tend to increase the state's ability to infringe on its citizens' lives and increase public fear. Closed circuit television is visible. Biometric documents are visible. Armed police are visible.

- ***The EU should explore ways to empower organisations working towards understanding the root causes of radicalisation and the root causes of terrorism. It should take heed of the findings of such studies.***
- ***The EU should work with organisations to explore alternatives such as restorative justice in dealing with radicals and terrorists.***

Intelligence and security recommendations

'Sharp end' counter-terrorism methods blend policing, counter-espionage and military methods. These tactics are limited in their effectiveness because authorities are always seeking to respond to what the terrorists *might* do. These methods have had some effect in the past against localised liberation struggles, yet in this new environment they are less likely to be successful; indeed they can be dangerous, in that they may exacerbate the threat. To truly regain the initiative in countering terrorism, States must engage with people before they become dangerous. 'Sharp end' activities should be the absolute *last line* of defence, not the first and only. The end results of heavy-handed, militaristic responses would be:

- increasing ethnic polarisation;
- instability and violence;
- the entrenchment and legitimisation of a culture and negative spiral of violence;
- the steady erosion of our civil liberties;
- the rise of a culture of fear and the consolidation of power by the executive.

The ultimate endgame may be the establishment of increasingly violent European police states.

Our governments may overreact to a terrorist threat, in order to avoid a public backlash for appearing to do too little if an attack occurs. This is understandable; they are keen to ensure their

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[120] More details can be found here: http://www.quaker.org/qcea/briefings/terrorism/terrorismbp11.pdf

own survival which is democratically tested every four or five years. This makes short-term, very visible 'instant impact' policies more appealing for those in power.

Arguably, the greatest challenge to the EU over the next few years is to bring about an effective long-term counter-terrorism strategy. 'Victory' over terrorism could be seen as having been achieved when the committing of terrorist acts has stopped sustainably and for the foreseeable future, because no-one sees a benefit in pursuing whatever political or social agenda they might have, whether legitimate or not, through random violence.

As a multilateral organisation with an increasing role in intelligence and security issues, the EU could provide a model for other regional security forums. As the threat posed by modern terrorism[121] is transnational in nature, so must our responses be. Intelligence sharing is increasingly vital. The EU could and should seek to facilitate increased information sharing, and contribute to crumbling the secretive culture of impunity that surrounds intelligence bodies in many of its Member States.

Certain EU Member States possess specific 'sharp end' counter-terrorism expertise. This presents a superb diplomatic carrot which should be used to induce other actors to ensure the protection of human rights in their own counter-terrorism activities. The EU should:

- Develop a stronger operational and tactical intelligence structure that is firmly wedded to democratic principles.[122] The EU should also work with important partner countries to develop links between terrorism analysis centres and share analysis of risks and counter-measures. All of these actions should be supported by the development of international standards for security measures,[123] firmly wedded to democratic principles.
- Expand co-operation with national and regional terrorism analysis centres outside the EU.
- Seek to increase participation in the US-led Proliferation Security Initiative.
- Affirm unequivocally, in the development of the EU-wide counter-terrorism policy, that renditions are unacceptable, as is the use of "diplomatic assurances" in cases where people would be at risk of torture or other ill-treatment.[124]
- EU Member States should ensure the accountability of foreign intelligence agencies by:
- 'Prohibiting the practice of mutual assistance in circumstances where there is a substantial risk that such cooperation would contribute to unlawful detention, torture or other ill-treatment, "disappearance", unfair trial or the imposition of the death penalty'[125];
- 'Taking immediate steps to develop and implement a regulatory framework governing the activities of foreign intelligence services so as to provide effective safeguards against human rights violations.'[126]
- The EU Counter-Terrorism Coordinator (CTC) should encourage Member States to set up new intelligence sharing bodies separate from domestic security services, at pan-EU level.
- The CTC could, in consultation with Member States, create a list of confidence building steps for Member State intelligence agencies to engage in. This is extremely important; it could aid in building trust and lay the foundations for greater cooperation and information sharing. Trust underpins all joint action. If this is not present, effective implementation will not occur and the creation of new EU intelligence apparatus will be a waste of time and resources.
- The CTC could also encourage greater use of EUROPOL and EUROJUST.[127]

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Friends are acutely aware that with democracy comes responsibility. If democracy, as Abraham Lincoln put it, is truly government of the people, by the people and for the people then, whether

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[121] See Definitions, Appendix 1

[122] More details can be found here: http://www.quaker.org/qcea/briefings/terrorism/terrorismbp11.pdf

[123] ibid

[124] ibid

[125] *Partners in crime: Europe's role in US renditions'* Amnesty International report, 21June 2006: http://web.amnesty.org/library/index/ENGEUR010082006

[126] ibid

[127] EUROPOL is a pan-European policing body that coordinates cross- border operations and helps national forces. EUROJUST provides Member States with advice on extraditing suspects across EU borders

we like it or not, we all bear some responsibility for the damaging actions which our countries have taken in this 'war on terrorism'.

Over a million people marched in the UK against the impending Iraq war, yet 45,000 UK military personnel still took part in that war. We know that the Iraq war has exacerbated the threat and reality of modern terrorism. Apathy and laziness are inexcusable when the stakes are so high. Friends and others must work out new ways to foster a culture of greater and more effective public political engagement.

On an individual level, we can contribute to countering terrorism by engaging in dialogue and building bridges throughout our communities. On a global level, we can and must make our voices heard to those that make key decisions. Outcomes are in no way fixed. It is our responsibility to encourage decision- makers to look at the root causes of radicalisation and of terrorism, with the aim of bringing about positive peaceful change, based on mutual respect and dignity, not fear.

Appendix 1: Definitions

Extremism

Extremism describes certain actions taken and/or ideologies (or beliefs) held by either individual members of a society or of societal groups (large or small). These actions and/or ideologies are outside the perceived political centre of the society in question and may sometimes be violent.

Fundamentalism

Fundamentalism describes a belief or understanding held by individuals or societal groups that a strict adherence to a set of views or practices is desirable and/or necessary. This usually refers to views held by religious groups (or groups purporting to be religious).

Political radicalisation

Political radicalisation describes a process whereby individuals or groups within (or of) society change their political attitudes, views and/or associations. For the purpose of this report radicalisation will describe such a change as tending towards extremism.

Modern terrorism

Modern terrorism is characterised by the new challenges for security policy. The use of the internet and mobile phones by extremist groups to spread ideas and practical advice to would-be-terrorists continues to grow. This has helped to 'globalise' terrorism. The ability of modern, global media networks to report instantly on terrorist acts further increases their potency and a general sense of fear within populations. The threat of 'international' terrorist acts, where individuals commit acts of terrorism in countries other than their own, has also grown significantly over the past ten years. This is particularly relevant to acts committed within western states (see definition) such as the US.

Traditional terrorist network

Traditional terrorist networks in this context are taken to mean a particular kind of organised group of individuals willing to undertake acts of terrorism. These networks are those which have had confrontation with western states' governments in the past, particularly during the 1970s and 1980s, such as the Red Army Faction in Germany or the Irish Republican Army in the UK. These groups, and those like them, can be said to differ from al Qaeda in terms of the targeting of their actions, which were against identified, often individual targets. Whilst other people did get injured and killed, 'a lot of people dead' was far less central to their objectives.

Victory over terrorism

It is difficult to define 'victory' over terrorism. However, 'victory' over terrorism could be seen as having been achieved when the committing of terrorist acts has stopped sustainably and for the foreseeable future, because no-one sees a benefit in pursuing whatever political or social agenda they might have, whether legitimate or not, through random violence.

Western culture

Western culture is often perceived, rightly or wrongly, as incorporating materialism, consumerism, capitalism, imperialism and modernism. It is characterised by liberalism, democracy, Christianity, in some cases also Judaism, and an increasingly secular society. The perception that one or other of these values directly contradicts and/or threatens the values of a different culture can lead to a sense of insecurity amongst certain individuals within that society.

Western states/societies

Here, 'western states' refers to EU Member States, North American states (US, Canada) and Australia & New Zealand. For the purposes of this report, Israel is included in this definition.

Muslim states/societies

Here, this refers to those societies with significant Muslim populations, particularly referring to those 57 states that form the 'Organisation of the Islamic Conference'. Members include; Afghanistan, Algeria, Chad, Egypt, Guinea, Indonesia, Iran, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Pakistan, Palestinian Territories, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Tunisia, Turkey, Yemen (founder members in 1969).

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And as for the kingdoms of this world, we cannot covet them, much less can we fight for them, but we do earnestly desire and wait, that by the word of God's power and its effectual operation in the hearts of men the kingdoms of this world may become the kingdoms of the Lord and of his Christ, that he might rule and reign in men by his spirit and truth, that thereby all people, out of all different judgments and professions might be brought into love and unity with God and one with another, and that they might all come to witness the prophet's words, who said, 'Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more'. (Isaiah 2:4; Micah 4:3)

Declaration to Charles II, 1660

A good end cannot sanctify evil means; nor must we ever do evil, that good may come of it... It is as great presumption to send our passions upon God's errands, as it is to palliate them with God's name... We are too ready to retaliate, rather than forgive, or gain by love and information. And yet we could hurt no man that we believe loves us. Let us then try what Love will do: for if men did once see we love them, we should soon find they would not harm us. Force may subdue, but Love gains: and he that forgives first, wins the laurel.

William Penn, 1693

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