



Preface

Dear readers,

We are happy to present the eighth newsletter of the FP-6 project Transnational Terrorism, Security and the Rule of Law (TTSRL). This newsletter introduces the findings of deliverable 12a, the third deliverable from Work Package 6. The work package is aimed at promoting an understanding of the possible counter-terrorism measures the EU will be able and required to develop in the ongoing struggle against transnational terrorism.

The results presented in this newsletter are drawn from [TTSRL deliverable 12a](#), which, focusing on the case of the EU, addresses one important implementation aspect: how does counterterrorism relate to the priorities of other policies? Do they reinforce each other, or is there a clash of interests? Below, we will briefly describe some of our findings and conclusions.

Earlier newsletters (click [here](#)) introduced the project and presented the results of other deliverables, such as a study about threat perceptions and contemporary security debates and one on the relation between terrorism and the media. The two other deliverables from Work Package 6 are deliverable 10, called *Theoretical treatise on counterterrorism* and deliverable 11, called *Mapping counterterrorism: a categorization of policies and the promise of empirically-based, systematic comparisons*. The findings of these three deliverables and those of a forthcoming deliverable on ethical bottlenecks in counterterrorism (deliverable 12b), will be turned into a separate deliverable (deliverable 13, forthcoming), which will outline a feasible and necessary role for the EU in the fight against terrorism. All TTSRL publications can be downloaded from the [TTSRL-website](#).

Kind regards on behalf of the consortium,

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Findings of the report *Conflict and coherence: the relation between the EU's counterterrorism efforts and other policies*

Introduction

As yet, researchers have paid relatively little attention to the impact and effects of counterterrorism policies. Most research about ways to fight terrorism focuses on descriptions of particular policies and stops short of examining what happens when a certain measure or policy is implemented. Deliverable 12a of the TTSRL project attempts to fill part of that void by addressing a very important implementation aspect: the relation between counterterrorism and other policy priorities. Do counterterrorism priorities go well with the other policy priorities or do they contradict each other and, as such, reduce the effectiveness of the underlying measures? The deliverable focuses on the EU policy priorities currently in place.

Way of working

To get an idea of the points of coherence and conflict between various EU policy domains, we compared the policy priorities from the *European Union Counter-Terrorism Strategy* and the *EU Action Plan on Combating Terrorism* with those in official documents (White Papers, Green Papers, strategies etc.) about other policy fields. We examined those policy fields that are defined by the European Commission:

- a. Agriculture, Fisheries and Food
- b. Business
- c. Cross-Cutting Policies
- d. Culture, Education and Youth
- e. Justice and Citizens' Rights
- f. Economy, Finance and Tax
- g. Employment and Social Rights
- h. Energy and Natural Resources
- i. Environment, Consumers and Health
- j. External Relations and Foreign Affairs
- k. Regions and Local Development
- l. Science and Technology
- m. Transport and Travel

We checked all these policy fields for points of coherence and conflict with the EU's counterterrorism strategy and with the Action Plan. From each of the individual policy field analyses, we derived policy priorities that have a bearing in counterterrorism. Instead of discussing all these policy priorities separately, we chose to discuss clusters of policy priorities, i.e. groups of points of conflict or coherence that relate in a similar vein to counterterrorism. Figure 1 shows the



clusters and the strands of the *European Union Counter-Terrorism Strategy* that they affect.

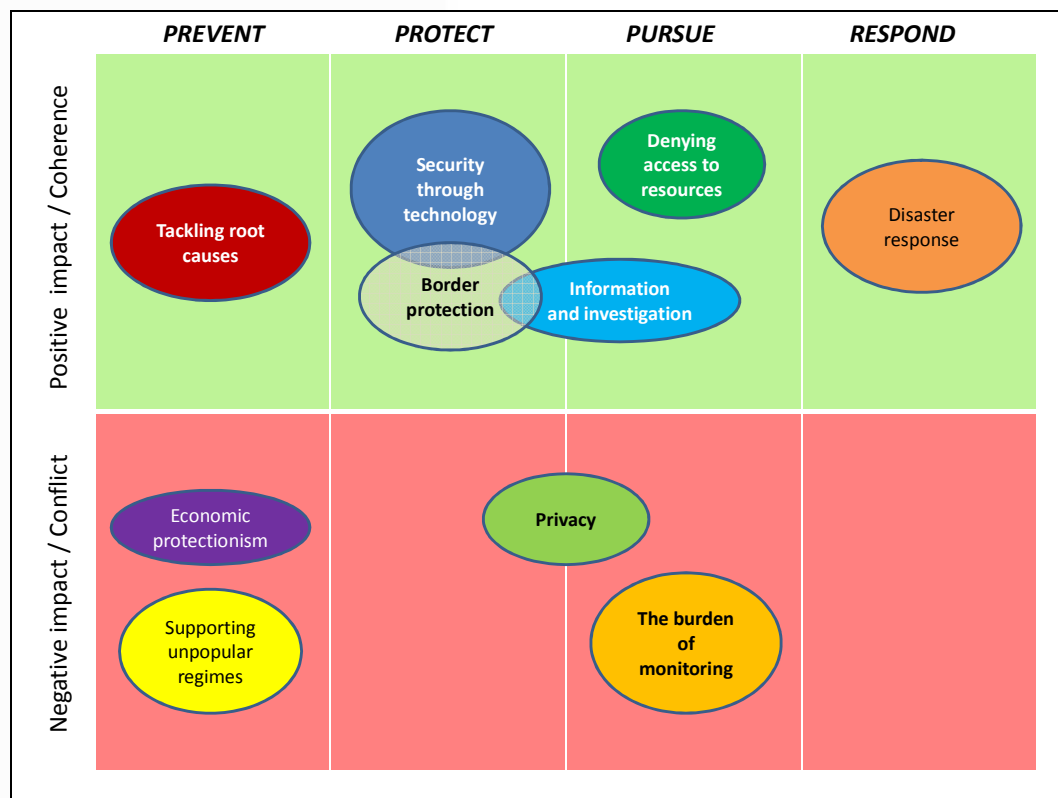


Figure 1: visualization of clusters

Findings

We identified three possible kinds of relations between counterterrorism and other policies. First, counterterrorism can drive other policy priorities. In these cases, the fight against terrorism provides a window of opportunity for the introduction of measures that can be used for counterterrorism but also for other purposes. The European Arrest Warrant is a case in point. Second, counterterrorism can be driven by other policy priorities. This happens when measures along the lines suggested by one of the two EU counterterrorism documents we examined, are already in place as parts of other policy fields, thus executing part of the EU's counterterrorism strategy. The third possibility is that there is a contradiction between counterterrorism and other policies. Below, we will briefly discuss the clusters and the way they relate to counterterrorism.

1. Counterterrorism drives other policies

The clusters *Border protection*, *Information and investigation* and *Denying access to resources* can be discussed under one heading because they all contribute to a European framework to counter organized crime. *Information and investigation* covers all policy priorities that aim at facilitating the cooperation between national law enforcement agencies. *Denying access to resources* is about



measures to make sure that dangerous materials do not fall into the wrong hands.

Many of the points of coherence that were grouped in one of these clusters can be used as instruments to counter terrorism, but also against other forms of organized crime, such as drugs smuggling and human trafficking. Already before 9/11, the EU had the ambition to build a framework against organized crime, and the counterterrorism measures it has introduced in these three clusters help it achieve that goal.

2. Counterterrorism is being driven by other counterterrorism policies

This option concerns mainly the *Tackling root causes* cluster. This cluster contains initiatives to stimulate economic development, democratization and social development and thus addresses what are often, also by the EU, perceived as root causes of terrorism. Initiatives of this kind have been around since long before 9/11 and the EU's counterterrorism efforts benefit from a more general perception of root causes of security. The notion that political instability, conflict and violence are the results of economic and social wrongs is widely held in the EU security discourse. Another cluster that drives counterterrorism is *Disaster response*. Several recent natural disasters have driven home the need for European disaster response capacities, with the EU at the very least in a coordinating role. The efforts to bring this about, as they are aimed at natural and man-made disasters alike, also contribute to the preparedness on the European level for a terrorist attack.

3. There is a conflict between counterterrorism policy priorities and those of other policy fields

The clusters *Privacy* and *The burden of monitoring* show that the EU has to strike the familiar balance between security on the one hand and freedom on the other. The policy priorities in these two clusters imply monitoring of social activity, be it trade, travel or telecommunication, and therefore raise the question how strongly a governmental agency can interfere in citizens' lives.

The difficulty with the *Supporting unpopular regimes* and *Protectionism* clusters is about sending the wrong messages. If aid programs help autocratic regimes that have lost the support from their citizens, it is likely to only fuel resentment against both the regime and the EU, or, more generally, the West. In the same vein, the intention to protect the European internal market against outside competition hampers the economic development of some third countries and thus not only contradicts the ambition to help end poverty, but could also lead some in third countries to question the sincerity of the aid programs.

Conclusion

This study has shown a wide range of ways in which counterterrorism and other policies can reinforce each other or get in each other's way. The question of how





counterterrorism and other policies relate to each other is thus a relevant one, and it might be worth examining the state of affairs in this regard on the national level. It points our attention to possibly unintended consequences of counterterrorism and may reveal difficulties as well as opportunities.





Upcoming Events

TTSRL's final conference

Brussels, 5-6 February 2009

On 5 and 6 February, after all deliverables have been finished and published on the TTSRL-website, TTSRL will organize a final conference to present the most important and thought-provoking research results to an audience of researchers, policy makers and practitioners. Keep an eye on the [TTSRL-website](#) and on the TTSRL-newsletters, or [contact us](#) for more information about the program, registration and the speakers.

How terrorism ends

Aberystwyth University, 5-6 December 2008

The Economic & Social Research Council and the British International Studies Association host a conference on the decline or abandonment of terrorism. The focus will be on the role of the state, negotiation and civil society as factors that contribute to ending a terrorist campaign. Speakers include William Zartman and Donatella Della Porta. See <http://users.aber.ac.uk/mys/csrvc/conferences.htm> for more information and the program.





The Reading Corner

Crush the cell: how to defeat terrorism without terrorizing ourselves

Michael A. Sheehan: Crown Publishers, 2008

In his provocative new book *Crush the cell*, Michael A. Sheehan tries to dispel the hype around counterterrorism. He argues that the threat is blown out of proportion, also by terrorism experts in the media, which plays into the terrorists' hands and results in a plethora of countermeasures that, according to Sheehan, are a waste of taxpayers' money. Drawing on the experience he gained as a counterterrorism policy maker and practitioner in law enforcement, diplomacy and the military, he tries to put the capabilities of terrorists into perspective and makes a case for an emphasis on intelligence gathering over target hardening. The ability to predict the terrorists' next move is the key to a counterterrorism policy that is effective and does not put too much of a burden on society in terms of money, bureaucracy and the curtailment of freedom.

