Post-Brexit Britain's Exposure to Foreign Terrorism:

Official Script

Jenna:

Marett

Sophie

Slide One: Overview & Introduction

Slide Two: Referendum results
Jenna: On the 23rd of June 2016, a referendum was held spurred by debates over immigration and economic policies for Britain to leave the European Union. Longstanding widespread resentment of globalization and surge of nationalist sentiment led to demands for change.

Marett: The results of the referendum led to Britain's decision to leave the European Union. Scholars and pollsters had inaccurately predicted the result, underestimating the levels of support from the leave camp.

Sophie: As a result, the United Kingdom has entered a period of deep uncertainty from the 23rd of June and has increased since March 2017.

Slide Three: The Threat
Jenna: The threat of terrorism in the United Kingdom has grown in recent years with the rise of jihadist terrorist activity.

Marett: A terrorist attack in the UK has been highly likely since August 2014 and unfortunately recent events such as the attack on Westminster have illustrated the severity of the situation. As you can see on this graph, the terror threat level in the United Kingdom has not dipped below “substantial” since MI5 began publishing it in 2008. The following video outlines the threat of terrorist activity in the United Kingdom.

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Sophie: In order to analyze terrorism, we use Louise Richardson’s definition, stating that terrorism can be defined as “Deliberately and violently targeting civilians for political purposes.”

Slide Five: Our Four Areas of Analysis

Marett: Throughout this presentation, we will analyze four major areas which will be affected by the UK’s counter-terrorism policy post-Brexit. Firstly, to ensure that the state is not further exposed to foreign terrorists without the EU, the border must be patrolled and secured. Secondly, bilateral agreements and diplomatic ties with the United States, NATO and the EU must be renegotiated as Article 50 has come into effect.
Jenna: Thirdly, Brexit will lead to renegotiations regarding data-sharing, which is a critical element of any counter-terrorism operation. Finally, Brexit has led to shifts in the U.K’s economic environment leading to uncertainty in how this will affect the U.K’s national policy regarding counter-terrorism strategies. All these questions regarding borders, alliances, data-sharing and finances will be explored.

Slide 7 - 9 Border Security:
Marett:
- To begin, border security will become paramount in the post-EU era as being an island is no longer a good defense against the continent. The permeable border between the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland will require additional police presence and bring conflicts closer to London. The English Channel Tunnel has already experienced problems with refugee stowaways on freight trains. Despite bilateral immigration agreements between the two countries that would not be affected by Brexit, uncertainty and perception could exacerbate existing border control issues across the Channel.¹

Border & Northern Ireland:
- The main benefit for Britain leaving the EU is that it will have sole control over its borders, and thus be able to check the number of migrants from the rest of Europe. However, these migrants will still be allowed in the Republic of Ireland. Currently, non-EU citizens can acquire a single visa for the Republic and Northern Ireland. Thus, the UK would be forced to install a hard border or increase checkpoints to prevent their entry into Northern Ireland and the UK.
- A predominant concern for those living in Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland is the reinstallation of a hard border which would incite much anger and violence, recall memories IRA, and cause infrastructure issues that could prevent citizens from working in one country, but living in the other.
- Northern Ireland secretary James Brokenshire, a supporter of Brexit, claims that there is a “high level of collaboration on a joint programme of work that includes investment in border procedures; increased data sharing to inform immigration and border security decisions; passenger data systems enabling the collection and processing of advanced passenger information; and harmonised visa processes. He has said “It is a high priority for the government that we do not see border controls coming into place.”²

Slide 10 - 14: Alliances:
Marett EU: Brexit has led to the decline of Britain’s diplomatic sovereignty³ in the European Union. Europol, an EU funded law enforcement agency, has a Europe-wide database and improves cooperation between British and other European police forces.⁴ A spokesperson for Europol stated, “The UK is one of the leading sources of intelligence, contributing to

¹ http://inhomelandsecurity.com/will-brexit-affect-british-border-control/
⁴ https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-kingdom/2016-07-04/nato-after-brexit
Europol’s database on serious and organized crime.”5 Further, “Individual European states typically have far less in the way of intelligence capabilities than the UK.”6

- **NATO:** NATO will still be intact, just weaker following brexit, which is why “Brexit is bad for NATO.” The NATO Secretary General said that “Uncertainty and unpredictability always create challenges to our security” - NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer.

- **USA:** Britain’s ‘Special Relationship’ with the United States has previously led it into conflict, including the Iraq War.7 “During his April 2016 state visit to the UK, President Barack Obama stated that Brexit would not harm US–UK intelligence cooperation. But... the US intelligence community would... see the UK as a diminishing asset.”8

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**Slide 15 -16: Data Sharing:**

**Jenna:** Data sharing, in broad terms, is the practice of making data used for scholarly research, available to other investigators. Communications data is a vital tool used to investigate crime, protect the public and safeguard national security. Brexit has introduced new challenges for the United Kingdom for their information-sharing practices.

Former MI6 Chief Sir John Sawyer claimed that leaving the European Union would be “less safe” asserting data-sharing is a “crucial part of counter-terrorism and counter-cyber work that we do these days, and we would lose the abilities of thing like the the European Arrest Warrant”.

Sir Malcolm Rifkin, former Defence Secretary also illustrated the need for intelligence sharing. Intelligence and security cooperation amongst nations is vital in a world that is increasingly threatened by sophisticated terrorist networks.

Honorary Professor with C.S.T.P.V Adam Roberts claims that intelligence is the most vital element in successful counter-terrorism strategy. He states, “Perhaps 95% of the important action in any campaign against terrorism consists of intelligence and police work: identifying suspects, infiltrating movements, collaborating with police forces in other countries, gathering evidence for trials and so on.” The greatest challenges in intelligence-gathering and sharing are as follows:

1. **Loss of data sharing capacities**
   a. In leaving the EU the UK will lose the platform from which it has been able to exert its influence, with a risk to the UK’s ability to protect its security interests in future.

2. **Legislation will be at odds**
   a. Now UK must undertake the huge legal task of detangling its agreements especially in relation to EU criminal law where some parts could continue as before. However, there is also the chance of a “clean break” where the UK would be free from the burdens of EU criminal law but also be deprived of its benefits.
   b. The most evident downside would arise if the UK pulled out of European crime bodies and no longer took part in the mutual recognition deals and police cooperation. One of those would be the European Arrest warrant, which

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7 http://www.cer.org.uk/insights/nato-eu-and-brexit-joining-forces

   -june-july-2016-ae7e/58-3-04-inkster-cm-3caf
harmonizes the substantive criminal law of EU countries by requiring them to ensure that certain acts are punishable by appropriate penalties as used in the London Bombings in 2005 by speeding up the extradition process.

3. **Britain will have low leverage at renegotiating data-sharing agreements**
   a. Britain will become a “second-league tier” meaning that it loses the same amount of access it had to these organizations before and have less influence on decision-making. These plans were confirmed by the Director of Europol in March 2017.

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**Slide : Financial Repercussions:**

**Jenna:**

As predicted, the immediate economic impact of Brexit sent the UK into turmoil. The value of the pound dropped more than 10% which resulted in a slide in the stock markets and a freeze in investments. Despite the improvements to the economy as time progressed, economists still remain pessimistic on the longer-term implications. There is an omnipresent fear that Europe will demand the UK to pay the highest price possible in the negotiation phase.

The economic implications of Brexit are immense. Brexit has affected the all of the issues outlined on the screen. The overarching issue is the high level of uncertainty that will continue during Brexit’s protracted process lasting several years. The long-term financial effects of Brexit are unknown but there are several predictions regarding the future for Britain’s financing of its counter-terrorism policy in that funding may be threatened.

In the EU, the UK was able to share the burden of financing international military operations with its fellow EU member states utilizing Article 222, which requires the collective mobilization of military resources. We will explore how our policy solutions could benefit from increased funding.

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**Slide: Solutions/Policy Implementations:**

**Sophie:** We have devised a list of counter-terrorism initiatives moving forward. All of these proposals have ensured that the UK will continue to respect international law and human rights standards.

**Maret:** The UK has a long-term strategy for countering international terrorism referred to as CONTEST, which aims to reduce the risk from international terrorism by preventing, pursuing, protecting and preparing for terrorist attacks. Our policies will build on the existing programme.

**Jenna:** Our policies all focus on nonmilitary responses to counter terrorism.

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**Slides: Understanding the Root Causes:**

**Sophie:**
**Why and Mission Slide:**

How can Britain combat the underlying ideology that feeds, supports and sanctions terrorism?

Our main reason for addressing the root causes is to give contexts to why extremism is occurring so frequently in the UK. Our mission is to prevent marginalized UK citizens from turning to terrorist groups. Furthermore, we want to aid other countries in rooting out terrorism within their own communities.

Building on the already existing framework of UK’s counter terrorism policy of CONTEST, we would continue policies such as:

- Addressing the institutionalized religious, social and economic discrimination against Muslims and other groups that contribute to radicalization
- Isolated and oppressed individuals are more at risk to turn towards jihadi groups, occurring when societies are intolerant, unsupportive and socially exclusive of Islam.

**Objectives Slide:**

The renowned social psychologist Philip Zimbardo once said: “Terrorism is about one thing. Psychology. It is the psychology of fear”

I will be discussing the psychological impact leading up to and following Brexit and the need to realign and redefine our perception of ‘us’ the ingroup and the ‘other’ outgroup through media, education, and policy to combat terrorist groups in Britain.

**Isolation of the Other Slide:**

In regards to the psychology of terrorism and counter-terrorism post Brexit, the ingroup will be defined as the predominantly caucasian European majority and the outgroup is referring to the perceived Muslim community that threatens UK safety.

Since 9/11, national security has greatly increased in order to prevent another mass attack. Such prevention strategies have created a suspicion and increased surveillance of individuals falling under what can be perceived as a ‘Muslim Visual Stereotype’.

Empirical evidence has shown that minorities believe that their treatment by authorities reveals the extent to which they are included within a community. The ‘Stop and Search’ policy in the UK isolates minority individuals, where the lingering fear of being under surveillance and suspicion can be used as meta-representation for the perceptual norms of the majority.

**Slide:**

Modern terrorism has been described as evoking disproportionate fear and creating enduring apprehension of threat in a population. The individual reaction to this level fear is multifaceted and complex. The threat of personal and national danger is something that can
be an influential determinant in: how one perceives the Muslim community, participates in collective and normative action, and trusts and supports governmental policy.

The outcome of Brexit was a clear representation of how the collective action from the majority population implemented a policy that they believed would be beneficial to their ingroup. In most cases, the emotion stemming from the feelings of disadvantage and unfairness, ignite actions that are intended to be beneficial to both the individual and the group.

Media played one of the most crucial roles in the journey to Brexit, having formed and manipulated people’s perceptions of threat. Terrorists do not just work through mass destruction, but they have a great success in implementing fear and feeding off the isolation from media representation. Media is metaphorically like their oxygen, fueling the attention they receive. For this reason, the media should be cautious about the psychological impact of their pieces on both innocent citizens and terrorist groups. Although the media’s impact is large, we believe the government should not intervene with the free press.

**Slide:**

Redefining what ‘us’ and ‘other’ means will be the most effective method for breaking down the stereotyped borders. When looking at what ‘us’ and ‘them’ are in a diagram, the ‘us’ category from the majority perspective will include individuals in the UK who have a similar self-identity, in this case ethnicity and religious orientation. Without proper education or exposure to the Muslim community, media and misinformation about the threat of the Jihadist extremists can wrongly place the entire Muslim population as the outgroup. This misinformation is a factor that can lead to problems such as ‘the muslim stereotype, and ethnic divide in the UK.

**Slide:**

In order to make counter-terrorism strategies more effective, and the public more trusting of the government, it will be crucial to narrow the threatening outgroup category and expand the ingroup. The implementation of this narrowed perception would help combat the “Muslim Visual Stereotype” as mentioned earlier, would increase perception of safety, and would give new strategies for identifying extremist groups.

**Slide:**

The three ways that this can take action are media, education, and policy. Steps need to be taken to give the public accurate information about risk and internal threats in an undramatized and informative way. Manipulating fear in a population is detrimental to the wellbeing of the public. It will be important to encourage politicians to reduce the number of inflammatory statements they give to media sources, and to abstain from creating a dramatized presentation of the news.

Education can be reformed to be more inclusive. Steps need to be taken in media, schools, community centers, and businesses to ensure that education about the real threat of jihadist extremists, is differentiated from the prototypical Muslim individual. Having the public shift their identity will be difficult as that means the entire ingroup would have to shift its
normative. People crave stability in their identity however, education will be the best method for creating this shift.

Using the Jihadist threat as the outgroup, the entirety of the Muslim community and the formerly mentioned ingroup have a shared identity in regards to beliefs and action. Finally, the policy reform would need to include both strategies for the majority and the minority groups. Currently, programs such as “CONTEST” solely focus on the minority when identifying risk. Reforming it to include what the majority can do as well as the minority will create a level of inclusivity for those who have felt under surveillance and suspicion. Greater inclusivity would mean less uneducated fear, and this is a strong method of combatting psychological terrorism.

**Slide: International Terrorism Initiative:**

**Marett:** As terrorism is able to transcend borders, it is critical that the UK works with allies to dismantle global terrorist networks by creating a cohesive and united international security vision. Our main goal is to strengthen our close security and defense relationships with our allies. We will target terrorism as an international community through the continued sharing of intelligence and non-military personnel.

**Jenna:** We propose the continuation of an effective international anti-terrorism initiative that will protect against a wide range of terrorist attacks while it continues to afford a maximum exercise of democratic freedoms and privileges.

**Marett:** Our objectives are split into two levels: State and International. On a state level, we suggest the following policy implementations:

- Encouraging states to publicly condemn attacks on civilians or hostage-taking
- Encouraging states to refuse military, financial or logical assistance to any actor that sponsors terrorist attacks.
- Encouraging states to enact stricter prohibitions on sales and possession of weapons

**Jenna:** On an international level, we suggest the following:

- Britain must strengthen its international cooperation, working with partners and allies to strengthen our intelligence efforts and achieve disruption of terrorists outside its borders
- Britain must re-negotiate a comprehensive counterterrorism strategy regarding data-sharing between the EU as the November 2015 Paris attacks only illustrate the need for Britain to collaborate in counter-terrorism operations.
- The United Kingdom should encourage states to restrict arms sales, particularly regarding the transfers of explosives and weapons used for terrorism to states that do not restrict their dissemination
- Britain & its allies should use “Carrots” to induce terrorists to refrain from terrorist activities. This can be done by providing amnesty, re-socialization and through political talks. These positive measures rather than inducing a zero or negative sum-game will create a win-win situation where everyone gain
- Finally, as repercussions, pre-emptive measures to starve terrorists of their financial, human, physical and technological resources to disrupt their activities will be utilized
**Slide: Campaign to Prevent Recruitment:**

**Marett:** It is critical to deter those who facilitate terrorism by challenging the ideologies that extremists believe can justify the use of violence. Foreign terrorist organizations aspire to radicalize and recruit people in large numbers to be a part of their international network.

**Sophie:** The problem with the CONTEST program, aimed at countering radicalization, is its focus on the outgroup members of the Muslim minority, and fails to address the ingroup.

**Marett:** We are looking to engage with sectors such as education, faith and criminal justice to resolve the challenge of terrorism by promoting integration, democratic participation, and a strong interfaith dialogue.

**Sophie:** We want to prevent UK citizens from becoming involved with terrorist organizations abroad. We hope to empower young people from lower income and socio-economic groups to build a community of solidarity and prevent them from being targets for recruitment.

- There are other programs such as the Global Engagement Center in the US. Their slogan is “Think Again, Turn Away” is geared towards reaching at risk youth and and pulling them back from the brink of geo-political extremism. These top down strategies will also help counter terrorism.

**Marett:** We also would work with private organizations to stop online recruitment. Moonshot CVE is one in the UK. Their slogan is: “From digital capacity building to counter-messaging campaigns, we use data-proven techniques to ensure our clients respond to violent extremism effectively.” Here is a video from them:

VIDEO HERE

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**Slide: Strengthen Defenses at Home:**

**Jenna:** Our final policy suggestion focus area is on strengthening defences at home.

**Marett:** With Brexit, it is critical to secure the Irish/Northern Irish border and Chunnel in order to prevent terrorists from entering the UK and to allow the UK to better handle traffic between countries.

**Jenna:** Furthermore, police and first responders must be adequately prepared to handle a terrorist attacks and therefore require increased funding.

**Marett:** **Policy Solutions for Borders:**

To start off, we must strengthen our border security, by improving our identity management through the use of biometrics. We will begin by strengthening airport security checkpoints and border controls through increased funding. Using part of the standing 2015 Counter-Terrorism and Security Act, we will:
- “Create a Temporary Exclusion Order that can temporarily disrupt a British citizen suspected of involvement in terrorist activity abroad from returning to the UK.
- Clarify the scope of power to examine goods at (or near) ports;
- Improve law enforcement agencies’ ability to find out who is responsible for sending internet communications; enhance our aviation, maritime and rail border security, with provisions relating to passenger data, ‘no fly’ lists, and security and screening measures
- Ensure that UK-based insurance firms cannot reimburse the payment of terrorist ransoms
- Put Channel, the government’s voluntary programme for people vulnerable to being drawn into terrorism, on a statutory basis.9

Britain’s Border Force is not equipped to quickly, accurately and securely monitor passengers in and out of Britain. At times 7.5 percent of high risk flights have not been properly screened, which translates to over four thousand high-risk flights not being met. Outsourcing this task to private companies, has proved ineffective in the past, but could work in the present if given the autonomy to create high security systems.10

**Jenna:** The development and delivery of our counter-terrorism strategy would require the Government to work with police and first responders. Policing in England and Wales has been described to be in a “potentially perilous state” as a direct result of budget cuts11. Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary’s 2017 annual report said that investigations have been stopped and perpetrators, have remained at large due to budget cuts. Police officers are trying to deal with 120% of current demand with only 80% of the resources.12 Despite heavy opposition from police chiefs, the Home Office intends on further cutting funds by 3-6 percent.

Instead of cutting funding for police and first responders, they must be equipped with the resources and training needed to counter potential attacks. By improving law enforcement agencies’ ability to identify threats by gathering intelligence, they will be able to disrupting terrorist activities more efficiently. The attacks on Westminster on March 23rd illustrated the efficiency of the emergency services including police and other first responders. We must ensure that the resources for counter-terrorism police and security and intelligence agencies to pursue terrorists remains robust. The UK must continually evaluate and test its preparedness.

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12 Paddick, Brian. "You may be disgusted that police control rooms are downgrading urgent calls – but often there are simply no more officers to send." The Independent. Independent Digital News and Media, 01 Mar. 2017. Web. 02 Mar. 2017.
→ Our specific commitments the UK would be as outlined on the screen to continue commitment to investing in UK’s front line defense capabilities and using funds from the EU membership fees to support police and intelligence services with the funding they need.

Slide: 4 Point Plan

Marett: Today, we have outlined many of our specific policy initiatives that we would recommend to the United Kingdom moving forward.

Sophie:
1) Understanding Root Causes
   a) By Increasing top down government outreach and bottom up community initiatives
   b) And by taking action to reform policy, education, and media

Jenna:
2) International Terrorism Initiative is divided in both state and international level initiatives, focused on strengthening alliances and improving data sharing.

Sophie:
3) Campaign to Prevent Recruitment
   a) Media Outreach
   b) Improve the CONTEST program

Marett:
4) Strengthening Defences at Home
   a) By strengthening our commitment Police & First Responders and
   b) Strengthening Borders focusing on the Chunnel and the Irish-Northern Irish border.

Slide: Conclusions:

Jenna: Our strategy will allow the UK to tackle other wider forms of terrorism including threats posed by extreme right-wing groups or other ethnic or religious organizations. All of our policy platforms must be done whilst safeguarding civil liberties and ensuring accountability.

Sophie: With increased funding, better cooperation of data-sharing between alliances and strengthened borders, the UK will be able to counter the threat of terrorism.

Marett: Our policies included understanding the root causes of the threat, creating an international anti-terrorism initiative, revitalizing a campaign to prevent recruitment and strengthening our defences at home.

Slide: Conclusions:

Sophie: Thank you for listening! We will now open the floor to questions.