



GLOBAL UNCERTAINTIES SCHOOLS' NETWORK

Student written Head-to-Head competition:

TERRORISM

Produced by



www.debatingmatters.com/globaluncertainties

OVERVIEW

The Global Uncertainties Schools Network was set up by the Institute of Ideas' Debating Matters Competition and is supported by the Research Councils UK (RCUK) programme 'Global Uncertainties: Security for all in a Changing World'. Throughout the Spring, the Global Uncertainties School Network ran a series of day long events with students up and down the country, in which participants explored through debate and discussion some of the themes of the Global Uncertainties Programme, including terrorism, ideologies and beliefs and cyber-security.

Following the success of the day events, participating students were invited to take part in a written head-to-head exchange competition, in which they discussed some of the themes of the programme further. Twenty-two students participated overall.

Published here are the winning exchanges and the feedback from a panel of expert judges who were asked to decide on the winning contributions and to make an assessment of the quality of arguments overall.

Students participating in the Global Uncertainties Schools Network were invited to take up the challenge of entering into written head-to-head exchanges with their peers on the debate themes they discussed and explored at live events earlier in the year.

Those students who explored the issue of terrorism they were invited to debate the motion:

“PROTECTING THE PUBLIC FROM TERRORISM SHOULD COME BEFORE CIVIL LIBERTIES”

Students who took up the challenge were randomly assigned one side of the debate, FOR or AGAINST, to propose and defend. As can be seen below, the judges of the competition were generally impressed with articulacy and passion of the students who took part.

We hope that you enjoy reading the judges' feedback and the students' exchanges. Debating Matters would also like to thank and commend those students that didn't make it through to the final three; your contribution to this exciting and experimental project was both appreciated and commended by the judges.

JUDGES

As with Debating Matters live debates, there is much to be learned by students from the feedback and constructive criticism of the judges. Below, you can read:

- The results and reasons why judges chose each student for 1st, 2nd and 3rd place.
- The judges' overall feedback on the debates, criticism and suggestions for improvement.
- The winning head-to-head exchanges (1st, 2nd and 3rd place).



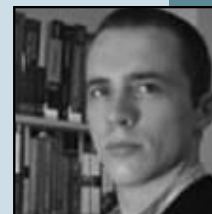
Jonathan Birdwell, researcher, Violence and Extremism Programme, Demos

Jonathan is co-author of the report, *The Edge of Violence*, just published by Demos. The report looks at the relationship between terrorists and non-violent radicals, and is based on two years of research in the UK, France, Denmark, the Netherlands and Canada. Jonathan has written articles on terrorism for the Centre for European Policy Studies, the *Guardian* and the *New Statesman*.



Dennis Hayes, Professor of Education, University of Derby, Founder Academi

Dennis is Professor of Education at the University of Derby and a visiting professor at Oxford Brookes University. He is also known for his educational journalism and has been a member of the editorial board of the *Times Higher Education* magazine since its inception. He was a 'Backchat' columnist for 'FE Focus' in the *Times Educational Supplement*. He is the founder of the campaign group *Academics For Academic Freedom (AFAF)* and in 2009 he edited and contributed to a special edition of the *British Journal of Educational Studies* on academic freedom.



Dr Cian C. Murphy, Lecturer in law, Kings College

Cian is University Research Fellow at The City Law School and Visiting Fellow at the Centre of European Law, King's College London. He has also worked as a Teaching Fellow at University College London. Cian holds a BCL (Hons) and LL.M (Public Law) degree from the University College Cork and the University of London respectively. He was awarded his PhD by King's College London in 2010. His thesis was entitled "The Rule of Law in the EU in the "War on Terrorism"". Cian's doctoral research was supported by an AHRC Doctoral Award, NUI Travelling Studentship and Modern Law Review Scholarship.

JUDGES GENERAL COMMENTS



Jonathan Birdwell, researcher, Violence and Extremism Programme, Demos

I was very impressed with the quality of the exchanges and felt that each demonstrated a thorough understanding of the topic being debated. I was glad to see that few of the participants resorted to ad hominem acts, or emotion-based scare-mongering. I think this is one of the strongest temptations especially on the topic of terrorism and security versus civil liberties. However, there was one example in particular where this occurred — namely, in the characterisation of the ‘liberal’ side of the argument as ‘selfish’ without clearly demonstrating this to be true.

The best of the exchanges were well written, well presented, argued through with logic and effective use of evidence and statistics. The most effective exchanges were also those that engaged with their opponent’s arguments in a systematic manner. In general, many of the exchanges that were not shortlisted for a prize could have been much stronger simply through a clearer presentation of their argument (using a simple, premise — evidence — conclusion structure), the deployment of a variety of arguments instead of just a few and through a greater use of evidence and statistics. They could have also taken care to rebut their opponent’s argument in a more systematic way. Greater care to these simple corrections could result in great improvements for these participants. That said, the prize-winning exchanges stood out not only for these basic points, but also because of the creative use of analogies, rhetorical questions and subtle and highly effective distinctions.

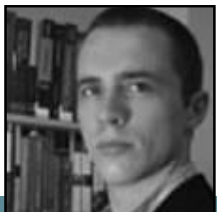


Dennis Hayes, Professor of Education, University of Derby

I was most impressed and entertained by the Raphael v Hall head to head which showed real passion, Raphael taking an approach in the 'Telegraph' style while Hall was a defensive liberal, but occasionally a hard hitting, opponent. They addressed the issue of liberty head on.

The mistake in the other head to heads was the tendency of both proponents to move on to the safe philosophical and abstract question of the nature of the state which was a distraction. Hall saw it idealistically while Boddy saw it as something there to protect us against our own misanthropy, interesting views but not directly relevant. The best and soundest advice in debating (and in examinations) is answer the question, don't change it...

The best pieces were when an argument was developed and expressed clearly on the basis of the facts but not merely listing them. The danger in some pieces was sensationalism, verging on the melodramatic: 'there would be anarchy on the streets!' Also watch out for the ridiculous: there were some ideas that needed expressing in a different form, for example the comment about the 'liberties to murder.'



Dr Cian C. Murphy, Lecturer in law, Kings College

These debates provided some interesting reading. It is clear that each debater was willing to engage passionately on behalf of his or her side of the debate. At times passion overcame reason and the exchanges suffered as a result. While a good argument appears to flow effortlessly, it is often carefully planned and executed. The debates would have been improved by the writers paying greater attention to some or all of the following points:

Have a central argument which you introduce, develop and defend. While you will make several different points in the course of a debate, they should be linked together by a central argument that builds through the exchange.

Structure your argument. Even in these short exchanges, it is easy for your audience to lose sight of your argument. A well-structured case helps you build conviction and demonstrates to the reader that you have thought through your points.

Use evidence, and use it strategically. Evidence helps convince your audience of your case, but only if you deploy it correctly. Think through whether a certain example — the European Court of Human Rights decision in Gillan, the composition of the House of Lords, or the use of stop and search — helps or hinders your argument.

Engage your opponent. A debate cannot be won without engaging your opponent's arguments. If they rely on certain evidence, use appropriate counter-evidence. Point out the flaws in any assumptions that underpin their arguments. And don't be afraid to use humour where appropriate.

Understand the nuances. When arguing, it is tempting to take a hard line and give no quarter in defending it. However, debates are rarely black and white and it is in understanding and winning the argument over the shades of grey that one truly convinces.

RESULTS

FIRST PLACE



Angela Sheard, Graveney School , London

Judges said of Angela's arguments:

Angela maintained her argument throughout the exchange, understood the need for nuance and built the most coherent contribution that mixed rebuttal with her own case. Angela's contribution demonstrated an engagement with the topic at a deeper level than the others and this allowed her to best convince the reader.

SECOND PLACE



Jonathan Hall, Silverdale School, Sheffield

Judges said of Jonathan's arguments

Jonathan offered the second best contribution. He set up to debate the motion from a hard line, but laid out his case well. Ultimately he failed to win the exchange as he acknowledged the need for a balance without addressing where it should be drawn. However, Jonathan was the best proposer of the motion and matched his adversary well.

THIRD PLACE



Harry Raphael, Queens' School, Hertfordshire

Judges said of Harry's arguments:

Harry's head to head showed real passion with a Telegraph style approach. He addressed the issue of liberty head on whereas some others were too distracted by discussing the nature of the state; seeing it either as an idealistic ally or as something there to protect against our own misanthropy.

SPECIAL MENTIONS

The three 'special mentions' from the judges were: Jenny Boddy, Silverdale School, Oliver Hall, Runshaw College and Josh Wignall, St Bedes Roman Catholic School.

THE WINNING EXCHANGES

**DEBATE:
“PROTECTING
THE PUBLIC
FROM TERRORISM
SHOULD COME
BEFORE CIVIL
LIBERTIES”**

A head-to-head exchange between **Jonathan Hall**, Silverdale School, Sheffield (awarded 2nd place) arguing FOR the motion and **Angela Sheard**, Graveney School, London (awarded 1st place) arguing AGAINST the motion.

Jonathan Hall

**“IT’S NO USE ATTEMPTING TO OUT-DEBATE
SOMEONE WHO FERVENTLY BELIEVES THAT
WESTERN INFIDELS DESERVE TO DIE, AND THAT
KILLING THEM WILL EARN THEM 72 VIRGINS IN
HEAVEN.”**

Angela Sheard

**THE BEST WAYS FOR US TO TACKLE EXTREMISM
ARE TO ALLOW DEBATE AND INCREASE
TOLERANCE ; FOR THIS TO HAPPEN, THE RIGHT
TO FREEDOM OF SPEECH OF EXTREMISTS MUST BE
MAINTAINED BY THE STATE.**

FIRST HEAD-TO-HEAD DEBATE

**“HISTORICALLY,
AND NOW, THE KEY
ROLE OF THE STATE
IS TO PROTECT THE
LIFE AND LIBERTY
OF ITS CITIZENS”**

28
DAYS
LATER
FONT

EXCHANGE 1: FOR — JONATHAN HALL

Civil liberties are those rights we hold against the state — things the government cannot do to us. But should these be considered absolute?

It should be noted that the ultimate goal of Islamist terrorists is to remove our liberty by establishing a global Islamic state. The question is therefore not just whether protection of life should trump certain civil liberties, but also whether the wider defence of the liberty of society as a whole should trump the civil liberties of a few individuals.

I will argue that the primary duties of the state must be the protection of its citizens from forces that seek to harm them, and to maximise their liberty, and so protecting the public from terrorism should come before civil liberties.

Historically, states were about protection from invading armies, and little more — Saxon kings were war leaders and little else. There has been a gradual trend towards states protecting liberty as well as life, and so a trend towards larger states as our understanding of liberty grows to include, for instance, the information and ability to make good choices we need to exercise our freedom meaningfully, and so education is understood to be a part of the state's role. Similarly, the provision of healthcare gives us the freedom to make choices we otherwise could not because of poor health. Historically, and now, the key role of the state is to protect the life and liberty of its citizens.

Philosophically, too, we can see that the role of the state ought to be in these two areas, and that we should be prepared to give up some liberty. Without a state, life would be, in the

FIRST HEAD-TO-HEAD DEBATE

“IN ORDER TO BE PROTECTED FROM PEOPLE WITH THE ABILITY TO KILL US, OR DEPRIVE US OF EVEN MORE LIBERTY ... IT IS NECESSARY THAT WE GIVE UP CERTAIN LIBERTIES.”

words of Thomas Hobbes, “nasty, brutish, and short”. In order to be protected from people with the ability to kill us, or deprive us of even more liberty — protection we cannot have without a state, or something which acts like a state — it is necessary that we give up certain liberties.

We all accept that the state can take away the liberties to murder, or to spend all we earn without helping those in need which we would have were there no state. Why, then, should giving the state the right to detain people without charge under certain, tightly controlled circumstances, or to read our emails, be considered any differently? In all these cases, in order to protect the wider liberty and lives of its citizens, the state needs to remove some of our liberties, and, with our consent, does so.

There are legitimate concerns about some of the uses to which anti-terrorism legislation has been put by recent governments — we should be careful not to give up more liberty than is necessary, and at the moment, we have. But the principle is clear — that the state’s role is to protect our lives and wider liberty, and we should be prepared to give up some of our specific liberties where we need to in order to let the state do its job.



FIRST HEAD-TO-HEAD DEBATE

“ENTITIES SUCH AS CCTV CAMERA NETWORKS AND POLICE FORCE DNA DATABASES HAVE FACED MANY CRITICISMS OVER THEIR INEFFECTIVENESS... BUT THEIR MOST IMPORTANT FLAW IS THAT THEY ENCOURAGE SUSPICION AND MISTRUST”

EXCHANGE 1: AGAINST — ANGELA SHEARD

There is evidence all around us of the increased amount of government legislation that aims to protect the public from terrorism; be it the previous Labour government's national ID card proposals, the 28-day detention for terror suspects (the longest detention time in Europe) or the five million CCTV cameras that were in the UK by 2006, amounting to one camera for every twelve people (this number has by now almost certainly risen). The culture that we have developed as a nation is, through an over-emphasis on protecting the public, putting at risk the civil liberties that we have worked so hard in the past to achieve and now take for granted. I will now argue that such measures put the relationship between the state and the individual at risk, and will explain the possible consequences for civil liberties in the future.

Entities such as CCTV camera networks and police force DNA databases have faced many criticisms over their ineffectiveness, cost in times of recession and the incompetence of the state in managing records and public information, but their most important flaw is that they encourage suspicion and mistrust. Such interventions by the state make the individual an entity to be checked up on by the state, a problem to be managed; they effectively remove trust from this relationship between the state and individual that is central to democratic rights, and patronise ordinary people by insisting that they cannot be trusted by the government. Intervention is now becoming the rule; ASBOs for instance, as a result of the 1998 Crime and Disorder Act, can be given out without any hard evidence, only hearsay, thereby dealing with problematic youth behaviour by the state in an arbitrary, uncaring way. This is a classic example of state measures failing to address the real issues in a community, in favour of petty moralising.

FIRST HEAD-TO-HEAD DEBATE

“FREEDOM OF THOUGHT IS VITAL FOR A FREE SOCIETY AND SIGNS OF THIS BEING ENCROACHED ON BY THE STATE ARE REASON FOR US TO WORRY ABOUT HOW MUCH POWER THE STATE NOW HAS OVER ORDINARY PEOPLE.”



More worrying is emerging evidence of cases that invoke the Terrorism Act 2000: ‘A person commits an offence if he possesses an article in circumstances which give rise to a reasonable suspicion that his possession is for a purpose connected with the commission, preparation or instigation of an act of terrorism.’ Take, for example, the case of Mohammed Raja, who as a result of an ambiguous line written in a letter to his parents, was arrested, interviewed, had his house raided and was eventually handed a custodial sentence; for which the only evidence was chat room scripts and various texts. This man was effectively convicted by the state for what he was thinking, without an adequate distinction between thought and action being made; freedom of thought is vital for a free society and signs of this being encroached on by the state are reason for us to worry about how much power the state now has over ordinary people.

My final point is about the possible future of civil liberties if such measures are followed through in the future. We have already seen restrictions on freedom of speech and expression become more pronounced; the Racial and Religious Hatred Act 2006 made any speech that “stirs up hatred against any person on racial or religious grounds” a criminal act, leading to the growth of a censorious culture in which any comment thought of as broadly insensitive leads to social isolation of that individual. It is similar public mistrust which has led to Islamophobia and with it the isolation of young Muslims; extremist groups will surely be driven underground by continued assaults on freedom of speech that affect their liberties.

The best ways for us to tackle extremism are to allow debate and increase tolerance ; for this to happen, the right to freedom of speech of extremists must be maintained by the state. If we continually take away the rights of these groups — and indeed the rights of ordinary people — to move where they please and say what they like, we risk losing our hard fought-for democracy in favour of an Orwellian dystopia.

FIRST HEAD-TO-HEAD DEBATE

**“AS THINGS STAND,
THE TERRORISM
LAWS DO A PRETTY
GOOD JOB OF
DISTINGUISHING
THOUGHT
CRIME FROM
CONSPIRACY.”**

EXCHANGE 2: FOR — JONATHAN HALL

Firstly, the figure of 5 million CCTV cameras in the UK you mention is an extremely questionable one — that figure is an extrapolation from two commercial streets in London (which we would expect to have more CCTV than average) to the whole of the UK. The true figure is almost certainly less, although we have no way of knowing.

I disagree with the idea that CCTV cameras and the DNA database represent an increase in the state’s mistrust of its citizens — is it wrong for the state to mistrust its citizens by employing a police force to prevent and investigate crime? Clearly not. Why, then, is it wrong to use CCTV cameras to look for the perpetrators of crimes, or DNA to find out whodunnit? But why is it a bad thing for the state to mistrust its citizens a little? We know that some of them wish to do great harm to us all — is it not therefore prudent for the state to keep its wits about it, to keep an eye open?

Mohammed Raja’s conviction was for something near thought crime — and so he was acquitted on appeal. As things stand, the terrorism laws do a pretty good job of distinguishing thought crime from conspiracy. We do not consider it an outrage that carrying a screwdriver with intent to break into a car is a crime — why is possessing terrorist literature with intent to blow up a plane any different?

As for the laws around incitement to hatred, these are simply necessary as a tool against terrorism. It’s no use attempting to out-debate someone who fervently believes that western infidels deserve to die, and that killing them will earn them 72 virgins in heaven. Debate should be allowed and encouraged — which is why indoctrination with hatred, making people immune to debate, should be banned.

FIRST HEAD-TO-HEAD DEBATE

**“STATE IMPOSED
ANTI-TERRORISM
LAWS TAKE AWAY
THE CIVIL LIBERTIES
OF YOUNG MUSLIMS
IN THE UK IN AN
UNJUST MANNER.”**

EXCHANGE 2: AGAINST — ANGELA SHEARD

I disagree with my opposition on two issues fundamental to this debate. The first is that of the involvement of the state. I do not dispute that the state must exist in order to maintain a coherent society, or that measures must be taken by the state that remove liberties from the individual; laws concerning murder and the use of violence against others are important examples of this. In justifying the necessity of a state that regulates in some way the behaviour of its citizens the real issue is ignored, which is that of a vital balance between state regulation and individual freedom. In general laws that impact of the freedom of individuals are there to prevent the actions of one individual unjustly affecting the life experience of another; on this basis, the state has no right to take away other basic rights, such as freedom of speech and expression, and freedom of the press. This is precisely why detaining people without charge, for example, is different to prohibiting and punishing murder.

My second point is one touched upon briefly by my opposition; that of the effect state regulation may have on young people at risk of becoming extremists. State imposed anti-terrorism laws take away the civil liberties of young Muslims in the UK in an unjust manner and do not send out a message of tolerance to this group. In the same way, measures such as the recent decision taken in a London borough to train teachers to spot potential terrorists in the classroom foster suspicion and mistrust, and can only be seen as aggravating social isolation and exclusion.

FIRST HEAD-TO-HEAD DEBATE

**“YOU CANNOT
PREVENT
TERRORISTS
HARMING OTHERS
SIMPLY BY
MAKING THEIR
ACTIONS CRIMES
PUNISHABLE AFTER
THE FACT.”**

CONCLUDING STATEMENTS: FOR — JONATHAN HALL

Angela quite rightly says that “In general laws that impact on the freedom of individuals are there to prevent the actions of one individual unjustly affecting the life experience of another”. This should be the purpose of any law which impacts on freedom. But the distinction she attempts to draw between taking away the “right” to murder and removing the right to free speech etc. in certain circumstances is a false one. You cannot prevent terrorists harming others simply by making their actions crimes punishable after the fact. In order to prevent terrorism effective powers to allow the police to investigate, discover and prosecute terrorists before they act, and to make inciting terrorism an offence are necessary. Without these powers, nothing is actually done to protect the lives and freedom of the public.

Of course, excessive action against groups thought to include terrorists is a major cause of radicalisation, and, as I said, some current anti-terrorist powers are excessive. But if anything, this shows the need for powers which will allow unobtrusive, digital surveillance, rather than heavy-handed, in-your-face policing and CCTV surveillance.

To conclude, it is clear that some rights must be given up to allow the protection of the public. In some modern cases, such as stop-and-search, this has gone too far; but the need to allow effective policing, the regrettable fact that some civil liberties must be given up for this, and the principle that these liberties can be given up in situations which require it are all clear. Therefore, protecting the public from terrorism can and should take priority over civil liberties.

FIRST HEAD-TO-HEAD DEBATE

“THE BEST WAY TO PREVENT FUNDAMENTALIST GROUPS BECOMING FURTHER ISOLATED AND MARGINALISED IS TO DEBATE WITH THEM, TO ENCOURAGE ARGUMENT”

CONCLUDING STATEMENTS: AGAINST — ANGELA SHEARD

Firstly, I would like to point out the difference between employing a police force and using CCTV; in providing a public service to deal with crime, the state is attempting to preserve the civil liberties of its citizens. By keeping private information on its citizens, e.g. using DNA databases, or by recording the movements of its citizens using CCTV, the state, in seeking to protect its citizens, is removing their rights to privacy and freedom of movement. Measures that remove the deserved civil rights of the innocent majority are inexcusable, especially when their ineffectiveness and cost are considered.

In the case of Mohammed Raja, it is the fact that a conviction was attempted that is shocking, regardless of the final outcome. If a person can come that close to being convicted by the state for “thought crime”, what hope have we of preserving freedom of speech? Possessing a weapon with intent to harm is illegal and extremist literature legal because the law exists to prevent us from suffering as a result of the *actions* of others, not their words. As a society, it is of paramount importance that we maintain this distinction between actions and words if we want to preserve and improve on the tolerance we have for the views of others.

My last point is, I feel, the most important. My opponent has stated that it’s “no use” attempting to debate with, for example, fundamentalists. I believe, however, that the best way to prevent fundamentalist groups becoming further isolated and marginalised is to debate with them, to encourage argument, to hear what they have to say and thus be better able to argue against them. We can make society more open, more tolerant and moderate, but only if we retain the basic civil rights of ordinary people.

SECOND HEAD-TO-HEAD DEBATE

DEBATE:
**“PROTECTING
THE PUBLIC
FROM TERRORISM
SHOULD COME
BEFORE CIVIL
LIBERTIES”**

A head-to-head exchange between **Harry Raphael**, Queens' School, Bushey (awarded 3rd place) arguing FOR the motion and **Oliver Hall**, Runshaw College, Lancashire (who received a special mention) arguing AGAINST the motion.

Harry Raphael

“ULTIMATELY, THIS DEBATE IS A QUESTION OF WHETHER ONE VALUES PERIPHERAL LIBERTIES ONE STRUGGLES TO FIND A TITLE FOR, OR SAFETY; A LIFE FREE FROM FEAR OF UNJUST ATTACKS AND THE RIGHT TO LIFE ITSELF.

Oliver Hall

“THE GOVERNMENT SEEMS TO CHIPPING AWAY AT THE CIVIL LIBERTIES THIS NATIONS DEMOCRACY IS FOUNDED ON”

SECOND HEAD-TO-HEAD DEBATE

“THE GOVERNMENT HAS THE PUBLIC’S BEST INTERESTS AT HEART. AT MOST, THE MEASURES PUT IN PLACE TO COUNTER TERRORISM’S EFFORTS ARE SMALL INCONVENIENCES TO THE INDIVIDUAL, BUT VITAL FOR THEIR SAFETY.”

EXCHANGE 1: FOR — HARRY RAPHAEL

One may question the need for protection from terrorism. This question is answered by merely looking at the detriment caused by 9/11, which resulted in 2,995 deaths, 2,572 unidentified bodies, colossal economic and environmental damage; not to mention attacks such as 7/7 which resulted in 52 deaths and over 700 injuries and Madrid 2004 which killed 191 and wounded over 1,800. Thus the total death rate of just three attacks caused by one group amounts to 4181 in just 6 years. Since then there have been measures put in place to ensure the safety of UK citizens.

The government has the public’s best interests at heart. At most, the measures put in place to counter terrorism’s efforts are small inconveniences to the individual, but vital for their safety. To denounce these small inconveniences would be selfish, as it would dramatically hinder the government in detaining potential terrorists.

However, some people complain that their civil liberties are being undermined. How can anyone suggest that peripheral ‘liberties’ should take precedence over the prime civil liberty of life?

Take the full body scanning at airports for example. Is there not substantial evidence to justify moderate safety measures such as these? Would you rather have a scan that in no way inconveniences you or would you rather place yourself and your loved ones at risk?

Measures such as these have been proven to save lives. For example, the twelve arrests made in Cheltenham Hill and across the Northwest in April 2009 under the Terrorism Act, as well as the two arrests at the JFK airport in June 2010 are suggested by critics such as Walkden (2009) and Luce (2010) to have been made possible by Government measures

SECOND HEAD-TO-HEAD DEBATE

“LEGISLATION SUCH AS THE 2005 ‘PROTECTION FROM TERRORISM’ BILL AND THE ‘28 DAYS DETENTION’ BILL HAVE BEEN PASSED WITH GREAT PRUDENCE TO ENSURE THE MOST EFFICIENT PROTECTION OF LIVES”

aimed at protecting citizens from terrorism. In short, many lives were consequently saved. Furthermore, public opinion indicates support for such measures, evident with 58% of the public supported the handling of the attempted bombing of Times Square. Moreover, in December, Abdulmutallab was able to pass through security undetected, his own foiling preventing the death of 289 passengers, implying the need for further safety measures.

In addition, Abdulmutallab was ‘educated’ and ‘radicalised’ in the UK, attending UCL, suggesting that the war on terror is now not merely a war of technology, but a battle for the hearts and minds of today’s youth. This is evident with the advocacy of ‘Education of Democratic Citizenship’, which sees lessons such as Citizenship included in the curriculum. These lessons are aimed at educating citizens of both the dangers and causes of terrorism and institutions such as the ‘Debating Matters’ and ‘Battle of Ideas’ help to raise debate around these prominent topics. Subsequently, not only is protection from terrorism maintained by long term investment, particular civil liberties such as education and freedom of speech are enhanced, with an ultimate aim of eradicating terrorism by understanding the causes and effects of extremist groups.

Legislation such as the 2005 ‘Protection from Terrorism’ Bill and the ‘28 Days Detention’ Bill have been passed with great prudence to ensure the most efficient protection of lives. For example, the 2005 Terrorist Bill came under heavy scrutiny from the Lords and was subject to profuse reports such as the ‘Lord Carlie Report’ before it was finally passed. Likewise, the ‘28 Days Detention Bill’ was moderated from an originally harsh 90 days. This depicts both the democracy and the measured nature of such legislation, thus indicating that protecting the public from terrorism in this efficient way is of more benefit than not wanting to offend certain civil liberties.

One may suggest that the war on terror is an example of democracy and representation being upheld. For example, Davis (2004) suggests that the greater people’s sense of threat,

SECOND HEAD-TO-HEAD DEBATE

“PROTECTION FROM TERRORISM MAY BE SEEN TO BE JUSTIFIED AS TAKING PRECEDENCE OVER PARTICULAR CIVIL LIBERTIES DUE TO ITS DEMOCRATIC AND REPRESENTATIVE LEGITIMACY”

the greater their support for protection, over the maintaining of minor civil liberties. However, the lower people's trust in government, the less willing they are to trade off civil liberties for security. These conclusions have been deducted from a national survey of Americans conducted after '9/11' and combined with research such as the recent BBC poll, which found that 60% of the population believe the terrorist threat to have increased, one is able to infer that protection from terrorism above civil liberties is the people's will. Thus, protection from terrorism may be seen to be justified as taking precedence over particular civil liberties due to its democratic and representative legitimacy.

To conclude, one is inclined to note that before 9/11 and later 7/7, there were far less safety measures to protect the public from terrorism than today and evidentially the loss of far more innocent lives.



SECOND HEAD-TO-HEAD DEBATE

**“MORE THAN 3,600
NEW CRIMINAL
OFFENCES WERE
CREATED BY NEW
LABOUR BETWEEN
1997 AND 2005.”**

EXCHANGE 1: AGAINST — OLIVER HALL

The UK's esteemed history in policing speaks for itself through its tolerance and civil conduct. Our professional police force was created in 1820 and has since been duplicated in countries around the world. Soon afterwards were introduced the nine principles of policing. When thinking about the British police we may still come up with images of friendly 'bobbies on the beat'. Surely it would be absolutely ludicrous to even consider calling the UK a Police state, wouldn't it? No. What about a state with those kinds of tendencies?

Maybe...

More than 3,600 new criminal offences were created by New Labour between 1997 and 2005. 1,036 new imprisonable offences have been created since 1997, with a seeming acceleration from 2003 onwards, for example, 257 from May 1997 to January 2004, 174 in 2005, 137 in 2006 and 133 in 2007. There have been 60 Home Office bills in 10 years. The Violent Crime Reduction Act 2006 was the 52nd Home Office bill and there have been 26 criminal justice bills and seven immigration bills while New Labour was in power. Between 1997 and 2006 each year has seen an average of 2,685 new laws, this is a 22% increase from the average over the last decade.

The Police in the UK can stop and search civilians without the need to show that they have reasonable suspicion an offence is being committed under the power of Section 44 of the Terrorism Act 2000. Less than half a percent of those stopped and searched are arrested in connection with terrorism and even less are convicted.

SECOND HEAD-TO-HEAD DEBATE

**“THE ROAD TO HELL
IS PAVED WITH
GOOD INTENTIONS”
(SAINT BERNARD
OF CLAIRVAUX)
I BELIEVE THIS
PROVERB
ILLUSTRATES WHAT
IS HAPPENING IN
OUR COUNTRY”**

“The road to hell is paved with good intentions” (Saint Bernard of Clairvaux) I believe this proverb illustrates what is happening in our country with regards to the edging reductions in our civil liberties backed up by seemingly well-intentioned policies and laws. They almost always come in dribs and drabs, championing issues salient to the electorate. Who wouldn't want to protect the government from terrorists and their children from drug lords?

However via the constant media coverage and public outcry over such issues as the Islam4UK group under Anjem Choudry, the government seems to be chipping away at the civil liberties this nation's democracy is founded on, parliamentary sovereignty coupled with the lack of a codified British constitution is enabling it to occur. It seems that the answer is not to reduce civil liberties further by banning such groups and others with similar 'extremist' ideologies, but to allow them their platform to express their views and strip off the badge of honour which gives leaders like Choudry the enjoyment of being vilified for their beliefs, excluded and silenced. By doing so we can allow members of all communities to listen to their views and make up their own minds about them without the use of legislation and reduction in civil liberties.

Voltaire once famously said, “I disagree with what you say but would defend to the death your right to say it” maybe it's time our politicians started to take note of the kinds of principles and liberties that made Great Britain the nation it is today before they castrate our liberties further.

SECOND HEAD-TO-HEAD DEBATE

**“IT IS APPARENT
THAT YOUR
NEGATIVE
VIEW OF OUR
DEMOCRATICALLY
ELECTED
GOVERNMENT HAS
CLOUDED YOUR
SIGHT OF THE
FACTS.”**

EXCHANGE 2: FOR — HARRY RAPHAEL

The statistical figures of government legislation that you displayed have little relevance to a terrorism debate. Your figures appear incomplete and biased. Contrary to your negative view of legislation, crime rates reached a record low in 2007 and decreased by over 8.3% in 2009-2010. Machin (2004) suggests that this is a direct result of the increased efficiency of the home office.

‘Stop and Search’ is an example of the small inconvenience an individual may encounter for the greater good of preventing terrorism. Condemning such a minor inconvenience is selfish, as it would dramatically hinder the government in detaining potential terrorists. Without such measures, incidents such as Haymarket (2007) would have been hugely tragic events.

What is more, powers to stop and search without reasonable suspicion have been revoked by the British government following a ruling by the European Court of Human Rights. It is apparent that your negative view of our democratically elected government has clouded your sight of the facts. Whilst you state legislation is impeding on our civil liberties, its effects are evidently beneficial.

This is not a question of Parliamentary Sovereignty, nor the nature of our Constitution, which is arguably highly democratic and liberal compared to the codified U.S.A. This ‘nation’s democracy’ is founded on principles of freedom of speech, but not incitement to hatred and war. Banning groups such as Islam4UK is an example of the foundations of our democracy being advocated. It is naïve to suggest that men such as Choudry enjoy being the victim of vilification and not acclamation, a point best illustrated by the fact he is leader of an organisation, not an individual with revolutionist ideas. Baker (1992)

SECOND HEAD-TO-HEAD DEBATE

**“THE GDR AND
NAZI GERMANY
ARE EXAMPLES OF
ONCE DEMOCRATIC
NATIONS WHO
FAILED TO PUT
LIMITATIONS
ON EXTREMIST
GROUPS”**

propounds that it is imperative for a liberal and democratic country to limit extremist groups inciting unjust hatred and violence. It has been so in all stable democracies since the Athenians. The GDR and Nazi Germany are examples of once democratic nations who failed to put limitations on extremist groups, inevitably leading to death, destruction and suffering.

To conclude, the prevention of the threat that terrorism poses, far outweighs the support of minor liberties that are also only being compromised temporarily.

SECOND HEAD-TO-HEAD DEBATE

**“I TAKE ISSUE WITH
MANY POINTS THAT
YOU MAKE”**

EXCHANGE 2: AGAINST — OLIVER HALL

I take issue with many points that you make, firstly in your opening the very first sentence seems to state that by standing up for civil liberties is somehow “questioning the need for protection from terrorism”. This implies that in order to protect ourselves from terrorism we must forfeit some of our civil liberties, this concerns me deeply as it seems to imply that the only place in which we can be completely safe and protected is a police state. Now we all know that isn't true as the Nazi German state had plenty of trouble from those radicalized British terrorists. You begin your piece with strong examples of ‘acts of terror’ in recent history, but I would like to point out the dates 9/11/2001, 11/4/2004 and 7/7/2005. There is a gap of 5 years between the attacks in America and those in the UK. If the issue of protection is solved via a forfeiture of civil liberties why did it take 5 years for the protection of terrorism bill to come in? And why before this bill were there not more attacks, if at that time the security was not tight enough? When reading the piece it would be logical to assume that once the bills came in and were passed with such “great prudence”, these attacks would stop. But alas on Christmas day 2009 ‘Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab’ got himself onto a Northwest Airlines Flight 253 to Detroit despite not even having his own passport, showing that the sacrificed liberties seem to have been in vain.

The language used in the second paragraph borders on offensive as well as slightly worrying. The way in which breaches of civil liberties such as being stopped and searched without reason and the detention for 28 days are, and I quote, “small inconveniences to the individual” and that by campaigning against such measures is “selfish”. I hope that this is a poor choice of words and not a true feeling because I feel I could not disagree with

SECOND HEAD-TO-HEAD DEBATE

**“IF IT MAKES ME
SELFISH TO VALUE
THE FREEDOM
TO SPEAK, LIVE,
THINK... WELL I AM
AFRAID I MUST BE
ONE OF THE MOST
SELFISH PEOPLE
AROUND, AND
THANK GOD.”**

anyone more, on any point, in any debate than with the suggestion that standing up for civil liberties and ensuring that they remain the backbone of society is somehow selfish. If it makes me selfish to value the freedom to speak, live, think, be educated, have equality of opportunity, to be tried in a court of law, to be innocent until proven guilty, and to act, well I am afraid I must be one of the most selfish people around, and thank god.

SECOND HEAD-TO-HEAD DEBATE

“IT IS APPARENT THAT TO VALUE MINOR CIVIL LIBERTIES ABOVE THE WAR ON TERROR, IS A REJECTION OF DEMOCRACY, A STABLE STATE AND UTILITARIANISM- ‘THE GREATEST HAPPINESS OF THE GREATEST NUMBER’.”

CONCLUDING STATEMENTS: FOR — HARRY RAPHAEL

It appears to me that you consider yourself to be of a liberal mind-set. However, you would apparently rather see society in a ‘barbaric and ignorant’ ‘state of nature’ (Hobbes) than merely agree to the widely acclaimed ‘social contract’. Legislation is there to protect us, and evidently has done so with an 8.3% decrease in crime rates in 2009-2010.

It is not your selfishness that worries me. It is your vain attempts to spin fact into fiction. Provide me with examples of where such liberties as the right to ‘live, think, be educated, have equality of opportunity, to be tried in a court of law, to be innocent until proven guilty, and to act’ are being even moderately infringed upon under terrorism laws. In fact, the right to live, be tried in a court of law, be educated, think and act have all been extended under the terrorism laws. For example, since 2005 we have seen no successful terrorist attacks due to the prevention of incidents such as the ‘Talbot Street bomb-making haul’ (2006) and the ‘London Car bombs’ (2007), consequently saving thousands of lives. Moreover, protection from terrorism has stimulated institutions such as ‘Debating Matters’ and the ‘Battle of Ideas’ event, which create debate and enhance education on the subject. Subsequently, freedom of thought and the development of new ideas are actively being encouraged.

What is more, democracy is clearly on the side of the war against terror, evident with 60% of the public agreeing that the threat of terrorism has increased and action needs to be taken (BBC Poll). Thus you appear to reject not only democracy but seemingly any state at all. In this way, it is apparent that to value minor Civil Liberties above the war on terror, is a rejection of democracy, a stable state and utilitarianism- ‘the greatest happiness of the

SECOND HEAD-TO-HEAD DEBATE

**“THE THREAT OF
TERRORISM IS A
REAL ONE; JUST
ASK THE FAMILIES
OF THE VICTIMS OR
THE SURVIVORS OF
7/7”**

greatest number’.

To conclude, I struggle to find your central thesis. Is it that Britain has become a ‘police state’? If so I think your use of hyperbole is profuse and rather crude. The threat of terrorism is a real one; just ask the families of the victims or the survivors of 7/7. Ultimately, this debate is a question of whether one values peripheral liberties one struggles to find a title for, or safety; a life free from fear of unjust attacks and the right to life itself.

SECOND HEAD-TO-HEAD DEBATE

**"LAST YEAR
AROUND
256,000 'MILDLY
INCONVENIENCED'
PEOPLE WERE
SEARCHED
WITHOUT A
SINGLE TERRORIST
ARRESTED"**

CONCLUDING STATEMENTS: AGAINST — OLIVER HALL

Firstly I feel it would be beneficial to the debate to point out that there has been a recent victory for the cause of civil liberties, albeit a small one, the Home Secretary; Theresa May declared that section 44 can no longer be used against members of the public.

I would like to continue by taking this recent development and some of your points to analyse your claims, "*Stop and Search*' is an example of the small inconvenience an individual may encounter for the greater good of preventing terrorism". I take issue with both key parts of this statement, one is the continued laissez faire reference to civil liberties as small inconveniences but I feel my views on that were sufficiently made in the last piece. The second is the assumption that these sacrificed liberties somehow add up to a "greater good", in this case "*the greater good of preventing terrorism*". At first glance some might say you have a point, however, last year around 256,000 'mildly inconvenienced' people were searched without a single terrorist arrested. More alarming was the increased rate of such acts, Ministry of Justice figures show that stop and searches under section 44 soared from 37,197 in 2006-07 to 117,278 in 2007-08. I can only express my gratitude to Mrs. May and the coalition government for this step and hope it continues.

Furthermore, your point surrounding Anjem Choudry: "It is naïve to suggest that men such as Choudry enjoy being the victim of vilification and not acclamation, a point best illustrated by the fact he is a leader of an organisation, not an individual with revolutionist ideas." I would like to respond to this with a few points: For arguments sake I will use your viewpoint that he is "a leader of an organisation". I trust then you would agree that as a leader of an organisation a good step forward for his organisation would be publicity,

SECOND HEAD-TO-HEAD DEBATE

after all no publicity is bad publicity (if you will pardon the cliché). As a result of this ban not only has Anjem Choudry been in every national newspaper, he has been on the BBC News, on The Daily Politics Show, on BBC World News, on Sky News and countless others. I assume you are not trying to tell me that Anjem Choudry does not enjoy having his views catapulted into the world's media because of his vilification?

To conclude I would like to echo the thoughts of our Home Secretary "The first duty of government is to protect the public. But that duty must never be used as a reason to ride roughshod over our civil liberties".

ABOUT Debating Matters

Debating Matters because ideas matter. This is the premise of the Institute of Ideas & Pfizer Debating Matters Competition for sixth form students which emphasises substance, not just style, and the

importance of taking ideas seriously. Debating Matters presents schools with an innovative and engaging approach to debating, where the real-world debates and a challenging format, including panel judges who engage with the students, appeal to students from a wide range of backgrounds, including schools with a long tradition of debating and those with none.

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ABOUT RCUK GLOBAL UNCERTAINTIES PROGRAMME

Research Councils UK (RCUK) programme 'Global Uncertainties: Security for all in a Changing World' is one of the six RCUK priority themes. These programmes provide a focus for coordinating and funding multidisciplinary research and novel approaches to help the UK address major strategic challenges that will help shape the programme's priorities and direction.

The Global Uncertainties programme is intended to run from 2008 to 2018 and is being led by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC). RCUK's support of Debating Matters is driven by a commitment to public engagement. The establishment of the Global Uncertainties Schools network is a continuation of that commitment, engaging with young people and the public on issues of global security challenges.

RCUK have identified key research areas for the Global Uncertainties Programme, which will address the complex and interdependent threats to security in the world today. Three of the areas will be explored during the Global Uncertainties six school events: Ideologies and beliefs, Terrorism and Cyber-security.

Other key Global Uncertainties Programme areas include: Threats to infrastructures, Trans-national organised crime, Proliferation of Chemical, Biological, Radiological, Nuclear and Explosive weapons and technologies. Through research in these areas the programme aims to help governments, businesses and societies to understand how security threats can be better predicted, detected, prevented and mitigated.