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**'Terrorism in Europe:
How does the Union of 25 respond to this phenomenon?'**

**Remarks by Dr. Javier Solana,
EU High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy**

(Berlin, 7 October 2004)

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a great pleasure for me to be in Berlin and share some thoughts with you on the issue of terrorism.

The form of terrorism we have been facing, since the atrocious attacks against New York and Washington on 9/11, is new. It is more fanatical, more lethal, more global than anything we have known so far.

Terrorism is a global scourge that requires a global response. In our European Security Strategy, we have identified terrorism as one of the key strategic threats facing Europe.

I would like to structure my remarks around four themes. First, our strategic vision. Second, intelligence. Third, international cooperation. Fourth, policies.

I would like to stress from the outset, that all our efforts in the field of the fight against terrorism relate to the bigger vision. This is the vision we have set out in the European Security Strategy: to make the world a better place, to make the world more secure. We have identified the existential threats of the 21st century. Terrorism is one of them. The EU has understood the challenge. We are developing a comprehensive response. We are making use of all instruments at our disposal. To this end, we are promoting all our effective mechanisms for a multilateral approach.

At the same time, we will continue to address the underlying causes of terrorism, however difficult this might be. We need to address poverty, alienation, radicalisation. We need to prevent weak states from collapsing. We need to reinforce our dialogue with other cultures.

While fully committed to the fight against terrorism, it is our duty to protect human rights. This is a very deep conviction of ours. It is a matter of preserving our basic values. I keep saying that there is absolutely no trade-off between security and human rights protection and the rule of law. The violation of human rights in the fight against terrorism is not only morally undesirable, but also ineffective in the long run.

As one would expect at a meeting such as this, one cannot neglect the role that intelligence can play in the struggle against terrorism.

The first objective of intelligence is to fight terrorists, prevent them from acting, thwart their design, track them after an attack. This is the kind of operational intelligence that is best done at the national level.

Many arrests, or disruptions or operations in Europe are the result of cooperation and sharing between services. I was particularly struck that the day I briefed Justice and Interior Ministers on ideas for improving the sharing of strategic intelligence, I had to take questions from the press as whether this was sufficient and whether there should be European mechanisms for the sharing of operational intelligence. Yet, that very day there were simultaneous arrests in five European countries in a joint operation. This can only have been the product of close operational cooperation between services.

Still, I am not complacent. For that reason it is good that Europe's security services are working closely together within the Counter-Terrorist Group to exchange experience and to build stronger operational connection. The reestablishment of Europol's Counter-Terrorist Task Force is also to be welcomed, as are moves to strengthen the links between Chiefs of Police.

Member States also need intelligence derived from ongoing case work. But this is needed not for policy work, at least not directly, but for preventative work: to disrupt and dismantle networks and prevent attacks. This information is in many ways more sensitive, and widespread sharing is not needed or appropriate. Services share on a task basis: not at 25 for the sake of it.

Beyond that, I see another main role for intelligence: to inform our political action. To educate us on the process of terrorism, explaining the origins of the alienation that underpins terrorism, how radicalisation and recruitment happens, highlighting the goals and methods and the targeting strategies. Only when we understand this, can we develop the most appropriate and concrete policies. We need to take away the foundation for terrorism, and establish barriers to its activities and its spread.

For this we need good strategic assessed intelligence. The Member States have structures to provide this, and with their support and inputs we are building structures at a European level, in the Council's Joint Situation Centre, to bring this information to European policy makers. Europol is performing a similar function with material derived from police work and we are working to ensure a synergy between these two efforts. This is a different level of intelligence, more analytical, where there is real added value to European Union's action.

International cooperation is fundamental in the fight against terrorism. At the aftermath of the Madrid bombings, the EU has been focusing on some more internal aspects of the fight against terrorism. However, this does not mean that the EU plans to become an introverted power, or a 'closed system' in today's world. This is just not possible-and not effective altogether.

The United Nations and its agencies play a key role in the global fight against terrorism. We must build on it and strengthen the work of the United Nations. We support the Counter Terrorism Committee, including on the monitoring of implementation. We are strengthening the work of other multilateral organisations as well.

We are working closely with many partners in this global fight. Our transatlantic relationship is extremely important in this respect. There has been a sea change in our cooperation. Last year we concluded two Europol agreements, as well as an Extradition and Mutual Legal Assistance Agreement. We have intelligence cooperation. We have set up a high-level group on border and transport security. We are carrying forward work on terrorist financing. Both the EU and the US will share their data on lost and stolen passports with Interpol. Deeds matter more than words, and deeds on the transatlantic level have been swift and decisive, even when we had strong divergences over Iraq.

Generally, counter-terrorism is very high on our international agenda and is becoming better integrated into our political dialogue with third countries. We are better targeting our external assistance and capacity building programmes. We are negotiating counter-terrorism clauses. We have realised that we should be ready to use our trade and economic muscle, when necessary. Overall, we should not take care only of the willing, but unable countries. We also need to address those who are able but unwilling.

Our policies are wide-ranging. They cut across all areas of EU's counter-terrorism action. To facilitate this task of following through this complex policy-making, we now have a Plan of Action, approved by the European Council, which sets out with clarity who does what, in what deadline. This also helps national Parliaments to have a clear idea of EU's objectives, and to facilitate their own legislative planning.

With a view to assisting me in this important and challenging coordination task, I have recently appointed a counter-terrorism coordinator.

In the area of Justice and Home Affairs, we have a considerable number of agreed new instruments. The decisions which the Council has adopted provide real added value in the fight against terrorism. The European Arrest Warrant is already producing concrete results. We have been developing the 'free movement of judicial decisions' in the EU, through the mutual recognition of judicial decisions, such as arrest and surrender of suspects, confiscation, freezing of assets, etc. There are new priorities: Enhanced cooperation on information exchange. Closer cooperation between Member States and European bodies, such as Europol and Eurojust. Inclusion of biometrics into travel documents. Work is ongoing on data retention, for internet service providers to preserve the records of communications. Furthermore, the Regulation setting up the European Border Agency will be adopted by the Council on 25 October. This means that the new Agency will be operational in 2005.

The prevention of the financing of terrorism is of great importance. We have done a lot ; more needs to be done. As requested by the European Council, I am developing, in cooperation with the Commission, a strategy against the financing of terrorism. Even on this front, our success will rely, to a considerable degree, on securing the appropriate interaction, and right flow of intelligence, between the relevant services and the financial and banking communities.

In the fight against terrorism, the role of Member States remains key. Therefore, we should see to it that we create a coordinated and harmonised approach among Member States. Allow me to say, on this point, that the draft Constitutional Treaty, once adopted, will offer a stronger impetus to our efforts to streamline our strengthened cooperation.

I firmly believe that the military option alone cannot offer a solution. What I have mentioned above, i.e. judicial, police cooperation, intelligence-sharing, should be the center of gravity of our action. This does not mean that we are not working on how European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) can offer a meaningful contribution. Quite the contrary; work is ongoing in the field, e.g. of consequence management. But, I repeat, ESDP is not at the core of our efforts.

Another issue I would like to touch upon briefly is the field of critical infrastructure. The European Council asked that existing cooperation on civil protection be enhanced, and work is currently underway in this field. Furthermore, the European Council has invited us to assess the capabilities of Member States in preventing and coping with the consequences of any type of terrorist attack, to identify best practices and propose necessary measures. The Council, in close coordination with the Commission, will prepare an overall strategy to enhance the protection of critical infrastructures.

Terrorism, as well as proliferation, have been identified in the European Security Strategy as two of the most serious threats facing our continent and the world. The ultimate catastrophic scenario is the acquisition by terrorists of WMD.

To address this threat, we have developed a non-proliferation strategy at the EU level, based on our effective multilateralism approach. All EU Member States have adhered to the additional protocol to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and support its universal application. We are enhancing our cooperation with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), and the Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons. We are working to improve export controls, to prevent proliferation of NBC material and conventional weapons. We support the creation of a multilateral binding instrument for the identification and tracing of illicit small arms and light weapons.

I wish to conclude by saying that the European Union is developing an entire set of policies aimed at tackling the issue of terrorism head-on. But, at the same time, as I pointed out at the beginning of my remarks, we are working to 'take away the oxygen' from the terrorists. This will involve addressing the factors which contribute to support for, and recruitment into, terrorism. Regional conflicts cause anger and feed the terrorist propaganda. The unresolved Arab-Israeli problem leads to the rise of radicalism and extremism.

We will be tough on terrorism and tough on the causes of terrorism. These are not two fights. It is one fight. And we are determined to meet the challenge.

It is our objective to fight against terrorism and to make this world a better place for everybody