



The new EU strategy, new action plan and the Future

INTRODUCTION

On 7 July four suicide bombers struck the London public transport network killing 56 people, including themselves. Two weeks later on 21 July, four separate bombers attempted to detonate home-made explosives at different points in London. Their devices failed to explode. These events pushed counter-terrorism coordination to the top of the British Presidency agenda.

The UK Presidency ran from June to December 2005. The British Home Secretary called an extraordinary Justice and Home Affairs Council meeting after the bombings, on 13 July. The Council adopted a declaration condemning the bombings at this meeting. In line with British priorities, developments on data retention, the EU arrest warrant and EU information exchanges occurred throughout the UK Presidency. A new EU counter-terrorism strategy was adopted at the December 2005 summit.

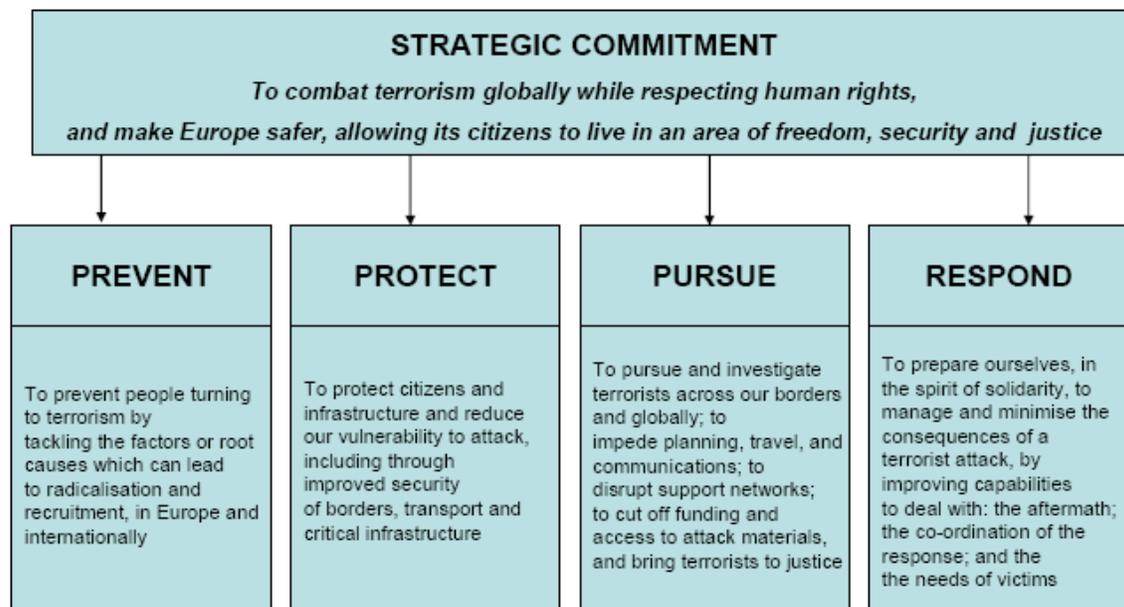
This paper outlines this new EU counter-terrorism strategy of December 2005, and the subsequent action plan. It concludes with comments on likely future EU counter-terrorism action.

In keeping to a clear, brief overview, the paper restricts itself to key points, providing links for more detail where necessary.

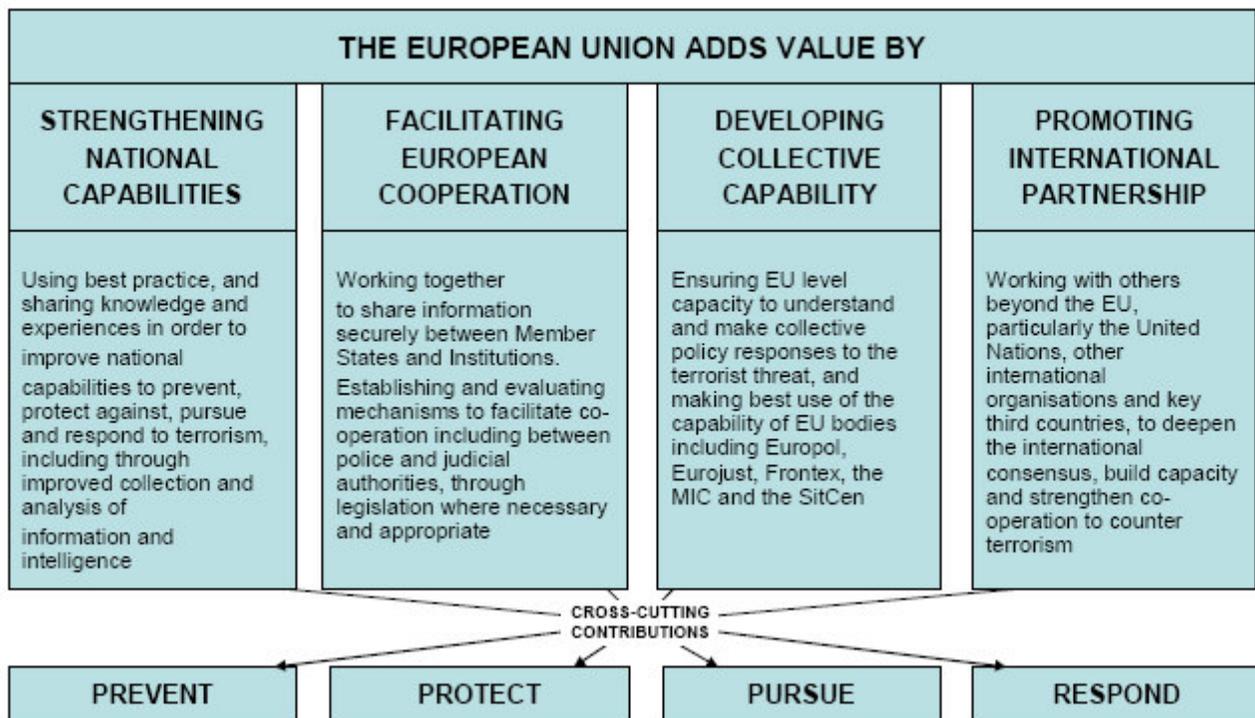
THE NEW EU COUNTER-TERRORISM STRATEGY

http://ue.eu.int/uedocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/en/jha/87257.pdf

The new strategy is built around the four strands of work: 'prevent, protect, pursue and respond.' These fit in under its strategic commitment:



The strategy states that Member States have the primary responsibility for combating terrorism, yet the EU can add value in four main ways:



Context

The strategy comes at a time in which two major terrorist attacks inside the EU occurred in as many years. It states:

*'The European Union is an area of increasing openness, in which the internal and external aspects of security are intimately linked. It is an area of increasing interdependence, allowing for free movement of people, ideas, technology and resources. This is an environment which terrorists abuse to pursue their objectives. In this context concerted and collective European action, in the spirit of solidarity, is indispensable to combat terrorism.'*¹

The Strategy requires work at national, European and international levels. The section below briefly outlines the key points in the four pillars of the Strategy - prevent, protect, pursue, and respond.²

PREVENT – Key priorities:

- Develop common approaches to spot and tackle problematic behaviour, in particular the misuse of the internet
- Address incitement and recruitment in key environments, such as prisons, places of religious training or worship, notably by implementing legislation making such activities offences
- Develop a media and communication strategy to better explain EU policies
- Promote good governance, democracy, education and economic prosperity through Community and Member State assistance programmes

¹ http://ue.eu.int/uedocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/en/jha/87257.pdf page 6

² The following section paraphrases the official document

- Develop inter-cultural dialogue within and outside the Union
- Develop a non-emotive lexicon for discussing the issues
- Continue research, share analysis and experiences in order to further our understanding of the issues and develop policy responses.

PROTECT – Key priorities:

- Deliver improvements to the security of EU passports through the introduction of biometrics
- Establish the Visa Information System (VIS) and the second generation Schengen Information System³ (SISII)
- Develop through Frontex⁴ effective risk analysis of the EU's external border
- Implement agreed common standards on civil aviation, port and maritime security
- Agree a European programme for critical infrastructure protection
- Make best use of EU and Community level research activity.

PURSUE – Key priorities:

- Strengthen national capabilities to combat terrorism
- Make full use of Europol⁵ and Eurojust⁶ to facilitate police and judicial cooperation, and continue to integrate the Joint Situation Centre's threat assessments into counter-terrorism policy making
- Further develop mutual recognition of judicial decisions, including by adopting the European Evidence Warrant
- Develop the principle of availability of law enforcement information
- Tackle terrorist access to weapons and explosives, ranging from components for homemade explosives to CBRN⁷ material
- Tackle terrorist financing by implementing agreed legislation, working to prevent the abuse of the non-profit sector, and reviewing the EU's overall performance in this area
- Deliver technical assistance to enhance the capability of priority third countries.

RESPOND – Key priorities

- Agree EU crisis co-ordination arrangements and the supporting operational procedures for them
- Revise the legislation on the Community Mechanism for civil protection
- Develop risk assessment as a tool to inform the building of capabilities to respond to an attack
- Improve co-ordination with international organisations on managing the response to

³ The SIS is an information system. It allows the competent authorities in the Member States to maintain information regarding certain categories of persons and property.

⁴ FRONTEX coordinates operational cooperation between Member States in the fields of management of external borders. It also assists Member States in the training of national border guards and provides Member States with the necessary support in organising joint operations, amongst other things.

⁵ EUROPOL is the European Law Enforcement Organisation. It aims to improve the effectiveness and co-operation of the competent authorities in the Member States to prevent and combat terrorism, unlawful drug trafficking and other serious forms of international organised crime.

⁶ EUROJUST is the EU's judicial cooperation unit. It is designed to enhance the effectiveness of the competent authorities within Member States to deal with investigations and prosecution of serious cross-border and organised crime rings.

⁷ CBRN – Chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear. For more details on this please view the full document at: http://ue.eu.int/uedocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/en/jha/87257.pdf

- terrorist attacks and other disasters
- Share best practice and develop approaches for the provision of assistance to victims of terrorism and their families.

ACTION PLAN FOR THE NEW STRATEGY

<http://register.consilium.europa.eu/pdf/en/06/st05/st05771-re01.en06.pdf>

A draft action plan on the new strategy was circulated to the European Council on 15 December 2005, an updated version was circulated on 13 February 2006. It incorporated further comments received in response to the earlier December draft. The new action plan has 146 action points. The previous plan (of June 2005) contained 196 points.⁸ Despite the adoption of a new counter-terrorism strategy, the drop in numbers is largely due to completion of earlier activities.

Despite the apparent comprehensive nature of the new strategy, reactive responses continue to be given priority. In terms of practical achievements, the majority listed in the plan fall under 'Pursue.' 'Pursue' has over 65 action points, with numerous concrete achievements in areas such as disrupting terrorist finances and halting terrorist movements through increased border surveillance and cooperation. The plan lists only 22 action points under 'Prevent', with few practical achievements, and few firm deadlines working out ways to effectively address the roots of terrorism.. 31 action points fall under 'Protect', with practical achievements in pan-EU critical infrastructure and border protection. 'Respond' contains 28 action points, with concrete achievements in early warning of attacks, military response coordination with NATO and initial plans for intra-EU responses to attacks. In short, there are very few developments at individual level, such as seeking to understand terrorist grievances and the reasons for their violence.

'Pursue' incorporates 'information gathering, exchange and analysis.' This is an overlapping point, and could be included under a different heading. This adds ambiguous weight to the 'Pursue section,' which contributes to its greater size than other headings. Despite this, more practical achievements have occurred under 'Pursue' than any other area. This is indicative of EU priorities.

Below are the key developments under way, under each heading. This is a mere sample. Please view the full document for more detail. <http://register.consilium.europa.eu/pdf/en/06/st05/st05771-re01.en06.pdf>

PREVENT

Disrupt the activities of the networks and individuals who draw people into terrorism		
Measure/Action	Competent Body	status/observations
<i>Put in place a legal framework to prevent individuals from inciting violence and exchange information on incitement.</i>	<i>Member States, Council, Commission</i>	<i>Obligation according to UNSC 1624 as well as under the European Convention on the Prevention of terrorism</i>
<i>Implementation of the Council strategy and action plan on radicalisation and recruitment.</i>	<i>Council/ MS / Commission</i>	<i>The Commission has been and continues to work on:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Setting up a network of European experts on violent radicalisation by a Commission decision that was taken in early 2006. First report on the state of play of research in the field expected for mid- 2006</i> • <i>organising a conference on the role of the media in countering violent radicalisation</i> • <i>journalist training programmes and, regional language broadcasts of</i>

⁸ Listed in Briefing paper 10.

		<i>European television and radio news in Middle Eastern and North African countries.</i>
Ensure that voices of mainstream opinion prevail over those of extremism		
<i>Empower moderate voices by engaging with Muslim organisations including through support for the Muslim community.</i>	<i>MS/ Commission/ Council</i>	<i>Ongoing</i>
<i>Develop a non-emotive lexicon for discussing radicalization.</i>	<i>Commission/ Council/ CTC⁹</i>	<i>Expected in mid-2006</i>
Promote security, justice and opportunity for all		

<i>Target inequalities and discrimination where these exist within the EU and promote long-term integration where appropriate.</i>	<i>MS / Commission</i>	<i>Ongoing work</i>
Assessments and analysis		
<i>Enhance co-operation between research institutions in the context of the EU multi-annual research programme.</i>	<i>Council/ Commission</i>	<i>Setting up a network of European experts on radicalization. First report on state of play of research in the field expected for mid- 2006.</i>
<i>Continue to investigate the links between extreme religious or political beliefs, as well as socio-economic and other factors, and support for terrorism, building on work already undertaken in this area, and identify response measures.</i>	<i>Council/Commission</i>	<i>SitCen¹⁰ to include relevant material in assessments. Working Groups to make policy recommendations as appropriate. Research projects ongoing in the 6th Framework Programme include research on links between socio-economic and other factors contributing to terrorism.</i>

PROTECT

Threat and risk assessments		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Make structured use of threat assessment and analysis for risk assessment, prevention and consequence management</i> • <i>Stimulate, where necessary and through the appropriate channels, improved cooperation between intelligence services, national authorities and relevant emergency services such as civil protection, health and police.</i> • <i>Improve the bilateral exchange of information on cross-border risks</i> 	<i>Council/ Council Secretariat/ Europol and MS</i>	<i>Undertake expert meetings with a view to developing a common understanding of the methodologies of risk assessment.</i>
Protection of critical infrastructure		
<i>Ensure full implementation of the EU Health Security Strategy and CBRN¹¹ programmes.</i>	<i>Council/Commission/ MS</i>	<i>Partially achieved The 2002 CBRN-programme was replaced by the 2004 Solidarity Programme.¹²</i>
Transport security		
<i>Implement provisions of Regulation 2320/02 establishing common standards on civil aviation security, including staff screening, baggage, cargo and aircraft security.</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>Ongoing legislative work to develop detailed legislation to complement existing regulation 2320/2002.</i>
<i>Implement agreed EU standards on maritime</i>	<i>MS / Commission</i>	<i>Ongoing implementation</i>

⁹ Counter-terrorism Co-ordinator. Currently Mr Gies De Vries

¹⁰ SitCen – the EU Joint Situation Centre. It provides intelligence analysis on the EU threat environment to the Council of Ministers

¹¹ Chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear

¹² The Solidarity programme is geared towards civil infrastructure protection, and intra-EU aid after terrorist attacks. The full document can be viewed here:

http://ue.eu.int/uedocs/cmsUpload/15480EU_Solidarity_Programme.pdf

security (Regulation) and security in ports (Directive).		
Border control		
Improve security of EU passports by use of biometrics, including facial image and fingerprints in order to prevent identity fraud.	MS	The introduction of biometrics in all relevant ID. documents. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • August 2006 (facial image) • 36 months after the adoption of the technical specifications (fingerprints)
(Technical) Establishment of the SIS II	Council/ Commission	Operational by March 2007 As regards SIS II, there are two different actions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Implementation of the central SIS; this is for the Commission to do. • National Projects: This is for MS to do. SIS II can only get operational if all MS complete their projects in due time.
International dimension		
Encourage and support non-EU states to comply fully with the IMO ¹³ standards.	Council/Commission	In the field of maritime security, the Community has launched a review of the implementation of the IMO's security measures for the EUROMED ¹⁴ partners through a programme called SAFEMED ¹⁵ (2006/2008). Morocco is benefiting from a twinning programme financed by the Community for the enhancement of maritime safety and security.

PURSUE

Information gathering, analysis and exchange		
Implement Directive on the retention of data generated or processed in connection with the provision of publicly available electronic communications services	MS	As soon as possible -awaiting adoption.
Work to improve the exchange of information on convictions.	Council / Commission	On 25 January 2005 the Commission presented a White Paper analysing the main difficulties in exchanging information on convictions and making proposals for a computerised information exchange system COM (2005)10 25.1.2005. Following discussions on the White Paper, the Justice and Home Affairs Council of 14 April 2005 agreed on a way forward. On that basis, the Commission adopted on 22 December 2005 a proposal on the organisation and content of the exchange of information extracted from criminal records between MS. The work to improve the exchange of information on convictions shall take into account the results of the German-French-Spanish-Belgian pilot project of interconnection of the national judicial register.

¹³ International Maritime Organization: The body that creates and oversees international maritime law. This includes the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS).

¹⁴ The EUROMED countries can be seen here:

http://ec.europa.eu/comm/external_relations/med_mideast/intro/index.htm

¹⁵ SAFEMED is an EU project. It aims to develop Euro-Mediterranean cooperation in the field of maritime safety and security and prevention of pollution from ships, by providing technical advice and support to the non-EU Mediterranean countries included in the group of "Mediterranean Partners" as defined in the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership. For more details please view: <http://www.safemed-project.org/>

Impeding terrorists' movement and activities		
<i>Monitor travel to and from conflict zones.</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>SitCen to draw up report.</i>
Police cooperation		
<i>Develop the European Crime Intelligence Model with the assistance of the Police Chiefs' Task Force.</i>	<i>PCTF¹⁶ / Council</i>	<i>Europol will present 1st proposals in April 2007</i>
<i>Further develop legal framework to remove illegal material from the internet.</i>	<i>Council / Commission / MS</i>	<i>June 2007. Subject of concern are e.g. manuals or instructions for homemade explosives or bombs. The Commission is preparing seminars on legal and practical possibilities of regulations.</i>
Judicial cooperation		

<i>Enhance use of Eurojust and consider measures to improve its capacity, to enable more effective co-operation in terrorist investigations and prosecutions including through the practical application of relevant Council Decisions.</i>	<i>MS/ CTC/ Eurojust</i>	<p><i>Eurojust faces ongoing challenges, relating to the lack of information conveyed to it, due to organisational and legal barriers, traditional approaches to co-operation, a lack of human and technical resources, and inertia in Member States.</i></p> <p><i>On the Council's request, Eurojust has examined and defined the scope of measures to improve its capacity to contribute to the fight against terrorism.</i></p> <p><i>Despite the agreement recently concluded, the exchange of information with Europol is limited by its legal framework. Thus :</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>• Need for more and complete, updated information</i> <i>• Need for own Eurojust analyst(s) (there is no direct access by Eurojust to Europol's analysis files).</i> <i>• Need for more budgetary support</i> <p><i>MS are obliged to take the necessary measures to comply with the provisions of Council Decision 2005/671/JHA of 20 September 2005 on the exchange of information and cooperation concerning terrorist offences by 30 June 2006 at the latest. Not all Member States completed the process by this deadline.</i></p>
Terrorist financing		
<i>(see also Strategy to combat Terrorist Financing (16089/04) and its updates (11325/05 and 14349/05)</i>		
<i>Improve the effectiveness of EU asset freezing procedures, including non-financial economic resources, in accordance with UN obligations and the need to respect due process and rule of law.</i>	<i>Council / Commission / CTC</i>	<i>2006. COREPER noted a revised Best Practices paper on restrictive measures including on the application of Community freezing measures.</i>
<i>Ratification and full implementation of the 1999 UN Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism and to give increased effect to the provisions of UNSCR 1373 directed to the freezing of assets.</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>1 January 2005. - Partially achieved</i> <i>Encouragement needs to be provided to the two MS who have not yet ratified the 1999 UN Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism.</i>
Limit terrorist access to weapons and explosives		
<i>Action on explosives, detonators, bomb-making equipment and fire arms in the context of the Commission Communication.</i>	<i>MS/ Commission/ Europol/ Council</i>	<i>Discussed during UK Presidency with policy recommendations agreed by Council.</i> <i>Next steps are for Commission to organize conference of all major stakeholders in first half of 2006. Analyse possibilities of making</i>

¹⁶ Police Chiefs task force. A body made of EU police chiefs geared towards streamlining and enhancing Police activity across EU borders.

		<p>transmission of bomb-making expertise a crime under the Framework Decision on Combating Terrorism.</p> <p>Examine modification of related directives, eg Fertilizer Regulation. Consideration of a monitoring regime regarding the precursors for home-made explosives. Consideration of improving the exchange of information on lost and stolen explosives.</p>
International dimension		
Ratification of 13 UN legal instruments against Terrorism and continue to lobby for this in third countries both bilaterally and at EU level.	MS	<p>End 2006 - Partially achieved</p> <p>Not all Member States have a full record on ratification / implementation.</p> <p>To do: Work to ensure early ratification and implementation of the UN Convention on the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism, which was adopted on 13 May 2005. This Convention was signed by all EU MS on 14 September 2005.</p>
Mainstream counter-terrorism objectives into the work of geographical working groups and external assistance programmes including through the insertion of counter-terrorism clauses into agreements with third countries.	Council/ Commission	Commission is working on mainstreaming within external assistance programmes. CT clauses prepared for insertion into agreements.
Co-ordination with the UN and other donors and review existing projects in priority countries to identify duplication. Further develop political dialogue with priority countries in order to strengthen political capacity in the fight against terrorism.	MS / Commission	<p>.Council, Commission and Member States to develop proposals for assistance to such organisations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MS to supply expertise and funding to the maximum extent possible • a network of experts has been set up • EU organised a seminar on financing of terrorism with Gulf Cooperation Council in March 2005. Another seminar took place in early 2006.

RESPOND

Civilian rapid EU response capability		
Agree a proposal for a Council regulation establishing a Rapid Response and Preparedness Instrument for major emergencies ("financial instrument") (12827/05).	Council	End 2006
Carry out training and exercises directed at interoperability in coping with terrorist attacks.	Commission/ Council	<p>1) The Commission launched a call for proposals for major simulation exercises in the field of civil protection. The Commission hopes to focus the exercises on terrorism scenarios.</p> <p>2.) Training activities in the framework of the Civil Protection Mechanism help preparing first responders for assistance in case of major emergencies, including terrorism.</p> <p>3) Joint Training Programme of Commission with EUROPOL on interaction between Law Enforcement and Public Health.</p>
Military rapid responses capability to deal with the aftermath of a terrorist attack		

<i>Elaboration of a detailed report on modalities procedures and criteria to develop the appropriate level of interoperability between military and civilian capabilities in the framework of protection of civilian populations following a terrorist attack, including in crisis management operations under Title V of the TEU.¹⁷</i>	<i>Council</i>	<i>Mid-2006</i>
Early warning of terrorist attacks		
<i>Create a secure general rapid alert system (ARGUS) to link all existing specialised rapid alert systems for emergencies that require action at European level.</i>	<i>Commission</i>	<i>End 2006 ARGUS¹⁸ would interconnect all specialised rapid alert systems for emergencies that require action at the European level.</i>
Capabilities to coordinate effectively the management of the response		
<i>Implement EU Crisis Coordination arrangements to share information, ensure coordination and enable collective decision-making at politico-strategic level in the event of an emergency</i>	<i>Council / Commission</i>	<i>Agreed by the Council in December 2005.</i>
International dimension		
<i>Deliver technical assistance on consequence management as a component of technical assistance to priority third countries</i>	<i>MS/ Council/ Commission</i>	
Research		
<i>The Research and Development Programme, including the Security Research Programme (8087/05).</i>	<i>Commission</i>	<i>In the proposal for the 7th Framework Programme, expected in mid-2006, the Commission proposes to include Security as one of the research themes in order to develop the technologies and knowledge for building capabilities needed to ensure the security of citizens from threats such as terrorism and crime.</i>

THE FUTURE

Predicting the future is a risky business. Yet recent trends in EU counter-terrorism policy and activity shed some light on likely near future developments. Some policy elements and activities are already in the planning stages. This also provides guidance. These two factors allow us paint a broad picture of likely EU activity. The following section represents QCEA's view on this topic.

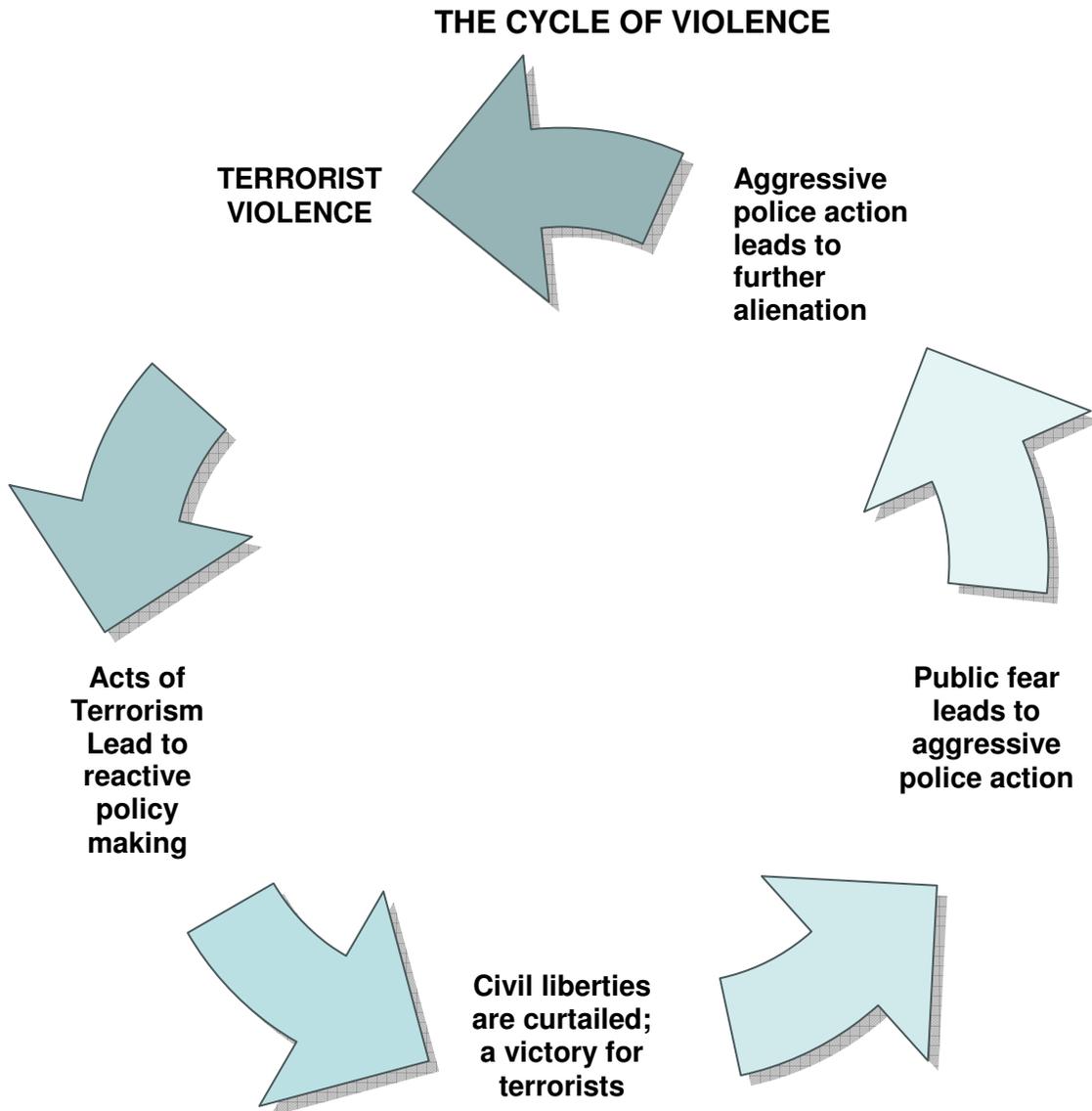
The Madrid and London bombings heavily impacted on the direction and implementation priority of EU counter-terrorism action. The atrocities demonstrated, in the minds of policy makers, the potency and reality of the threat. According to their logic, with the threat being real and dangerous, immediate steps must be taken to 'Pursue' terrorists, and therefore save lives. In prioritizing this urge to 'pursue' terrorists, there lies a danger. In a time when public emotions run high, the risk is that reactive, ultimately counterproductive policies will be quickly implemented. This will perpetuate violence in the long term. The latest EU Action plan lists 65 action points under 'pursuing' terrorists, and 22 action points under 'preventing' their activities. The pattern is unlikely to change in the near future. As well as

¹⁷ Treaty of the European Union

¹⁸ In its communication on preparedness and consequence management in the fight against terrorism of 20 October 2004 (COM(2004)701), the Commission stated it would create a general rapid alert system (ARGUS) to link all specialised systems for emergencies. Moreover, a central crisis centre (CCC) would be established, which would bring together representatives of all relevant Commission services during an emergency. Please see: http://ue.eu.int/uedocs/cmsUpload/15480EU_Solidarity_Programme.pdf

ARGUS will not be related to SitCen. SitCen provides broad intelligence to the Council. ARGUS will be the coordinating body for disaster relief – as part of the Commission

contributing to a cycle of violence, reactive State responses may also hand a victory to terrorist leaders by forcing us to forfeit key civil liberties and cultivate a culture of fear.



Symptoms and Causes

The way to break the cycle is to step outside of it; this means making addressing 'root causes' a top counter-terrorism priority. Although the new counter-terrorism strategy stresses the need to identify root causes. Little has been done about it. In the latest action plan, a number of points under 'Prevent' should cover this. These include:

- The creation of a network of European experts on radicalization.¹⁹ And;
- Conducting more detailed studies, including academic studies, of recruitment in specific contexts such as prisons, schools, mosques; studies on the role of the media, including the internet²⁰.

¹⁹ The first report on state of play of research in the field was submitted in June 2006.

Yet even these actions do not go far enough. Understanding how radicalisation occurs still does not adequately address the root causes of this radicalisation. Similarly, there is no time frame set on these proposed studies. According to this latest document, nothing has been done to begin such studies as yet.

This is in sharp contrast to the swift, timetabled development of sharp end counter-terrorism activities, both within EU Member States and at the intra-EU level. Member States are funneling cash into domestic security organizations, curtailing civil liberties and in general, not doing enough to address root causes. This is writ large in the EU context, with Member States pooling resources to tighten border controls, streamline the exchange of personal information, enhance judicial cooperation, and increase inter-State surveillance capabilities. Over the last year

- a new EU intelligence analysis body has begun work (SitCen),
- Member States agreed a framework decision on simplifying the exchange of information and intelligence between law enforcement authorities of the Member States
- the Commission presented a White Paper analysing the main difficulties in exchanging information on convictions and making proposals for a computerised information exchange system
- A number of seminars on combating terrorist financing have been held.

At the Civil Protection Directors General meeting in London in October 2005, Member States presented a draft common insignia for EU intervention forces. QCEA would argue that assessing the roots and drivers that fuel indiscriminate mass murder is a higher priority than exchanging information, streamlining intra-EU prosecutions and agreeing on badge designs.

Police work and intelligence gathering will not halt the determined, intelligent terrorist from fulfilling his or her plans. Engaging with them in a positive way prior to radicalisation will do this.

Imbalanced implementation

The new counter-terrorist strategy will guide EU efforts for a number of years to come. It presents a balanced framework; it acknowledges terrorism is a multi-faceted issue, not just a security issue. It argues that an effective response should be equally multi-faceted. The strategy does not prioritise one aspect of counter-terrorism over another. Yet this paper has clearly shown that implementation has focused on pursuing terrorists, and neglected effective ways in which to prevent terrorist acts.

An outline of the latest EU strategy to combat radicalisation and recruitment can be viewed in Briefing paper 10. This document will remain the basis of EU 'root cause' policy action in the near future. The document emphasizes the importance of intercepting support networks, halting preachers of hate from spreading their messages and ways in which to ensure the dominance of moderate opinion in the media. This is not attempting to understand grievances and root causes. This is fighting a propaganda war against those that are already radicalised. This is short term, reactive policy making.

The Challenge

Future EU activities will inevitably depend on a mix of international and domestic factors, including

- developments in Iraq, the Middle East, Chechnya and Central Asia,
- social and economic circumstances at home, and;
- whether we see further large scale terrorist attacks in the EU and elsewhere.

²⁰ <http://register.consilium.europa.eu/pdf/en/06/st05/st05771-re01.en06.p>

The greatest challenge to the EU over the next few years is, arguably, to bring about an effective *long-term* counter-terrorism strategy. Victory against terrorism must be seen as an end to all violence, whilst respecting and protecting key liberal and democratic values. Certain EU Member States may need to ask some difficult questions on their own foreign and domestic policies. The EU as a whole will have to more effectively tackle the root causes of terrorism. It is ideally positioned to do so. An end to the threat requires an end to the causes.