

## **THE FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM**

### **Security with safeguards for citizens' rights**

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Terrorism is both an attack on the European Union's values – democracy, the rule of law, respect for fundamental rights and unity in diversity – and a threat to the peace, stability and prosperity that European integration has given our citizens after decades of war.

European social democrats demand a strong European and international response. We need to:

- guarantee security, protect citizens' rights and uphold the rule of law;
- tackle the causes of terrorism; and
- ensure that Europe's foreign and security policies deal with terrorist threats around the world and their causes.

The measures we take must not undermine the very principles they seek to protect or compromise citizens' rights. We need to fight terrorism within and beyond our borders, taking on the extremists and integrating many different groups of people into community life in the Union.

From the outset, we must ensure that the EU and its member states have the resources they need to prevent, investigate and prosecute terrorist acts. Prevention of terrorism requires a united EU approach linking foreign policy and internal affairs. Areas in which we need action include justice cooperation, foreign affairs and development policy. Cooperation with developing countries is especially important.

Effective prevention is about political, diplomatic, social and economic action to deal with the conditions in which terrorism thrives. We can succeed only if we do the job together.

This paper suggests ways in which Europe as a whole might respond to terrorism. It stresses three important points: the balance between security and citizens' rights, the causes of terrorism and foreign policy. We do not claim to provide clear-cut or easy solutions . . . but we hope to stimulate a debate to prepare a European social democratic response to a significant threat to the achievements of the Union.

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## ***I. Ensuring security and justice, protecting people's rights***

To fight terrorism effectively, the European Union must be an area in which everyone genuinely enjoys freedom, security and justice, in line with the aspirations of the EU Summit of 1999 in Tampere, Finland. The trouble is that the Tampere goals are a long way from being achieved.

Borders between EU countries are now open and citizens can move around freely. This is one of our most important achievements -- but it also means that our judges and police forces, in their activities of prosecution and criminal investigation, must cooperate more closely at EU level so that our open borders do not also allow for the free movement of organized crime and terrorism.

Drawing the different national legal systems across the EU into one new European system will simply not happen in the foreseeable future. Our immediate aim is mutual recognition by member states of decisions they take in criminal matters.

Failure to complete an institutional framework in justice and home affairs, along with the member states' lack of mutual trust or political will, is really holding up progress. At present, ministers need to agree unanimously if they want to strengthen police and judicial cooperation and this has undermined the Union's power to fight terrorism and organised crime.

The lack of European Parliament law-making power in this area has created a democratic deficit. There is a general lack of openness and accountability in this sensitive policy area – and as a result there is a great risk of a trade-off between tighter security and protection of people's basic rights. (No national parliament in the Union would allow its executive to act on questions of justice and home affairs without full parliamentary scrutiny and democratic accountability.)

There can be no freedom without security – but security without respect for democratic principles and the rule of law is unacceptable. Our starting point is the basic European principle that no curb on people's rights can be justified unless it is necessary, proportionate and legitimate and capable of producing the positive effects it is supposed to bring about.

Respect for fundamental rights as set out in the treaties, the Charter of Fundamental Rights and the European Convention for Human Rights – along with the principles of democracy and the rule of law – are essential tools in the European Union's fight against terrorism.

Europe's institutions reacted quickly to the attacks of 11 September 2001 with measures to strengthen police and judicial cooperation. But some member states have failed to put EU provisions into force at national level and others delayed two or more years, particularly over the European Arrest Warrant.

The Union again moved quickly after the bombs of 11 March 2004 in Madrid. But legislative and operational measures were again delayed or blocked in Council. Member states have until now lacked the political will and the mutual trust to share information and operational know-how and to align either their definitions of crimes or their punishments and judicial procedures.

The European Council's Hague Programme of November 2004 seeks to consolidate a wide range of measures set out in the Council's Action Plan.

At the same time, member states are lagging behind in the adoption of the necessary legislation to provide uniform protection of fundamental rights and sensitive personal data in this field. The EU, while strengthening judicial and police cooperation, must at the same time

harmonize data protection rules. For this reason we think that the Framework Decision on data protection in police and judicial cooperation should be adopted urgently, as amended by the European Parliament unanimously.

The adoption of uniform data protection rules is for us a necessary prerequisite for the creation of the new databases, like SIS II and VIS, that will help in improving border control and visa policy and that police forces must be able to access, although indirectly, on a case by case basis and when necessary and proportionate.

We improved proposals for a second generation Schengen database ("SIS II") and supported their rapid adoption by the European Parliament. Council and Commission must now resolve technical and political obstacles to the new member States' entry into the Schengen area.

We are committed to the institution of a visa database ("VIS") in order to improve control over the delivery of visas and to ensure that bona fide travellers can move more easily in the Schengen area. We have worked to improve the VIS proposals in terms of effectiveness and data protection guarantees. A precondition for our support is the adoption of the Framework Decision on data protection in police and judicial cooperation to give citizens more guarantees.

As a general principle, we think that law enforcement agencies' use of data must remain strictly regulated. Information about citizens must be used only for the legally-defined, limited purposes for which it was collected. People must have rights to see, change or even erase information held about them and they should be able to seek legal redress over errors or abuses.

The use of Biometrics in EU passports as well as in visa, under precise and strict conditions, will greatly help identification and prosecution of terrorist suspects across EU borders. But this privacy intrusion in the name of greater security must be accompanied by specific safeguards in order not to lower protection of basic rights and freedoms, in particular the right to protection of personal data.

Urgent efforts are needed to share law enforcement data between police forces. Information about threat assessments and enquiries should be exchanged among all Member States under precise and strict conditions. Europol should be strengthened so that it can help to coordinate the member states' law enforcement operations. But first, Europol needs a new legal basis to make it fully accountable to the European Parliament and the European Court of Justice.

In this respect, we believe that the role of Eurojust must also be strengthened to support and reinforce cooperation and coordination between national investigating and prosecuting authorities in cases concerning different member states or requiring a prosecution on common basis.

We need to deepen judicial cooperation in criminal matters. The Hague programme deals with a range of measures currently awaiting agreement in the Council – but no new measures are envisaged to align penalties, definitions or, above all, judicial procedures. Mutual confidence in judicial systems is essential for the prosecution of terrorists and we call for mutual recognition of all judicial acts in criminal matters. We support the use of the European Arrest Warrant but we also believe that member states need to adopt an absolutely essential supporting measure – the framework decision on cross-border use of evidence.

Strengthening the Union's enforcement and investigative capacity must be accompanied by EU-wide protection for citizens' fundamental rights and measures to guarantee these rights in legal procedures, including the right to a fair trial. So we strongly urge ministers to reach agreement on the framework decision on alignment of procedural guarantees for suspects and defendants in criminal proceedings, on which the Parliament has already expressed its

views. The document's basic guarantees and defence rights must also apply to terrorist crimes.

At the same time, we call on the European Commission to bring forward its long-awaited proposal for a framework decision on EU-wide application of the principle that nobody can be tried twice for the same crime.

These measures could help put the European Arrest Warrant and other important measures into effect – and end uncertainty about jurisdiction and constitutional reserves about fundamental rights.

The action of the EU in the fight against terrorism and its consequences must include an essential dimension, that of support to victims and their families and their protection.

Support, because we think that the victims' associations, in their role of reference for the socialization of experiences, mutual help, bearing witness and, above all, of promotion of civil commitment and exchange of best practices between member states in this field represent an added value for the prevention and the fight against root causes of terrorism. Protection, because victims are often important witnesses that the institutions have a duty to protect and that must enjoy the same level of guarantees in all member states, even in the framework of criminal proceedings. In this context, an EU uniform definition of victim and a common core of guarantees and prerogatives can help in making the EU a real area of freedom, security and justice.

Adoption of the Constitutional Treaty would already have allowed questions of justice and home affairs to be handled within the EU institutional framework, doing away with the use of unanimity that currently represents a veto right with a negative blocking effect on very important measures. Although the treaty has not yet been ratified by all member states, existing treaties have some useful provisions. Making police and judicial cooperation in criminal matters a European matter, using the treaty's "bridging" clause, is the only way to unblock Council agreement on important measures. It will also lead to Parliament's full involvement with the Council in law-making. The Data Retention Directive sets an excellent precedent.

To overcome the relative lack of judicial accountability for EU action in this field, the question of giving the European Court of Justice's authority over legislation on justice and home affairs must be dealt with urgently. But we need to bear in mind member states' traditional resistance to sharing national sovereignty in this area.

A European dimension to law enforcement and judicial bodies in all our countries is essential if the fight against terror is to be effective and we are to protect personal data and individuals' private lives in investigations and follow-up measures.

Our Group led the European Parliament's quick response to improve the Data Retention Directive in 2005 and reach agreement with ministers. The directive illustrates the potential benefits of Europe-wide measures in the fight against terrorism. The Socialist Group ensured that the final text strengthens democratic guarantees on the kind of data involved, the time for which it is held, penalties for breaches of guarantees and application of the directive only to serious crimes. This process proves that the European Parliament is able to engage constructively in the protection of fundamental rights and freedoms when involved as a full legislator with co-decision powers;

We are convinced that the EU and the US must be essential and loyal allies in the fight against terrorism. For this reason, security measures, police and judicial cooperation, data sharing together with data protection and the safeguard of fundamental guarantees should be the object of a global framework agreement for transatlantic cooperation in this field.

The Group led efforts to secure a fair agreement with the USA on transfer of passenger details from EU airlines to the American security services. The interim agreement – signed

by the Council after the Court annulled the previous one – filled a legal vacuum that was unacceptable both for citizens and for businesses. Nevertheless, we are convinced that in the long term the EU needs a new, improved and binding agreement with stronger protection of fundamental rights is needed as for the so-called "SWIFT" case, concerning the secret transfer by a private company of sensitive banking data of EU citizens to US authorities.

Acting on our concern to protect fundamental rights and the rule of law, we took the initiative to set up a temporary parliamentary committee on CIA abduction of terrorist suspects in Europe. The report of the European Parliament has highlighted a number of facts that speak for themselves and show a process of unlawful renditions and abductions, even on the territory of the European Union. These violations and illegal activities must never again be allowed tarnish the EU commitment and that of member states in the respect of fundamental rights in the fight against terrorism.

We welcome the establishment of the European agency for the protection of fundamental rights. The agency can and should be involved in monitoring EU activities on police and judicial cooperation in penal matters.

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## ***II. Europe's external policies and the terrorist threat***

The 2003 European Security Strategy (ESS) notes that there are now many threats to our security – and international terrorism is one of them. A strategic response needs an EU foreign policy that is consistent with EU domestic policy.

The foreign policy dimension to tackling terrorism should have four parts:

- Lasting economic development along with democratisation and accountable governance in countries around the world, especially our neighbours;
- Close dialogue both with non-EU countries and with moderate religious movements to promote mutual understanding, common values and a shared vision of our future; and
- Greater cooperation on counter-terrorism with third countries, both in our neighbourhood and beyond;
- Active engagement in the seeking of peaceful solutions to internal and regional conflicts and the avoidance of double standards when promoting peace, the protection of human and citizens' rights and democracy in third countries and conflict regions.

### *Fostering development and combating exclusion*

For long-term success against international terrorism, we need to tackle the dissatisfaction that radical movements or terrorist organisations exploit. Economic, social and political exclusion are important factors.

The EU can use trade and aid policies to boost economic growth in partner countries. It can promote domestic reforms that encourage foreign investment. Economic growth contributes most to our security when it reduces economic inequality. The European Union should ensure that by improving social standards everyone benefits from economic development.

Violent conflicts not only hamper economic development but feed radicalisation. The EU should actively seek solutions to internal and regional conflicts. Improving people's social and economic situations and enhancing hopes for a peaceful future will quickly drain the recruitment base for terrorists and radical groups.

People need to feel they have a say in their own country's development. Democracy is the best way of doing so – and as such is a key tool in the fight against terrorism. We must help countries to build political institutions that involve as many people as possible and create state structures to uphold human rights and equal treatment for all citizens. Terrorist organisations exploit weak states, so we must also tackle the issue of weak or failed states.

Promotion of democracy goes hand-in-hand with promotion of open, accountable government and equal access to the political arena for all parties that subscribe to democratic principles and a strong role for civil society. Democratisation will be a gradual and sometimes slow process that will not follow a single model. Success means taking local political conditions carefully into account – and showing long-term commitment.

The importance of development, trade and aid policies for security strategy is widely recognised. Security issues are complex, with implications for a range of policy concerns, and this needs to be taken on board. Our trade policy, for example, must be consistent with our development policy. The European Neighbourhood Policy, which targets an area from Morocco to Belarus and includes these policy aims, is of great importance since it allows the European Union to extend the reach of its values.

We must learn, however, from experience in the Barcelona process. Despite many positive developments in Mediterranean countries, this process has not realised its ambitions. Clear and realistic goals are needed as well as enhanced cooperation policies. The EU must take

the same line with countries beyond our immediate neighbourhood and engage constructively with countries going through the same sort of political transformation.

### *International dialogue and mutual understanding*

The European Union's political and economic importance gives it growing influence. As well as promoting security, the Union should work towards a vision of the future shared with countries outside the EU.

The main aim is for values such as democracy, respect for minorities, human rights and the rule of law to take root and prosper beyond the Union's borders. The principles on which the Union is built – peaceful cooperation, interdependence and shared sovereignty – underlie cooperation with other countries. We want an 'alliance of civilisations'. The idea of creating a 'Euro-Med citizenship', recently proposed by social democrats, is a specific, forward-looking initiative of the kind that can help to stimulate fresh thinking about our common future.

Despite the many initiatives that already exist, stronger political and cultural dialogue is needed at international level. This applies not only to governmental and political contacts, but also, and perhaps even more importantly, to civil society.

Religion, particularly Islam, plays an important role both in people's daily lives and in the political life of many of the countries concerned. There are many examples to show that Islam and democracy are perfectly compatible. Islam and the free expression of religion by Muslim people are threatened by violent radicalisation and terrorist activities. As a result, an increasing number of Muslim authorities and religious personalities have become allies in the fight against terrorism. Dialogue with these figures is especially important.

We must take account of trends in contemporary Islam if we want to promote democratisation in predominantly Islamic societies. We need to understand cultural and political processes if we want to influence them.

There is a complex link between a certain type of Islamic fundamentalism and violent radicalisation both in the EU and in Islamic countries. One threat comes from terrorism inspired by those who distort Islam to drive susceptible people to violence. To counter it is to act on three levels: in our relations with the Islamic world, with the Muslim communities in our own societies and in our fight against fundamentalist violence.

The EU and the US could play a positive role here. We reject attempts to bring about democracy through military action. Nonetheless, democracy, the rule of law and respect for human rights should be the EU's main, long-term aim especially in the Arab world. But active EU involvement will be a much more successful strategy than military action for promoting democracy, freedom and fundamental rights.

How do we take this process forward? We must begin by taking national and local circumstances into account and we need to be realistic about the likely pace, extent and depth of reforms. We might want to focus more on local democracy than on trying to impose a particular democratic model at the national level. We must also promote dialogue between regions in order to encourage political leaders to improve cooperation and share experiences. The role of civil society in this process is very important. We can no longer put our hopes exclusively in liberal and secular parties if we want to achieve meaningful progress.

### *Security cooperation with third countries*

Europe's involvement with other countries should be about far more than tracking down international terrorists. More specifically, the EU should devise a strategy in the field of security sector reform and present it to partner countries in the Mediterranean. This would aim at modernizing the police and the military, spreading good practices and creating a culture of human rights and the rule of law in the security sectors of countries like Jordan,

Egypt and Morocco. Security cooperation with these countries and pursuing and prosecuting terrorists remain important. Cooperation should also deal with links between terrorist groups and international, organised crime.

Evaluation of action taken should spotlight any weak points – but we can already say that the role of the EU anti-terrorism coordinator should be strengthened. Technical cooperation also concerns the risk of weapons of mass destruction or nuclear material falling into terrorist hands. This has been identified in the ESS and by the UN as one of the greatest security threats. We must strengthen multilateral institutions in which efforts are being made to reach a common definition of terrorism. The EU should seek common ground with the US in a multilateral approach to problems. More specifically, it should work together with the US and other countries to work out a comprehensive UN Convention on Terrorism, in order to anchor the fight against it in a clear legal basis.

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### **III. Prevention: Social inclusion and dialogue**

Our response to terrorism cannot be confined to a set of security measures. We must also examine our capacity to respond to attacks and focus on the prevention of terrorism and terrorist recruitment. Prevention must include fighting root causes of terrorism such as social exclusion, poverty, inequality and discrimination and political resentment.

The Madrid agenda is right to stress that "*While poverty is not a direct cause of terrorism, economic and social policy can help mitigate exclusion and the impact of rapid socioeconomic change, which give rise to grievances that are often exploited by terrorists*".

Fighting the root causes of terrorism must be based on promotion of universal values. This means upholding the civil liberties of all, promoting social inclusion, fighting discrimination and pursuing the better integration of minorities and migrants.

#### *A European approach to social inclusion*

We have recently seen growing social unrest in several European countries. In this age of globalisation, debate about welfare reform and a stronger European social model is closely linked to social inclusion.

In recent decades, EU member states have had different approaches to the integration of people living on the edges of society. While this has produced substantial improvement in living conditions and recognition of citizenship rights for some, new generations now face new forms of disillusionment. In most European towns and cities, these new generations experience the contradiction between successful cultural and civic integration and the perception of growing social and economic marginalisation.

Our duty as European social democrats is to set out political solutions to these new challenges. We begin with some reflection on different national experiences and promoting best practice to find new ways of promoting economic and social inclusion and equality.

A European strategy should be founded on two principles:

- Inclusion begins not only with recognition of fundamental rights and citizenship rights, but when people really exercising these rights.
- Fighting discrimination and promoting equal opportunities – in particular in education, training and employment – should be a cornerstone of all policies.

#### *Promoting and developing the integration of minorities and migrants*

The London attacks led to new political initiatives and a wide-ranging public debate about how to strengthen community cohesion and speed up integration.

Although all individuals have the same fundamental rights, causes of exclusion often build up. Victims of ethnic discrimination often have poor access to housing and education. This in turn threatens their job chances, bringing a real risk of exclusion from mainstream society. This lack of opportunity can help terrorist recruitment.

The EU must therefore make full use of its wide-ranging powers against discrimination. We insist on full respect for Article 13 of the Treaty and full implementation of European law in all member states.

Finally, the EU must actively promote civil and political rights, for failure to integrate and empower migrants can also help terrorist recruitment. The EU must set minimum standards for integration, such as civil and political rights, including the right to vote.

### *Participation of civil society in the fight against terrorism*

Terrorism threatens democracy, freedom and human rights. To defend ourselves, we must mobilise civil society organisations and citizens themselves. As the Madrid agenda states: "*The process of building democracy as an antidote to terrorism and violence needs to be supported by the international community and its citizens*".

The widest possible participation in civil society is essential to keep a balance between collective security and individual freedom – but also to ensure that citizens are closely associated with anti-terrorist measures.

Involvement in civil society will foster community cohesion. Actively involved organisations can help to defuse the conflicts that can be at the source of violent reactions against society as a whole. Civil society's role must be strengthened to promote cross-cultural and religious understanding and dialogue.

After the London bomb attacks, the British Muslim Youth Forum did not feel any tension between their faith and British culture<sup>1</sup>. However, they identified barriers to integration. Civil society and NGOs play a decisive role in identifying those barriers and opening dialogue about them.

Finally, there is broad dissatisfaction with the dialogue offered by many European governments. Governments' response to terrorism should not just be security oriented but should encourage discussion both within communities and between civil society and governments.

### *Fighting religious extremism and violent radicalisation*

We repudiate the xenophobia of those who promote the abhorrent view that there is a link between Muslim faith and terrorism. History teaches us that extremists will readily use religion to impose their views. The attacks on London show that violent radicalisation can occur in our societies. But there is more to this than the religious beliefs of the terrorists. There can never be a justification for acts of terrorism, but social exclusion, failure to integrate, poverty and political resentment are intertwined factors that drive some individuals towards extremism. We must not lay the blame on "communities" – we must ask ourselves 'What is it in our society that makes people take such action?'

The attacks in London and Madrid highlighted the need to deal urgently with radicalisation. The first step is to ensure that different religions are not crudely identified with terrorism. People behind a number of recent incidents boasted of their links with Islam. But they misrepresent Islam.

Anti-Muslim incidents should be dealt with firmly to prevent discrimination driving susceptible people into the arms of the extremists. EU institutions should promote greater understanding between different faiths. Civil society, NGOs and religious leaders must be encouraged to fight extremism. We need channels of communication between civil society, religious communities and public authorities.

Second, we must identify what pushes people from extremism to violent radicalisation. The Commission's 2005 communication on terrorist recruitment defines violent radicalisation as "the phenomenon of people embracing opinions, views and ideas which could lead to acts of terrorism".

Recruitment is a key part of the question. Western Europe is important in terrorist links to Al Qaeda. The terrorists behind 9/11 and the Afghan commander Masoud's murderers were terrorists who passed through European terrorist cells.

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<sup>1</sup> The Guardian, "Islamic Voice of reason speaks out, but the anger remains", Monday November 21, 2005

Many European Muslims are from underprivileged social classes. Action against discrimination, better integration policies and more civic rights will counteract conditions favourable for terrorist recruitment without undermining civil liberties and the foundations of European multicultural identity.

We need to engage more in promoting multicultural dialogue. We need to work for the common acceptance of a core of fundamental rights and values and of the rule of law. At the same time, we must promote the recognition and acceptance of diversity of political, cultural, social, religious beliefs as well as the social inclusion, the empowerment and the equal participation in society of all individuals.

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## **RECOMMENDATIONS**

### *Justice and Home Affairs*

Deal with judicial and police cooperation in criminal matters in the EU institutional framework, with full involvement of the European Parliament in co-decision;

Strengthen judicial and police cooperation in criminal matters and adopt important pending measures: framework decision on a European Evidence Warrant, on procedural guarantees for suspects and defendants, on the exchange of information on criminal records, respect for the principle that no-one can be judged twice for the same crime;

Adopt rapidly the framework decision on protection of personal data in judicial and police cooperation, as amended by the European Parliament, to secure guarantees for EU citizens in this politically sensitive area;

Step up police cooperation and information exchanges between law-enforcement authorities: creation of the Visa Information System and the Schengen Information System II databases, duly amended with the necessary guarantees on data protection and data security;

Strengthen the EU social and financial support to victims, to their families and their associations concerning the exchange of experiences and good practices as well as awareness raising, through the Solidarity Fund and the new JLS programmes for the prevention and the fight against organised crime and terrorism; provide a EU wide definition of victim and a core of guarantees valid throughout the EU;

Reinforce the European Agency of Fundamental Rights as a strong, independent body, accountable to the European Parliament, with adequate means to monitor and promote respect for fundamental rights in the EU, including police and judicial cooperation in criminal matters;

Redefine Europol as an EU body, under democratic control of the EP, with stronger operational and investigative powers;

Strengthen Eurojust's coordination role to enhance effectiveness of judicial cooperation and improve cooperation between Europol and Eurojust;

Establish a system for the democratic monitoring and control over the joint and coordinated intelligence activities at EU level, including an important role for the European Parliament;

Revise and strengthen the competence and power of the EU Counter Terrorism Coordinator, also in view of an increased transparency and monitoring of its activities by the European Parliament.

### *Foreign policy*

Adopt enhanced European policies for economic and social development through trade, aid and investment;

Pursue a tough and consistent line with undemocratic and authoritarian regimes, setting gradual democratisation as the EU main aim;

Promote and actively support civil society;

Explore the idea of a framework on the lines of the Barcelona process and the European neighbourhood policy (as well as of the OSCE for Northern Africa and the Middle East) to stimulate regional cooperation and gradual democratisation, based on commitments and the respect for common values;

Contribute to peaceful resolution of disputes, including the resolution of the Israel-Palestine conflict, while promoting a foreign, security and human rights policy that applies equally to all parties in the international arena;

Improve relations with the Arab world;

Foster security sector reform in southern Mediterranean countries involved in the fight against terrorism;

Strengthen multilateralism by engaging with the US and other international partners in order to produce a comprehensive UN Convention on Terrorism.

### *Prevention: Social inclusion*

Strengthen the European strategy against social exclusion and poverty;

Promote diversity and equality in the access and participation of all individuals to the economic, social, political, cultural life based on acceptance of shared fundamental rights and the rule of law;

Call for social inclusion to be integrated among the objectives of the Action Plan Against Terrorism to help prevent terrorist recruitment;

Call for a European integration policy and for a European Charter for the Integration of Migrants setting cultural, political and civil rights, including the right to vote at local level;

Promote the participation of civil society and civil liberty organisations in the anti-terrorism debate;

Strengthen Europe's policies against discrimination and ensure that all member states fully implement European legislation, particularly in the fields of education and employment;

Call for a European Framework Decision setting uniform sanctions against Racism and Xenophobia.

