

out by the Provisional IRA. In fact, it was from a white van parked just outside this building that the Provisional IRA launched three mortars at Downing Street. Had they been just 10 metres more accurate, they would have wiped out the entire Cabinet. It was the second time that PIRA had attempted to destroy that democratically elected government.

I don't, then, underestimate the threat we have faced in the past. But what we have seen develop over the last decade is of a different order of magnitude to previous domestic and international terrorism. It combines global ambition, global reach and powerful means in an unprecedented way.

On one level, the global dimension of this modern terrorism stems from the way in which it organises and operates. It is not limited to one nationality or region. People from more than 40 countries passed through the terrorist training camps in Afghanistan before the September 11th attacks. It uses the tools of our modern, interconnected world – whether it is the internet or the international financial system – to recruit, to co-ordinate and to sustain itself. We have seen terrorists from the Middle East strike in the heart of New York, and young men born and brought up in this country go to Israel to carry out suicide attacks. The destruction which is threatened is also on a different scale from what we have seen before. On September 11th, the terrorists killed about 3,000 people. But they wanted to kill the 30,000 people who worked in those buildings. And if there had been 300,000 people in the way of those planes, I have no doubt they would have killed them. Indeed many of today's global terrorists would be only too willing to use weapons of mass destruction to maximise civilian casualties.

But this terrorism is global in another sense too – its overarching goal is to change the world in which we live. Guy Fawkes and the 19th Century revolutionaries justified their actions by saying that they wanted to bring down specific forms of government. The Irish Republican Army said that all they wanted was for Northern Ireland to be incorporated into the Irish Republic. In contrast, the aims of today's global terrorism go beyond such relatively narrow national or political objectives. We are seeing an attack on the international community as a whole – on our common values and on our shared future.

Today I want to set out how our response must match the scale and breadth of this attack. On the one hand, we need to co-operate at an international and



multilateral level to share evidence and intelligence, to disrupt terrorists' networks, to cut off their sources of financing and to bring terrorists to justice.

At the same time, we need a global effort to confront the propaganda of the terrorist, to address the sources of discontent which terrorists seek to exploit and to build a sense of common commitment to prosperity, peace and security based on freedom and the rule of law.

These two strands reinforce one another. If we want to show people the emptiness of the terrorist rhetoric then we must be consistent when fighting terrorism – both internationally and domestically – in upholding those values and freedoms we have set out to defend. These values – the rule of law, an independent judiciary, strong parliament, freedom of speech, multilateralism, respect for human rights – are ones of which we are rightly proud. And they stand in stark contrast to the repressive and divisive alternative offered by the terrorist. They need to be – and they are – an integral part of the United Kingdom's counter-terrorism work.

First, then, let me turn to how international co-operation is helping us to protect ourselves from a terrorist attack, to prepare our response to any such attack, and to pursue those responsible for terrorism.

In the past few years we have increased the bilateral co-operation between countries faced with the threat of terrorism. Key to this has been increasing and improving the sharing of intelligence. Information we have received from foreign governments has saved lives in this country. And we have shared information