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## „French Bombay” – Terrorist Attacks in Paris 13 November, 2015

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# „FRENCH BOMBAY” – TERRORIST ATTACKS IN PARIS 13 NOVEMBER, 2015

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### ABSTRACT

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Author analyses the terrorist attacks in Bombay, 2008 and in Paris, November 2015 – several targets in Paris. In both attacks the same strategy was adopted – named here as a sequential terrorist attack. They were made by well prepared and equipped groups of terrorist attacking different targets once by once in short periods of time – like a city guerrillas. Some comparison to the attack on “Charlie Hebdo” editorial’s office, January 2015 is made – the attacks of November are not a separated act of terror but should be seen as a part and a consequence of war with Islamic State (ISIS). In this context, also including war in Eastern Ukraine, Polish security is analysed and crucial issues are outlined.

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Terrorism has been a consistent component of socio-political landscape of the world since the dawn of its history. There were different conditions and grounds of terrorist activity. After ones had been terminated, others became active. When it seemed that the collapse of the bipolar world will become an antidote to the dominating in the second half of the 20th cen-

ture threat of leftist terrorism, the reality put in a new type of threat – terrorism of Islamic fundamentalists<sup>1</sup>.

The world entered the 21st century being conscious of terrorist threat from the Islamists. Ideologies of the extreme Left, anarchists – the lifeblood of terrorism in the second half of the 20th century, were replaced by Islamic fundamentalism. It arose from rejection of European values of socio-political and religious life. The culture of the West is perceived by the Islamists as a threat to the identity of the Muslims and symptoms of globalization and modernization are regarded by them as an attack on their culture<sup>2</sup>.

Terrorist attacks have become a permanent element of the reality of the modern world. It can seem that they have become in a sense a commonplace reality, however every now and then there supervene the attacks that appal public opinion. We had to deal with such attacks in France in 2015.

On 7th January 2015 an unprecedented terrorist attack was committed. On that day at about 11.30 a.m. three armed attackers shouting “*Allahu Akbar!*” opened fire in the Parisian editorial of the magazine “Charlie Hebdo” killing 12 people including 2 police officers and wounding 11 including 4 people who were seriously injured. The attackers were well-equipped (i.a. with automatic weapons) and prepared, they acted calmly and methodically. In the abandoned by the terrorists Citroën C3 car the ID of one of them – Saïd Kouachieg – was found. Since the day of the attack a search of the implied perpetrators – French citizens of Algerian origin, brothers Saïd and Chérif Kouachi – was carried out. The elder brother, Saïd Kouachi, was trained by Al-Qaeda in Yemen. After a two-day escape the two brothers were encircled in Dammartin-en-Goële. As a result of an assault on their hideout committed by special forces of French gendarmerie GIGN on 9th January both brothers were killed. In the morning on 8th January an unknown perpetrator shot in the back and killed a twenty-six-year-old policewoman in Montrouge and wounded another police officer. On 9th January he barri-

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<sup>1</sup> K. Jałoszyński, *Wykorzystanie środków technicznych w działaniach reaktywnych w walce z zagrożeniami terrorystycznymi*, cited in *Terroryzm wczoraj i dziś. Wybrane problemy*, P. de la Fuente, W. Gizicki, C. Taracha (eds.), Lublin 2015, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> K. Jędrzejczyk-Kuliniak, *Religie świata a bezpieczeństwo*, Wrocław 2013, p. 160.

caded himself with at least five hostages inside the kosher supermarket “Hyper Casher” at Porte de Vincennes. He turned out to be Amedy Coulibaly stating that he acted on behalf of so called the Islamic State and demanding the release of the Kouachi brothers. Those demands were not made public until the end of the police operation. During the police attack on 9th January 2015, the action was carried out by the RAID Unit, the offender was killed<sup>3</sup>. Both assaults – in Paris and in Dammartin-en-Goële – were committed simultaneously in order to prevent terrorists from coordinating possible retaliatory actions.

The way to make of a terrorist attack have destructive effects, to incapacitate the system of reaction to the attack as well as undertakings connected with neutralization of it is undoubtedly a **sequential terrorist attack** – a series of attacks at the same time – or in short periods of time, in different places, on a relatively small territory. A **sequence** – a progression, succession, system of something<sup>4</sup>.

The world is not free of such kind of attacks. The city of Bombay in India became the arena for that type of attack in autumn 2008. In the evening on 26th November the terrorists related to Al-Qaeda committed a sequential attack on selected targets in that city. The attacks were carried out in the places which were extremely popular with tourists as well as businessmen residing in Bombay. Among others a hospital, the main railway station, Café Leopold restaurant, Metro Adlabs cinema, two luxury hotels – Taj Mahal Palace and Oberoi and Jewish centre Nariman House were attacked<sup>5</sup>.

The incidents in Bombay in November 2008, in the wake of which at least 172 people were killed, were defined as Indian September 11th<sup>6</sup>. It was not the only terrorist attack on the territory of India. However, that one was an exceptional undertaking, even if for the sake of variety of its

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<sup>3</sup> [https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zamach\\_na\\_redakcj%C4%99\\_Charlie\\_Hebdo](https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zamach_na_redakcj%C4%99_Charlie_Hebdo) (accessed: 4.08.2015).

<sup>4</sup> *Słownik wyrazów obcych PWN*, Warszawa 1995, p. 1003.

<sup>5</sup> Basing on: (as) *Terrorystyci znów uderzyli. Wojna bombajska*, „ANGORA” No 49 (7 December 2008).

<sup>6</sup> As source material for this study was the analysis of the attack in Bombay carried out by RAND, *The Lessons of Mumbai*, authors: A. Robasa, R. D. Blackwill, P. Chalk, K. Cragin, C. Ch. Fair, B. A. Jackson, B. M. Jenkins, S. G. Jones, N. Shestek, A. Tellis, translation: Biuro Operacji Antyterrorystycznych KGP, Warszawa 2009, (manuscript), p. 1–28.

targets, the duration of the attack – 60 hours. The attack was carried out by the Islamic organization Lashkare-Taiba (LeT) – a terrorist group with its seat in Pakistan. Pakistani terrorists regard India as a part of Zionist-Teutonic-Hindu union, thereby an enemy of Islam.

The attack site – Bombay – was chosen by the terrorists deliberately. After all it is a centre of Indian business and entertainment. The two hotels: Taj Mahal and Trident-Oberoi could have been perceived by them as symbols – Indian World Trade Centre towers. Being recognizable places they were “attractive” targets because of a psychological effect which might have been caused by the attack. The attacks on the foreigners staying in Bombay brought on interest in international mass media. The effects of the attacks took a toll on the sphere of psychological perception of India by foreign tourists and businessmen – it is not a country free of spectacular terrorist attacks. The message was clear: investment and stay in India, even as a tourist, is not safe. International media reports undoubtedly inhibited to some extent the inflow of tourists and businessmen to this country for a period of time, which without any doubt was a detriment to its economy.

The attack in Bombay was characterized by careful organizational and logistic preparation of terrorists evincing itself by:

- precise planning,
- very good recognition,
- both physical and mental preparation of the attackers – the terrorists must have been aware of a suicidal character of their actions,
- the proper choice of means of battle – each of the attackers was equipped with an AK-56 assault rifle (a Chinese version of a Russian AK-47) with seven magazines (of 30 bullets). They also had MP-5 machine pistols (Heckler & Koch). They were armed with 9 mm pistols with 2 magazines of ammunition and hand grenades (8–10 for each). The terrorists had homemade shrapnel explosive devices – the firepower had to be enhanced by balls from headstocks placed in them. All together there were found five devices of that type. Two of them exploded in taxis, the other three were located in different places with the intention of detonating them later. However, they did not explode or were disabled by Indian sappers-pyrotechnicians.

The group of terrorists got through to Bombay from the seaside, sailing from Karachi on a Pakistani trade ship. At night of 22/23 November the

attackers hijacked an Indian fishing trawler, killed the whole crew except the captain and headed for Bombay. At the entrance to the port the captain was also killed. The arrival from the seaside enabled the terrorists to bypass Indian checkpoints at the border or airports. Sailing the Indian ship allowed not to awake any suspicion of Indian coast guard. After they had left the ship, the terrorists changed for two inflatable boats, which they sailed to two different places in the southern part of Bombay.

The attackers divided into four groups: one four-person, three two-person. Each group implemented the plan of the attack:

- The first two-person group attacked travellers at the railway station. The two terrorists had been shooting at the people at the station for about 90 minutes before better armed police units arrived at the station forced them to leave the station. The terrorists went to Cama & Albles hospital where they also started killing. Trying to escape in a police radio-dispatched car, which had been previously attacked and hijacked, they headed for Trident-Oberoi hotel, shooting on their way. Being forced to retreat, they hijacked another car but were stopped by the Police. As a result of the firing one of the terrorists died, the other one was wounded and captured. The group was responsible for one third of the fatal casualties of the attack.
- The second group of terrorists went to Nariman House – a trading and residential complex run by a Chassidic movement (the Jewish Chabad Lubavich movement). The terrorists threw grenades at the gas station located on the opposite side of the street, opened the fire at the building and entered the hall shooting. Taking 13 hostages, 5 of whom were killed afterwards, the terrorists were prepared for the attack of the police. All in all that group was responsible for 8 fatal casualties.
- The third two-person group went to Trident-Oberoi hotel where they started killing people they met by accident. They barricaded themselves in the hotel building taking hostages. The siege of Trident Oberoi had lasted nearly 17 hours before the terrorists were killed. They killed 30 people.
- The fourth and biggest group moved to Taj Mahal Palace hotel. The terrorists entered Leopold Café, firing long bursts at people with machine guns and killing 10 people. Next they headed for the side entrance of the hotel only 100 meters from the café. They crossed the premises of the hotel and the ground floor, killing the people they met on their way and

then made for the upper floors, firing and moving all the time. The seizure of the hotel was completed 60 hours later when commandos killed four terrorists.

Division of the terrorists into smaller groups, their mobility caused that the police and the army had a problem with locating the place of their stay and thus neutralising them. In most cases they avoided the situations of creating permanent resistance points. Only at the time when they had no other option they barricaded themselves and took hostages.

The actions of the police and military forces aimed at neutralising the threat, eliminating the terrorists and bringing back public order and security were taken in four and a half hours since the first attack and lasted for 60 hours.

A few years later a so called “sequential attack” was carried out in Europe on 13th November 2015. The place of the attack was the capital of France – Paris.

Paris attack has been undoubtedly the most professional operation among terrorist assaults carried out in the West on behalf and in favour of the Islamic State and its caliphate throughout last a dozen or so month. Previous actions such as the assault on the editorial office of “Charlie Hebdo” magazine and “Hyper Cacher” kosher store in Paris in January 2015, not to mention the attacks in Brussels, Ottawa, Sydney or Copenhagen, were amateur as a matter of fact, being classical examples of acting of so called lonely wolves of *jihad*. And therefore individual people (or small 3–5-person groups) inspired by the ideology of Islamic “holy war” in the Islamic State style and implementing caliph Ibrahim’s (Abu Bakr al Bagdadi’s) call of June 2014 to attack “wrong doers” in their homeland<sup>7</sup>.

General characteristic of the course of events during Paris attack leave no doubt – we have to do with a new in the West form of Islamic attacks in many terms resembling the actions of “city guerillas”. Paris attacks – in operating terms – are a series of simultaneous actions carried out by three sections of terrorists consisting of a few people, incorporated in one relatively harmonious well-trained (regarding opportunities and conditions of paramilitary structures) group. Such kind of teams consisting of 8–10 fighters, well-armed and trained as well as determined and

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<sup>7</sup> T. Otłowski, *Wojna z Klifatem II: Aspekty operacyjne*, FAE Policy Paper No. 36/2015, Warszawa 23.11.2015 (PDF), p. 2.

fanatically religious (which often translates into suicidal, *shahid*, nature of their actions) nowadays are a basic tactical element of IS army structure in Levant. The armed forces of caliphate after brilliant success of spring and summer 2014 based mainly on tactics of using mobile, swift mechanized units, possible thanks to the fleet of thousands of heavily armed vehicles of SUV and pick-up type (famous “technical”) by the end of the last year (after the defeat at Kobane in the north of Syria) mostly went on the defensive<sup>8</sup>.

Therefore mobility and swiftness of operations were replaced with fire force and individual determination of the fighters acting in small assault groups ready even to sacrifice their lives as “martyrs”. Contrary to opinions of some experts and commentators Paris attacks certainly were not improvisation. Which does not mean everything went according to the plan of the attackers. The attacks of 13th November despite their simultaneity were planned and – at least initially – carried out bearing in mind two main targets, i.e. “Stade de France” stadium (where a friendly football match between France and Germany was taking place, the start at 9 p.m. local time) and “Bataclan” concert hall (where an American black-metal group was playing). Both venues gave the attackers a great number of potential casualties, having at the same time for the Islamists a clear and important symbolic dimension. The attacks in the other places in Paris (shooting in a few restaurants and bars) most probably were only tactical the aim of which was to distract attention of security services from the main targets of the attack and cause chaos in the city and bring to certain psychological effects<sup>9</sup>.

For unknown reasons the plan was not implemented completely. The attacks (suicidal explosions) near the stadium were carried out in short periods of time between 9.20 p.m. (gate D), 9.30 p.m. (gate J) and 9.53 p.m. (near McDonald’s at the closest to the stadium underground station). At first it seemed that the attackers had failed to arrive at the site of the action, that initially they had wanted to carry out the attacks even before the beginning of the match (9 p.m.) when crowds of fans were waiting to enter tribunes. It is also known that the attackers did not intend to enter the stadium – they had not bought tickets and preparing

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<sup>8</sup> Ibidem, p. 2–3.

<sup>9</sup> Ibidem, p. 3.



the attack they were aware that a thorough check of the people entering tribunes would manage to discover the fact of wearing explosives<sup>10</sup>.

Presently the most realistic thesis seems to be the one that states that the explosion near the stadium was premature and the terrorists had initially planned to attack fans leaving the stadium after the match (at about 11 p.m.). However for unknown reasons, perhaps because of stress and perhaps because of attracting interest of police patrols in the neighbourhood of the stadium by their suspicious behaviour – the two first bombers blew up their “shahid belts” in short periods of time between 9.20 and 9.30 p.m., while the third one, having already known that the whole operation in that part of the city had been failed, blew himself up a dozen or so minutes later in the neighbourhood of McDonald’s restaurant<sup>11</sup>.

The professionalism of the organizers of the operation can be demonstrated by meticulous logistic and material preparation. Particular sections of the assault group armed mainly with *Kalashnikov* assault rifles (AK-47 and derivatives), they had huge supplies of ammunition – even 5–6 magazines per person (i.e. 150–180 rounds). Such amount of ammunition at disposal of each terrorist caused that they had a peculiar feeling of lack of limitations on their abilities. It results from the basic assumption of such kind of terrorist operations – to fire as many shots as possible in possibly the shortest period to possibly the biggest crowd of people in order to maximize the toll and create the biggest chaos intensified by detonating suicide vests. Thereby, the more ammunition in hand, the better. Preliminary, unofficial information from the sources close to Parisian investigators indicate that at least half of the attackers using automatic weapon “had used” all the ammunition they had<sup>12</sup>.

Each of the terrorists was also wearing a vest of identical construction – a wearable payload (“shahid belt”) – containing a half-kilogramme payload (in the form of acetone peroxide, TATP) and about 2–3 kg of iron (metal) small items (mainly nails) which were supposed to act as shrapnel. It has to be mentioned that of a “shahid belt” construction on TATP by definition a kind of makes a payload incredibly unstable, i.e. prone to accidental, unintentional initiation of explosion (e.g. as a result of a sudden

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<sup>10</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>11</sup> Ibidem, p. 3–4.

<sup>12</sup> Ibidem, p. 4.

jolt, hit, etc.). For the same reason TAPT – very unpredictable and at the same time high-energy and extremely efficient explosive, is relatively rarely used to make typical wearable payloads (vests) as vary complicated and dangerous “to process” and to use later by a “shahid”. More often TAPT is used to make classical improvised explosive devices (IED), which also can be used by suicide bombers but as “bombs” put in backpacks, bags, etc. (as it took place in London in 2015)<sup>13</sup>.

As the result of the attacks 130 people were killed, more than 350 injured, including 40 severely injured requiring hospitalization in an intensive care department.

So called the Islamic State claimed responsibility for the attacks – a Salafi terrorist organization and self-appointed caliphate existing in the territory of Iraq and Syria. The aim of the group which claims to be an heir to Sunni extremists for the period of occupation of Iraq by western armed forces is foundation of a religious state based on the principles of Quranic law in the territory of Iraq, Syria and Levant. On 29th June 2014 the group proclaimed foundation of the caliphate of “the Islamic State” in the occupied lands. The group was founded during the U.S. intervention in Iraq in 2003. Initially the organisation existed under the name *Dżama’at at-Tauhid wa-al-Jihad* and was commanded by Abu Musab az-Zarqawi. This formation gathered foreign terrorists and Sunni extremists. In fact it was a branch of Al-Qaeda in Iraq. The formation of az-Zarqawi during the guerrilla war in Iraq in 2004 became famous above all for participation in the I and II battle of Al-Fallujah, carrying out suicide attacks, as well as taking foreign hostages into captivity and carrying out executions on them by decapitation which shook public opinion<sup>14</sup>. Initially being marginalised and ridiculed, today it has filled in the „terrorist gap” after Al-Qaeda. The extent of the threat from the Islamic State gave rise to a new coalition against terrorism under the leadership of the USA in which Arabic states took an active part. A declaration of Iran, the first in the modern world Islamic religious state in which the socio-political and legal systems are subject to verses of the Qur’an, to actively fight against the Islamic State, can be the proof of the power of fear of the world of that organization<sup>15</sup>.

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<sup>13</sup> Ibidem, p. 5.

<sup>14</sup> [http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pa%C5%84stwo\\_Islamskie](http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pa%C5%84stwo_Islamskie) (accessed: 30.08.2014).

<sup>15</sup> <http://wiadomosci.onet.pl/swiat/terrorysci-z-is-beda-przybywac-do-europy-udajac-uchodzcow/lvrzs> (accessed: 5.10.2014).

They published an official statement in which they took responsibility for Friday's attacks. The document emphasised that the bombings were carefully planned. The terrorists warn that France will remain one of their main targets as long as it does not change its current policy. Jihadists have also published a recording in which they warn against further attacks. "As long as you keep bombing, you will not enjoy peace. You will even be afraid of going shopping", said a man surrounded by other Jihadists in Arabic<sup>16</sup>.

French secret services established that the „brain of the attack” was Abdelhamid Abaaoud, he had to plan and control the operation. After having received the information that the man is in one of the apartments in the Saint-Denis in the North of Paris, the police special forces (RAID) carried out an hourslong operation, in the course of which the police shot about 5 thousand bullets. There was an assault on the apartment on the second floor as a result of which two people died - one blew himself up, the other was killed by antiterrorists<sup>17</sup>. Among the dead was the wanted terrorist.

Analysis of terrorist activity at the turn of 20th and 21st century leaves no illusions that this phenomenon was, is and will be one of the primary sources of security threats on a global scale<sup>18</sup>.

In relation to Poland, the same risk factors act as in case of Europe and the whole world, the only difference is the scale of intensity. When analysing potential threats a few basic problems have to be pointed out<sup>19</sup>:  
- First, the most serious consequences will follow from a terrorist attack carried out in the territory of the Republic of Poland against Polish targets or those of the third countries. In the latter case at stake is not only the objects/Western nationals, but also the Russian Federation, which is associated with results in presence on the territory of Poland immigrants from Chechnya among which may be also jihadists. You can also not unequivocally exclude a provocation in this area. It should be

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<sup>16</sup> <http://www.tvn24.pl/raporty/zamachy-w-paryzu,1025> (accessed: 9.12.2015).

<sup>17</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>18</sup> K. Jałoszyński, *Wykorzystanie środków...*, p. 31.

<sup>19</sup> T. Aleksandrowicz, K. Jałoszyński, *Rzeczpospolita Polska wobec zagrożenia terroryzmem*, cited in *Bezpieczeństwo państwa a zagrożenie terroryzmem. Terroryzm na przełomie XX i XXI wieku*, T. Aleksandrowicz, K. Jałoszyński, K. Wiciak (eds.), the material in editorial preparation at the Editorial Department of the Police Academy in Szczytno.

pointed out that the threat of Chechen movement is growing as since the death of one of the leaders, Shamil Basayev, it has been undergoing a specific evolution. Shamil Basayev was one of the last Chechen leaders who put the focus on the nationalistic and separatist objectives of movement. At the moment this movement ends to achieve the objectives of the global Jihad, which also expands the potential territorial scope of attacks<sup>20</sup>.

- Secondly, the objects and the citizens of the Republic of Poland shall bear the risk of an attack because of the functioning in the areas where conflicts are ongoing with the use of terrorist methods (first of all, the Middle East and the AFPAK region). Casualties can be accidental or deliberate. Needless to say, an accidental victim may happen to be every citizen of Poland who was in the site of the assassination, for example, in Spain or in London, it is obvious that the level of risk depends on the region. The level of the risks of particular forms of assault is also changing, for example, in the territory of the AFPAK it can take the form of taking a hostage and be connected not only with political demands, but also with a request for ransom<sup>21</sup>.
- Thirdly, so called “dry assaults” are also a problem, which means passing on false information about installed explosive and/or placing their dummies in places of an alleged attack. It may be related to both an intention to check a response of a state, getting to know the procedures and the efficiency of anti-terrorist services as well as a desire to cause panic. It should be noted that in many cases this type of attack may entail serious consequences for life and health, even though due to the necessity to carry out evacuation of bystanders from an object at risk<sup>22</sup>. There is no way not to mention so called case of Geybomber. On 20th October in Warsaw there was disclosed a number of packages, the look of which indicated that those were IED - Improvised Explosives. In shoe boxes were placed tubes, batteries and electric wires; in some of them there was potassium nitrate, which resulted in tracking them as explosives by detection dogs. So far, the culprit has not been found, we do not know his motive, accomplices and ordering party (as long as such people exist). It

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<sup>20</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>21</sup> See: W. Lewandowski, *Zagrożenia terrorystyczne polskich placówek dyplomatycznych*, „Terroryzm. Zagrożenia – Prewencja – Przeciwdziałanie”, No. 3/2008.

<sup>22</sup> T. Aleksandrowicz, K. Jałoszyński, *Rzeczpospolita Polska...*

is hard not to consider this cause as failure of the services responsible for combating terrorism in Poland<sup>23</sup>.

- Fourthly, Poland has joined the States whose development in terms of use of the network and computer technology in the daily functioning (e.g. an attempt to conduct the elections to Student Governments via the Internet in the 3 quarter of 2009) causes that they become very vulnerable to attacks in the cyberspace. This is no longer the only threat of potential type, but a real one – they are supported by the analysis of the Computer Emergency Response Team (CERT)<sup>24</sup>. The consequences of such an attack are evidenced by the events related to protests against the plans of the government to join ACTA agreement in January 2012<sup>25</sup>.
- Fifthly, it is difficult to conclusively exclude the possibility of appearing in Poland of processes of radicalisation in social attitudes due to the economic crisis (vide: the threat of the leftist terrorism in Greece) or on the xenophobic background (far-right organizations). At this point there is no way not bring up the “case of Lodz”: an assassination committed by a single attacker in the PiS (a political party) office<sup>26</sup>.
- Sixthly, the existing experience also indicates the possibility of reaching Poland by extremist and terrorist organizations which can recruit the Poles who are unaware of the situation to the specific actions. For example, in June 2008 the Iranian Society from Berlin offered Polish students to spend a weekend in the capital of France for only 20 PLN, the only condition was participation in a rally organized there by the People’s Mujahideen (the organization recognized by the NCTC as terrorist and that remains in opposition to Iranian authorities). Thousands of students took up the offer<sup>27</sup>.
- Seventhly, in the context of taking long-term actions in the area of counter-terrorism it is important to take into account its long-term psycho-social consequences. Implemented on the research programmes of

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<sup>23</sup> Material prepared by CERT available: <http://www.cert.pl/raporty>.

<sup>24</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>25</sup> See: E. Bendyk, *Bunt Sieci*, Warszawa 2012, passim.

<sup>26</sup> T. Aleksandrowicz, K. Jałoszyński, *Rzeczpospolita Polska...*

<sup>27</sup> <http://wiadomosci.dziennik.pl/wydarzenia/artykuly/77634,polscy-studenci-pomoga-terrorystom.html>; [http://wyborcza.pl/dziennikarze/1,84008,5401605,Paryska\\_balanga\\_polskich\\_studentow\\_z\\_mudzahedinami.html](http://wyborcza.pl/dziennikarze/1,84008,5401605,Paryska_balanga_polskich_studentow_z_mudzahedinami.html); <http://www.tvn24.pl/-1,1555214,wiadomosc.html>.

the European Union activities aimed at diagnosis and attempts to counteract the processes of transformation of modern societies of prosperity into societies of fear (e.g. COST Action 24) clearly indicate what long-term challenges are posed to modern societies by terrorism<sup>28</sup>.

The situation over our eastern border – the conflict between Russia and Ukraine – has its impact on the threat of Islamic terrorism in our country. The proof of this state can be a recommendation note of the Research and Analysis Office of the Polish Institute of International Affairs which contains the following conclusions:

- Fighting in the ranks of the Ukrainian volunteer battalions (the Right Sector, Donbass, Azov) – foreign fighters travel to Ukraine through the territory of Poland. Most of them cross the Polish – Ukrainian border legally (Swedes, Finns changing planes to Kiev at the airport of Chopin), but some of them, for example of Chechen background, do it illegally. It should also be pointed out that the Chechens are fighting in the conflicts in Ukraine on the side of the separatists but get to the front line through the territory of the Russian Federation. Foreign fighters crossing Polish – Ukrainian border illegally have a supporting network on the Polish side, whose members make it easier for them to move around Europe, among others to Denmark, where Isa Munayev – the commander of the „Chechen” unit fighting on the side of Ukraine – comes from, and back to Ukraine. The Chechens fighting on the Ukrainian side are mostly immigrants who live in different countries of Western Europe, among others in Denmark, Germany and Austria, and are not residents of the Russian Federation. Austrian and German Chechens are fighting in the ranks of the rebel groups as well, particularly of the Islamic State in Syria. Many of them have European passports which makes it easy for them to travel to Ukraine and back.

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<sup>28</sup> See: *Raport z badań prowadzonych w ramach projektu badawczego Collegium Civitas w Warszawie Model systemu wykorzystania środków masowego przekazu w przeciwdziałaniu i walce z terroryzmem w warunkach RP w ramach europejskiego programu COST 24*, Warszawa 2010, multiplied manuscript. Compare: K. Jałoszyński, J. Sokolas, *Media wobec współczesnego terroryzmu*, „Studia i Analizy Collegium Civitas”, No. 5, Warszawa 2008 and *Rola mediów w przeciwdziałaniu terroryzmowi*, K. Liedel, P. Piasecka (eds.), „Studia i Analizy Collegium Civitas”, No. 6, Warszawa 2009 (both works on the basis of the above mentioned research project). See also: B. Bolechów, *Terroryzm. Aktorzy, statyści, widownie*, Warszawa 2010.

- European Chechens and foreign fighters, inter alia, from Azov Regiment, station near each other on the Ukrainian front line near Mariupol. It allows them to make contacts, exchange experience and plan joint ventures in the future, also in the field of the most efficient transit through neighbouring countries of Ukraine, including Poland. The common denominator for their plans may be anti-Russianism on the one hand, and, on the other hand, declared by them,, among others in social media, anti-liberalism, anti-Europeanism, anti-Americanism, which is in line with the beliefs of Anders Breivik, who in 2011 murdered in Norway 77 people in two terrorist attacks. The possibility of making terrorist attacks against existing political, economic social and cultural order within the EU, after coming back from Ukraine, may have far-reaching consequences for European security. Most of the efforts and resources of the internal safety systems of the EU member states are aimed at combating the threat of terrorism from Islamists and activation of far-right circles would make an additional burden to them, which in turn would lower the overall level of safety in Europe.
- Potential terrorist attacks in Europe carried out by foreign fighters struggling on the Ukrainian side in the conflict in Donbas would be beneficial for the Russian Federation that would provide an additional argument in the process of anti-Ukrainian lobbying of the international community. It would also intensify propaganda activities against alleged neo-nazi and Islamist axis aimed at Europe and Russia. Russia could also take the opportunity to strengthen her arguments in favour of the meaningfulness and the inevitability of the Alliance on the Moscow-West against terrorism in Ukraine and Syria<sup>29</sup>.

Regarding constantly growing terrorist threat – in the global dimension, from radical Islamists, which has a direct impact on the threat to Poland, we would have to expect creating the conditions for services and formation responsible for internal security in our country. The same way as the expenditure ceiling for state defence was set, the analogous indicator of expenditure for internal security should be established. The current situation in this regard leaves much to be desired. After all, *security is not expensive, expensive is lack of it*<sup>30</sup>.

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<sup>29</sup> Recommendation note of the Polish Institute of Foreign Affairs of 30 July 2015 – Research and Analysis Office.

<sup>30</sup> K. Jałoszyński, *Rzeczpospolita Polska a zagrożenie terroryzmem islamskim w drugiej dekadzie XXI wieku*, „Zeszyty Naukowe WSI, Z i A”, No. 3/32, Warszawa 2015, p. 81.

In Poland, it is necessary to adopt anti-terrorist act clearly outlining the tasks for each entity in the country in terms of counter-terrorism. Only a top-ranking law can really curb the birth of ideas of helping out the Police with its obligation of a physical reaction to a terrorist attack. As a member state of the European Union we have clearly polarized EU position on this issue: the police have in their structure an anti-terrorist subdivision prepared, trained and equipped above all to carry out rescue operations in case of taking hostages, and in a situation when they need support, they get it from military special forces. Converting it to Polish Anti-terrorist Operations Office of Police Headquarters has to be the unit which is prepared, trained and equipped above all to carry out rescue operations in case of taking hostages, and in a situation when they need support, they get it from the Military Special Formation GROM. Any other ideas and efforts to implement them are not justified and irretrievably absorb wasted state funds.

The activities of a states in the area of security requires a substantive activeness deprived of political emotions. A good example of such an approach to this problem are above mentioned events in France of 2015. Discussion in our media was focused on the analysis of the causes of what happened, as well as on the reaction of French police services. None of the native commentators drew attention to the reaction of the French opposition. All their requests were directed at increasing penalties for terrorist activities, more restrictive government policy towards immigrants. There were no requests of personal character, such as resignation of the President, the Prime Minister, the head of special services. If a similar situation took place in Poland, you can anticipate that the whole activity of political opposition towards the political party exercising power, would be focused solely on request of personal character. The opposition would demand resignation, the government would try to prove that they have done their best to prevent the situation. The airtime of TV and radio stations, newspapers and websites would be dedicated only to that matter. In France consistency of foundation of state functioning is above political divisions<sup>31</sup>.

In November 2015 the Minister of Internal Affairs and Administration announced from the rostrum of the Sejm taking up, together with

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<sup>31</sup> Ibidem, p. 80.



the Coordinator for Special services, work on the development of the „anti-terrorist law”<sup>32</sup>. Since the announcement has remained on the stage of information, it is difficult to refer to its substantive assumptions. Time will tell which direction the announced work will go.

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