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THE CURRENT MIGRATION AS A FACTOR OF THE TERRORIST THREAT IN EUROPE AND POLAND

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ABSTRACT

Authors analyse the structure of immigration processes in the present Europe, showing a qualitative difference between incomers to the Western countries and to Poland. The previous are reached by Muslim immigrants, finding it hard to assimilate with the host societies and therefore are keen to follow radical Islam and turn into terrorists. As examples of such situations the terrorists attacks at Madrid, London, and Paris are pointed. The latter is the destination mostly for the immigrants from neighboring countries, especially from Ukraine – they do not pose threat to Polish security and easily accommodate to Polish culture. The other analysed aspect is the influence of the immigration crisis on functioning of the European Union – both particular countries (especially Italy) and her institutions. The controversies over European Commission's propositions for dealing with the immigration crisis are shown, with a stress put on Central European countries.

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For over a quarter of century Poland has been an emigration country, since the economic and constitutional transformation has started that resulted in the liberalization of border crossing. This can be easily seen by analyzing

the net migration indicators, showing that we notice a steady increase in numbers of immigrants. This process has a variable scale of dynamics and is dependent on many geopolitical factors. Certainly one of this kind of determinant was the Polish access to the Schengen Area that implied the tightening stance in the area of migration policy. Currently an important factor in the influx of immigrants are acts of war carried out in Donbas and co-related the so-called Russian crisis. In-depth and comprehensive analysis of the phenomena in this area has been made by the Centre of Migration Research¹. It had been noted that the immigration movement to our country has an interesting structure, which has been characterized, since the beginning of the transformation, by the duality of this structure. On the one hand, Poland attracts well educated, needed experts from highly-developed countries; on the other hand, there are migrants taking the lowest paid jobs, mainly in agriculture, construction, as well as in the home service sector. The authors of report note, however, that unlike in many other European Union countries, in the so-called Old Fifteen in particular, relatively small importance in Poland has an influx of asylum-seekers and members of the families of those migrants, who have already settled in our country. So it can be assumed that the vast majority of immigration in Poland are the people seeking employment and leaving mother countries for typically economic reasons, rather than of politico-religious, with which the other Member States of the Union have been already dealing for several years. Moreover, the study suggest that the influx of immigrants to Poland still has a limited scale.

The available statistical data shows that Poland is reached mainly by immigrants from the former Soviet Republics, and the dominant group are the citizens of Ukraine. Since the 1980s we see the dominance of temporary forms of labor mobility. Marek Okólski² pointed out that we are dealing here with a phenomenon of so-called incomplete migration, where even if particular stays of immigrants are very short, their's total cumulated time of residence in the country of destination can be very long.

¹ Raport z badania imigrantów w Polsce [*Report on imigrants in Poland*]: Agata Górny (Faculty of Economics, University of Warsaw), Paweł Kaczmarczyk (Faculty of Economics, University of Warsaw), Joanna Napierała (Centre of Migration Research, University of Warsaw), Sabina Toruńczyk-Ruiz (Centre of Migration Research, University of Warsaw), Warsaw, December 2013.

² *European Immigrations. Trends, Structures and Policy Implications*, M. Okólski (ed.), Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam.

The other characteristic feature of immigration to Poland is its “insularity”, which means that foreigners are visible in large conurbations (mainly in Masovian Voivodeship), and in other parts of the Polish their presence is incidental³.

Centre of Migration Research stated that already there are indications for the formation of heterogeneous labor market structure in our country. This implies the following consequences:

- migrants are concentrated in specific industries,
- these are mainly industries employing low-skilled workers,
- certain sectors of the labor market have become dependent on foreign labor.

Currently, it is difficult to estimate what part of immigrants going to Poland should be classified as illegal stays⁴. It is believed that the undeclared immigration prevail over registered, but it is hard to determine its scale. Some data estimate that there are about 300–500 thousand foreigners staying illegally in Poland⁵, although a spokesman for the Ministry of Interior stated that “the illegal immigration is not a mass phenomenon”⁶.

As a result of research shows, though they do not have a systematic character, some of the “circulation” immigrants, due to tighter visa regulations from 2007 after the Polish access into the Schengen Area, decided to stay illegal in our country⁷.

Interesting studies, co-financed by the European Fund for the Integration of third-country nationals, were also carried out by: Joanna Konieczna-Salamatin z Institute for Socio-Economic Studies, University of Warsaw and Centre for Providing European Projects, Ministry of Interior research team⁸.

They have analyzed the official data describing the immigration to Poland and, on this basis, defined its basic characteristics. It is indicated that in Poland there are still very few foreign settlements for a longer period of

³ A. Grzymała-Kazłowska, S. Łodziński, *Koncepcje, badania i praktyki integracji imigrantów. Doświadczenia polskie w europejskim kontekście*, „Studia Migracyjne-Przegląd Polonijny”, 2011, no 2, p. 11–40.

⁴ *Report on immigrants in Poland...*, p. 9–10.

⁵ *Abolicja dla nielegalnych migrantów już w 2011 roku*, „Gazeta Wyborcza”, 27.10.2010.

⁶ Ibidem.

⁷ *Report on immigrants in Poland...*, p. 12.

⁸ *Imigranci o wysokich kwalifikacjach na polskim rynku pracy – badanie społeczne [Immigrants with high skills on the Polish labour market — social study]*, Warszawa 2014.

time. Despite the passage of a decade from Polish accession to the European Union, immigrants still represent a small percentage of permanent residents of Poland⁹. The most of them reside in Masovian Voivodship¹⁰ (mostly in Warsaw). Among them the citizens of neighboring countries prevail. Mostly these are, as indicated earlier, the Ukrainians, who are most strongly represented among the immigrants receiving right of residence in Poland, as well as among the employed and coming for education purposes. In the study, it was found that this trend has been going on for quite a while, and the war in the Donbas region, although influencing a larger interest to our country among the Ukrainians, does not generate major changes in the percentage scale.

That Ukrainians increasingly choose Poland as its objective labour migration is due to the fact that the GDP per capita of their country is three times smaller than in Poland. The fact that Ukrainians increasingly choose Poland as a country of labor immigration is because the GDP per capita gap, which in their country is three times smaller than in Poland. Not without significance are also the cultural and linguistic similarities, which greatly facilitates the integration processes. The existing legislation in Poland also favors the lawful employment. An important part of what researchers underline is the increase of sympathy for the citizens of Ukraine, who previously were perceived indifferent¹¹. It also increases the percentage of people who take education in Poland and see our country as a place for realization of their life and professional aspirations. More and more often they think of permanent stay in Poland. All studies that were focused on migration have not shown an increase in negative implications caused by migration, like the increase in crime or scale of pathology in our country. On the contrary, researches showed that the increase of share of foreigners in the population of our society is not affecting the level of security in Poland.

According to dr Paweł Kaczmarczyk from the Faculty of Economics, University of Warsaw, Poland needs immigrants, which he believes stems from analysis of the structure of Polish labor market. He noted that in

⁹ At the end of 2013, 121 219 foreigners had a permanent residence right in Poland, which is 0,3% of the Polish population (data according to the Office for Foreigners).

¹⁰ Their participation in the Masovian Voivodeship is about 1% of population, while in most of the voivodeships shall not exceed 0,2%. In Masovian Voivodeship lives 43% of all immigrants having a residence permission.

¹¹ *Immigrants with high skills...*, p. 13.

our country the sector of so-called migrant wages can be clearly extracted, which is typical for highly developed countries. These are services that Polish employees are not interested in and in which a serious shortage of workers can be recorded. He also noted that Polish society is aging, hence it will increase the number of people requiring constant care, which is currently provided by family members¹². According to prof. Krystyna Iglicka, Centre of Migration Research, University of Warsaw, “Poland has not changed in the country of immigration. Instead, we had a great wave of emigration. In this context, one can ask whether it really is for the people, since so many people are leaving and so little are coming”¹³.

He also expressed the view that there is not political will to seriously address the problem of immigrants. As a notable fact, she indicated the fact that the Constitution does not provide their participation in the elections, eliminating them from people having an impact on policy. This view seems quite an extreme, while the majority of democratic states do not provide for such rights in their legal regulations. However, it is hard not to notice that the recent changes in the Polish legislation seriously eased employment and education for foreigners in Poland.

On 12 December 2013 Sejm passed a law on foreigners¹⁴, which extended from two to three years the maximum period for which a foreigner may receive permission for temporary residence. Foreigners who are studying at Polish universities can get authorization for temporary stay for 15 months, and if they are going to be continued for the next year – for a period of up to two years. Foreigners who have completed education at Polish universities and are looking for a job in Poland – can apply for temporary stay for a period of one year.

These changes, as well as the social policy of our country, create good conditions for the immigrants, encouraging assimilation and settlement in Poland. As already indicated, negative effects of such open and friendly policy have not been observed so far. We need to explicitly state that it was and still is beneficial for Poland, both in economic and social development terms. However, it is hard not to notice that this migration processes affect people from similar cultural and religious circles. When coming to Poland

¹² http://wyborcza.biz/biznes/1,100896,15068507,_Imigracja_jest_korzystna___Przy_jezdzaja_do_nas_glownie.html#ixzz3alSS9p4m (accessed: 4.06.2015).

¹³ Ibidem.

¹⁴ DzU z 2013 r., poz. 1650.

they try, as soon as possible, to integrate with the local community, which of course does not exclude the preservation of national identity. Immigrants, as previously indicated, obey the law and do not generate by their behavior threats to public security.

The current situation in Europe is forcing us to answer the question, do the migratory movements, especially from the countries where the dominant religion is Islam, do not bring a real threat to Poland. The answer to this question is extremely important from the point of view of both defining the possible risks, and preparing for their neutralization.

The problem of Muslim communities reaching Europe was particularly strongly put in relation to the events that took place on 11.09.2001 in New York. The attack on the World Trade Center has identified the main axis of discourse, which it is the relationship between terrorism and radical Islam. This also increased the social segmentation and escalation of awareness of followers of Islam¹⁵.

Today in Europe live about 20 million immigrants of Islam confession. You have to remember that the first Muslims arrived on our continent for over a thousand years ago. They have been present for long time in countries with Protestant as well as Catholic or Orthodox dominative religions.

Since the end of World War II we can distinguish three groups among the European countries. The first are those where for centuries the major part of the population are the followers of Islam. These are for example: Turkey, Albania and Bosnia. The second group of countries is the so-called Eastern bloc, with long traditions of multicultural coexistence of Islamic and Christian inhabitants. The previous were perceived here as an integral part of society which resulted in their cultural assimilation. A good example here are the Polish Tatars and their full homogenization process.

The third group is those countries in which the Islamic community has only recently occurred as a result of the economic policies pursued by their governments, against the backdrop that the idea was to provide cheap labor. They are mainly the countries in Western Europe, which after 1945 began to invite "guest-workers" of Islamic confession, to ensure accelerated economic processes through their employment. Currently, 4% of the population of the Federal Republic of Germany are such immigrants. In the Netherlands there are 6%. In both cases they stem pri-

¹⁵ S. Saggat, *The one per cent world: managing the myth of Muslim religious extremism*, "The Political Quarterly", 2006, t. 77, no 3, p. 314–327.

marily from Turkey and Morocco¹⁶. In the other “old” member states of the European Union they came from former colonies of these powers. The followers of Muhammad residing in the UK are nearly three percent of the society, and had arrived on the Isles mostly from Pakistan and Bangladesh¹⁷. A very large percentage of Muslims live in France, being about 10% of the population. They come mainly from Morocco, Algeria and Tunis – the areas that for decades were in the possession of France. Muslims present in the above mentioned countries are already the third or even fourth generation immigrants.

Regardless of the origin or wealth, the followers of Islam in European countries can be classified into two groups. The first are those Muslims who chose assimilation with the society, to which they came. The second group are those followers of Muhammad, who each manifestation of adaptation consider as a betrayal of identity and the abandonment of basic moral values and ideals. Regardless of which of these groups they can be classified, they are often the object of ideological impact of coreligionists from their native countries outside Europe. In the global world of modern instant communication capabilities and rapid travelling, such pressures are much easier to provide than a few decades ago¹⁸.

In Europe we are seeing a constant and dynamic tendency of increasing of the number of followers of Islam, which is the result of high birthrate, a young demographic structure of this group and the increasing amount of conversion. But the main factor in the continuous expansion of influences of Islam is a powerful wave of immigrants from Muslim countries. As expected by demographers, by 2050 this group can be about ¼ of the inhabitants of Europe. This causes the European democracies today have face two major challenges – ensuring effective integration of residing on their territory of Muslim communities, which are subject to a constant upward trend, and to protect their borders against uncontrolled, illegal immigration from Islamic countries¹⁹.

¹⁶ R. Mandel, *Cosmopolitan anxieties. Turkish Challenges to Citizenship and belonging in Germany*, London 2008.

¹⁷ Z. Sardar, *Balti Britain. A provocative Journey through Asian Britain*, London 2008.

¹⁸ I. J. Ostrowska, *Imigracja ludności muzułmańskiej i jej pozycja w krajach Europy zachodniej – perspektywa politologiczna*, „Zeszyty Naukowe Akademii Marynarki Wojennej”, 2011, R. LII, no 4(187).

¹⁹ Ibidem.

The reaction of the Western world on the attack on the WTC in September 2001 caused the dangerous phenomenon known as reislamization. It was the result of both the integration problems with the European communities, for whom the presence of Islam followers in their immediate environment is very sensitive, as well as the effect of the activity of fundamentalist religious organizations that obtained recruits for extremist terrorist groups. Their target were mostly very young people who were not able to match their identity with secularized European communities. For them, the path of radical religion of their ancestors was a way to recover the high self-esteem and self-respect. It was also to provide them a higher position in the hierarchy of coreligionists, for whom they became militants and the martyrs of the Prophet. Choice of this path often leads them to periodic reemigration to regions of their ancestors, or to travel to countries providing support and assistance to Islamic terrorist organizations. They returned from there to their European homelands as fanatical and well trained terrorists, ready to execute any, even the most murderous task. Sometimes politicians and journalist are wondering why a person that was born in a European country, even in the next generation and already would seem well assimilated, shall carry out violent attacks against their fellow citizens. The process described above well explains the radical change in attitude.

An example of such action was the attack in Madrid, 11.03.2004. What made it more dramatic was the fact that the attack happened three days before the general elections in Spain²⁰. But before this occurred, a few months after US strike on Iraq, which had been supported by some European countries, Osama bin Laden had announced that he would attack selected targets on this continent. Message with these threats appeared on 18.10.2003 and as a target of possible attacks pointed countries allied to the United States, such as the United Kingdom, Spain, Australia, Poland, Japan and Italy. Bin Laden has put a clear ultimatum that if mentioned states do not withdraw its troops from occupied Iraq, then retaliatory strikes will happen²¹. In December 2003, Yusuf al-Ajiri published in the Internet an appeal addressed to all members of Al-Qaeda calling on them

²⁰ The Effects Of The Madrid Terrorist Attacks On U.S.-European Cooperation In The War On Terrorism 31.12.2010 – United States Congress Senate Committee.

²¹ <http://dzihadyzm.blox.pl/2010/12/Madryt-11-marca-2004-r.html> (accessed: 1.06.2015).

to carry out attacks on targets in Spain, in connection with the upcoming elections to the Cortes Generales. As it was determined, preparing for these attacks had lasted from 2002 and had been carried out by members of the Moroccan Armed Islamic Group. Terrorists from the Madrid section had been meeting since the beginning of 2003 in an apartment of Mouhannad Almallah in order to determine optimal places of the attacks and provide the most effective methods of their implementation. Centro Nacional de Inteligencia provided regular monitoring of the preparation of assassins, using, inter alia, agents placed in the organization. One of them was imam of Villaverde Abdelkader Forssau. In October 2003, the Spanish secret services, determined that the terrorist threat is generated by Jarkas, Lamari and Fakhret²².

On 11.03.2004 on the Alcalá de Henares terrorists placed 13 explosive charges in suburban trains. Here is the sequence of events in the precisely given time:

- 7-7.15 am – placing explosives in trains,
- 7.39 am – detonation of bombs in two suburban trains (Atocha station, Madrid),
- 7.41 am – explosion in reaching Atocha station,
- 7.42 am – suburban train explodes (two stations after Atocha stations).

Detonation was made using a remote controlled detonator launched by a mobile phone. 10 charges had exploded, 3 failed to be fired. In this way, there were no further victims in the trains located at stations: Atocha, El Pozo del Tio Raimundo and Santa Eugenia²³.

The moment of explosion has been recorded on CCTV camera mounted on the Atocha station. 191 people were killed, but if the terrorists managed to detonate all placed charges, the roof structure would collapse. Such destruction could cause death even of thousands of victims, because at that time the station was overflowing with people trying to get to work.

Recorded response to explosions:

- 8.00 am – rescuers get into action. Police and special forces begin operation “Cage” to prevent terrorists from leaving the city,
- 8.30 am – field hospital is opened,
- 8.56 am – streets leading to Atocha station are blocked,

²² Ibidem.

²³ <http://www.terroryzm.com/zamach-w-madrycie-11-iii-2004-minuta-po-minucie/> (accessed: 4.06.2015).

- 10.27 am – immobilization of all trains going to Madrid and the start of alternative means of transport,
- 10.36 am – the “Crisis Cabinet” begins to work, chaired by the Prime Minister.

Immediately after the explosions, both politicians and journalists argue that it was the responsibility of ETA, Basque separatist organization, which, according to part of the public opinion, wanted in so brutal way to affect the elections to Parliament. This opinion presented both Prime Minister Jose Maria Aznar, as well as minister of interior Angel Acebes.

The police, however, quickly discover that this kind of explosives had never been used by ETA, there were also no warning before the attack. In a car parked nearby, tapes with Arabic recordings and seven detonators were found. Similar tactics of launching explosives had been used two years earlier during a terrorist attack on the Indonesian island of Bali. Investigators agree that the mobile phone, from which an attempt to detonate the bomb was made, belongs to the Moroccan immigrant Jamal Zougama. There are nearly one million of them in Spain. Secret services have the knowledge that some of them have connections with North African extremist Salafi jihadi groups. This trail allowed connecting the attacks with a group of young radical immigrants, who have already been known to Centro Nacional de Inteligencia, and who cooperated with the Moroccan Islamic Combat Group, closely linked to Al-Qaeda.

Zougama and two other members of the Madrid section were arrested the day after the attacks. On 14.03.2005 Al-Qaeda presented a tape with a recording of video, where it took responsibility for the Madrid attacks. A man claiming to be spokesman of Al-Qaida in Europe claimed that the attacks were retaliation for “Spain’s cooperation with the criminal Bush and his allies”²⁴. In the last days of March 2004 the police presented description and personal data of wanted terrorists, responsible for the bombings. They were: Serhane Fakhed Abdelmajid, Said Berraj, Jamal, Kounjaa Abdennabi Ahmidan and brothers Mohammed and Rachid Oulad Akcha. Many circumstances lead us to suspicions that these people have tried on 2 April to attack by a bomb another high-speed Madrid – Seville train. In one of the carriages the police seized the 12-kilogram explosive. Fortunately, this time, terrorists failed to detonate it.

²⁴ A. Mroczek, on the basis of the information the US Department of Defense.

The next day, 3.04.2004, the terrorists were surrounded in a flat in Leganes near Madrid. Action of Spanish antiterrorists lasted more than seven hours and ended up with a suicidal death of Islamists, who blew themselves into air. The same they were never judged for their their crimes and terrorists attacks.

The terrorist attacks in Madrid made theirs political effect. The elections were lost by Jose Maria Aznar's party, and the Socialists' victory allowed them to establish a cabinet with Jose Luis Rodriguez Zapatero as a Prime Minister. One of its first decisions of key international importance was the withdrawal of the Spanish military contingent (1300 soldiers) from Iraq. Islamic terrorists have just expected such an effect of their actions.

On Thursday, 7.07.2005 at 8.51 am a bomb exploded in the subway train between Liverpool Street and Aldgate stations. The explosives charge was in the third carriage, and firepower was so large that the carriage had been totally destroyed, making evacuation of passengers impossible. The first reports informed that there had been an explosion of underground electrical installation. Only after detonation of bombs in other underground trains Londoners met a brutal truth that their capital has become a target of terrorist attack. The second blast occurred at 8.56 am, between King's Cross and Russell Square underground stations. The bomb was placed at the beginning of the trainset and made such damage that bodies of victims were being removed until Sunday. This explosion killed the highest number of passengers. The third bomb exploded about 9.17 am in train that had already left Edgware Road station. Detonation was so great that the train went off the rails smashing the wall separating it from the second track and hit another train going. At 9.47 am at the Tavistock Square station exploded charge put under bus line 30. In these attacks 56 people were killed, including three Poles. More than 700 were seriously wounded. Initially, the explosions caused communication chaos. Londoners tried to reach their homes on foot. Soon, however, additional bus connections was started. Ground railway was not destroyed and functioned well, and before 4 pm Liverpool Street station was reopened²⁵.

21.07.2005 another bomb attack took place in London. This time, however, there was no fatalities, and only one person was injured. That

²⁵ See G. Segell, *Terrorism but Not Political Violence: London Public Transport Attacks July 7, 2005*, London Security Policy Study Book 14.

day were four explosions occurred – three at underground stations: Oval, Warren Street and Shepherd's Bush. The fourth explosion occurred in the bus line 26 on Hackney Road in North-East London.

These constant attacks had been prepared by Brigades Abu Hafsa al-Masri organisation, linked to the Al-Qaeda led by Osama bin Laden. The police found out that charges fired by suicide bombers on July 7 and placed in London's underground and bus on July 21, were constructed by the same person.

After a week of intense investigation, London police detained Yas-in Hassan Omar. Two days later two following terrorists were arrested: a 27-year-old Muktar Said Ibrahim, who placed a bomb on the bus, and Ramzi Mohammed, who placed an explosive charge at Oval underground station.

The same day in Rome the fourth assassin was caught. It was a Somali citizen Osman Hussain, using Hamdi Isaac alias. He put the bomb in an underground train at Shepherd's Bush station.

It should be noted that the bombings in London took place in carefully selected moment, to maximize their political effect. The attack on underground and bus at London occurred while in Glenealgles, Scotland in the G-8 summit meeting, the world's richest countries and Russia, was taking place. The day before, the authorities of the IOC choose London as a place for Summer Olympics in 2012. Three days earlier the trail of Sheik Al Masri had been started, who alleged incitement to terrorist acts. Al-Masri, of Egyptian origin, enjoyed enormous sincerely among coreligionists, because as a Muslim fighter, lost an eye and an arm during the Soviet war in Afghanistan. It was him to say in 1999: "Our plan provides blowing up planes and releasing balloons in the air with bombs, to defend Afghanistan and Iraq against US (...). Our goal is to establish the authority of Allah and indignity of infidels, who question the power of God and Muslims". MI 6 ascertained that he actively supported terrorists while being the religious leader of Muslims from Finsbury Park mosque. All the presented circumstances allowed to focus all cameras on criminal work of Islamic terrorists. They sent their political message to the world-wide public opinion²⁶.

7.01.2015 around 11.30 am three armed terrorists entered editors' office of satirical magazine "Charlie Hebdo" in Paris and opened fire. With

²⁶ Report into the London Terrorist Attacks on 7 July 2005: May 30, 2006 Paperback.

a “Allahu Akbar”²⁷ cry they opened a machine gun fire, killing 10 and wounding 11 of editorial staff (four people were badly wounded)²⁸. They also shot two police officers who came to the editorial building²⁹. The police ascertained that attackers acted in the planned manner, calm and methodical. There was panic or improvising, they knew well what they want to do³⁰. In the car left by them – the Citroën C3 – an ID card, belonging to one of the terrorists Saïd Kouachi, was found. The President Hollande announced across the country three days of national mourning. On the same day the perpetrators were typed and the search on previously unknown scale started. After two days they were surrounded by anti-terrorist units in the print shop, in Dammartin-en-Goële. During assault two terrorists were killed. According to predictions, they were citizens of France of Algerian origins – brothers Saïd and Kouachi Chérif³¹. The elder of the brothers, Saïd Kouachi, participated in training training camp run by Al-Qaeda in Yemen³².

In the morning of 8 January in Montrouge an unknown perpetrator shot a policewoman doing her duties and wounded another policeman. The next day he took several hostages, doing shopping in the kosher supermarket “Hyper Cache” at Porte de Vincennes³³. That terrorist was Amédy Coulibaly, who claimed to act on behalf of the Islamic State, and demanding the liberation of Kouachi brothers. The police did not provided this to the public. This information made its way to the media after action both against both terrorists. The police antiterrorists assault on the shop took place on 9.01.2015. The attacker was shot and killed.

²⁷ Les deux hommes criaient «Allah akbar» en tirant (fr.). L'essentiel, <http://www.lessentiel.lu/fr/news/france/story/22976860> 2015-01-07 (accessed: 8.01.2015).

²⁸ EN DIRECT — Charlie Hebdo (fr.) www.lefigaro.fr (accessed: 7.01.2015).

²⁹ *Satirical French magazine Charlie Hebdo attacked by gunmen*, “The Guardian”, 2015-01-07 (accessed: 8.01.2015).

³⁰ *We Francji atak na biuro satyrycznego pisma „Charlie Hebdo”, 12 zabitych (synteza)*. PAP, 2015-01-07 (accessed: 7.01.2015).

³¹ *Francja: zamach na redakcję „Charlie Hebdo”. Obława na terrorystów* (pol.), wiadomosci.onet.pl (accessed: 9.01.2015).

³² *Amerykańskie media: jeden z zamachowców w Paryżu był szkolony przez Al-Kaidę* (pol.), pap.pl (accessed: 9.01.2015).

³³ *Terrorysta zabici, nie żyje czworo zakładników. Bilans szturmów na drukarnię i paryski sklep* (pol.), tvp.info (accessed: 9.01.2015).

“Charlie Hebdo” had been in the interest of Islamic terrorists since February 2006, when it was posted on their pages caricatures of the Prophet Mohammed, from the Danish daily “Jyllands-Posten”. They soon published their own caricatures and satirical lyrics about Islam. Reprisal action took place in 2011, when the editors’ office was put under fire and completely burned down. All the time Charb, the manager of the publishing house, received threats several times and has been assigned police protection. Despite these dramatic events, the magazine do not gave up critical publications about Islam and had not changed its publishing line³⁴.

Thus, the target of terrorist attacks were not, as in Madrid or London, randomized. It has been carefully selected, so that the impact has been noticed by everyone and seen as a warning that those who controvert radicalism may not feel secure and punishment for them is inevitable.

In response to this message of terrorists a large manifestation was organized on January 11 in Paris, in which both the French and the whole international community gave tribute to the killed and proved its solidarity with “Charlie Hebdo”. More than one and a half million people went from Republic Square to the Nation Square. In the march took part the President of the European Council, Donald Tusk, and numerous heads of State and heads of Government. There were, among others: Ewa Kopacz, Angela Merkel, David Cameron, Jordan King Abd Allah II. Even the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, lasting for many years, has not prevented the joint participation in the demonstration of the President of the Palestinian Authority Mahmoud Abbas and Israeli Prime Minister Binjamin Netanyahu³⁵. Throughout France in the marches of solidarity and protest attended more than 4 million people. Similar demonstrations have also occurred in other countries.

It is hard not to notice that what all the terrorist attacks described here have in common is the fact that they have been made by citizens of the target countries. They were the immigrants, who came to their new homelands, and those already were born there, sometimes in the next generation. Although they lived making an impression of being assimilated

³⁴ S. Vikramaditya, *Charlie Hebdo: The Last Meeting*, Amazon Digital Services, Inc, Kindle Edition 2015, p. 22–27.

³⁵ Marche républicaine: La longue liste de chefs d’Etat et de gouvernement présents à Paris (fr.), www.20minutes.fr (accessed: 16.01.2015).

in their environments, they proved to be susceptible to the influence of radical coreligionists supporting terrorist groups. As was shown previously, this problem does not occur in Poland, according to the studies carried out on demographic and migratory patterns.

So does it mean we are not threaten by such attacks as in Madrid, London or Paris? Are we absolutely safe and free from this type of threats?

Unfortunately, the international situation in the issues of Islamic terrorism threats is very dynamic. What must arouse concern of not only countries that have traditionally been the destination of Islamic immigration and have on their territory large communities of the followers of Muhammad, but also Poland, which has not been a country of their interest so far, is the expansion of the Islamic State.

The Islamic State in Iraq has its beginnings from the US intervention in Iraq. At that time the organization was directed by Abu Musab az-Zarqawi, leading both Sunni and foreign terrorists. It can be assumed that it was an emanation of Al-Qaida in this area. The most spectacular action of this organization was the fight for Fallujah in 2004. Az Zarkawi's terrorists made many suicide attacks, and killed the taken hostages from European countries and the US by beheading, which was a shock to the international community. They fought not only the foreign armies, that participated in the intervention in Iraq, but have made the country a theatre of religious war against the Shiite population³⁶.

Abu Musab az Zarqawi was eliminated in the air bombardment carried out by US forces on June 6, 2006. Just then, when Abu Abd Allah Al-Rashid al-Baghdadi became his successor on October 15, 2006, the Organization adopted the name of the Islamic State in Iraq. It led a guerilla war against the interveners, and the period of their greatest successes was 2006–2007. On April 19, 2010 in As-Sarsar, 80 km from Baghdad, Al-Baghdadi was killed in a missile attack of the US Army. Then his function was taken by Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi. This moment coincided with the decision to withdraw US troops from Iraq. The official Government of Nuri al-Maliki assured dominance of the Shiite population. This resulted in escalation of religious war and the next terrorist offensive.

³⁶ See J. Keller, *ISIS: Origins of Terrorism, Historical Events, and The Individuals Behind the Largest Terrorist Threat of Our Time*, Amazon Digital Services, Inc, Kindle Edition 2015.

The Islamic State in Iraq on April 8, 2013 changed its name to the Islamic State in Iraq and Levant (ISIS)³⁷. Then Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi declared the merge of his organization with Syrian extremists from Jabhat al-Nusra. They started a fight with the President Bashar al-Assad, to establish, after his defeat, Islamic Caliphate in Syria. But military action conducted by ISIS also targeted the Free Syrian Army, being in opposition to the President. Another offensive of this group was an attack on the Kurds living in the northern part of Syria. ISIS also broke the Covenant of Umar I (VII century AD), which provide for over a thousand years of peaceful coexistence between Christians and Muslims in Syria. The mass murder of the Christian population was started as well as the destruction of temples and religious symbols. Radicalism and fanaticism and the unprecedented cruelty of terrorists under the sign of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant, made the Free Syrian Army, the Islamic Front, and even old ally of Jabhat al-Nusra combine their forces to fight ISIS back. Together they accused ISIS of divine rights violation and of the use of aggression and excessive violence without rational justification³⁸. On 3 February 2014, Al-Qaeda released an official statement that has nothing to do with the criminal activities of ISIS, and therefore distances itself from any responsibility carried out by this organization's activities.

On the first day of Ramadan, June 29, 2014, the new formula of ISIS was announced, as a Caliphate under the name of "Islamic State", without "Iraq" and "Levante" used so far. The leader of the Caliphate Shura chose the current leader of the organization the Sheik Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, who received the title of Caliph Ibrahim ibn Awwad. The same the ISIS members automatically recognized him as the leader of all Muslims around the world. The US Government argued that the Declaration of sovereignty of Islamic State from the point of view of international law has no effect. Even the military organization of the Jaysh al-Islam which is part of the so-called Islamic Front has rejected the Declaration of Caliphate by stating that "Baghdadi and his followers are living in a fantasy"

³⁷ See T. Clinger, *Who or What is ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham)?: The best book to help you gain a better understanding of the ISIS group and its reasons for existence*, Amazon Digital Services, Inc. Kindle Edition 2015.

³⁸ M. Blackbourn, *ISIS: Rise of terrorism by Islamic State, assessing threat in Iraq, Syria and the Globe*, Amazon Digital Services, Inc. Kindle Edition 2015, p. 17–23.

and the establishment of a new entity – the religious State has, at most, the purely psychological and propaganda importance.

The beginning of August 2014 brought another strikes of ISIS in Iraq, which resulted in massive executions of Yazidis and Christians. In response to the subsequent massacres of civilians, the US began air operations and rocket bombardment of the positions of terrorists. On September 23, 2014 a similar air offensive was launched on the territory of Syria. In the US air force attacks participate the air forces of France, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates, Jordan and the United Kingdom, Australia. The presented facts shows that even Arab States, as well as radical Islamic groups, defy bigotry and cruelty of an Islamic State by recognizing that its murderous actions harm both Arab politics, as well as the followers of Muhammad all over the world. As stated previously, even so extreme in their activities of Al-Qaeda has rejected the Jihad formula of ISIS, recognizing that this organization is completely unpredictable and is not able to engage in real policy. The international community stated that the Islamic State is a completely new quality and is a risk, with which the modern civilized world had not dealt so far³⁹. The concern is also about the fact that the terrorists under the banner of ISIS are recruited from European countries often among citizens, who do not have Muslim roots. This demonstrates the efficiency of the Islamic State propaganda provided through, inter alia, the colorful English-language magazine “Dabiq” published since July 2014. It is the emergence of Islamic State that created a new geopolitical situation, which could have negative consequences for the Poland, that have been shown so far, which was not the aim of Islamic migration, nor a place of terrorist attacks.

“Amnesty International” has informed that only in 2014 drowned 2 500 people while trying to flee from the areas stricken by ISIS actions. Unfortunately, the vast majority of these people were smuggled by traffickers using the old, inefficient, and usually overcrowded boats. Only Italians reacted to this situation by providing operation “Mare Nostrum”, which cost € 9 million each month. For this country, recovering from economic crisis, it was a big burden to sustain⁴⁰. Within 2013 these measures have managed to save around 100 000 of illegal immigrants. The Italian

³⁹ See D. Ratkowski, *Islamic State: The Countdown Has Begun*, Amazon Digital Services, Inc. Kindle Edition 2015, p. 11–15.

⁴⁰ Ibidem.

efforts to internationalize the question of the prevention of smuggling of people and rescue actions in the Mediterranean Sea have resulted in publication of a statement by the European Union, where we read: "The Mediterranean is the European sea and jointly accept responsibility for it". These words meant the starting at November 1, 2014, the "Triton" operation, which is supervised by the Frontex⁴¹. 18 Member States participate and detached of two patrol-observation planes, five warships, two boats and a helicopter. Until May 2015, these forces have carried out 130 interventions, which allowed to save 15 000 people and to arrest 57 smugglers. The Union set a monthly budget for "Triton" of € 2,9 million. According to the Italians, it is too little in view of the fact that "Mare Nostrum" had a budget three times bigger. The procedure also raises concerns – it allows "Triton" units to act only within 30 nautical miles from the Italian coast. This causes the Italian units to react on SOS signal unless it comes from international or even a Libyan waters. So, despite the declaration of European solidarity action, a significant part of the responsibility still lays on the Italian Navy⁴². So we cannot fully agree with Cecilia Malmström, the former European Commissioner for Home Affairs, which stated that "the operation »Triton« is shaped under the needs and requests of Italy"⁴³.

According to data published by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) from January to June 2015 in the Mediterranean Sea 1750 immigrants drowned which is as much as 30 times more, than in the same period last year. In all 2014, there were 3279 of such people. Many signs suggest that spokesman for IOM Joel Millman may have right, when expressing concern that there may be up to 30 thousand victims by the end of 2015. The situation is to be compensated by the fact that the EU in its budget for 2014–2020 donated more than € 450 million for strengthening security of Italian marine borders and supporting the immigrants already present in EU. In 2014 the scale of illegal immigration was very dynamic. European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union "Frontex" reported that in that year 276 thousand people arrived illegally in the EU,

⁴¹ See M. Lehnert, *Frontex und operative Maßnahmen an den europäischen Außengrenzen Verwaltungskooperation - materielle Rechtsgrundlagen - institutionelle Kontrolle*, Baden-Baden, Nomos, 2014.

⁴² <http://www.euractiv.pl/wersja-do-druku/arttykul/ue-pomoe-wochom-006203> (accessed: 1.06.2015).

⁴³ *Polityka wewnętrzną [Internal policy]*, 9.10.2014.

of which 220 thousand by sea, mainly to Italy, but also to Greece and Cyprus. A previous year there were 108 thousand of such violations of the borders, including 68 thousand of the sea borders.

There was also the apparent qualitative and structural change in migratory movements on this direction. Until recently, most of the immigrants illegally travelling by the Mediterranean Sea were economic immigrants and now refugees from war-threatened failing States, such as Libya and Syria, are prevailing. There organized crime groups involved in smuggling people into Europe are dynamically developing. Many of migrants, as has been already indicated, do not reach their destination. In May 2015, in the Strait of Sicily a vessel with more than 900 refugees on board sank. Unfortunately, about 400 of them drowned. This gave the European Union the next occasion to discuss how to treat the refugees, who in their countries are exposed to death at the hands of the Islamists, but escaping may perish in the depths of the sea. If they survive, still remains the question of who should provide them asylum. This situation meant that Dimitris Awramopulos, EU Commissioner for Migration, Home Affairs and Citizenship presented to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Internal Affairs a programme of ten points, which has been stormy discussed at the May Summit of the European Council.

The plan indicates the need to intensify “Triton” patrol operations, more decisive fight against smugglers of immigrants through requisition and destroying their boats, finger-prints taking from all immigrants and to deport to the country of origin those among them who do not receive asylum, as well as the creation of system of taking over immigrants by all Member States of the Union, and not only those in the Mediterranean. The Commission also recommended the use of the proven actions of other EU mission – “Atlanta”, directed against the pirates, who deal with commercial vessels for ransom. The area where it is implemented are the south waters of the Red Sea, the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean. In the framework of “Atlanta” EU ships patrol the listed waters, bringing help to the affected vessels, but also carry out offensive actions by destroying boats and pirates’ bases on the coast⁴⁴.

The President of the European Council Donald Tusk stressed the need for EU action to focus not only on actions to rescue people in the Mediterranean, but above all to fight the smugglers involved in the flipping.

⁴⁴ <http://www.rp.pl/artykul/1195517.html?print=tak&p=0> (accessed: 2.06.2015).

Head of European diplomacy Federica Mogherini was made responsible for preparing the draft concrete measures, with the aim of finding and winding-up of boats which are at the disposal of the smugglers. The head of the European Commission, Jean-Claude Juncker stressed the importance of the request to triple the funds allocated to the “Triton” operation, so that they have increased to the amount of € 120 million that is the sum that Italy alone spent on “Mare Nostrum” operation.

Frans Timmermans – first Vice President of the European Commission stated that it was time “to transfer the words of solidarity and responsibility into actions”. In his opinion, such solution will be the deployment of people seeking refugee status in the EU Member States. At the same time a postulate to adopt the quota replacement of immigrants in particular countries. Favorable for such a solution were, inter alia, Austria and Germany. United Kingdom, Denmark and Ireland will benefit from the *opt-out* clause, which was applied to them, when they signed the Lisbon Treaty. By this they guaranteed themselves the right of derogation in issues concerning the freedom, security and justice. The other Member States of the European Union are, however, required to submit to the proposed solution. The same, Germany has to host 18,42% of refugees, France 14,7%, Italy 11,84%, Spain 9,1%. Poland with its economic potential, took the fifth place in this ranking. For the resettlement process UE will reserve in her budget of approximately € 50 million. After this propositions, numerous controversies have occurred, since the representatives of some EU countries claimed that their Governments should make decisions on this matter on themselves, and are not likely to unthinkingly follow the decisions of the European Commission. The Czech Prime Minister Bohuslav Sobotka said that Prague shall not adopt any decision made by policymakers from above. They are willing to support refugees, but on their terms.

Even more strict position was presented by Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban, who concluded that the EU did not have the right to accept illegal immigrants, because they obviously “violated the legal standards” in an attempt to get to Europe. About the proposals of the European Commission said that it “is simply absurd, a spark of madness”. On his initiative in the public consultation in Hungary a question was placed: “Whether such policy of the EU will not increase the terrorist threat?”.

Poland also reported “*votum separatum*” by arguing that the European Commission should not impose any quota to Member States. That is what Rafał Trzaskowski, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, said, underlining that previous arrangements of its counterparts in the European Union clearly pointed the autonomy of the Member States in the issue of refugees from the Middle East and Africa⁴⁵.

Such statement of some of the EU countries is not dictated by selfishness, but quite real concerns that, with the refugees, their territories will be flown by people with radical views, including terrorists from Islamic State. The fact that these are not unfounded speculation, confirmed the Libyan Government Adviser Abdul Basit Harouna who in an interview with the BBC said that ISIS charges half the profits of ship-owners in reward for an agreement to provide immigrants smuggling. In addition, the smugglers agree to place on their boats, between civil refugees, also terrorists from Islamic State. They are aware that no European officer is not able to identify a Jihad fighter among ordinary refugees. So together with victims of ISIS terror, are travelling fighters and followers of a criminal ideology. You can tell that executioner accompanies his victim⁴⁶.

Television Al An from Dubai, in addition to this information, reported that the terrorists from Islamic State, while travelling to EU countries, often use stolen passports of citizens of those countries. The station said that she herself has 34 copies of documents, two of which are Polish passports, while the rest were released in the USA, Denmark, France and Albania.

In turn, Omar al Gawari, acting in the Libyan Government as Minister of Information, gave the Italian news agency Ansa information that terrorists from ISIS (Daesh) were hiding in boats carrying immigrants to Europe. Their aims are mainly Italy and Malta. According to the quoted Minister, the terrorists formulated direct threats to Vatican⁴⁷.

Also General Philip Breedlove – the Commander of NATO forces in Europe said that the boats with illegal immigrants, attempting to reach

⁴⁵ independent.co.uk, TVP Info, PAP author: wPolityce.pl team <http://wpolityce.pl/swiat/244755-doradca-libijskiego-rzadu-panstwo-islamskie-kontroluje-przemyt-imigrantow-wysyla-swoich-bojownikow-do-europy> (accessed: 5.06.2015).

⁴⁶ <http://wpolityce.pl/swiat/244755-doradca-libijskiego-rzadu-panstwo-islamskie-kontroluje-przemyt-imigrantow-wysyla-swoich-bojownikow-do-europy> (accessed: 5.06.2015).

⁴⁷ <http://wiadomosci.onet.pl/swiat/islamscy-bojownicy-moga-byc-przemycani-do-europy/0rxg5l> (accessed: 5.06.2015).

Europe, may have criminals and potential terrorists on board. He made such statement at a press conference in Brussels after a deliberations of the NATO Military Committee, which is the supreme military body of this Pact. "Some of these people are legal refugees from areas that are not state-controlled, but the other passengers are members of organized criminal groups and extremist elements", said Breedlove⁴⁸.

This information, taken from all different sources, leads to an exceptionally dangerous conclusion that the terrorists from Islamic State may have already reached the European Union. Such assumption, considering the situations described above, should be taken as completely real.

Such situation we have today, when the directive of the European Commission, that assumes the Poland shall host nearly a thousand refugees, has not been implemented yet. In total, within this resettlement action, Europe will receive within two years about 20 thousands of immigrants, including those residing in the camps near the border with Syria. This is the data initially adopted to implement, but today we know that to Europe, in the last year, came from Africa at least 218 000 people.

How many of them are terrorists from Islamic State? Did they arrive also to Poland? Did they define the targets they want to attack? When the terrorist attack may occur?

We do not know the answers to these questions, but the situation should stimulate the state of preparedness in special services concerning of the Polish national security. They must constantly keep to diagnose the situation and obtain information allowing the identification of risks and carrying out preventive activities. Of course, there is a very important international cooperation and ongoing communication between the Polish authorities and other Member States of the European Union and NATO. Of course, international cooperation and ongoing communication between the Polish authorities and other Member States of the European Union and NATO is very important. The early warning system is of fundamental importance.

At the same time, this situation poses a both nationally and internationally threat, which may make it necessary to use a police special forces. Hence the need for adequate preparation of these formations to operate both independently and in cooperation with their counterparts from other

⁴⁸ <http://www.tvn24.pl/wiadomosci-ze-swiata,2/szef-nato-w-europie-niektorzy-imigranci-to-ekstremisci,544498.html> (accessed: 5.06.2015).

countries, which affects the security culture of those Member States and their citizens. In this context, the security culture is “a phenomenon, that allows a man to achieve such objectives as:

1. Effective control of emerging threats, obtaining the status of a satisfyingly low level of threats.
2. Regaining of security in a situation where it has been lost.
3. Optimization, for a specified active persons or entities, of the level of multiareal understood security (*comprehensive security process*).
4. To encourage in the social and personal consciousness about the need for self-improvement and trichotomal: a) mental, b) social, c) material development, along with enabling the motivation and attitudes that result in individual and collaborative activities, resulting in a comprehensive development of acting persons or entities, including their autonomous defenceness⁴⁹.

This requires appropriate training process and ensure the coordination of activities carried out jointly by the subunits from different countries in a crisis situation⁵⁰.

Polish police special forces have to be prepared and ready for immediate response in situations similar to those that took place in Madrid or Paris. What once seemed like a threat, which does not target today's Poland, is real and must be taken into account in the preparation of police special forces for effective action in emergency situations. The present situation created by the Islamic State requests preparing for scenarios that are today carried out by these terrorists in Libya or Syria. Knowledge of methodology and tactics of their actions should be taken into account in the implementation of exercise carried out by the Polish anti-terrorist subunits. For these formations this is a very important challenge that cannot be disregarded.

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