

Research Paper

TERRORISM AND THREATS IN THE FRENCH REPUBLIC AND UKRAINE IN THE 21ST CENTURY

ALEKSANDER KSAWERY OLECH

Research Ph.D. student at the faculty of security science, War Studies University

ORCID: 0000-0002-3793-5913

akolech@wp.pl

Received: December 2019 / Final Acceptance: March 2020

Word Count: 8680

Abstract

From the beginning of the 21st century, terrorism evolves and takes the form of various acts of violence committed by terrorists. It is characterized by close relation to history and the political situation in the world. The evolving terrorist typology began to take its shape after the 2001 attacks in the United States. Later there were attacks in Madrid (2004) and London (2005), which reassured the security services and public opinion in the belief that terrorism is used as a weapon, a form of intimidation and gaining an advantage. Nowadays, religious fanaticism which is the basis for most terrorist activities dominates. It is connected with the so-called home-grown terrorism, which includes people with citizenship, families and enterprises from a country where terrorist attacks take place. The development of security research in the 21st century in Europe clearly states that security is an independent research discipline whose main goal is to obtain a multi-faceted, profound and synthetic image of reality, perspectives and threats. Currently, the French Republic and Ukraine are struggling the most with intra-state terrorism. Its effects lead to the destabilization of national integrity and threaten social security. This situation is also important for neighbouring countries and international organizations to which they belong, such as the European Union or NATO.

The French Republic is one of the countries that has assumed the greatest responsibility in the context of providing conditions for arriving migrants from Africa and the Middle East. It is also associated with attacks that were committed, among others, by migrants from the Maghreb (former French colonies). However, in addition to long-distance migration (from continent to continent), close migration (between neighbouring countries) the context of research is very important. Ukraine is such an example, where armed struggles continue and terrorists actively operate, both on the pro-Russian and pro-Ukrainian sides. The assassinations are classified according to the scale of importance and place of occurrence; thus, we forget that they may occur in the future in a country where they have not been before.

The number of terrorist organizations and minor groups that fight for domination, money and territory is constantly changing. They compete with each other, absorbing each other (often in a brutal way) or connecting in the name of achieving a higher goal, for example, through joint assaults. Terrorist attacks in the French Republic and Ukraine, in addition to the continuous migration within the continent, may in the future take place in other European countries. Terrorism as a phenomenon, and at the same time a form of weapon for the growing number of its supporters, requires immediate interest. The complexity of this phenomenon requires the intensification of the actions of State organs, in order to understand it and identify ways to counteract and prevent its occurrence in the future.

Key words: terrorism, threats, France, Ukraine, prediction, attacks

1. Introduction

Bearing in mind the contemporary threats to internal and national security, it is important to determine the phenomenon we are forced to struggle with. Terrorism is a form of fighting which has been used for more than

2000 years and which is characterized by a sudden action aimed at causing destabilization of the attacked entity. Its evolution, transformation and development have caused it to be the greatest threat to State security today. It has a significant impact on the functioning of governments, organizations and societies, causing global disintegration, which currently cannot be stopped or controlled by any of the entities appointed for that purpose. Despite the fact that almost all the countries in the world struggle with terrorism in various forms and with varying intensity, the actual and rational method of stopping it and eliminating its expansion to other countries has not been found yet. Terrorism continues to develop and evolve (Byman, 2006, pp. 69-72).

The aim of the article is the analysis of the terrorist threats in the French Republic and Ukraine which are often confused with armed conflict or organized crime. The attention is focused on the theoretical and practical differences in the understanding of the concept of "terrorism". Additionally, the description of the terrorist acts in two particular countries is very comprehensive and one of the few models of this kind of research approach. Author analyses the number of terrorist attacks as well as anti-terrorist strategies that are not effective in Europe today.

The article uses theoretic research methods, mostly descriptive approaches, as well as the analysis of reports, which are based on the deductive reasoning and a generalisation of the gathered information.

The scientific community is not fully aware yet of why terrorism takes place and what forms it will ultimately take. Both the causes and consequences are incapable of being satisfactorily explained. Nevertheless, finding the appropriate method, policy, strategy or concept for combating terrorism is a fundamental goal at both national and international levels. An objective assessment of the evolution of this phenomenon is closely related to the development and co-ordination of anti-terrorism policy and the raising of human awareness. The nature of terrorist threats determines the actions and the formulation of laws which constitute the response of the government to such threats. It is necessary for the developing stereotypes and misunderstandings concerning terrorism to be replaced by in-depth analyses and insightful processes, aimed at recognizing it as the overriding threat to State security, due to its diversity depending on the territory in which it occurs. Terrorism can take different forms in France, Poland, Turkey and Ukraine.

The development of terrorism in Europe has become, according to the opinion of many researchers, such as the authors of the study entitled *Civil Liability in Europe for Terrorism-Related Risk*, "enterprise-threatening" or an activity in a wide sense of the word which constitutes a permanent threat to global security. Terrorism is developing and it functions as an entity which has an organizational structure, with hierarchical responsibility, as well as a system of rewards and punishments for actions taken, including the fulfillment of duties. The expansiveness of terrorist groups determines their potential, and the number of their members determined their strength. The greater the number of supporters of actions undertaken by the terrorist organization, the easier it is to raise funds for the maintenance of the group. Contemporary struggles of States with terrorist organizations constitute a war against international entities which have great logistic potential and financial resources (Bergkamp and Herbatschek, 2015, p. 288).

The terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 changed the perception of terrorism. An anthropologist, Scott Atran (2001, p. 14) pointed out that: "probably never in the history of human conflicts, has such a small number of people, with such small possibilities and means frightened so many". The phenomenon of terrorism requires States to remain vigilant on a regular basis and involve many entities. Such entities must constantly co-operate with one another to maintain national security.

2. An Analysis of a Notion of Terrorism

The characterization of terrorism, which takes a different form and is perceived in a different way in each country, is important for the conducted of the analysis. Nowadays, there are about 300 (and possibly even more - in each State, there may be at least 2-3 definitions of terrorism used; in Poland, we also do not have a single, official definition), definitions of terrorism in operation, and therefore there is no uniform, definite description of this phenomenon. The definitions differ from one another, depending on the region where terrorist attacks occur and the legislation which characterizes them in the light of the law applicable in a given country. The definition of this negative phenomenon is different in the French Republic, in the Republic of Poland, in The United States of America (USA), and in Ukraine. However, it also happens that discrepancies occur in the characteristics and description of terrorism as part of activities undertaken in the same country. Terrorism is defined differently in the US Department and in the documents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) (Jongman and Schmid, 1988).

One of the first international definitions of terrorism was included in the League of Nations Convention of 1937, which defined "terrorism" as criminal acts directed against a State and intended or calculated to create a State of terror in the minds of particular persons, or a group of persons or the general public. Events and acts of terrorism caused the evolution of this concept and in 1992 the United Nations defined terrorism as: peacetime equivalents of war crimes (acts including elements of war). Then, in 1999, the UN Security Council (in Resolution 1269) determined that all acts, methods and practices, wherever and whenever committed, in particular those which could threaten international peace and security, as acts of terrorism. Again, in 2018, *United Nations Office On Drugs And Crime* (UNODC) described terrorism as using coercive methods or threats to violence and aggression in order to spread fear and thereby achieve political or ideological goals (UNODC, 2018, p. 1).

If we refer to contemporary or uniform French definitions of terrorism, we will find definitions of crimes against

human life and health in violation of law (national or international). This means a distinction between: attacks on civilians and military men, the place of attack (the region where the war is taking place or, for example, a European country which is not involved in an armed conflict) and a political objective (the intention is to influence the State policy or change it by terrorizing the civilian population) (Derrida, 2004, p. 16).

Terrorism also means the use of violence by some political organizations to achieve their goals, such as: putting pressure on the government, forcing people to obey, forcing money grants, promoting their ideologies. Terrorism can take a form of assassinations, murders, kidnapping, sabotage, blackmail, acts, threats, etc. In addition to direct victims, who often are civilians, terrorism tries to influence the public opinion to frighten and create the atmosphere of terror and fear (Bauer and Souleze, 2014).

In his work, S. Zelinsky (2000, vol. 19, pp. 160-165) tries to determine the essence of contemporary terrorism by drawing attention to the fact that throughout the history of the existence of this social phenomenon, its contents and form of manifestation have undergone significant changes. Although the essence has remained the same - the use of extreme violence or threats of violence to achieve political, religious or ideological goals, the main motive for terrorism is the criminal, international intimidation of State authorities, general public or minorities.

International terrorism was defined by L. Modzorian, who stressed that it occurs only when one of the following four conditions is met:

- a. The terrorist or his victims must come from different States or be in the territory of a third State.
- b. A terrorist attack is carried out against persons who are protected under international law.
- c. Preparations for a terrorist attack is carried out in one State, and the attack itself is committed in another State.
- d. After the terrorist attack, the perpetrator hides in another State than the State where he committed the attack (the border is crossed) (Tymkiv, 2009, p. 63).

The way of defining terrorism by Russia seems extremely important from the point of view of terrorism in Ukraine and the interference on the part of Russia. According to the Russian definition, terrorism means a threat or an act of violence against individuals and organizations, committed by means of destruction (including damage) of property or assets, as well as by means of activities which may cause death.

The Russian government has also stated that organizations such as Hamas and Hezbollah are not terrorist organizations, due to the fact that:

- They do not conduct activities which is aimed at changing the constitutional State system, through the use of terrorist methods.
- They have no connection with extremist organizations from the North Caucasus (Wojciechowski, 2009, pp. 56-57).

The only common feature which can put them at the same level as Al-Qaeda (according to the Russian definition, this is a terrorist organization) is their recognition by international communities as terrorist organizations or having relations with such organizations. Nevertheless, the two organizations still do not appear in the Russian list because they do not meet the first two requirements.

3. Terrorism in France

According to the *Global Index of Terrorism*, in 2019, the French Republic was in the 36th place in the world (in 2018 in the 30th position and in 2017 in the 23rd position) and third in Europe, in terms of impact and terrorist activity in its territory (Institute for Economics & Peace, 2019, p. 8). In 1972 - 2016, 165 terrorist attacks were carried out in France, in which 492 people were killed (Alcantara, 2017, p. 12). In 2018, in three attacks (this is how many attacks were classified as terrorist attacks by the French government), in Carcassonne, Paris and Strasbourg, 12 people were killed and 30 were injured.

In the French Republic, no-one ignores the terrorist attacks which occurred in recent years. The country located in Western Europe is now one of the main goals of the jihadist violence which broke out in the Middle East. The defeat of the French troops in Syria and Iraq with ISIS (L'État islamique) and the presence of several thousand soldiers in the territories of countries covered by the war pose an additional threat in the form of continuous maintenance of the military units on standby. The President of the Republic and the appointed government are responsible for protecting the French people, which is why they passed a new anti-terrorist act. Its regulations are the last bastion in the fight against an unspecified enemy, namely terrorists.

The war against terrorism is one of the main goals of the President of the French Republic, Emmanuel Macron, during his five-year term. In order to implement the measures, he decided to increase the budget of the Ministry of the Interior by 7% in 2018 to combat terrorism (SudOuest, 2017). The flagship action under the new law is to secure and protect the borders in order to ensure the security of citizens.

Security specialists look for the causes of terrorist attacks committed in the territory of the French Republic all over the world. The issue which is discussed most often is the actions taken by the French army in the territory of Africa (Ndiaye, 2010, pp. 95-100). There is a lot of contradictory information regarding the method of conducting the fight and co-operation with former colonies which wanted to gain independence. The government of Rwanda talks openly about the genocide, rape and hiding of war criminals by the French troops (Portal Spraw Zagranicznych, 2017). The military movements of the French in Algeria are also described negatively (*Sensacje XX wieku*, 1983).

The last 10 years in the French Republic clearly show that the security forces have been unable to cope with the growing number of acts of terror. The new law combating terrorism is supposed to be a step forward in the fight against this unidentified enemy. The key is to investigate the causes and conditions which occurred in the context of past attacks. This should be the basis for the operational activities undertaken in the future. The radicalization of the attackers follows a similar pattern. Both in terms of their ethno-social profile and personal history (Kepel, 2017, pp. 249-253).

3.1. The anti-terrorist law in the French Republic

The adoption of Act No. 2017-1510 of 30 October 2017 on the *Strengthening of internal security and combating terrorism* is a result of many years of struggle against terrorist threats in France and in the world. An analysis of the undertaken actions and failures of the security systems entailed a necessity of a strong reaction in the form of legal regulations which would define the tasks and responsibilities of individual entities. The main cause of the implication of the Act was the prolonged state of emergency which was in force since 13 November 2015 (Clavel, 2017). The new law was to form the basis for the organization of anti-terrorist activities and a certain type of a guideline to fight terrorism, both for the government and for the security forces. We can expect the effects and results of the enacted law in 2020, when the National Assembly will conduct another review of its assumptions. Currently, this is only an introduction to a long-term battle with attackers and unidentified terrorist threats.

The proper application of the provisions of the Act is crucial for the correct functioning of the security authorities which are responsible for ensuring the security of citizens. Although many of the provisions of the Act maintain the state of emergency, the latest regulations totally change the method and system of combating terrorism in the French Republic. The present functioning of the state authorities will offer a wider scope of jurisdiction over the suspects and will secure potentially sensitive points throughout the country. Measures undertaken under the Act will require increased co-operation combined with acceptance of new security conditions by various communities in the country. The most important of the provisions of *Loi antiterroriste* (the Anti-Terrorist Act):

The scope of protection

Protecting places or events which may be exposed to terrorist threats, under the supervision of prefects (defense and security personnel delegated by designated departments) who will implement measures to control and verify identity of persons entering a designated area. The necessary activities will be carried out with the help of private security agents or municipal police officers. The Act gives authority to prefects to verify the identity and filtrate people before they enter the designated area (SudOuest, 2017).

Closing places of worship

Delegated prefects (the Act authorizes the representatives of the State in this regard) (Le Monde, 2017) have the power to close the places of worship by taking administrative measures if, within the framework of spreading faith in a given location, they support acts of terrorism or terrorist propaganda. The motives of such actions will be justified on the basis of "letters", "documents", "statements", but also based on the ideas and theories which are propagated by people supervising the temples in order to support terrorism. The Senate decided that these are "ideas and theories" referring to the concepts of "undefined outlines".

The closure procedure will last 48 hours during which the representative of the place of worship may appeal to an administrative court which will decide the matter before the authorities undertake the right actions. The closure period may last a maximum of 6 months and the penalty for trespassing is EUR 45,000 (Rescan, 2017)

Individual claim - no more home-only arrest

People whose actions are related to terrorism or its proclamation will have to stay within the commune (during the state of emergency they had to stay at home) so that they can have normal professional and family life. They will be obliged to report to the Police on a daily basis (before it was 3 times a day) and their situation will be reviewed every 3 months. Defendants must provide all the telephone numbers they use and the identifiers which they use to communicate (including social media). The inspection period is to last a minimum of 3 months, with a possibility of being extended for up to a year. In the event of a suspicion of escape or non-compliance, this form of limitation of freedom may be combined with the obligation to wear an electronic bracelet. In September 2017, 39 people were subjected to this form of arrest (France 24, 2017).

Searches and confiscations

Prefects and delegated persons who obtain an order from a judge of the Supreme Court in Paris (*Tribunal de grande instance de Paris*) may search the premises, place of residence, organization or company. A person subjected to the search may be detained for 4 hours. Searches may not be carried out at the offices of lawyers, judges and journalists. Such activities are to be taken regularly until 2020 and they will be analysed by the parliament on an ongoing basis.

Radicalization

The fight against radicalization, which does not exist in the state of emergency, is a novelty in the Act. An official (officer) carrying out his mission or performing his occupation connected with security and defense may be transferred or even dismissed if, as a result of an administrative inquiry, he expresses a tendency to radicalization. The procedure will also apply to military officers.

The Parliament also introduced a new sanction to punish parents who encourage their children to commit acts of terrorism or to go abroad for this purpose (Rescan, 2017). The establishment of a new offence which entails a penalty of 15 years imprisonment, a fine of EUR 225,000 for parents and the possibility of being deprived of parental rights is a precedent on a European scale (Gouvernement de la République française, 2017).

Passenger details

The Anti-Terrorist Act allows security forces to use airline passengers' data and data of those travelling by sea (the data entered during registration and in the process of boarding will be directly transmitted to the security forces which will require specific information to prevent acts of terrorism).

Monitoring techniques

The draft law sets out a new legal framework introducing wireless surveillance which was banned by the Constitutional Council on 21 October 2016. Currently, its application is extended until 2020, using IT algorithms in communication networks, the so-called black boxes (*boîtes noires*). The purpose is to detect connections which may be related to terrorist threats, by transmitting certain data and information (Compagnon, 2017).

Border control

The Schengen Agreement allows for a six-hour identity check within the 20-kilometre zone along internal borders, as well as in ports, airports and railway and road stations open to international traffic. The new Act extends the duration of such checks to twelve hours, it extends the 20-kilometre control zone to the external border crossings and the jurisdiction of security forces in the areas of railway stations, airports and ports also to a radius of 20-kilometre (Ouest-France, 2017). It is also a measure which should prove effective in the fight against illegal immigration (Rescan, 2017).

The French Minister of the Interior expressed his view on the adoption of a new resolution: the Act strengthens the internal security and combats terrorism. Its adoption by the National Assembly was very important for the Republic. Strong measures and new tools to deal with this prevailing threat will help to offer better protection to the French people (Collomb, 2017, tweeted message).

Terrorism, as a constantly recurring phenomenon, continues to evolve. Its changes and asymmetries are unpredictable due to a number of circumstances surrounding it. The determining factor is constituted by the motivations and ideas of attackers which, due to dynamic political and economic changes, are constantly modified. Nowadays, religious fanaticism dominates, which is the basis for the majority of terrorist activities. It is connected with the so-called home-grown terrorism which involves people having citizenship, families and enterprises in a country where terrorist attacks take place (Adamska-Rękawek, 2016, p. 10). An excellent example can be the attack in France where, on 23 March 2018, in Carcassonne, in the south of the country, a terrorist killed 4 people and seriously injured another 15 people (Mareschal and Piquet, 2018), even though he had the citizenship of the Republic and lived there permanently (Reuters, 2018).

4. Terrorism in Ukraine

According to the *Global Terrorism Index*, in 2019, Ukraine ranked 24th in the world and the first in Europe in terms of the impact of terrorism on the functioning of the State. A year earlier it was in the 21st place and in 2017 in 17th place. Terrorism is still developing in the country, considering the lack of prospects to stop the conflict with the Russian Federation and the continued increased migration from the Balkans and the Middle East (Institute for Economics & Peace, 2019, p. 8).

In 1991-2016, in Ukraine, 202 terrorist attacks were committed, in which a total of 1,092 people were killed. The most lethal attack was shooting down Malaysia Airlines Flight 17, where 298 people died. The presented number of attacks is due to the fact that only they were recognized as "terrorist" by the international community and they do not refer directly to the ongoing armed conflict with the Russian Federation (Alcantara, 2017, p.10). The last terrorist attack was carried out by Vladislav Roslakov on 17 October 2018, using explosives and weapons on college students in Crimea. As a result, 21 people died and 78 were injured (Hodge, et al., 2018).

Ukraine is currently in a very complicated situation, between the East and the West fighting for their influence. Its main goal should be to focus on its internal policy and stabilize the situation. Only such action will allow it to efficiently implement pro-state activities and possibly prompt integration with Europe. Its choices should be focused on the highest possible security guarantee which is currently offered by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and orientation towards the West of Europe.

Terrorism challenges for Ukraine

The main causes of the arising of terrorism and its development in Ukraine are not the same. Their interpretation differs between academic circles, organizations acting for the security and theoreticians (their perspectives and the purpose of their research) who undertake to tackle this subject, and depends on the way in which the concept of terrorism is defined. Based on the analysis of sources, the most appropriate approach to adopt seems to be a reference to internal factors which, for several dozens of years, have contributed to a negative situation in the State security policy, and focus on the dynamically-changing circumstances in the international environment, which currently have a significant impact on the destabilization and disintegration of Ukraine.

Sources of development of the Ukrainian terrorism (defined as terrorism occurring in the territory of Ukraine):

- Political imbalance - a crisis of the State authorities, a dysfunctional institutional and legal apparatus, the lack of equality in various types of groups (social, religious, national, oppositional), the growth of corruption, the lack of investments in culture and the lack of honesty in taking economic decisions important for the State.
- Continuous presence of military forces from another country (the Russian Federation) which strongly affects the functioning of the State and constitutes a threat to national security. Additional military operations and the lack of agreement entailed, *inter alia*, the introduction of martial law in Ukraine for a month, as announced by the former Ukrainian President, Petro Poroshenko, on 26 November 2018 at 2:00 p.m., after the Russian troops shot and seized three Ukrainian ships and detained 24 mariners in the Azov Sea (Darden and Way, 2018). Such a course of events may lead to the undertaking of terrorist attacks both by pro-Russian and pro-Ukrainian terrorists. Although their goal may be to change political decisions (against Ukraine or Russia), nevertheless one of the groups may become extremist and attack another country (e.g. neighbouring Poland) or try to achieve its goals through attacks on civilians.
- The lack of adequate protection and security in the context of maintaining and development of sites of strategic importance for the State. According to experts, nuclear and water power plants, chemical and pharmaceutical industry buildings, toxin dumping sites, warehouses where the weapons of the Ministry of Defense are kept and other buildings which are important in view of the State security are not adequately protected and may be exposed to a terrorist attack in order to take over power or terrorize the government.
- Deepening of differences and intensification of religious and ethnic conflicts. This may lead to terrorist actions by one of the groups (Jews, Polish, Hungarians, Moldovans, Russians, Belarussians or Albanians).
- Ineffective information policy throughout the country. Information which is transmitted by the media and the government does not reach all citizens, and many areas (e.g. the Internet) are exposed to misinformation. Websites are also regularly attacked by cyber-terrorists (Farmer, 2018). Disinformation activities (e.g. fake news, i.e. false stories which seem to be news, circulated on the Internet or in other media, usually created to influence political views or as a joke) may be propagated by supporters of co-operation with Eastern Europe, but what is very important, also with Western Europe. It happens that some of the States are unjustly accused, which leads to further conflicts (Tymkiv, 2009, pp. 72-73).

Contemporary threats in the east of the country

According to estimates of the Ukrainian authorities, illegal armed groups in Donbas currently have about 33,000 fighters in their ranks, 60% of whom are Russian citizens. According to the government of Ukraine, they were armed and trained by Russia and were given more than 368 tanks, 940 combat armoured vehicles and 375 artillery. According to Ukrainian experts, these numbers do not include even more Russian soldiers, with full arms, who are present in Eastern Ukraine (Ukraine, 2015, statement).

On 27 January 2015, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine - the Ukrainian parliament - adopted a decree which contains a call addressed to the UN, the European Parliament, the Council of Europe, NATO, the OSCE, national parliaments and other international organizations to recognize that: the Russian Federation is an aggressor against Ukraine. The decree was adopted. At that time, Ukraine hoped that the international community would react responsibly to its call. It also called on the United Nations Security Council Counter-Terrorism Committee (Anti-Terrorism Committee - an auxiliary United Nations structure responsible for international security, established on 28 September 2001 based on Resolution 1373, in connection with terrorist attacks which took place on 11 September 2001 in the United States (UN Resolution 1373, 2001) to immediately carry out an in-depth analysis of the acts of Russian terrorist fighters which fuel the conflict in eastern Ukraine, and make recommendations on how to counteract and combat such threats through the collective effort of international organizations. Ukraine also appealed to Russia on the international forum to stop recruiting terrorist fighters and sending them to Ukraine (Ukraine, 2015, statement).

4.1 Terrorism from the Balkans

Although the phenomenon of foreign fighters is certainly not new, the recent events in Syria and Iraq have brought this issue back to the surface of the security policy pursued by the European Union. The Western Balkans region, including Ukraine, is no exception as far as this trend is concerned. The violent extremism in this region is seen through the prism of Islamic radicalization of foreign fighters and the ongoing conflict with Russia. The

terrorists present in Ukraine come from ISIS (the Islamic State in Iraq) or Jabhat an-Nusra (Victory Front of the People of the Levant, also Front an-Nusra in Syria), from the right-wing fractions of both Ukrainian and Russian nationalism, and the same name is also used for pro-Russian fighters operating in the east of Ukraine (Beslin and Ignjatijeic, 2017, pp. 1-2).

With the escalation of the conflict in Syria and Iraq, and then terrorism around the world, the Balkan States supported international efforts aimed to solve the problem of foreign fighters. According to the requirements of the UN Security Council Resolution 2178 adopted in 2014, all Balkan States changed their criminal laws to prohibit foreign fighting. Kosovo adopted a completely new law regulating this issue, while other countries added new provisions to their existing criminal codes. Penalties vary from 6 months to 15 years in prison for the support of terrorism in a wide sense of the word: fighting in foreign wars, travelling to war zones, recruiting fighters or providing financial support to terrorist groups (Beslin and Ignjatijeic, 2017, p. 3).

Terrorism in Ukraine is a multi-faceted and complex threat which requires a comprehensive response at the regional, national and international level. The activity of international organizations making efforts to maintain security in the world, co-operation in the field of humanitarian aid for people in the areas where war and terrorist activities are carried out, and the will of the Russian Federation to act in pursuance of the cause will provide for a re-analysis of the problem and quick resolution of the conflict which currently constitutes a global threat.

5. Co-Operation of France with Ukraine under International Organizations

There is a chance that France, as a superpower, will support Ukraine in their efforts to join NATO. Additionally, there is an urgent case of eastern Ukraine where Russian separatists completely took over the cities and nationalize Lugansk and Donetsk. Multilateral or rather bilateral support is inevitable in order to put an end to the conflict.

The French Republic, as part of co-operation aimed at the prevention of intensification of the conflict in Ukraine, got involved in international activities. On 6 June 2014, the leaders of France, Germany, Russia and Ukraine met at the event commemorating the 70th anniversary of the Allied forces landing in Normandy. At that time, the Normandy four (EN: Normandy format, as used for the first time by Rahma Sophia Rachdi, a correspondent of the United States Press Agency, FR: Format Normandie - the first meeting was held in the French Republic, hence the French name) was brought to life, also known as the Normandy contact group. The group's working task is the diplomatic settlement of the conflict in Donbas, which is why Russia and Ukraine were associated as the two fighting parties, as well as Germany and France. *Ad hoc* actions are mainly carried out by means of telephone conferences between the leaders or, in their absence, between relevant foreign ministers. The Normandy Format sometimes extends its co-operation by working with Italy and the United Kingdom.

The United States highly appreciated the efforts of France and Germany under the Normandy Format which were aimed to implement agreements concerning the conflict in Ukraine. According to the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, Russia continues to obstruct the peace process and prevents international talks. The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) called on Russia to engage in serious talks on how to end the conflict, improve security and humanitarian conditions for the local population, as well as how to implement the arrangements agreed during the previous meetings of the group (Macris, 2018).

The actions of the French Republic in the context of the conflict in Ukraine were very limited. As an active player in NATO, a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council and a leading country in the activities of the European Union, France has the competence to take on more decisive action. So far, its involvement was the same as that undertaken by international organizations it belongs to. In principle, none of the Western European countries undertook any support activities towards Ukraine because this would involve opposing Russia.

The international community has witnessed numerous terrorist acts in eastern Ukraine, in particular the murdering and keeping of hostages, despite the Normandy Format agreements regarding a peaceful resolution of the conflict. Over 8,000 civilians lost their lives as a result of terrorist activities in the East of Ukraine.

6. Terrorist Threats for Europe

Nowadays, the number of terrorist organizations and smaller groups that fight for a possibility of joining the biggest players is constantly changing. They compete with one another, devouring one another (often in a brutal way) or merging in the name of achieving a higher goal. Al-Qaeda, for example, has several factions, such as: Al-Qaeda in Yemen, Al-Qaeda in West Africa, Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, Al-Shabbaab operating mainly in Somalia (but also in Ethiopia and Djibouti) and recently the most active force, Jabhat an-Nusra (Victory Front of the People of the Levant), established in 2011 in Syria. Competition between terrorist organizations is a daily practice. Each next occupied city offers a chance to raise funds, appropriate new territories and recruit new people for military operations. In the fight against the authorities of the country or other countries of foreign alliances, these are invaluable assets that determine the future existence of the group. Domination may only be temporary, depending on the forces and facilities a given group has on its disposal. Often, despite similar goals, common ideology, the same fighting methods, ISIS and Al-Qaeda will compete with each other. Al-Qaeda believes that the immediate goal is to defeat the main enemy of Islam: America. Then they hope to be able to create a caliphate. ISIS needs physical, political and religious power to maintain, expand and develop its territory in order to attract new followers who will fight in Europe. This may be connected with terrorism in Ukraine, which leads to the expansion of

terrorism into the territories of eastern and central Europe. Although pro-Russian militants are currently fighting for the east of Ukraine, their plans may change and focus on the countries of the European Union. Then terrorism from France will meet terrorism from Ukraine and the Balkans. Currently, the plans of the largest terrorist organizations in the world are different, but if they combine their forces, it may turn out that the whole world will struggle with a terrorist “supergroup” (Johnson, 2018).

If terrorist activities are carried out in one of the Member States of the European Union, it is obvious that they can also be undertaken in the neighbouring State. If we want effective defense to be in place within the framework of international co-operation, this will be mainly connected with additional costs and compromises. The security policies of European States are different, even if they are, to some extent, consistent with EU guidelines. Procedural solutions and competences of the judiciary form the basis for undertaking co-operation aimed at combating terrorism. Differences in the perception of problems may also constitute a barrier in operational contacts. The action procedure must be centralized and the costs and tasks must be divided evenly among the members of the community. The main reason for taking such actions is the intention to defend and maintain security. A system must be designed to establish and define co-operation for international movement of persons, which is in force in the EU, ensuring free movement of capital, people and goods (Bergkamp, et al., 2015, pp. 325-326).

A country which is exposed to terrorism due to various reasons may be a target for extremist organizations, for example: because of participation in NATO missions, being a neighbour of an attacked country, the pursuit of the anti-migration policy by its government. An example of such a State may be the Republic of Poland, whose current policy, alliances and geographical location are conducive to terrorist activity. Due to the contemporary threats and unrestrained global development, we can distinguish potential determinants which may affect the activation of terrorist communities in Europe:

- An increase in the number of followers of religion which encourages its believers to suicide in the name of faith.
- Radicalization which takes place in prisons. Despite isolation from the society, indoctrination takes place in penitentiary institutions, carried out by other prisoners.
- Operational activity of members of terrorist organizations who have already penetrated the country.
- The lack of proper application and use of street cameras. Both in Belgium (attack on the Brussels airport), France (the attack next to the Stade de France) and the USA (Boston marathon) terrorists were captured thanks to the cameras.
- Easiness of online communication between supporters of terrorism, growing recruitment on the web, and sharing instructions on how to construct home-made bombs.
- The influence of the ideology of the largest terrorist organizations, such as Al-Qaeda, which can boast successes (attacks) in the most developed countries in the world. In this way, they encourage others to support their philosophy.
- Threats resulting from cyber-terrorism and recurring data leaks.
- The lack of proper analysis of analogies and connections which occur between terrorist attacks in various regions of the world.
- Intensified activities aimed at recruitment to terrorist organizations, especially in poor countries with high unemployment. Members of groups are offered remuneration which guarantees them a chance to survive (get by).
- Recruitment conducted in countries which are directly attacked by their own residents who have obtained citizenship of that country. They are children of immigrants who arrived several years before. Such terrorism may now be encountered in the territory of Belgium, France, the Netherlands, Germany, the United Kingdom, the USA and Canada.
- Infiltration to terrorist organizations from neighbouring countries.
- Invitations for terrorist training in Africa and the Middle East.
- Identifying and disseminating information about one of the powers (e.g. the USA, France or Russia), describing them as a global aggressor and the cause of escalation of international armed conflicts. The main tool of terrorists is the mass media, through which they encourage aggression and violence by means of individual attacks.

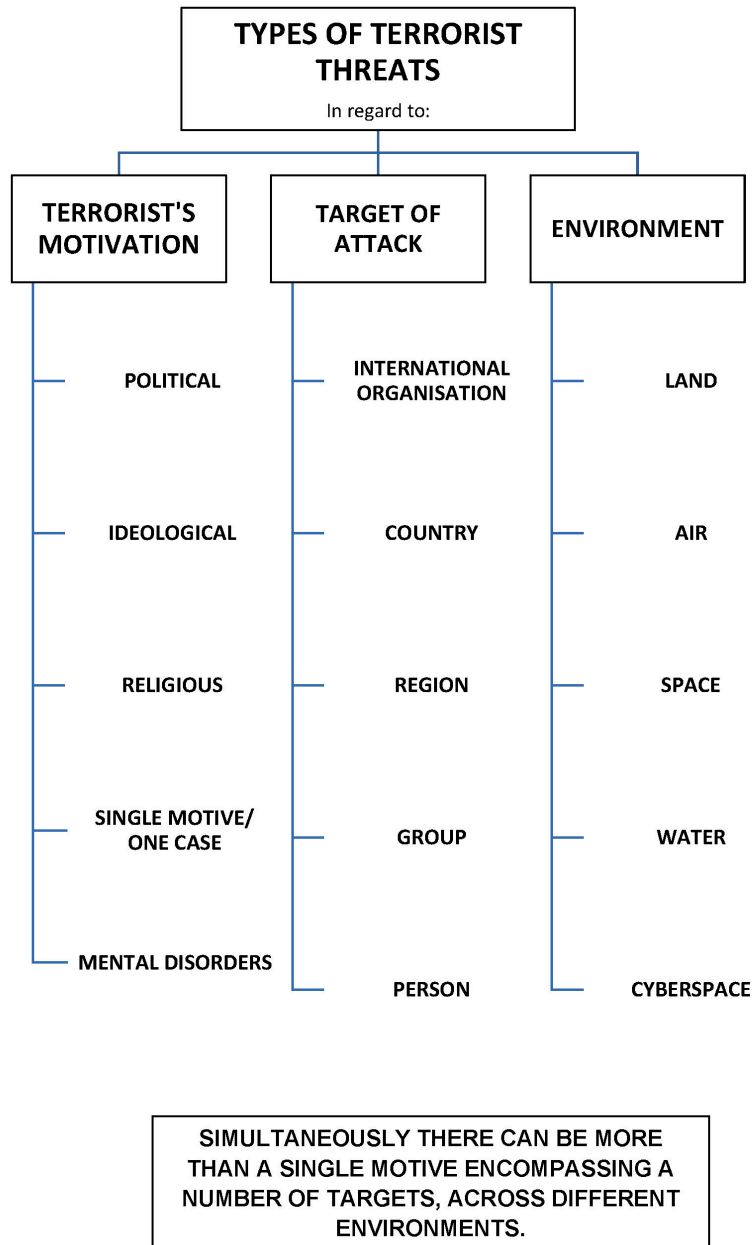


Fig. 1. Types of terrorist threats (source: own study)

As rightly noticed by K. Rękawek in his book *Człowiek z małą bombą - o terroryźmie i terrorystach (A Man with a Small Bomb - about Terrorism and Terrorists, 2017, pp. 181-185)*, Poland is used as a transit (transitional) country for terrorist activities undertaken abroad. Currently, Ukraine is the main destination. According to the information obtained by the researcher, many terrorists, for instance from Finland, Sweden and Chechnya, used Poland to get to the East of Europe. The greater the number of trips of soldiers / terrorists to Ukraine, the greater the number of returns and subsequent actions undertaken in the country of their residence in Europe. Many of the separatists participating in the Donbas conflict and their opponents, such as pro-Ukrainian soldiers from the "Azov" Regiment (Українська правда, 2018), come from France, Norway and the Middle East. From the point of view of the internal security, this is a certain type of threat which will become apparent in a few years, through the activation of the terrorist communities returning from Ukraine. The result of the war in the east will not matter in this regard. Fighters will engage in further actions (wars) in order to achieve their goals and satisfy their demands. However, this time, the activation of terrorist and nationalistic communities may take place in the territory of Central and Eastern European countries.

The contemporary co-operation of international forces in the fight against terrorism (or rather the results of this co-operation) does not put the methods and means used to arrest terrorists in a good light. Despite the enactment of many international normative acts, security strategies and the appointment of international police-

type organizations, this co-operation should still be described as inconsistent. Although it is required for the proper functioning of the security system in each of the individual States involved in the activities for the fight and stopping of terrorism, there is still a lack of a comprehensive frame of action. Today's activities are more theoretical than practical. The lack of proper co-ordination at the national level prevents the development of the security structures at the international level. This is very apparent in the present operation of the European Union in the context of maintaining security within the community. This process has not changed since 1990s, when the French analyst of terrorism, S. Vérine (1986, p. 977), described the international activity for the fight against terrorism as "chaotic".

7. Conclusion

Really speaking, the fight against terrorism at the international level is the "first line of defense" and a "hope for long-term success". The struggle with threats within the framework of interstate co-operation requires the development of a pragmatic approach to the definition of terrorism. The balance between commitment to anti-terrorist activities and the freedom of citizens is a huge challenge for State governments, not only in the field of national defense, but also on the international scale. The concept of security and the fight against terrorism must be transparent and firm. The use of the term "terrorist threats" in political debates or by the mass media is the avoidance of responsibility which should rest on the organizations appointed to take practical steps. Only active and prudent actions will guarantee an appropriate organizational division in the security sector. If undertaken actions are too categorical, this may cause the system in the State turn into a totalitarian regime or it may violate human rights. Security management should define forces and measures, as well as determine the potential risks and consequences in the course of undertaken actions. Bilateral co-operation which should be aimed at an increase of security in both countries, may not be imposed. It must be negotiated. Its effectiveness is based on national strength and strategy within the framework of the established anti-terrorism concept, and not on the number of officers. Therefore, good bilateral co-operation will be based on appropriate operational preparation. Undertaking joint actions will create a wall against terrorism, which will be a barrier even in the event of unexpected and extreme circumstances. Terrorism must be discredited as a method of action, but it is unreasonable to neglect its force, which is no smaller than the force of other forms of violence, such as an armed conflict.

As long as the situation in Ukraine continues and terrorists carry out their actions, this conflict will pose a serious threat to international security. Regardless of the outcome of this rivalry (between Russia and Ukraine, as well as other countries in the background), the terrorists who take part in these battles may, once they are done with them, become active in the territories of other States. Their actions may be fuelled by their own views and demands or they may be bribed to destabilize others. An analysis of the above topics may indicate that this is certainly the longest conflict in the history of international terrorism in the 21st century.

Terrorist attacks in the French Republic and Ukraine, in connection with the continuous migration within the continent, may take place in other European countries in the future. Terrorism as a phenomenon, and at the same time a form of weapon for a growing number of its supporters, requires immediate interest. The complexity of this phenomenon requires intensification of the actions of the State authorities in order to understand it, as well as identify methods to counteract it and prevent its occurrence in the future.

References

- Adamska-Rękawek, P., 2016. Terroryzm Islamski w Europie. Islamofobia czy integracja. In: P. Sienkiewicz, P. Dela, ed. 2016. *Metodologia badań bezpieczeństwa narodowego Volume VIII*, Warsaw: Akademia Obrony Narodowej. pp. 10.
- Alcantara, C., 2017. 46 years of terrorist attacks in Europe, visualized. *The Washington Post*, [online]. 17 July. Available at: <<https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/world/a-history-of-terrorism-in-europe/?noredirect=on>> [Accessed 21 January 2019].
- Atran, S., 2011. *Talking to the enemy: religion, brotherhood, and the (un) making of terrorists*. New York: Ecco.
- Bauer, A. and Soulez, C., 2014. *Le Terrorisme pour les Nuls*. Paris: First.
- Bergkamp, L., Faure, M., Hinteregger, M. and Philipsen, N., 2015. *Civil liability in Europe for terrorism-related risk*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bergkamp, L. and Herbatschek, N., 2015. Is liability for terrorism-related risk enterprise-threatening. In: Bergkamp, L., Faure, M., Hinteregger, M. and Philipsen, N., *Civil liability in Europe for terrorism-related risk*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 325-326.
- Beslin, J. and Ignjatijevic, M., 2017. Balkan foreign fighters: from Syria to Ukraine. *European Union Institute for Security Studies*, Brief - June Issue, no. 20, pp. 1-2.
- Byman, D., 2006. Fighting the war on terrorism: a better approach. In: S. Van Evera, ed. 2006. *How to make America safe: new policies for national security*. Cambridge: MIT.
- Clavel G., 2017. L'état d'urgence sera prolongé jusqu'au 1er novembre, une nouvelle loi anti-terroriste en préparation pour en sortir. *Huffpost*, [online] 24 May. Available at: <https://www.huffingtonpost.fr/2017/05/24/leysee-annonce-que-letat-durgence-sera-prolonge-jusquau-1er_a_22106809/> [Accessed 05 December 2018].
- Collomb, G., 2017. *DirectAN*. [Twitter]. 3 October. Available at: <https://twitter.com/gerardcollomb/status/915231590728568834?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw&ref_url=https%3A%2F2Fwww.ouest-france>

fr%2Fterrorisme%2Fprojet-de-loi-antiterroriste-ce-que-contient-le-texte-5288564> [Accessed 10 November 2018].

Compagnon, S., 2017. Projet de loi antiterroriste : ces mesures qui inquiètent les défenseurs des libertés. *Le Parisien*, [online]. 28 September. Available at: <<http://www.leparisien.fr/faits-divers/projet-de-loi-antiterroriste-ces-mesures-qui-inquietent-les-defenseurs-des-libertes-28-09-2017-7293300.php>> [Accessed 11 november 2018].

Darden, K. and Way, L.A., 2018. Why did Ukraine impose martial law?. *The Washington Post*, [online]. 29 November. Available at:<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/11/29/why-did-ukraine-impose-martial-law/?utm_term=.12dcf08723f8> [Accessed 9 December 2018].

Derrida, J., 2004. Qu'est-ce que le terrorisme?. *Le Monde diplomatique*, [online] (n.d.). Available at:<<https://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2004/02/DERRIDA/11005>> [Accessed 18 December 2018].

Farmer, B., 2018. Russia was behind 'malicious' cyber attack on Ukraine, Foreign Office says. *The Telegraph*, [online], 15 February. Available at: <<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2018/02/15/russia-behind-malicious-cyber-attack-ukraine-foreign-office/>> [Accessed 27 January 2019].

Gouvernement de la République française, 2017. *Renforcer la sécurité intérieure et la lutte contre le terrorisme*. [online] Available at:<<https://www.gouvernement.fr/action/renforcer-la-securite-interieure-et-la-lutte-contre-le-terrorisme>> [Accessed 02 January 2019].

Hodge N., Burrows, E., Tarasova, D. and Britton, B., 2018. *20 killed in Crimea college gun and bomb attack, Russia says*. [online], 18 October. CNN World. Available at: <<https://edition.cnn.com/2018/10/17/europe/crimea-kerch-explosion-intl/index.html>> [Accessed 20 January 2019].

Institute for Economics & Peace, 2019. *Global Terrorism Index 2019 - Measuring the impact of terrorism*. [pdf] Sydney: Institute for Economics & Peace. Available at: <<http://visionofhumanity.org/app/uploads/2018/12/Global-Terrorism-Index-2018-1.pdf>> [Accessed 20 March 2019].

Johnson, B., 2018. Are Al-Qaeda and ISIS about to form a terrorist supergroup?. *Observer*, [online] 3 December. Available at: <<https://observer.com/2018/03/are-al-qaeda-and-isis-about-to-form-a-terrorist-supergroup/>> [Accessed 25 January 2019].

Jongman, A.J. and Schmid, A.P., 1988. *Political terrorism: a new guide to actors, authors, concepts, data bases, theories and literature, transaction publishers*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.

Kepel, G., 2017. *Terror we Francji - geneza francuskiego dżihadu*. Warsaw: Dialog.

Laffargue, O., 2017. Etat d'urgence dans le droit commun: les enjeux de la loi. *Le Monde*, [online] 26 September. Available at: <https://www.lemonde.fr/les-decodeurs/article/2017/09/26/etat-d-urgence-dans-le-droit-commun-les-enjeux-de-la-loi_5191447_4355770.html> [Accessed 22 November 2018].

Le Monde, 2017. Le projet de loi antiterroriste définitivement adopté. *Le Monde*, [online] 18 October. Available at: <https://www.lemonde.fr/police-justice/article/2017/10/18/le-projet-de-loi-antiterroriste-definitivement-adopte_5202811_1653578.html> [Accessed 29 November 2018].

Macris, G., 2018. *Russia's Ongoing Violations in Ukraine, Ongoing Violations of International Law and Defiance of OSCE Principles and Commitments by the Russian Federation in Ukraine*. [online] U.S. Mission to the OSCE. Available at: <<https://osce.usmission.gov/on-russias-ongoing-violations-in-ukraine-18-2>> [Accessed 16 December 2018].

Mareschal, E. and Piquet, C., 2018. Attaques dans l'Aude: une proche du suspect placée en garde à vue. *Le Figaro*, [online] 24 March. Available at: <<http://www.lefigaro.fr/actualite-france/2018/03/23/01016-20180323LIVWWW00116-en-direct-aude-prise-d-otage-pres-de-carcaonne-des-crs-pris-pour-cible.php>> [Accessed 14 February 2019].

Mazoue, A., 2017. *Projet de loi antiterroriste : ce qui change par rapport à l'état d'urgence*. [online] France24. Available at:<<https://www.france24.com/fr/20170926-projet-loi-antiterroriste-change-etat-urgence-collomb-assemblee-perquisitions>> [Accessed 02 January 2019].

Ndiaye B., 2010. *Francafrigue: stosunki francusko-afrykańskie – wczoraj i dziś*. Olsztyn: Instytut Historii i Stosunków Międzynarodowych Uniwersytetu Warmińsko-Mazurskiego.

Ouest-France, 2017. *Projet de loi antiterroriste - ce que contient le texte*. [online] Ouest-France. Available at: <<https://www.ouest-france.fr/terrorisme/projet-de-loi-antiterroriste-ce-que-contient-le-texte-5288564>> [Accessed 22 February 2019].

Portal Spraw Zagranicznych, 2008. *Rwanda oskarża Francuzów o współudział w ludobójstwie*. [online] PSZ. Available at: <<http://www.psz.pl/130-afryka/rwanda-oskarza-francuzow-o-wspoludzial-w-ludobojstwie>> [Accessed 3 February 2017].

Rękawek, K., 2017. *Człowiek z małą bombą - o terroryzmie i terrorystach*. Wołowiec: Czarne.

Rescan, M., 2017. Le projet de loi antiterroriste soumis au vote des députés. *Le Monde*, [online] 3 October. Available at: <https://www.lemonde.fr/police-justice/article/2017/10/03/la-loi-antiterroriste-doit-etre-adoptee-mardi-par-les-deputes_5195238_1653578.html> [Accessed 23 March 2019].

Reuters Agences, 2018. Attaques dans l'Aude: Radouane Lakdim était fiché S depuis 2014. *Le Figaro*, [online] 23 March. Available at: <<http://www.lefigaro.fr/actualite-france/2018/03/23/01016-20180323ARTFIG00222-qui-etait-redouane-lakdim-le-terroriste-presume-des-attaques-dans-l-aude.php>> [Accessed 12 January 2019].

Sensacje XX wieku – Zemsta OAS. 1983. [video] Warsaw: Telewizja Polska. (Narrated by Bogusław Wołoszański).

SudOuest, 2017. Projet de loi antiterroriste: les 8 principales mesures décryptées, *SudOuest*, [online] 26 September. Available at: <<https://www.lemonde.fr/police-justice/article/2017/10/03/la-loi-antiterroriste-doit->

etre-adoptee-mardi-par-les-deputes_5195238_1653578.html> [Accessed 25 March 2019].

Тымків, У., 2009. *Ukraina wobec problemów i instytucjonalizacji bezpieczeństwa europejskiego*. Toruń: Adam Marszałek.

Statement of Ukraine at the Special meeting of the Counter-Terrorism Committee with Member States and international and regional organizations on Stemming the Flow of Foreign Terrorist Fighters, 2015. *International fight against terrorism in the context of terrorist threat and attacks in certain areas of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts of Ukraine*, Madrid: 2178.

Українська правда, 2018. "Азов" розширився до полку і наголошує, що на вибори не йде. *Pravda*, [online] 18 September. Available at:< <https://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2014/09/18/7038164>> [Accessed 11 November 2018].

United Nations Office On Drugs And Crime, 2018. *Education for justice university module series counter-terrorism - Module 1 introduction to international terrorism*. [pdf] Vienna: United Nations Office . Available at: <https://www.unodc.org/documents/e4j/18-04932_CT_Mod_01_ebook_FINAL.pdf> [Accessed 19 March 2019].

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1373, 2001. Adopted by the Security Council at its 4385th meeting, on 28 September 2001, S/RES/1373 (2001).

Vérine, S., 1986. *La coopération internationale en matière de lutte contre le terrorisme*. Berne: Politique Etrangère 4.

Wojciechowski, S., 2009. *Terroryzm. Analiza pojęcia*. Warsaw: Przegląd Bezpieczeństwa Wewnętrznego.

Зелінський С.А., 2000. *Тероризм як злочинна політика і політичний злочин - Наукове видання, Тероризм і боротьба з ним*. Київ: Національний університет імені Тараса Шевченка.