

## CHAPTER II

### TERRORISM IN FRANCE

This chapter describes the incident of Paris Attack 2015. This chapter will be divided into several parts. Firstly, it will describe the France's Social and Political Profile. Then, will be followed by the explanation of the development of Terrorism in France after 9/11 and the chronology of the Paris Attack in 2015.

#### **A. France's Political and Social Context**

*République française*, located in Western Europe, is the largest country in European Union with 543.965 km<sup>2</sup> of area. French Republic is also known as the world's most tourism-destination country.<sup>17</sup> In 2016, this country is inhabited by 66.836.154 million of people within various ethnicity and religion.<sup>18</sup> Majority of the French Citizen is Christian with 63-66% of the population, Moslem 7-9%, Buddhist 0.5-0.75%, Jewish 0.5-0.75%, other 0.5-1.0%, and none 23-28%.<sup>19</sup> Geographically, France is located in the southeast of United Kingdom, bordered with Bay of Biscay and English Channel, Belgium, Luxembourg, and Mediterranean Sea in the south that is between Spain and Italy (See Figure 1).<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> "UNWTO Tourism Highlights 2016 Edition", retrieved December 2, 2016, [http://www.dadosefatos.turismo.gov.br/images/pdf/estatisticas\\_indicadores/UNTWO\\_Tourism\\_Highlights\\_2016\\_Edition.pdf](http://www.dadosefatos.turismo.gov.br/images/pdf/estatisticas_indicadores/UNTWO_Tourism_Highlights_2016_Edition.pdf), Page 8.

<sup>18</sup> "The World Factbook: France", Central Intelligence Agency, retrieved December 2, 2016, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/fr.html>.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.



Figure 1 *République française*

France is constituted as a democratic, secular, indivisible, and social republic country under the principle of *Liberté, égalité, and fraternité*.<sup>21</sup> The slogan was first familiarized during the French revolution in the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century, which were adopted in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. The President of French Republic is elected based on majority vote and run the government for five years. The elected president has the rights to appoint Prime Minister and the cabinet to be in charge of the governmental system.

As previously mentioned, based on the constitution, French Republic is a secular country or *laïcité*. However, the determination of Catholic Church towards the French

<sup>21</sup> French Constitution, Article 1 and 2

Monarchy was indubitable, prior the French Revolution in 1789 that lasted until 1799.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, at that time, Church was having 10% of the land in the Kingdom. They lost their power as the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen adopted, written in Article 3 “The principle of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation. No body nor individual may exercise any authority which does not proceed directly from the nation.”<sup>23</sup>

It was implicitly stated that the nation is sovereign and no other institution may intervene the authority including religion. Furthermore, the adoption of Civil Constitution of the Clergy in 1790 was limiting the power of the Catholic Church. Based on that constitution, the bishop should be elected by absolute majority vote, and there was only one diocese in every department and each diocese has the same extent with the department.<sup>24</sup> In this phase, the des-Christianisation in France happened.

The point where French Republic turn into secular country-constitutionally was in 1905, when Chamber of Deputies granted the 1905 French Law on the Separation of the Churches and State, which is the legal basis for *laïcité*.<sup>25</sup>

Article one: The Republic ensures freedom of conscience. It guarantees the free exercise of religion subject to the sole restrictions enacted hereafter in the interest of public order.” Article two: The Republic does not recognize, remunerate or subsidize any religion...all expenses concerning the practice of

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<sup>22</sup> There was said “*la France est la fille aînée de l’église*”, or “France is the eldest daughter of the church”.

<sup>23</sup> “Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen,” retrieved December 3, 2016, [http://www1.curriculum.edu.au/ddunits/downloads/pdf/dec\\_of\\_rights.pdf](http://www1.curriculum.edu.au/ddunits/downloads/pdf/dec_of_rights.pdf).

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Raphael Liogier “Laïcité on The Edge in France: Between The Theory of Church-State Separation and The Praxis of State-Church Confusion,” *Macquarie Law Journal* 9 (2009): 26

religion shall be abolished from the budgets of the State, Departments and municipal councils.”<sup>26</sup>

Both articles clearly suggest the separation of religion and the governance, that religious motivation or consideration should not be taken for fulfilling public interest. Thereafter, French public policy was no longer under the influence of Catholic Church.

These days, *laïcité* is implemented through a number of policies in France. Regardless the fact that France has the most Catholic, Muslim, Buddhist population compare to the other members of European Union, French Government prohibit the pupils to expose the attribute of adherence into particular religion, like cross and headscarf, but not for the University student. The most recent issue is the ban of wearing Burqa and Burkini in public places. Nicolas Sarkozy, the French Republic president from 2007 – 2012, called Burqa as a symbol of humiliation, which is unaccepted in France.<sup>27</sup>

Under the administration of François Gérard Georges Nicolas Hollande-the President of French Republic, the same sex marriages and LGBT had been legalised on 18 May 2016.<sup>28</sup> The support of Hollande to LGBT+ legalisation is a part of his

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<sup>26</sup> “Loi du 9 décembre 1905 concernant la séparation des Eglises et de l’Etat,” Public Service Announcement, Retrieved, December 3, 2016, <https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=LEGITEXT000006070169&dateTexte=20160802>.

<sup>27</sup> “7 Facts about France’s Burkini Ban that Make Outsiders Uncomfortable,” Independent Digital News and Media, retrieved December 3, 2016, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/burkini-ban-ruling-france-sarkozy-nice-beach-pictures-muslim-islam-a7208476.html>.

<sup>28</sup> “France Gay Marriage: Hollande signs into Bill,” The BBC, retrieved December 3, 2016, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-22579093>.

presidential election campaign, 'Marriage for All'. However, the path of LGBT to gain a legitimization in the society was coloured by mass protest, especially from the Catholic worshipper-the most population in France. At this point, France embraces the idea of equality and rationality, instead of religious ideals.

The discussion of French Republic *laïcité* or secularism is still relevant in a present time. The secularism in France tends to discriminate the Moslem by banning the use of Burqa and Burkini in public spaces, and even headscarf for high school student. The implementation of religion-political affairs separation also brings confusion toward the society and seems hostile to the religion. To some extent, *laïcité* may lead to the extremism act and terrorism, as the law is suppressing the society to deny their obligation, especially for Moslem women.

## **B. Development of Terrorism in France**

The terrorist attempt has been increasing since the tragedy of 9/11 in United States of America until 2014, it was reported that the record of terrorist attack had reach around 13.000 occurrences.<sup>29</sup> The tragedy that destroys World Trade Center building has caused a great impact on the world's security and stability, considering that terrorist attacks were rising drastically after that tragedy. Based on the data cited from Global Peace Index 2016, in 2008 – 2010, the rate of terrorist attacks were considerably the

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<sup>29</sup> "Global Terrorism Index 2016, Institute for Economics and Peace," Institute for Economics and Peace, retrieved November 30, 2016. <http://economicsandpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Global-Terrorism-Index-2016.2.pdf>.

same, which were around 4000 attacks. However, it was reportedly increasing for more than thousands of attack after 2011.

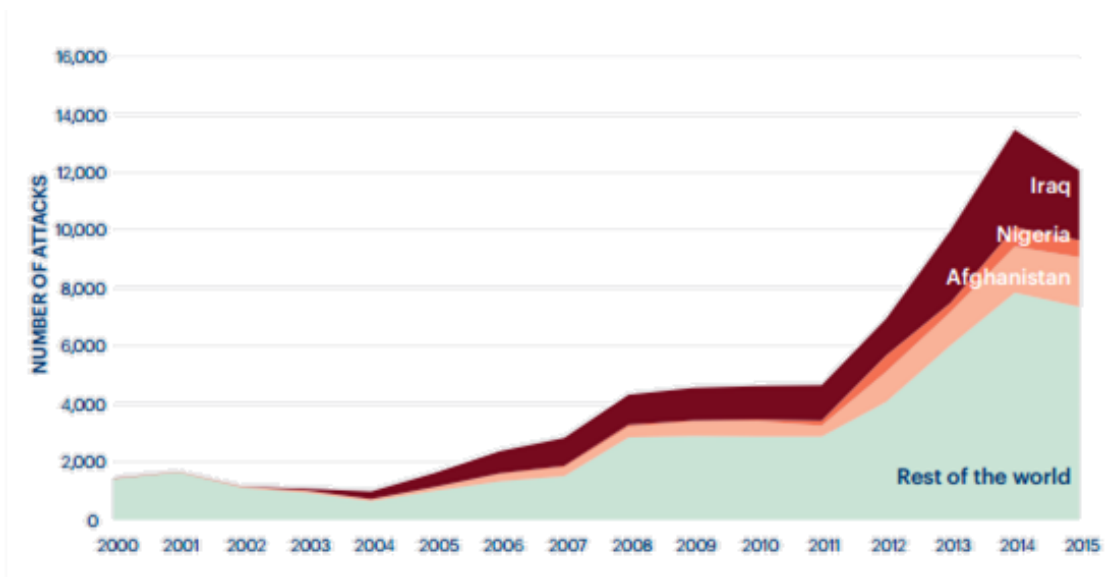


Figure 2 Number of Terrorist Attack after 9/11 incident.

experienced nine Terrorist attacks,<sup>30</sup> whereas in 2013 and 2014 there were only four. Most of those attacks were operated by Islamic State of Iraq and Levant (Also known as ISIS), the Jihadist group that support the establishment of Khilafiyah. Before the emergence of ISIS and Al Qaeda in America and Europe, France already experienced a Terrorist Attack from Islamist group on 20<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>30</sup>“A Timeline of Terror Attacks in France and Belgium since Charlie Hebdo,” Euro News, retrieved December 2, 2016, <http://www.euronews.com/2016/07/15/a-timeline-of-terror-attacks-in-france-and-belgium-since-charlie-hebdo>.

## 1. History of Terrorism in France

The history of Terrorism in France was started in 18<sup>th</sup> century. In 1795, the term of terrorism was coined and used for the Reign of Terror in France.<sup>31</sup> The terror was done to the society by the government for revolutionary mean. Committee of Public Safety, which was led by Robespierre from the Jacobins<sup>32</sup>, the club that dominated the government at that time, massacred those who were not committed to the French Revolution. The act of the government was constituted-legally by the Revolutionary Tribunal. For that reason, the term of Terrorism emerge. In 1798, after the Reign of Terror, terrorism was defined by *Académie française* dictionary as a “system or regime of terror” and *terroriste* as “an agent or partisan of the Terror that arose through the abuse of revolutionary measures.”<sup>33</sup> It was contrary with the definition of today’s terrorism that emphasises the involvement of Non-governmental actor to bring violence.

Terrorism movement of anti-government happened in 1800, when Napoleon Bonaparte was endeavored for assassination. The incident, which is known as the plot of the rue Saint-Nicaise, caused 20 people died and more than 50 people injured on 24 December 1800. *Machine Infernale*, the plotter, attempted to kill Napoleon Bonaparte

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<sup>31</sup> “The Definition of Terrorism,” The Guardian, Retrieved December 19, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2001/may/07/terrorism>.

<sup>32</sup> The Jacobin or Society of the Jacobins, Friends of Freedom and Equality (*Société des Jacobins, amis de la liberté et de l'égalité*) was one of the most influential political group during French revolution in 18<sup>th</sup> century. It was formed on 6 October 1789 in Versailles, France.

<sup>33</sup> Dictionnaire de l’Académie française on “The French Revolution and Early European Revolutionary Terrorism,” Michael Rapport, Retrieved December 19, 2016, <http://eprints.gla.ac.uk/123451/1/123451.pdf>.

-the First consul of France- by blasting the bomb attached to the horse. Pensol, the girl that paid by Saint-Regent to hold the horse died and people around her became the victim.

The first time Islamic-based Terrorism emerged in France was in the late of 19s. National Liberation Front of Algeria who sought an independence from France through violence had killed hundred thousand people from 1952 – 1964, considered as the trigger of the Terrorism attack in France. On 9<sup>th</sup> August 1982, Abu Nidal Organisation<sup>34</sup> carried out bombing and shooting attack in Jewish-owned restaurant in Paris. They threw grenade into the dining room and fired a machine guns. The incident, known as Chez Jo Goldenberg Restaurant attack, caused six people killed and 22 wounded.<sup>35</sup> For that reason, this incident touted as the deadliest anti-semitic attack in France since World War II.<sup>36</sup>

In July – October 1995, Paris and RER (Paris regional train network) were attacked with series of explosions by Armed Islamic Group.<sup>37</sup> Eight bombs were exploded in different location and time, and resulted a hundred of people died. The first bomb that killed eight people, exploded on 25<sup>th</sup> July 1995 in the Saint-Michel station. The second

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<sup>34</sup> Abu Nadel Organization is a splinter group of Fatah in Palestine. It is labelled as Terrorist Group by USA, United Kingdom, and European Union.

<sup>35</sup> "Paris Seeks 3 Suspects in 1982 Attack on Jewish Deli," The New York Times, Retrieved December 18, 2016, [http://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/05/world/europe/paris-attack-goldenberg-restaurant.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/05/world/europe/paris-attack-goldenberg-restaurant.html?_r=0).

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> *Groupe Islamique Armé* was one the Islamists group that opposed the Algerian government and army in Algerian Civil War.



incident happened on 17<sup>th</sup> August 1955 in Arc de Triumph and it resulted 17 people killed. On 26 August 2016, there was a huge bomb on the railroad tracks near Lyon. Then, malfunctioned bomb in Paris wounded four people on 3 September 2016 and a car bomb exploded on 7 September 2016 outside Jewish School, respectively. Fourteenth people became the victims of car-bomb explosion that detonated minutes before 700 student left the school.<sup>38</sup> Other bombs were found in restroom and trash in Metro and RER station, but were able to be deactivated without any victim.

## **2. Recent Terrorism Incidents in France**

In 2012, French Republic forcefully alarmed the society with Scarlet Level of Vigipirate (*vigilance et protection des installations contre les risques d'attentats terroriste à l'explosif*).<sup>39</sup> From March 11<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup>, three gun attacks were committed by one man. In Toulouse, on 11<sup>th</sup> march a French Moslem Paratrooper was killed and 19<sup>th</sup> march, four people -including three children- were killed in Ozah Hatorah Jewish Day School. On 15<sup>th</sup> March, similar attack happened, when two uniformed French Soldiers were shot in Montauban. Mohammed Merah, 23 years old, who was identified as the shooter of those incidents, was killed by Police officer after a 30-hour siege in his family apartment. The motives was religious belief. The French

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<sup>38</sup> "Car Bomb Explodes near Jewish School in France", The New York Time, Retrieved, December 18, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/1995/09/08/world/car-bomb-explodes-near-jewish-school-in-france.html>.

<sup>39</sup> Vigilance and Protection of Installations against the Risk of Terrorist Bombings. Vigirate is a national security alert system of French Republic. The alert level is 0 – 4. Scarlet level (4) known as the highest level of alert where the condition threatens the public order.

soldiers were previously served the army during the war of Afghanistan and were admitted to be anti-Semitic.

In 2014, French Republic was shocked by three days attacks on 7<sup>th</sup> until 9th January 2016. It began with the massacre at the office of the satirical magazine, Charlie Hebdo. The drawing of Prophet Mohammad was assumed to be the cause of the incident considering that the witness had heard the gunmen shouting their avenger of Prophet Muhammad.<sup>40</sup> On top of that, Charlie Hebdo had also published a number of controversial cartoons of Prophet Muhammad. In 2011, this magazine had also being targeted of bomb attack after its published magazine that the cover featured a cartoon of Muhammad said "100 lashes of the whip if you don't die laughing."

### **3. Paris Attack 2015**

#### **3.1 The Chronology**

One of the most dreadful terrorist incidents in France was Paris Attack, 2015. France underwent five attacks that occurs almost simultaneously in five different places in Paris on the Friday night, 13 November 2015. Those places were Petit Cambodge restaurant and Le Carillion bar, Bataclan Concert Hall, Rue Fontaine itu Ri, Boulevard Voltaire, and Stade de France. ISIS claimed themselves as the actors behind Paris Attack 2015.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> "Three days of Terror," The BBC, Retrieved December 18, 2016, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-30708237>.

<sup>41</sup> "Timeline: What Happened in Paris," CNN News, retrieved December 1, 2016, <http://edition.cnn.com/2015/11/14/world/what-happened-in-paris-attacks-timeline/>.



Figure 3 Five places of Paris Attack 2015

The first incident took place in Stade de France. It was 21:20-local time when France Football team was playing against Germany for a friendly match when the explosion occurred outside the stadium. There were two explosions ensued just moment after the first one.<sup>42</sup> The blasts were identified igniting from suicide bombing; with the bomb attached to the body by belt, with batteries, bolt, and button on it.<sup>43</sup> As the football match was televised, the sounds of explosion could be heard by the viewer. Owing to the explosion, four people were killed.<sup>44</sup> Francois Hollande was watching the match in stadium when the explosion occurred. Fortunately, he was safely evacuated.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Loc.cit

<sup>43</sup> Loc.cit

<sup>44</sup> Loc.cit

<sup>45</sup> "Paris Attacks: Timeline of Terror," The Guardian, retrieved December 2, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/14/paris-attacks-timeline-of-terror>.

The suicide bombings in Stade de France were followed by Gun Attack in four other places. First was in Le Carillon and Le Petit Cambodge, when men armed with Kalashnikov-style-assault-rifles- strikes the place. The assailant killed 15 people and wounded more than 10 people. Second incident was when a gunman attacked La Bonne Biere and killed five people. Lastly, it was in Near La Bonner Biere when a gunman killed 19 people at la Belle Equipe. The last attack happened in Bataclan Concert Venue on 21:40-local time, when 1500 people gathered to show the music concert.<sup>46</sup> The three attackers were open fire calmly and randomly in the middle of Eagle of Death Metal concert.<sup>47</sup> They took 20 hostages and killed them one by one. Due to the incident, eighty-nine people were killed. At 01:30-local time, Special Forces stormed into the venue. One terrorist was successfully killed, but the two others killed themselves by suicide bomb.

As a consequence of Paris Attack, France suffered a deep sorrow. At least, 130 people were killed and hundreds of people wounded. Buildings that became of the terrorism target were also damaged and the economic loss caused by the incident is interpreted about 2 billion. ISIS had claimed that they were responsible for the attack as they shared an audio in Arabic, French, and English, stating that it was only the

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<sup>46</sup> The Guardian, Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> CNN News, Op.Cit.

beginning of the storm.<sup>48</sup> Hence, Hollande responded the attack as an “act of war”.<sup>49</sup> Further, Francois Hollande demanded to close the French’s border and imposed State of Emergency.

### **3.2 The Actors**

ISIS was claiming that the attack in Paris is theirs as they shared recorded-audios in several languages. During their 6 minutes recorded-audio, they called France as the crusader nation and the place of prostitution. Moreover, they list France as one of top target of their movement.

Several months after the incident of Paris Attack, police officer captured the suspected person behind that incident, 26 years old Salah Abdeslam. Police Officer had been hunting him since 13 November 2015 right after Paris Attack. On January, his fingerprint was found in an apartment in Brussels.<sup>50</sup> After that, he was arrested in Molenbeek area, Belgium on 18 March shortly after his fingerprints were found in the forest area apartment.<sup>51</sup> He had been an International manhunt for four months, before

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<sup>48</sup> “Paris attack: Isis warns 'This is just the beginning' after killing at least 127 people in French capital, “ The Independent Digital Media and News, retrieved December 4, 2016, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/paris-attacks-this-is-just-the-beginning-isis-vows-after-killing-at-least-127-people-in-french-a6734546.html>.

<sup>49</sup> CNN News, Op.Cit.

<sup>50</sup> “Paris Attacks Suspect Salah Abdeslam wounded in Brussels Terror Raid Report,” The Guardian, Retrieved December 4, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/18/paris-attacks-suspect-salah-abdeslam-wounded-in-brussels-terror-raid-reports>.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

the officer successfully detained Saleh Abdeslam after exchanging several gunfire when the operation was held.

One of the prominent actor behind the incident is Abdelhamid Abboud. French investigator assumed Abdelhamid Abbaoud as the organiser of Paris Attack. The Belgium national was killed in a police raid. His father was a Moroccan and moved to Belgium in 1975. In 2014, he became very religious and went to Syria to join ISIS. After that, his 13 years old brother was recruited and was dubbed as the youngest European Jihadist fighter of ISIS.<sup>52</sup>

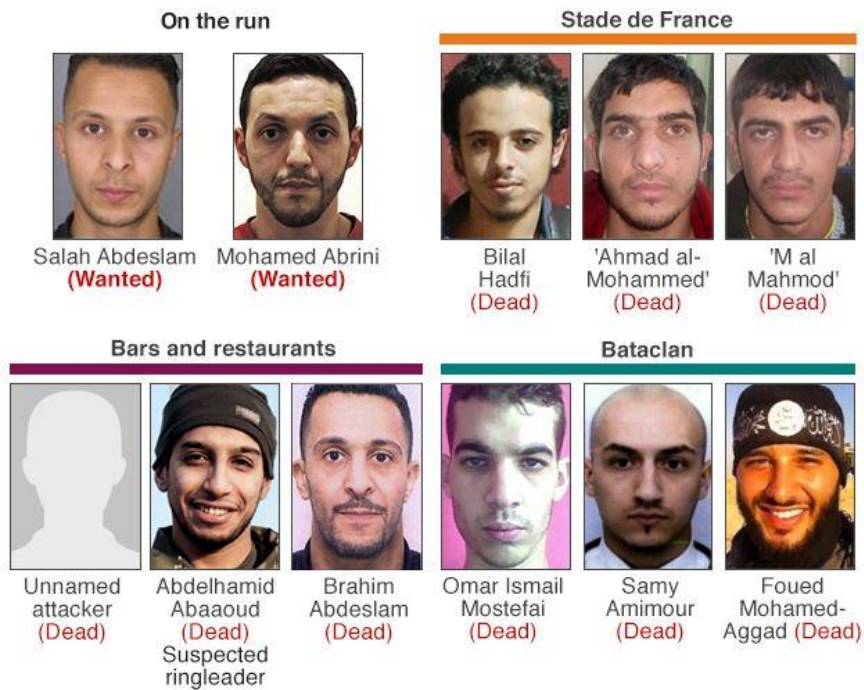
There are other actors of Paris Attack 2015; Brahim Abdeslam, the older brother of Salah who was the suicide bomber of Paris Incident, in Boulevard Voltaire.<sup>53</sup> There were also Bilal Hadfi and Ahmed Al Muhammad who exploded themselves at the stadium. Then, Samy Amimour (Abu Hajja), French National, which was one of three gunmen that killed 89 people in Bataclan Concert Hall who ended his life by suicide bombing. The last is Hasna Aboulachen, 26-years-old-Frenchwoman, the suicide bomber in Saint-Dennis.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> "Who is Salah Abdeslam and who were the Paris terrorists? Everything we know about the Isis attackers," Telegraph, retrieved December 6, 2016, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/11996120/Paris-attack-what-we-know-about-the-suspects.html>.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid



Source: Pictures AFP, EVN, EPA, Belgian Police

BBC

Figure 4 The Assailants of Paris Attack 2015

After all, France has a long history with terrorism. Started with the terror done by the government to hold the revolution in 18<sup>th</sup> century and until the Paris Attack claimed done by ISIS in November 2015. A series of attack also were experienced by French Republic in 21<sup>st</sup> century that caused death and building damage. The Paris Attack, which is considered as the deadliest attack of Terrorist in France history, had 130 dead and hundreds of people wounded caused by the assailants coming from Belgium and were part of ISIS.

The attack of Islamic-based Terrorism is started when Algerian tried to get their independence in France. After that, France was attacked by Armed Islamic Group of Algeria over again. Now, ISIS also involve themselves in attacking France, which is

the number destination of tourist compare to the other countries. They (ISIS) also list France as the top target of operation and threaten French that they will not live in Peace and sleep because of fear and horror.