

DOES RECENT IMMIGRATION CAUSE MORE TERRORISM IN EUROPE? AN ANALYSES OF CAUSES, LINKS AND CONSEQUENCES

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ABSTRACT: *OVER THE LAST FEW YEARS, THE EUROPEAN UNION HAS BEEN DEALING WITH AN INCREASING NUMBER OF PROBLEMS REGARDING THE WAVES OF IMMIGRANTS ENTERING THE EUROPEAN AREA, ISSUES RELATED TO BORDER SECURITY AND, ESPECIALLY, CONFLICTS CONCERNING THE ACCEPTANCE OF IMMIGRANTS WITHIN THE NEW TERRITORIES, AS THIS IS NOT ONLY AN ISSUE ON PROVIDING SHELTER, BUT A WHOLE PROCESS OF INTEGRATION, FROM ALL POINTS OF VIEW (ECOPNOMIC, SOCIAL, POLITICAL, CULTURAL, ETC.), WHICH TAKES TIME, RESOURCES, THE INSTITUIONS' AND CITIZENS' DESIRE TO ACCEPT THEM IN THEIR OWN SOCIAL SYSTEM. AS WE COULD OBSERVE SO FAR, CERTAIN STATES WERE MORE OPEN TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS AND, TOWARDS THEIR INTEGRATION. ONE OF THE MATTERS WE WANT TO UNDERLINE IN THIS PAPER IS THE ONE RELATED TO THE POSSIBILITY OF CERTAIN CONNECTIONS EXISTING BETWEEN THE TERRORIST ATTACKS THAT HAVE BEEN HAPPENING MORE AND MORE OFTEN LATELY, AND THE WAVES OF IMMIGRANTS COMING TO EUROPE, WHICH CAN RAISE AN ALARM REGARDING THE SECURITY OF BORDERS AND CITIZENS. THESE ARE THE MAIN IDEAS THAT WE WOULD LIKE TO DEVELOP BY OUTLINING THE CAUSES, LINKS, AND THE CONSEQUENCES THAT IMMIGRATION AND TERRORISM CAN HAVE ON EUROPEAN SPACE, ESPECIALLY ON THE SECURITY OF STATES, CITIZENS AND, IMPLICITLY, ON THE ENTIRE SOCIETY.*

KEY WORDS: IMIGRATION, EUROPEAN UNION, TERRORISM, SECURITY.

INTRODUCTION

Immigration, refugee crisis and terrorist attacks in today's Europe represents a problem of today's reality, an issue that is increasingly making its presence felt, with great implications upon the societal, political, socio-economic and individual security.

In the recent years, Europe has become a real refuge for people coming from the Middle East and North Africa, seeking a better life. Unfortunately, the "clash of civilizations"

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as described by Huntington³, also reveals a clash between social security and the fundamental human rights, the significance of each of these terms being different and exact at the same time⁴.

In other words, throughout history, the Mediterranean has been a natural border between the Muslim World and Europe. Gradually, this border has faded away, the Muslims building and strengthening their own enclaves across Europe through a continuous immigration process⁵.

With regard to the refugee crisis, we can state that lately, this is an increasingly active phenomenon, which can raise important questions. Certain states have preferred a rough policy towards refugees, while others, like Germany, were more permissive and even encouraged immigrants to come in large numbers. In this respect, the Chancellor of Germany, since 2005, Angela Merkel, has and still plays an important role with her controversial “open-door”⁶ refugee and immigrants policy.

Thus, this continuous encouragement towards the Arab wave of immigrants carried out in the last few months by Angela Merkel and the former President of France, François Hollande, has perhaps been launched much too easily, without taking into account the possibility of terrorist organization members infiltrating the refugees, especially since Syria is the main migrant-generating country. The issue we want to emphasize through this analysis refers to the threat and, subsequently, to the risk we can be exposed, along with the massive waves of immigrants coming to Europe. These can become perfect pretexts for terrorist organization adepts to enter this area.

IMMIGRATION – A RISK FACTOR UPON THE SECURITY OF THE EUROPEAN AREA

When analyzing a phenomenon such as the migratory one, it is absolutely necessary to point out that it is closely related to the evolution of humanity, to the international political and military context, to the actions of the great powers and to the dynamics of the people and society.

As a result, we determine that this refugee crisis is not an exclusive effect of the war in Syria, but also a sad reflection of an unstable world, of poverty and unequal access to knowledge, of the power void and all types of formations: political, military, paramilitary, etc. This is a current phenomenon that has strong security implications and consequences that are barely predictable and almost impossible to quantify.

Another detail to be considered for analysis refers to the religious side, which cannot be ignored when talking about migration, security and acts of terrorism. Hence, because of their own religious and cultural customs, certain categories of immigrants refuse to integrate in the new societies or the so-called host states, thus facing institutional, political, economic issues, which can represent a true crisis situation with impact on the political and economic stability.

³ American political scientist, who gained his notoriety after publishing the volume “Clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order”.

⁴ Mihai Alexandrescu, *The refugee crisis in the European Union: between the fundamental human rights and the efforts towards securitization*, (Cluj-Napoca: CA Publishing, 2016), 5.

⁵ Laurențiu Nedianu, „Terorismul și migrația ilegală” [Terrorism and illegal migration], in *Geopolitica*, No. 62, (4/2015), available at http://www.intellnews.ro/analiza-terorismul-si-migratia-ilegala/#_ftn5, accessed on 10.09.2017.

⁶ Angela Merkel presents new plan to boost asylum deportations as she fights back against challenger, Justin Huggler, *The Telegraph*, 09.09.2017, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/02/09/angela-merkel-presents-new-plan-boost-asylum-deportations-fights/> accessed on 16.09.2017.

The worst fears of the population have been and still are related to the security risks imposed by the large-scale migration, with a reference not only to gun and/or drug traffic, but especially to the threat represented by terrorism, the series of attacks of recent years strongly fueling xenophobic feelings.

From a national security point of view, the migration phenomenon can lead to the exploitation of illegal migration channels and the infiltration on European territory of terrorist group members and adepts of certain extremist terrorist ideologies who promote subversive, extremist ideas or trends, instigating to the violation of the legal framework. Violence may arise against the (local or national) authorities and between migrants in transit and destination-state housing centers; the violent acts at the Greek-Macedonian border are exemplary, being recorded when the decision to close the Macedonian border was taken in order to stop the flow of migration on the Balkan route⁷.

Remembering recent events, Europe has experienced the most intense wave of terrorist attacks in recent years. Since 2015, Europe has experienced more than 15 security threats, all headlines of newspapers, starting with Charlie Hebdo attacks, January 7th, 2015, (12 people killed on the spot), continuing with Paris attacks, November, 13th, 2015, (130 victims and other hundreds injured, the most deadly assault on French soil since World War II), Brussels bombings, March, 22nd, 2016 (32 people killed and more than 300 wounded), Bastille Day massacre in Nice, July, 14th, 2016, (84 people were killed and hundreds of others injured), different attacks in Germany in July, 2016; Normandy terror, in a church during mass in Saint-Etienne-du-Rouvray, a suburb of Rouen in northern France, on July, 26th, 2016; Berlin Christmas market attack, in Berlin, December, 19th, 2016 (12 people were killed and injured more than 60); Louvre knife attack, in Paris, February, 3rd, 2017; the terrorist attack on Westminster Bridge, London, March, 22nd, 2017 (two men and two women were killed and many others injured); the Stockholm attack by a failed asylum seeker from Uzbekistan, April, 7th, 2017, (four people were killed and at least fifteen were injured); Paris shooting on the Champs Elysees, April, 20th, 2017, (one policeman killed and two injured); The Manchester terror attack at an Ariana Grande concert at Manchester Arena on May, 22nd, 2017, (22 people were killed and 59 injured); a second London bridge attack, on June, 3rd, 2017; Finsbury Park terror attack, in London, on June, 19th, 2017 (a person was killed and some injured); the terrorist attack in Barcelona, on Las Ramblas rue, on August, 17th, 2017 (13 people were killed and more than 100 injured). These high-profile attacks in Western Europe have triggered the terror the Muslim perpetrators intended, produced massive media coverage, unleashed a backlash against Islam and propelled governments to devote huge resources to prevent future random assaults on their citizens. Even so, terrorism in Western Europe remains less frequent compared to the number of religious and terror attacks from the '70s, '80s or '90s.

According to the University of Maryland's Global Terrorism Database, Western Europe experienced in 2015 and 2016, no more than 604 terror attacks that killed 383 people. By contrast, in 1979-1980, the region experienced 1,615 terrorist incidents that killed at least 719 people⁸.

Terrorism has continued to evolve as a strategy in the contemporary era as well. This is best seen in the technological development. Terrorists have adopted new types of explosives and portable automated weapon models not only as better and louder means to

⁷ Georgiana Chirilă, „Migrația ilegală sau cum se importă riscurile de securitate”, [„Illegal migration or import of security risks”], in *Intelligence în serviciul tău*, 2016, available at: <http://intelligence.sri.ro/migratia-ilegala-sau-cum-se-importa-riscurile-de-securitate/>, accessed on 08.09.2017.

⁸ The University of Maryland's Global Terrorism Database, <https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/> accessed on 16.09.2017.

draw attention, but also as “force multipliers” which allow for few perpetrators to cause a larger number of victims. Also, the media technology innovations have provided new and better means to deliver programs both orally and practically.⁹

A connection between each of the problems listed and the waves of immigrants can be made from obvious reasons, both the reports of responsible institutions and the reactions expressed by decision-makers being essential indicators in this respect, especially with regard to the link between migration and terrorist risks.

TERRORISM IN EUROPE AND THE IMMIGRANT WAVE – CAUSES, DECISIONS, POLITICS AND LINKS

By its scale and forms of manifestation, terrorism has acquired a complex, global character. Thus, terrorism has become one of the main threats to the European and EU Member States’ security.

In 2008, the EU Member States have adopted a Pact on Immigration and Asylum. The European Pact is a political document emphasizing security challenges and not only, triggered by the migration and asylum phenomenon. Having this Pact, Europe can take action in a concerted manner.¹⁰

The *Pact on Immigration and Asylum* sets out the EU Member States’ commitments, namely:

- a better organization or legal immigration;
- a more efficient fight against clandestine immigration;
- strengthening efficacy;
- strengthening controls at the EU’s external borders; a direct relation of EU with the source countries of immigration.¹¹

In turn, through individual efforts, the Member States contribute to ensuring the national and European security. In this respect, both at the Union and national level, actions are taken to implement the following measures: the fight against internal and international terrorism; the control of legal and illegal migration; active involvement in conflict and crises solving on the European continent and around the world.

Also, *the European Agenda on Security*, published in April 2015, identifies terrorism as one of the fundamental threats to European security:

*“Dialogues should be extended to include priorities such as cooperation in fight against transnational organised crime and terrorism, smuggling of migrants and trafficking in human beings”*¹² [...] *“Common high standards of border management, in full respect of the rule of law and of fundamental rights, are essential to preventing cross-border crime and terrorism”*¹³.

According to a short passage from the Qur’an, (4:100), emigrating in Allah’s name, more precisely, going and spreading Islam in another country is an extremely meritorious act.

⁹ Randall D. Law, *Istoria terorismului de la asirieni la jihadiști* [The history of terrorism from the Assyrians to the Jihadists], translated by Sorin Șerb, Bucharest: Corint Publishing House, 2017, 557.

¹⁰ Petre Dușu, Cristina Bogzeanu, *Provocări actuale pentru securitate europeană* [Actual challenges for the European security], (Bucharest: The National Defense University „Carol I” Publishing House, 2010), 58.

¹¹ Petre Dușu, Cristina Bogzeanu, *Provocări actuale ...* [Actual challenges ...], 58.

¹² Communication From The Commission To The European Parliament, The Council, The European Economic And Social Committee And The Committee Of The Regions. The European Agenda on Security, Strasbourg, 28.4.2015, COM(2015) 185 final, p.4,

<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/125863/EU%20agenda%20on%20security.pdf>, accessed on 14.09.2017.

¹³ Communication From The Commission To The European Parliament, The Council, The European Economic And Social Committee And The Committee Of The Regions. The European Agenda on Security, Strasbourg, 28.4.2015, COM(2015) 185 final, p.8,

<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/125863/EU%20agenda%20on%20security.pdf>, accessed on 14.09.2017.

As a result, from this perspective, it can be stated that the massive Muslim migration flow towards Europe could well hide the Hijrah migration Islamic doctrine – a masked form of jihadism, in the form of a refugee crisis. To be politically correct, not all the refugees are terrorist and not all the terrorist are immigrants or refugees.

For example, the attack in Paris on November 13th 2015 may be categorized as related to the waves of immigrants. The attack took place during the football game between France and Germany, held on the Stade de France stadium in northern Paris: the attacker – a kamikaze, blew himself up near the sports arena, where former French President, François Hollande, was also present. Within a short period of time, two other men blew themselves up nearby. The French state declared the state of emergency and reinstated border controls (although the President had originally declared that all borders were completely closed)¹⁴.

Shortly after, the French investigators identified four out of seven kamikaze attackers, French citizens, most of whom had been in Syria for various periods of time.

This terrorist attack was a big wake-up call, condemned by the entire international community, which also made NATO reaffirm its position and determination in the fight against terrorism.

In this case, one of the kamikaze terrorists who blew himself up in the midst of the crowd in Paris during the attack of November 2015, was originally from Syria and entered France through Greece, along with the wave of immigrants, as stated the French authorities.

A provisional track record following the almost simultaneous terrorist attacks in Paris, show that 128 people died and 300 were injured. ISIS claimed the attack, threatening that it was just the beginning.¹⁵

The effective management of migration and asylum in Europe is a priority objective for the current European Executive (2014-2019). When taking office as the European Commission President, Jean-Claude Juncker stated that migration and the refugee problem are two of the 10 priorities of the European Commission's political programme.¹⁶

The migration of a large number of people from war-affected areas to other non-conflict zones has multiple consequences, for example: destabilizing the economy of destination countries; facilitating the actions of cross-border organized crime and terrorism; generating hatred and xenophobic and racial violence.¹⁷

In close cooperation with the European authorities, the new National Defense Strategy of Romania, published in May 2015, also identifies terrorism, radicalization and violent extremism as priority threats to national security.¹⁸ In this context, as well as in that of the terrorist attacks in Madrid, London, Paris, Copenhagen and Brussels between 2004 and 2015, the European Parliament adopted in February 2015 the European Parliament Resolution on antiterrorism measures.

¹⁴ "Multiple terrorist attacks in Paris: At least 140 deaths. France declares the state of emergency and closes the borders." *Gândul newspaper*, November 13th 2015.

¹⁵ One of the terrorists in Paris, the new wave of immigrants, <https://www.dcnews.ro/unul-dintre-terori-tii-din-paris-din-noul-val-de-imigran-i-489703.html>, accessed on 09.09.2017.

¹⁶ EU policies on migration and asylum, <https://www.mae.ro/node/35902>, accessed on: 14.09.2017.

¹⁷ Alexandra Sarcinschi, *Migrație și Securitate [Migration and Security]*, Bucharest: The National Defense University „Carol I” Publishing House, 2008, 5 available at http://cssas.unap.ro/ro/pdf_studii/migratie_si_securitate.pdf, accessed on 15.09.2017.

¹⁸ Presidency of Romania, *Strategia națională de apărare a țării pentru perioada 2015-2019 [The National Defense Strategy of the Country for 2015-2019]*, Bucharest, 2015, available at: http://www.presidency.ro/files/userfiles/Strategia_Nationala_de_Aparare_a_Tarii_1.pdf, accessed on 10.09.2017.

CONCLUSION

Aspiring for safety is a universal human attribute. However, for both nations and individuals, the definition of security and the strategies to achieve it vary greatly when it comes to food, water, medical care or freedom – not to mention other fundamental human rights: the freedom of speech and faith or putting an end to arming. But there are too many places where the ongoing conflicts block the way to security, which is why the efforts to achieve must start with solving them.¹⁹

In the era of globalization, it is more obvious than ever that the sources of insecurity: extremism, poverty (often associated with human rights violation and incompetent governance), civil tensions, wars, are endless threats.²⁰

The export of Islamic radicalism from areas on the “axis of evil” to those with latent inter-confessional conflicts, corroborated with choosing Europe as an area of refuge and rehabilitation for the extremist-terrorist groups, maintains the actuality of the terrorist threats risk, the probability of their materialization being increased by the existence of powerful Arab communities in almost all the countries in the area, communities that also include supporters or members of the terrorist organizations like Kongra Gel, Hamas, Hezbollah, the Muslim Brotherhood, etc.²¹

Following this research and assessing the latest events that took place in Europe related to the terrorist attacks and their subsequent disclosures, a few disturbing questions may arise for the analysts, decision making politicians, security specialists and researchers: Will the 21st century be a time of religious confrontation? Will the authorities’ and political leaders’ attitude change towards accepting immigrants in their own social systems? To anticipate, we can only say that the evolution of the future national, as well as European and global events, will be conclusive.

¹⁹ Mohamed ElBaradei, *Epoca dezamăgirii. Diplomatie nucleară în vremuri de cumpănă* [The era of disappointment. Nuclear diplomacy during dark times], translated by Sorin Șerb, (Bucharest: RAO Publishing House, 2012), 357.

²⁰ Mohamed ElBaradei, *Epoca dezamăgirii...[The era of disappointment...]*, 358.

²¹ Ene, Roland-Dorian, Threats against peace and security in the contemporary age, in *Romanian Association of Humanitar Law – Prahova’s Brach* available at: <http://www.arduph.ro/domenii/protectie-persoane-si-bunuri/in-caz-de-conflict-armat/amenintari-la-adresa-pacii-si-securitatii-in-epoca-contemporana/>, accessed on: 18.08.2017.

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